

NEW LEFT NOTES



SDS
• 1608 W. MADISON •
• CHICAGO • ILL.

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 29

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

AUGUST 21, 1967

Burn Those Breeches Behind You

Southern Labor Action Movement
Box 77 Atlanta, Georgia 30301

On Saturday, August 12, a crowd of 175 supporters and newsmen gathered at Atlanta's Piedmont Park to watch 25 Atlanta students and workers take off and burn their Levi pants.

The "burn-in", sponsored by the Southern Labor Action Movement (SLAM), marked the kick-off of a nationwide boycott of all Levi-Strauss products. The boycott is being organized in support of the 400 workers now on strike at Levi Strauss' Blue Ridge, Georgia, plant.

The workers have been on strike for over a year to protest unacceptable working conditions which have been allowed to prevail at the plant under Levi Strauss' present contract with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU).

Sam Shirah, SLAM field secretary, told the crowd that their participation in the boycott, along with that of thousands of other students and workers, was a necessary step toward winning the Blue Ridge strike, and thus toward building a free and human environment for Southern workers, students, and for all Americans.

The Atlanta activity is the first in a series of "burn-ins" and other types of support demonstrations which will be held all over the country to build support for and participation in the boycott.

The boycott, originally handled by the Temporary Levi Boycott Committee, has now been adopted as a SLAM project. It has been endorsed by several student organizations, most notably the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

In conjunction with the boycott there will be a nation-wide petition campaign demanding that Levi-Strauss recognize the rights of the strikers.



Resisters meet in Madison

Bob Swartz, Chicago Area
Draft Resisters and SDS

On the weekend of August 11-13, a Draft Resistance Conference was held in Madison, Wisconsin. The purpose of the conference was not to pass resolutions but rather to have general discussions about where draft resistance is at and how it is functioning. The following article is an attempt to outline the discussions held in Madison.

I. Research, Propaganda and Tactics of Draft Resistance

Work at Local Draft Boards

A guy's first contact with the Selective Slavery System comes at 18, when he must register himself with the local board as "cannon fodder". The local board has, in most cases, the ultimate power of life or death over a guy, and is that part of the war machine which he must deal directly with. Because of this fact and the fact that the local board is the lowest cog in the machine, it is the most vulnerable to attack.

A 1-A program can be set up, in which persons classified as 1-A by the local board are contacted and are given information on resisting the draft. Each local board must post the results of its meeting in a conspicuous place in the board office. Usually you can get the names and classifications of the registrants from the posted results. It might even be possible to get the registrants' addresses; but if the addresses are not given, you can make a map of the draft board's area, and by using local phone books, contact 1-A registrants that way.

Another valuable action discussed was exposing of draft board members and employees of Selective Slavery. By identifying and exposing the culprits one brings them disrespect and destroys their facade of legitimacy. All board members' names must be made public by the local board. By doing radical intelligence work on board members you can expose the corporate connections, if any, they have with war industries and show from there where they fit into the power structure. (Get Sue Eanet's memo on "Radical Intelligence" from the SDS N.O.).

Using fake reporter's credentials, you can get further personal information from board members, under the guise of an "interview which shows the other side of the draft system." This whole approach of "exposing the culprit" aims at personalizing a depersonalized system—showing young men that it is certain men who want to murder them and thus helping them to define the enemy.

Other actions discussed that might prove meaningful are leafleting in front of draft boards, when manpower is available, and infiltrating into local board hearings—talking to men waiting for their hearings and disrupting the local meeting. The work the draft organizer does at the local board makes the guys more receptive to him when they come to the induction

Shero — Our Man in Moscow FROM RUSSIA WITH LOVE

You bring together delegates from every country in the world (except, of course, the incorrigible Albanians and Chinese), put them in the grand meeting hall of an old Tzarist palace, make Yuri Gagarin the honorary chairman, have the only woman cosmonaut, Valentina Tereshkova, make her appearance, fill the galleries with well-drilled communists complete with their band, and give the podium to a learned member of the Academy of Sciences to extol the virtues of youth and Russian progress for the television cameras, and you have thus carefully concocted the first day of the international youth meeting to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution.

After the first day, the galleries are empty, and the more than slightly bored delegates routinely take turns denouncing Imperialism and praising international workers' solidarity, in ten to fifteen minute speeches. Occasionally a western delegate makes critical remarks which are politely applauded by the leadership, and enthusiastically received by some of the more militant representatives. The politics of the meeting are not to be found on the well-rehearsed center stage, but

rather in the nuances in the shadows of the corridors and the rooms of the hotel.

The first incident that unsettled the prescribed order was a leaflet passed out by some Arabs denouncing the "imperialist attack" on their country — a rather normal leaflet except for the fact that one sentence squeezed between "the U.S. asked us not to attack" and "the world asked us not to attack" read "the Soviet Union asked us not to attack." Some bureaucrats fluttered around a while, and that was the end of it.

Jeff Speaks

Representatives were allowed short speeches, though the speaker's list was pruned somewhat. With the slightest bit of fuss you were back on, however. Because the audience was comprised mostly of delegates from the third world and the topic which most were speaking to was anti-imperialist struggle, it seemed rather pointless to give a "how far has the Soviet revolution come?" kind of speech. Instead, I talked about the contradiction of two of the four lines that make up Soviet foreign policy —

peaceful co-existence and support for national liberation struggles. From the Cubans I learned that negotiations for trade and credit were going on between the USSR and Colombia and Bolivia, so I mentioned this, along with the fact that credit has been given to the oligarchy in Brazil. I brought up the Dow Chemical Company purchase of magnesium. I inquired if it was not possible to give greater assistance to the Vietnamese — for instance, by telling the U.S. that if it escalated the war to bombing the dikes, then the Soviet Union would put pressure on Berlin, or Soviet submarines would be given clearance to sink ships of the Seventh Fleet. I concluded by saying SDS thought the war against South-East Asia was a logical extension of the American political economy, and that we understood that American troops would be fighting more wars in our economic colonies in the near future. I said we were prepared actively to oppose these campaigns, while building a movement whose goal was the building of a new society.

The officials of the meeting were not

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harassment is the same all over

Bob Grove
Bloomington, Indiana

The following is a letter sent to all high school principals and superintendents in Indiana by State Superintendent of Public Instruction Richard D. Wells. As you can see, it is an attempt to coerce high school teachers and students who belong to SDS. So far as we know, we have SDS members teaching in Indianapolis and Gary and Bloomington, and individual high school SDS members at Bloomington, Ft. Wayne, Indianapolis, Terre Haute, and Evansville.

We have formed a committee here in Bloomington to resist this pressure on the high schools. Our defense committee includes A.C.L.U. and A.A.U.P. types, and we may file for a restraining order against Richard D. Wells to prevent harassment of SDS members. This same man, Wells, has forced all schools to circulate literature of the Fred Swartz Anti-Communist Crusade and to sponsor an essay contest entitled, "Free Enterprise is Superior to Socialist Collectivism Because."

TO: ALL SUPERINTENDENTS AND PRINCIPALS

FROM: RICHARD D. WELLS, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION; ROBERT H. JERRY, DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT

"One of the most militant organizations now engaged in activities protesting U.S. foreign policy is a student youth group called Students for a Democratic Society. Communists are actively promoting and participating in the activities of this organization, which is self-described as a group of liberals and radicals."

John Edgar Hoover, Director of F.B.I.

Creation of a radical leftist student movement in American high schools is a pivotal project of Students for a Democratic Society, an organization claiming member groups at more than 200 institutions of higher education in our country.

As part of a "radical education project," Students for a Democratic Society is distributing throughout the country a pamphlet with the innocent title, "High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement," written by Mark Kleinman. Literally, the pamphlet is inflammatory. It condones, admits and appears to incite arson by setting school trash can fires. It condones, admits and appears to incite the pulling of false fire alarms in schools.

On page one, Kleinman writes, "Every such seemingly destructive actions as starting trash fires and pulling fire alarms are actually forms of protest directed at the school as it is now constituted."

On page two, Kleinman writes, "There is one primary reason why we set trash can fires, why we cannot communicate with one another on campus, and are forced to make use of off-campus publications, and to why they have to build fences around us. High School is not worth the time we spend there."

Hundreds of copies of this pamphlet have been distributed to high school

Dear brothers and sisters:

This little note is being written to tell you the state of the office personnel in their conflict with the forces of facism. It is being written by your loyal financial secretary because he feels that it is important that the membership be informed of the events, and because he got told to do it.

So.....First a little bit of background. Seven people were arrested the night of July 26 - John, Floyd, Eric, Gene, Wendy, Marilyn L., and Sue. The cop that stopped them said that they had thrown a beer bottle out of the car - untrue - and while the cop was talking with Eric, Wendy turned on the radio and the cop busted them for disturbing the peace. The night of the 27th, the cops stopped John and Floyd and Louis and said that John hadn't signalled for a turn. John denied this, and the cop punched him in the face and arrested all three for disturbing the peace and charged John with resisting a police officer.

So.....John and Floyd have been to trial on their first arrest, and were acquitted. The other five people arrested with them had their case continued until Sept 10. The lawyer is pretty confident that they will get off, except for may be Wendy and Gene - because Wendy turned on the radio, and because they are black.

On the second night's folly, they all went to trial, but their case was continued until Sept. 28 because it seems that in the period between the arrest and the trial, the cop who arrested them managed to get himself shot, and is in the hospital and is unable to testify.

We (I?) will continue to let you know the latest developments as they occur.

P.S. Since I started writing this there have been ten cop cars pass by our window. But don't worry, this is just about average.

Peace and freedom,
Tim P. McCarthy

For the Record

Many people have asked who wrote the article on Vietnam Summer in the Convention issue of NLN, and have ascribed all sorts of evil motives to its being unsigned. The signature was left off purely by accident; it was written by Leif Johnson of New York. Kudos and insults should be addressed to 212 E. 97th St. New York, N.Y. 10029.

students on both coasts of our country. It is imperative, as educators and parents, that we be on guard against any such Students for a Democratic Society activity starting in our schools. If you are aware of any Students for a Democratic Society activity in our schools, please inform this office. We want to do all we can to help you protect our students, our schools, and our American heritage.

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Davidson, Inter-organizational secretary; Robert Pardun, Internal Education secretary; Mike Spiegel, National secretary.
National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206 Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312/666-3874)
New York City: Rm. 436, 41 Union Sq. West, New York City, N.Y. 10003
Niagra Regional Coordinating Committee: PO Box 57-31, River Campus Station, Rochester, N. Y.
Southern California: PO Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90072
New England: 39 Lee St., Apt. 3A, Cambridge, Mass.

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 28 let the people decide

AUGUST 7, 1967

POOR WHITE RESPONSE TO BLACK REBELLION

Bob Lawson and Mike James
JOIN

We have worked with JOIN Community Union for nearly a year and a half, almost the same amount of time that JOIN has been located in the area where it now concentrates its energies. The area is located in Chicago's Uptown, inhabited by about 60,000 people, the largest group being Southern whites. Uptown is also composed of native Chicago, lower class whites, a sizeable middle class white population surrounding the neighborhood where we work, and increasingly, by Puerto Ricans and Negroes, although their number is probably less than 5,000 each.

JOIN's attempts to organize the neighborhood have shifted as the issues of concern to the active people in the neighborhood have changed and as organizers have searched for new methods to build a stable organization. Currently, there is considerable activity in a number of areas. Some of it is presently independent of JOIN, although the activists feel close to JOIN, and received basic radical education by participation in JOIN activities and the JOIN school. There is a new food co-op with 25 members, a strong independent welfare group known as WRDA (Welfare Recipients Demand Action) with 75 signed members, an urban renewal group, a housing grievance committee working to build tenant union, an active tenant's union, a newspaper "The Firing Line" that has an editorial board made up of six people from the community, a couple of block clubs with from 10 to 30 active members working around issues such as a playground (which has proved to be educational as to the workings of urban renewal), a theater group, and a loose group of about 20 teen-agers known as the Goodfellows.

Which way will they go?

A question put to us frequently in the past year, and over and over during the past few weeks, is, "Where do the people in your neighborhood stand on the black rebellions? Which way will they go?"

The question is a difficult one, and the JOIN staff cannot agree on an answer. We do not have concrete answers, but will relate some thoughts that may have bearing on the present activities and program of radicals, as well as where whites who call themselves radicals see themselves working in the next few years.

The basic assumption of the people who started JOIN, and the people working here, is that the real problems of America are Capitalism and Racism. We believe that poor people, whether they be black, white, Spanish, or Indian, have a similar relationship to the dominant society and are exploited by it. Let there be no question in anyone's mind: we are well aware that black people--whether they be poor, working or even middle class--are the most exploited group in this country, but there are other groups whose position in the society might allow them to become part of a radical force. Much depends on the actions of radicals, objective conditions, and developments over the next few years. Implicit in what we say is that radical organizers in a poor white community can make a difference as to how whites view not only the actions of black people, but also their own conditions and future.

Class Consciousness

We have learned that Southern whites, dealing with issues similar to those black people confront (welfare, police brutality, housing, etc.), understand the racial and "riot" questions. As Todd Gitlin of JOIN has said, "Among the poor whites, in varying degrees, there may not be class consciousness in the traditional sense; but there is certainly a populist consciousness--of 'little people' vs. 'big people,' poor against rich--which may be compelling enough to overpower even Southern-white racism." The longest active and the most sophisticated community people,

many people involved in one of JOIN's current organizing activities, and the most involved young guys understand why Negroes rebel and most of them identify with the riots, or at least understand them well enough to defend black people's actions.

This is not to say that the majority of Southern people in Uptown identify with, support, or are even favorable to the ghetto riots sweeping the country. The responses vary to Detroit, Newark, and the Chicago westside outbreak of a year ago. People's opinions seem to be related to the amount of contact and involvement with JOIN, although there are some unexplainable exceptions. (Some people who seem to be around for a while, disappear, and then come back, have different opinions at different times.) A young Southern hustler who is very close to us at times ("I know what you're about and I'm for it--I just got a different angle") has told us on occasion, "I know niggers are OK, I just don't like 'em much, and I been taught that all my life." More recently he said, "Well I just don't like 'em moving into my neighborhood." (Relate this to real estate practices' milking the area before urban renewal does its dirty work.) He will add that he hates cops, and if anything were to break out in the neighborhood he'd be in on the fighting. Another lady said, "I may not like niggers, but if they came up here fighting cops, we'd have to fight with 'em."

Other Responses

Other responses on the rebellions range from, "We got to fight those niggers," to a solid understanding of riots, and a feeling that it could happen here too, for much the same reasons. It is difficult to say which way the neighborhood is weighted. However, in recent weeks, because of considerable talking going on between some organizers and young guys on corners, many of those who were bad on the race question in relation to rebellions have moved from fighting niggers to fighting cops. There is a very real possibility that there will be a rebellion against the police. The precautionary activities of the police indicate that they too are well aware of that possibility. The scary thing is that a basically good revolt could be perverted into a classic race riot. On the other hand, if there is a riot it could be multi-racial. Our job as organizers is to try to explain black rebellions, not as race riots, but as class wars. Hopefully, that explanation will carry enough weight to make any riot here be against the real oppressors rather

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regional notices

An Oklahoma Region of SDS has been organized. The address of the office is 561 Buchanan, apt. 3, Norman, Okla. The Norman Draft Resisters' Union is located at the same address.

Support your Okla. Region.

A third staff person is needed to work in the New England Region next year. He/she would be doing traveling and office work. Pay is problematic, but the region is not in debt.

The person must have had at least six months experience in SDS, either on the chapter level or in some other way. When applying for the job, include a history of your movement experience and a summary of your familiarity with N.E. If interested, write to: Tom Christoffel, 9 Eustis St., Cambridge, Mass.

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD !

TIJERINA--A MEXICAN MALCOLM X

reprinted from THE MOVEMENT, August, 1967
Jim Kennedy

Albuquerque, N.M.—It was the 26th of July when this reporter arrived at the old offices of the Alianza Federal de Mercedes for an interview with Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the Land Grant Movement and alleged "mastermind" of the so-called uprising in Northern New Mexico last June 5th. Tijerina had been released two days before on bail from the state Pen where he had been held since June 10th charged with kidnapping.

Adam Clayton Powell was on TV reminding white America of the right of revolution embodied in its own foundation, a right to be exercised in the face of oppression. I arrived just as Powell finished and was greeted by Tijerina who said, "Powell was just speaking—how he said what is in my heart! How he spoke for the victims of this system." I had talked with Tijerina before, several years ago; he knew my commitments and so there was an openness and frankness that bespoke trust. He is a dynamic, a charismatic speaker in both Spanish and English. He understands the system about him and is devastating in ripping off its falseness. He knows his people and, in turn, listening to him one begins to know the Mexicanos, their anguish, their anger, their growing determination to be free.

June 5 "Uprising"

We talked of the "uprising" at Tierra Amarilla on June 5th—an incident which a spokesman for the Republican Governor put this way: "District Attorney Alfonso Sanchez is guilty of inciting to riot through his provocative arrests of Alianza members" and harassment of a peaceful gathering. We discussed the police, the vicious holding of Mrs. Tijerina, Reies' own imprisonment, the future of the movement and the widening of its scope. We talked of the Black people's liberation struggle, of Rap Brown's arrest, of



Reies Lopez Tijerina

Stokely's visit to Havana, of the liberation of Latin America. We discussed too the role of the Anglo militant and radical. Always, without prompting, Tijerina noted the interrelationships between the various currents and movements of struggle, on the local, national, and world scales.

In the State Pen

At the State Pen they tripled the number of guards during his stay, increased the power of the search lights on the walls

and the number of the guns in the towers. They were glad to be rid of him—for by the time he was released on July 24th, Tijerina, who began his stay with the respect of the Chicano cons, had gained the sympathy and, in a number of cases, the active support of the Spanish speaking guards. He spoke to them of the fight for land, of the Anglo rape of New Mexico, of its free cities and pueblos and the destruction of their cultural heritage. Many prisoners and guards responded, he said, with open friendliness and interest. In jail, as out, Tijerina's powerful personality and his passion for freedom and justice seems to have had its impact.

Wife's Miscarriage

When asked about the events of June 5th, of his wife's miscarriage as a result of police harassment—Tijerina made no attempt to conceal either his anger or his contempt for the DA and State Police Chief Joe Black. He said "my stomach burns when I think of them taking my wife from the house where she was a guest; separating her from her people, holding her and then removing her to an orphanage. Joe Black was trying to be a big shot, showing how he could hold my wife as a hostage."

"Yes, the doctor has told her that the miscarriage was the result of that night's terror."

They stopped our meeting at Coyote; they held our people hostage at Canjilon; we were arrested. But what did it gain them? The Spanish people matured in those few days, they grew up. We are more determined than ever to win back our land, to preserve and revive our culture. "We can never go back now—we will fight to the end...time and history are on our side, the Anglo's system's days are numbered," Sanchez and Black and their kind tried to make big names and jobs for themselves but it won't work.

Jumping Bail

I asked Tijerina about some of Sanchez' more "damaging" and "reasonable" charges—particularly the one about his jumping bail in Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1957 and the circumstances around it. Tijerina explained that a group of Mexican farm workers under his leadership had purchased some land and were farming it cooperatively. The local Anglo ranchers were unhappy and decided to end the spectacle of self-sufficient Mexicans by burning the houses of the farmers. The footprints of the arsonists led directly from the farm to the ranch responsible... the local sheriff was unperturbed, and the FBI refused to investigate seeing no violation of civil rights! Later Reies' brother was arrested. Shortly after the arrest a jail break occurred—all the prisoners in the cell with Tijerina's brother escaped. Tijerina refused to go with them and remained in the cell. Nevertheless the local sheriff arrested Reies Tijerina for "masterminding" the jail break. He was released on bond—the farm land being posted as bail. Clear threats were made that he would never reach trial, and on the advice of his friends, Reies Tijerina fled for his life. The State of Arizona never pursued the issue, the bail was never collected, the land remained intact and was later exchanged for the building that now houses his office. No extradition was ever sought—and as Reies puts it: "I have nothing to be ashamed of about what happened in Casa Grande. I did nothing wrong, unless to save your life is wrong."

Future of Alianza

We talked about the future of the Alianza and Tijerina noted that there would be demonstrations in Santa Fe this fall aimed at enforcement of the New Mexico laws that require the teaching of Spanish in all schools, and that no teachers be

certified unless they speak Spanish. Other legal requirements, long forgotten, which are aimed at defending the Spanish cultural heritage would also be dramatized. And the Alianza would branch out its activities especially seeking to restore the old city states, pueblos, as autonomous and self-governing bodies. The Alianza, noted Tijerina, would aim at the liberation of the culture of la raza, liberation of "our property, our land, our heritage—and in the process perhaps even liberate the Federal constitution from the prison into which the Anglos have put it". Further, the Alianza will in the future exercise its constitutional right of self-defense including the right to bear arms and carry weapons, unconcealed, to gatherings for protective purposes.

Land Grants

Tijerina also discussed the future of

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In the INTERIM

Marilyn Buck

After a parody of on-timeliness, the National Interim Committee began its first meeting about noon on Monday, 7 August, at the YMCA. The NIC met with the N.O. staff and the printshop to discuss the different happenings and the different ideas which have been floating around in people's heads since the June Convention and N.C. During the whole afternoon, discussion centered around the question, "How must SDS

relate to what has been happening in the ghettos, and...what sort of actions should we take on the campus?" John Venezia of the printshop, who seemed to be the main spokesman for the printshop view, felt that SDS's main course of action should be to get students off the campus and into the ghettos, black and white, and to lead students into actively preparing people for the revolution. Cathy Wilkerson of the NIC discussed and advocated another type of strategy in which SDS should work to organize students into unions where they could then initiate revolution on the campus and take off from there. After a full afternoon of verbal war concerning these views, and in order to prevent potential riots in the YMCA, everyone hastily left for dinner.

Later in the evening the NIC met at the T-O Institute in order to begin hassling with the agenda which had been set up by Steve Halliwell and Mike Spiegel.

Fall NC Plans

Because the NC was originally planned for the first of September, and because at that time there is to be held in Chicago the NCNP Convention in which various people are interested (see section on NCNP), the date of the NC was altered. It was decided that the NC should be held the weekend of October 6-8. Madison SDS has offered to put up with the NC. If the Madison chapter finds this date agreeable then that will be the final time of the NC. (But you had better stay tuned to NLN. It could change again!) NIC members also felt that it would be a good idea to try and set up conferences previous to the NC because holding some sort of regional area conferences might be a good way to try to pull out ideas of the regions or areas. These kinds of conferences might possibly be put together by either regional-type travellers or by interested local people. Robert Pardun suggested that immediately before the NC a conference be held for all of those people who were in the T-O Institute and who were able to be there, to discuss the T-O Institutes and why or why not people found them valuable—and why the T-O Institutes were, in general, failures.

On the NCNP Convention

The first question raised was a technical one. The NCNP had asked to use SDS's mailing list in order to distribute

the Land Grants. He noted that the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo contained a protocol, agreed to by President Polk but repudiated by Mexican butcher Zach Taylor who succeeded Polk, allowing Mexico to raise violations of the rights of Southwestern Mexicans as outlined in the Treaty. The Mexican government will accordingly be asked to raise in the U.N. the issues involved, including "the rape of the pueblos, Spanish and Indian" and cultural destruction. When asked if Mexico failed to do so, would an appeal be taken to some of the Revolutionary countries of the third world such as Algeria or the UAR, Tijerina responded that he wasn't sure if they could legally raise the issues, but the idea would be explored. "Egypt certainly will be able to understand seeing what Israel with U.S. help has just done

more widely the NCNP News. At the first session which dealt with this problem people were evenly split about whether or not we should do a mailing for them. Four people felt that it would require too much staff time since we don't give out our membership list and...we should not burden our membership with that sort of stuff. The other four NIC members present felt that if we could get NCNP to pay \$500 for the mailing, we should since we could use that money. When more members arrived, they voted not to provide SDS's services.

Although the NIC dismissed NCNP's shitwork request, members still wished to deal with NCNP as a political entity. People felt that if they were to attend the NCNP convention, there should be a definite program SDS people would try to push. NCNP would be beneficial to the movement if it would work only on local elections and in so doing, try to build up a pre-election community consciousness. The SDS strategy would be to show the irrelevance of NCNP by presenting alternative "radical" ideas, but, also, to show no tolerance for the "liberal" position. Cathy Wilkerson was designated as the honcho-in-charge of fully developing a program for the convention. All SDS members who are interested in attending the NCNP convention might call or stop in at the N.O. to coordinate activities.

To Visit With the NLF?

The N.O. was informed by Nick Egleson that a trip to Hanoi was being coordinated by himself and Dave Dellinger. If it happens four people will be sent. Nick had told the office that one SDS member could be sent and that there was a possibility of sending two people from SDS. The hitch would be that money (\$1500) for the trip would have to be supplied. NIC people were unclear as to whether SDS would have the money. It was decided that if we were to send either one or two people that money would have to be raised by the people going, with the aid of the N.O.

Once it was decided that we would send someone if we could, various people were suggested. The NIC felt that if the trip were to be of value to SDS, the people should be excited enough to use that as an organizing tool. Hopefully, people who

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MOTOR CITY BLOWS A GASKET

Dave Wheeler
Detroit SDS



President Johnson unleashed the US Army on his own people—the people that voted him into office. He is now controlling them with the US armed forces through one of the powers granted him with his position. The effect of that precedent is staggering.

The link to Vietnam is obvious—so obvious that it hurt to see it so often skirted, ignored, or carefully covered over. The TV and radio reports never mentioned the words “US Army,” but always talked about “federal troops” and “federal presence.”

But when Johnson made his pious speech asking for prayers to back up the soldiers, there by his side stood McNamara—the one in charge of the government domination of both Vietnam and Detroit!

As Felix Greene said in his book on the war on the people of Asia, “...Guerilla fighting on a large scale...only becomes possible when the existing government has morally alienated itself from the masses. The revolutionary aim is to widen this moral isolation until (as has happened in Vietnam) the isolation has become irreversible.”

On a TV broadcast Governor Romney of Michigan said of the Detroit insur-

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rection, “Although this is an extreme emergency, the city is not being placed under martial law.” Later, at 2:30 the next morning, a police loudspeaker warned people to: “Get back in your houses. Get back in your houses or you will be shot. You will be shot and killed. This is martial law. This is martial law.”

Who to believe? If you were in a house in the Detroit suburbs of Birmingham, Warren, Grosse Point, or Bloomfield Hills it might be possible to believe the pronouncements of the governor, the TV commentators, and the President that this was hoodlums and a criminal element. But if you were on the streets in Detroit the night of July 25 facing the cops and their guns the fact was that the city was under martial law. For days the reaction of the city, the state, and the national power structures was to put the City of Detroit under military control.

It was also not true that the Detroit insurrection was carried out by hoodlums and criminals. The insurrection was an out-pouring of widespread bitterness against the conditions the poor have been kept in. The bitterness was unleashed upon the cops and store-owners because they were the most oppressive and obvious agents of control in the people’s lives.

In ghetto areas black people old and young went through the store ruins together. In integrated areas in the city, black people and white people went through the stores together. The cooperation and systematization of the looting was amazing—largely because there was so much that the cops ignored most of it and made isolated raids where they could. There was no inter-racial violence. The insurrection was not by hoodlums, but by all kinds of people, black and white, all over the City of Detroit. It was a gut reaction to widespread oppression. “Get what you can get while you can get it,” said one black man in front of a busted-in five-and-ten, “because they never let us have it before.”

People who had been kept in line by a carrot-and-stick method for years finally broke from their traces. They went after the carrot (as it was displayed in store windows) for themselves and struck back at the power of the stick.

Immediately the national power structure retaliated with the most efficient and, in the short run, the most expedient method to end the insurrection. The President sent in the US Army.

Romney and Johnson were both enmeshed in a peculiar political quandry. Each because of his aspirations to the Presidency in 1968 had to appear strong and make the other appear weak and confused. But both had an interest in a strong and prosperous-appearing status quo in

Michigan. The country is strong; it had to act swiftly. There is no discontent here; no unrest could show. The system is working; it had to patch this over as quickly and as firmly as possible. The situation is not an insurrection; but Detroit was reconquered by a military campaign under the command of a lieutenant-general of the United States Army.

“All-out War”

Unlike the uprisings in Watts or Harlem, the insurrection in Detroit was not limited to a black ghetto which could be easily contained and put down. It came up in all parts of the city. The center shifted from the west side to the east side and back. Snipers on the roof-tops controlled the Kercheval area on the east side all day on Monday the 26th. The cops and the army were driven out of a 200-block area around Linwood and 12th, where the riot began, for a three hour period Tuesday night while they regrouped for a full-scale attack.

It took the 3000-man Detroit police force, 500 Michigan state cops, 8000 federalized National Guard, 2000 federalized Air National Guard, and 5000 men from the 82nd and 101st Airborne Units, US Army, all under the command of Lieut.-Gen. John L. Throckmorton and the President’s special emissary, former Deputy Defense Secretary Cyrus R. Vance, to swing control of the city back to “law and order.” The US Army troops, fresh from duty in Vietnam, brought their M-16’s, although they supposedly used only the older M-1 rifles. They brought tanks, helicopters, armored personnel carriers—all they needed was the napalm. The helicopters were used only for spotting, but the chatter of machine-gun fire from the mounted weapons on the tanks was common during the nights of fighting.

Where they struck, they struck with a vengeance—particularly the scared guardsmen with shaking trigger fingers. No one was safe, on the streets or off, as guardsmen and cops busted into buildings where they thought there might be snipers or concealed weapons.

“This is all-out war on the west side,” said a patrolman to TV just before they moved in with their guns and tanks. “guerrilla warfare,” said WJBK, Channel 2.

It took a toll of forty dead (at this moment), between 2000-3000 wounded, and 4700 arrested for the army and the cops to retake the city. But the real damage estimates, on the other hand, ranged to the figure of \$1 billion. And two precinct stations were assaulted, the cops trapped inside temporarily with no electric power.

The burning was restricted mainly to the business areas in the city. The sniper fire was restricted to the uniforms of authority and the firemen attempting to save the property they had set ablaze. But the cops and soldiers made war on the people. Whether Romney or Johnson admitted it or not, the city was under the martial law of the soldiers’ guns.

The enemy was the people of Detroit and their hopes and their bitterness. The cooperation between the different elements of the power structure in subduing the people and in convincing America-at-large that the enemy was the forces of greed and destruction was admirable. The lines were very clear-cut.

The martial law included unofficial, and later even official, license to kill for the authorities—and apparently for the shop-owners. The cops didn’t wear badges and had blanket impunity; the soldiers had their uniforms, serial numbers and the official suspicion that any movement might be a concealed weapon or a hidden sniper.

The curfew ordinance gave the authorities absolute control over the streets after 9:00 pm. Anyone outside was liable

to search, arrest, or execution if he tried to escape. The only challenge to this was the fire-power of the snipers and, in the first nights, the sheer numbers of the looters.

The “justice” apparatus of the city cooperated by calling those arrested “criminals” but treating them as political prisoners—the same basic hypocrisy the power structure showed consistently throughout the rebellion. The city’s jails, and even the state penitentiary, were turned into veritable concentration camps.

Ninety-five of those arrested were booked on felony charges. A uniform bail of \$10,000 was set for all. No one could afford to post that much bond, so all those arrested were kept imprisoned until they were to be arraigned and tried—at the absolute discretion of the state.

The prisoners were, of course, brought in and booked with no regard to constitutional rights or due process of law. They were imprisoned as a mass—in jail cells, in field houses, in the old armory.

The assembly-line court sessions are in progress at this moment. Those charged with curfew violations are nearly all found “not guilty.” The irregularities in



procedure in the precinct stations will give an opening to any attorney. But the rebels were effectively kept in captivity as long as the state deemed it necessary.

While this was going on, “complete reports” and “news specials” on TV maximized the damage to residences and deaths attributable to “the hoodlum element.” They justified the cops and soldiers as “protection”—even indicating the protection was for the people instead of for property and the city government.

What’s happening now

The newspapers and TV are now busily devising questions of a conspiracy. There is seldom mention of oppression or any cause for despair and disillusionment among the poor or wage-workers of the city. There is never any specific mention of what might be called resentment and hatred in Detroit (remember, our country is strong, our rulers, just), and no mention of programs to alleviate that resentment and hatred.

During the days of the insurrection the Toms and the “kept niggers” of the power structure renounced the rebels and denied any possibility of dissatisfaction among the city’s black population. They apologized profusely on the part of the “respectable Negro community.” Sadly enough, this group included The Hon. John Conyers, liberal black Congressman from the First District. Horace Sheffield, UAW puppet, was among the first calling the Army down on his own people.

Thoughts on the Convention

Donald McKelvey

(Author's introduction: The following can only be called a set of impressions about the convention and the people who participated in it. I have been completely away from SDS for three years, since the end of my two-year term in the National Office as Assistant National Secretary, 1962-64. I bring, perhaps, something of an historical perspective; but I am quite uninformed as to what has been going on in SDS since then, except second-hand. I attended the Convention as an observer from the Student Union for Peace Action (the New Left in Canada) more than as a participant. In the Fall, I will be on the staff of the Radical Education Project in Ann Arbor. This article was originally written as a report to SUPA, and I have only edited it slightly into article form; it probably retains much of its original informality of style and language.)

WHERE SDS IS AT

One of my first impressions is that the political level of SDS people is higher than I thought it would be. It is not simply an anti-war organization, though it is basically that, and that is where almost all of its present members came from. Nonetheless—and despite the almost total lack of internal education programme—the struggle that people have been involved in has led them to make organizing and intellectual connections that constitute the beginnings of ideology. I should add quickly that I doubt very much that this process can be carried very far

without an internal education programme, the beginnings of which are happening in the form of (a) 30-40 teacher-organizers being trained this summer, whose function is to travel and educate (or in some cases be relatively stationary and educate); and (b) the establishment of REC—the Radical Education Centre, in conjunction with the National Office.

The greatest disappointment to me was the almost totally unpolitical way in which people functioned at the Convention. That is, the convention (as mentioned above) was directed at passing a bunch of resolutions (which is sort of silly anyway), rather than at discussing the state of the country, the movement, and the organization with the idea of getting a (ideological) framework within which people are operating. Still, even in passing resolutions, people generally operated within a narrow framework, rather than putting the issue in a (past and future) historical perspective. In fact, there was really little substantive discussion. This was in part—but only in small part—due to the use of parliamentary procedure, which screwed everything up, because people don't know how to use it properly and because people don't discipline themselves enough to stop pushing petty or unimportant points. On the whole, the only people who were at all ideological in their approach—i.e., who spoke in terms of broader issues and a long-term perspective—were the Progressive Labor people, and even they not that much.

PL people are quite active in SDS, the only 'ideological Left' people who were (or who were evident); they seem to be accepted; they certainly were, in general, at the convention. They have

taken a (assumedly disciplined) decision to identify themselves clearly as PL in their SDS activities, a practice which is very intelligent in view of SDS people's proclivities about the necessity for openness. I get the sense they were a 'semi-caucus' at the Convention, and I expect they certainly made disciplined decisions beforehand about what they were going to do. But I got no sense whatever (nor did, I think, other people at the Convention) that there was any attempt to 'take over'—they were simply pushing their politics, which were the only genuinely hard-line politics (i.e. definite and clear politics) there.

MAJOR IDEOLOGICAL ISSUE

There was something of an intellectual (almost ideological) debate between proponents of two views of the nature of the fundamental internal contradictions of American capitalism. (This was the only such intellectual debate evident to me at and immediately prior to the convention.) The debate was between the 'New Working Class' people and the 'traditional marxist' PL people. The point at issue—and the debate was not sharp, mostly because the NWC theory is in its first stages of development—was whether those contradictions are primarily economic or psychological in nature. The PL people say most emphatically that traditional marxist theories of capitalist contradictions still hold—that eventually capitalists don't know what to do with economic surplus and bring on a depression, that the proletariat will thereby be class-solidified and radicalized and, due to their central position in the economy, will be the vanguard of the revolution. The NWC people believe, in general, that the alienation which comes to 'middle class types' as a result of the stultifying and anti-social nature of their work is a social and political and organizing factor of great importance, possibly central importance. In fact, the New Working Class seems to be defined as a group by the fact that their work—e.g. teaching or doctoring or certain technical tasks—could be interesting, i.e. is not inherently dull or anti-social, as is that of the industrial proletariat and much of what is usually thought of as the middle class or the white collar class. The NWC people show figures indicating that the New Working Class is becoming numerically preponderant; the implication of this is that the NWC will be the center of a coalition for social change. (The PL people show figures indicating that the industrial proletariat will continue to be numerically preponderant.) Under questioning by PL people, they agreed that they weren't really positive and that more research was needed. The debate is generally an amicable one; and a labor information center was established in Boston, to include a number of PL guys, to coordinate research on the importance of organizing the traditional working class.

This is, of course, a very fundamental question—the most fundamental one, I think, for US socialists—and what disturbs me is that the question, and discussion of it, instead of permeating the entire convention and forming the framework for all discussions, was relegated to the first day and then quickly forgotten.

It should be noted that both groups (NWC people and PL) were a very small number of people, but that the NWC people clearly represent the majority of the organization. This is mostly because of work-style and living-style, rather than primarily because of their politics.

There is clearly an acceptance of marxist analysis by SDS people (both the NWC and PL theories are couched in marxist terms); but there is not the incorporation of such thinking into everyday organizing and intellectual functioning that is necessary for effective organizing for long-term basic social change. People are not anti-intellectual (as has been true in the past in SDS, especially in the context of community organizing); they simply lack an ideology which informs and directs their day-to-day functioning. (It might be noted that three and four years ago SDS people would have been willing to accept things articulated in a marxist

FROM A REPORT ON THE NATIONAL SDS CONVENTION, JUNE 25-30

Jim O'Brien, Madison SDS

If the national SDS convention just held in Ann Arbor showed anything, it was that SDS is not a national organization. Sooner or later, every new delegate learns this; when he does, he sits back, relaxes, endures the long debates and parliamentary hang-ups with a happy passivity. Occasionally he goes out for donuts or Blimpie Burgers without wondering too much what will be going on in his absence. The convention is a place to meet people and exchange experiences, and the formal resolutions are important only as they in some way symbolize those people and those experiences.

(reprinted from Call)

framework—but no one did it. Now they do.)

Loosely affiliated with the NWC people was a vocal and, for me, too-present anarchist (IWW) caucus, who were (understandably) frustrated at the Convention's plenaries and therefore frequently boisterous, and who politically are socialist libertarians. They don't think any country (except maybe Cuba) is run by a ruling class which should be supported by socialists. I think that Greg Calvert's comment to the New York Times reporter about organizing as urban guerrillas (which, of course, was used mercilessly by the bourgeois press against SDS) fits into this anarchist political stance and style.

BLANKET ANTI-AMERICANISM

There was a certain streak of strong anti-Americanism among the people at the convention—for instance, a PL guy was booed when, in the context of the discussion on the draft, he said he wasn't against all drafts because, for instance, the Civil War and World War II were wars in which the US (or the North) was on the right side, and he supported that. This kind of blanket, almost mindless opposition to American society was evident at a number of points, and is, I think, connected with the anarchist politics and style which was reasonably strong at the convention. In a sense, this emotional reaction to this very society of ours (a reaction which I share) takes the place of, and impedes the development of, what I have called an ideology. Unless people discipline themselves, and develop an analysis of this society which justifies working within it and accepting at least some of its (and our) imperfections, those people will not long continue to devote themselves to basic social change. This question, which combines ideology and commitment, is extremely important—and the anti-Americanism manifested by convention delegates is a central aspect of it.

DECENTRALIST THINKING

The seriousness of SDS people about the importance of local organizing rather than national manifestations is one of the healthiest signs—this was indicated in their opposition to the 15 April mobilization (though eventually, for want of an alternative, they were forced to go along) and to the proposed 15 October mobilization. An article in the Convention issue of New Left Notes attacked Vietnam Summer for being politically too liberal and organizationally too top-down. Another instance of this healthy decentralist thinking was the decision to postpone final okay of the proposed student strike until chapters indicated their readiness and willingness to go ahead with it.

The dropping of the Presidency disturbs me greatly, as does the fact that absolutely no one got up in the convention and opposed it—not one person. (N.B. the comment/disclaimer at the beginning that most of the faces were new this convention.) The Presidency of SDS has been a spokesman position in which it was, I think, implicitly understood by Convention participants that a certain kind of person was wanted—one with a degree

poor whites

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than the "niggers."

We would therefore like to pose two models of white response to Negro rebellions. In Detroit we have been told by contacts, and have seen in the press, that many whites were involved not only in looting, but also in fighting cops. A good number of these whites were "hillbillies." Reports need to be checked, and research done, but we have heard that one of every ten arrested was white, and that Clifton Pryor (Southern) was white and that he was the second sniper killed. A black Detroit lady was quoted in the Chicago Sun-Times saying, "This wasn't no Negro riot—it was an all of 'em riot." Good. This is the way exploited whites (and in some cases, blacks) must understand what is going on.

Now take Providence, R.I. On the night of August 1st, there was some semblance of rebellion in the black community but whites (and they weren't Southern), attacked them, screaming "white power." Bad.

Which model will the press pick up? We think the latter. The press will also continue to foster the racial side of the rebellions, and not the class aspects. It is for radicals to get the true story to the public.

The True Story

Now it must be remembered that many whites are isolated from black people. They are isolated from the black people who rebel, and their only contact is through the racist mass media. (Examples: "Hey, you hear that those guys in Detroit is coming to Chicago?" "No man..Who said that?" "The guy on the T.V." "You believe everything you hear or read?" Therefore, a community newspaper, basically oriented — as JOIN's THE FIRING LINE is — toward southerners, which is tied to organizing efforts, can and must take an educational line on the rebellions, and serve as an important tool in exposing the real enemy and not just Capitalism's whipping boy -- the Negro. As Bobby Dylan said: "The Negro's name is held in vain and the poor white remains on the caboose of the train, he's just a pawn in the politician's game." It's a good educational line, and it works when applied over and over, but it also means that radical organizers must be present. Unfortu-

nately -- STILL -- that is happening in very few places in the country.

Blacks Cut Off

Now we would like to think that some radical black organizers agree with what we have said. Unfortunately, hardly any whites are working in their own communities to build radical constituencies of poor and working whites that can relate and be related to, by blacks. Hence black people must increasingly orient themselves to the third world. This could be changed if a radical base can be built among poor and working whites. Right now though, let us just say it hurts our organizing efforts everytime we hear Stokely or Rap Brown talk about black power and fail to give it a class tone — such as "black people, Spanish people and poor whites are exploited by the same ogre." Yet white radicals give these black leaders no alternative. And failure to do so may cut off black leaders and foster the latent feeling among "white radicals" that the whites, particularly poor whites are "the enemy." (Even when that latent feeling, the result of growing up in liberal America, contradicts their analysis.)

We will close by saying that so-called white radicals, by their refusal to undertake serious organizing efforts in the poor white ghettos of America's cities, and in Appalachia and the South, are helping to kill the potential for a radical movement in America. They may be helping to make more real the genocide of the black people. We have been trying to set an example of where whites can work as radicals for several years. That example, in terms of style of organizing (community union models) has spoken to many black people, but not yet to whites. We will continue, but unless others start to move (into other areas of Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Appalachia, etc.) we will be isolated and eventually crushed, or just whither away.

If whites, who call themselves radicals, do not feel they can organize, they should then begin to build guerrilla forces (white black panther parties for self-defense). Whites must begin to move, to act now so that black people will not be isolated and crushed, and so a radical movement can begin to develop in America.

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Detroit *Moscow confab* AND QUIET FLOWS THE BULL

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The city is now pulling itself together—significantly, with little help from the local administration except clean-up and a promise of small business loans (apparently available money is going to overtime pay for cops and firemen).

The power structure was shaken to its core.

There are openings for organization and change where stores and markets were burned out.

And everyone in the city has been touched—one way or the other—by what they've seen in the last few days. Those that didn't have run-ins with the cops directly have seen what it's like. There is a new clarity about the enemies they are up against—about what power means. The polarization of the authorities during the riot is obvious. And the polarization is broadening among the people—one is either for the cops and store-owners or against them.

But, most important, the course of the national government is clear to all. When people go after the carrot for their own, the government will use the stick for all it's worth.

It is irrelevant whether it is regarded as protection or suppression. The fact is that the national government, even of this rich and strong country, will send the US Army to attack its own people if it fears a threat to its power.

For a long time the contradiction between the autonomous power of the government and the will of the people has been growing. The administration has been able to use the carrot and the stick to buy off people's demands. But lately the crisis has become pressing, partly because of the pressures of the Vietnam war which has limited domestic action. Sending the US Army into Detroit is just another logical step once the choice has been made to ignore pressing needs and to resist change that may prove politically and economically expensive.

But this may be a turning point. This brazen action removes much gloss and confusion. By sending in the army, the federal government has used its autonomous power to subdue the wishes of the people. As in Vietnam it has committed its total resources to maintaining power in the hands of a few and refusing demands which may prove threatening.

This will happen again. There were outbreaks in fifteen cities during the Detroit insurrection. People in other cities will feel federal police power and learn of their real enemy and his strength.

Johnson seems to recognize his commitment. Outside of his inexpensive rat control bill (to bring the living standards of inner city kids up to that of the "little calves in the southwestern United States"), he has neither ideas nor money for urban betterment.

However, in his last speech on the insurrections Johnson set up a high-level dummy commission to "investigate" the control of riots and announced rigorous new riot control training for national guardsmen.

The "stick" branch of political power is being developed into a super-weapon. In the so-called "riot control" bill—the "Stokely bill,"—just passed, the Congress after little debate, voted down an amendment to exempt labor organizers from traveling between states for the inciting riots section. Autonomous state control has been broadened so that leaders and organizers of any union could be arrested by the FBI in any situation which the government chooses to call a riot.

The state apparatus is becoming more rigidly and more overtly a weapon to be used on the citizenry instead of for them. Even programs formerly used to keep people satisfied are being moved into the realm of weapons to keep the peace—into Vietnam-style "pacification" programs. An excerpt from a column by Ralph McGill as quoted in the Detroit News will suffice, "It is necessary to remember that neglect of long-established facts of ghetto deprivation and misery plays into the hands of radical extremists. The poverty programs and those for jobs and housing require immediate acceleration."

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about to get angry at anyone. In terms of being purely irritating, my remarks in no way approached those of the Swedish speaker. He announced that the Russian Civil War had been won by Trotsky (the greatest possible heresy), and that Swedish students had three Revolutionary heroes — Che Guevara, Lin Piao, and Mao Tse Tung.

No Discord Allowed

The conference had five official languages, and there were simultaneous translations. One Latin American who was bilingual pointed out that not everything was translated. Sometimes the translator fell behind; sometimes it seemed as if there was a bit of simultaneous editing. Remarks about China might be translated "one socialist nation." It's also interesting that S.P. Pavlov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol (The Young Communists), made critical remarks about new left thinking, mentioned SNCC, and talked about the importance of this emergence in the West. He argued that the problem with the New Left lay in its bourgeois origins. In the printed text of Pavlov's speech these two paragraphs were omitted.

The most significant political development in the proceedings was a French statement that praised the Soviet Union for having a nice revolution and for making praiseworthy progress. It went on to say that the Soviet Union was the leader for revolutionary movements in the world and that "The Cuban people thank you... and the Vietnamese people thank you... etc." This statement was circulated for signatures, which broke the ground rules of the meeting, as there were supposed to be no votes or resolutions.

In all, one hundred-three groups signed the statement, and a handful refused. These included Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, German SDS, American SDS, and the Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian student groups.

The "youth conference" was curious in its representation. Most countries seemed to take the meeting quite seriously and sent youth representatives in their late twenties and early thirties. Some of the officials were clearly past forty. The aim of the Soviet government in bringing together this assemblage was not to push the Soviet

political line. It seemed more that it was called so that everyone could pat himself on the back and say, "what a fine meeting this is, isn't the struggle against all the bad things in the world going well?" There was no real effort to use individual delegates for propaganda. If you didn't want to show up at a cemetery to lay wreaths, or meet with veterans of the Revolution, but would rather drink beer with your friends at the hotel, there was no pressure. In fact, on the part of some of the organizers there seemed to be a sensitivity to the independence of the European and American New Left students.

In general, things were run in a bureaucratic way, so that real discussion and real discord would not reach the surface. "...So you think Chairman Mao is the revolutionary beacon for all the world? Well, isn't that interesting. Don't forget dinner is at seven and then the buses will leave for the fireworks display."

Discussions with the Vietnamese

The value of the conference lay in the hundreds of conversations with delegates from throughout the world. All the Americans present met with the entire Vietnamese delegation for a two-hour discussion, and I had long conversations with Ngo Quy Du, a North Vietnamese editor, and the leader of the delegation from the National Liberation Front, Le Phoung. They expressed their deep appreciation for the anti-war movement in the U.S. and seemed knowledgeable about past developments. They were interested in our assessment of the political direction of the country.

All the members maintained that the war was going well militarily as well as diplomatically. Du said that if Americans obtained a huge map of Vietnam and followed the accounts of the battles in the New York Times, this would be corroborated. He argued that all the principal military campaigns of the government had been failures — the oil spot strategy, the Mekong Delta campaign, the pacification program, etc. He said that a careful reader would find that successful engagements would be reported by the American papers, but then a month or two later, the paper would report another successful battle under another operational name for the same territory.

black and white rebellion

Floyd Glasby
SDS Printshop

The great and unexpected seems to be quickly moving into recognition on the American scene—a second American Revolution. The USA's great slave population (the blacks) are finally realizing that they are never going to become full-fledged citizens in this capitalistic society. They must now set out on the only course left to them—armed struggle. But the interests of many other groups are also deeply involved: poor whites, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and last but not least, the American Indian. Eventually, all these groups must lay down the gauntlet of warfare to the money-mad politicians and merchants that rule this land. When and if these groups ever united with the black revolutionaries, who are now slowly forming to ignite fires of change in this great land of slavery, then we will witness the second American Revolution.

The "deceivers" in Washington seem to have lost all contact with the vast majority of American people. (An unjust war has a tendency to bring "liars" out into the light of the day.) Attempting to deceive the world, the "greedy ones" of Washington have now set out on the path which will cut them and their minions off from the American populace. So be it. By refusing to set their own house in order, only disorder and confusion can reign in this, their land. At this time, an appeal is being made by the oppressed citizens of America for support from the

thinking members of the middle class. Physical and mental support is required from the young middle class, more so than ever before. American leadership in the world is now being tested and found not able to stand up to the test. The country is starting to flounder under the mistakes of the Vietnam war, the Middle East crisis, the coming revolts in South and Central America, the seething racial conflicts here, and the vast waste of dollars on negative programs.

Because America refuses to consider her teenage intellectuals and her teenage ghetto rats, she must sail into the abyss of depression and backwardness. So the call is going out to the college campuses of the nation, to the sincere young students who desire social change, to come and give aid and direction to the great social rebellion which is fast rising in the land.

For those who are career-minded and have no desire to leave the sacred halls of learning...stay where you are, but carry on the social change there. Be not afraid to work with your black brothers and sisters on campus or with the black schools if they are likeminded and seek change. Truth and sincerity will overcome all fear and racial prejudice. After the revolution has ended, then we will all have an opportunity to realize a meaningful education. With the energies of all of us we shall eventually change and purify the world.

He claimed the U.S. command had calculated a yearly replacement figure of 70,000 troops. He said that the Vietnamese figures showed that in the first five months of this year 75,000 troops were replaced. With regard to the escalation of the number of troops, the Vietnamese thought that at the most it meant two or more operational divisions in the field. The bulk of the new troops are being used for logistics, supply, and administration. They saw no problem in maintaining the military initiative. Following similar reasoning they argued that land invasion of the north or an invasion of Laos was not as likely as some observers felt, because of the difficulty in obtaining the necessary battlefield troops.

Representatives of the Pathet Lao, who say they now fight against American-led units, thought the possibility more likely. They say that recent successes by the Pathet Lao forces which hold the land adjacent to the seventeenth parallel and south make an invasion on Route Nine strategically important to American strategists who subscribe to the Ho Chi Minh trail doctrine. They go on to point out that the growing rebellion in Thailand is by peoples of the Laotian ethnic stock and that the Thai guerrillas become a threat to American military bases. They conclude it is likely strategem to take Route Nine and attempt to divide the forces of the Pathet Lao. They also add that the U.S. will be unable to hold Route Nine because the position is too extended. The Pathet Lao also say their positions are being bombed by U.S. aircraft and have pictures of American planes they have shot down.

I received the impression that the bombing of the North is causing great difficulties and putting much pressure on people. In private conversations after familiarity had been reached, a quiet rage would creep into the gestures and conversation of those talking about the deaths from the bombings. The passion tinged with incredulity would creep into North Vietnamese faces as they asked how the government could drop anti-personnel bombs on cities, and did the American people realize this was taking place?

Phoung wanted information on the SDS and SNCC programs of draft resistance and desertion. With the news of the rebellions in Detroit and other cities fresh in our minds, John Tillman of SNCC told about SNCC work in this area. We agreed that the morale of the troops in the field should be worse in a few months' time. Phoung said that some black soldiers have deserted to the Front. He said that the American officers say the Viet Cong will cut their heads off if they desert, but that the Front has special leaflets for Negro soldiers talking about conditions in the United States and asking why they come to Vietnam to help kill and oppress the Vietnamese people. This propaganda, he said, is prepared by Frenchmen who deserted in the last war. To prove these desertions, he said he would attempt in the future to communicate specific names and addresses of soldiers who had deserted.

The Cubans — Independent and Serious

The Cuban delegation held a critical and independent line in conversations. The Cubans are naturally in a difficult position in these public meetings because they receive the bulk of their aid from the Soviet Union while at the same time they have deep foreign policy differences. At the International Unions of Students meeting in Mongolia, the Cubans led an attack on the co-existence theory over the specific point of the seating of the Christian Democrats from Chile. They lost and walked out. A substantial number of Latin American nations followed suit.

The Cubans believe that the U.S. must be met with arms at every point, that it is foolish to think of peaceful victories. They agree with the argument put forth by Che Guevara in his message to the Tricontinental that the underdeveloped world

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ВСЕХ СИЛ СОВЕТАМ!

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must wage two..three..four simultaneous Vietnam wars to deal with the Americans. The Cubans were greatly curious about the left organizations within America, about which they had little information. It was the Cubans, Vietnamese, and Laotians who seemed to have the most serious politics at the conference, who spent the most hours talking with delegates, and who invariably had the least sleep. There was some tension between the sponsors of the meeting and the Cubans, who had little patience with sitting and listening to the hollow formalism of the working sessions.

The European New Left: With Us

The European New Left and Left was well represented. The New Left student movement calls itself syndicalist and is very similar to ours on the whole. Besides the Scandinavians, the German SDS and the Dutch Student Trade Union were present. We spoke at length about our mutual problems. A preliminary plan for SDS speakers to travel on European campuses in the fall and speak about the war, the American movement, and the CIA and education was worked out. German SDS members felt it would be good if some of their members could come and live in the U.S. and work with local university groups for a semester.

In addition to the New Left groups, I spoke with the British Young Liberals, who are in many ways the most militant British youth group, and to the French about their programs of talking with the troops about the Vietnamese war and encouraging them to desert. Both the French and Swedish governments have now given political asylum to troops who have deserted. We talked of better coordinating efforts, and some groups asked SDS to create leaflets to give to the American soldiers for them. They felt that Americans would best understand the attitudes of American soldiers. One German SDS member from Munich said they had been taking up a collection for the NLF, got into a discussion with some Negro troops, and in the end the troops gave a contribution.

(I am going to attend an all-European syndicalist student conference in Berlin, so I will write a second installment that details the European scene.)

The Australians were present in full force, complete with "Equal Rights for Aborigines" buttons. Because Australian conscripts are being sent to Vietnam, a draft resistance movement similar to ours has been created. They report that a New Left group called Students for Democratic Action began at the University of Brisbane and in six months has spread throughout Queensland. They said the group wanted contacts with SDS.

The Komsomol Liberals

Let me end this report with a short comment on Komsomol, which is the "Leninist Youth Group" which in conjunction with the Youth Committee ran the show. Komsomol is the intermediary step between the Young Pioneers and becoming a full-fledged Party member. Half the youth from fourteen to twenty-

eight are members, and it acts as the bureaucratic sieve that sifts out the good Communists. Thus, by examining the Komsomol one should have a reasonable view of the Communist Party of the future.

Without exception these members had liberal politics, and specifically a liberal view of how the world worked. The Kennedy - Johnson comment was the continual reminder. Kennedy was good, but Johnson is bad. Our countries were friendly when Kennedy was in office... What about the Bay of Pigs or the Missile Crisis when our two nations went to the brink of nuclear war because of Kennedy? Fumbling replies. (note: this attitude did not make the Cubans particularly overjoyed.)

Talk to the Komsomol members about the war and they tell you it's horrible and that Russian students feel strongly on the question. Then they ask you if you are going to see the movie this evening.

Talk to the Komsomol members about Hungary and they are surprised you bring up the subject. They quickly point out how things have improved there. Yes, but how do you justify the Soviet tanks and army against the workers? Well, they finally come up with the answer that the government requested them. You congratulate them on mastering the government's argument, and say that is the very reason American troops are in Vietnam - because the Diem government asked for them. The analogy bewilders them.

A Dutch New Left guy, myself, and a very sharp Komsomol interpreter were walking to a museum and arguing about politics. A bit exasperated, the Dutch guy asked, "Who is worse - Mao Tse Tung or Lyndon Johnson?" This brought furrows to the interpreter's brow, and after half a minute, he judged with a sweep of his hand, "They are on the same line."

The Soviet society itself seems to be increasingly involved with bourgeois concerns like TVs, autos, clothes, the latest music, where to vacation, etc. It's understandable, because the average citizen has little real leverage to affect decisions in the society.

The politics of the Komsomol become all the more important because it is the political body of youth who are supposed to have a greater consciousness. At its base the members would make good American Young Democrats. They have a humanistic orientation and are for progressive ideas that are not too extreme. As you move into the second layer of leadership you find the careerists. They would undoubtedly do a fine job for IBM or General Motors and vote for Kennedy if they were in the U.S. The top level of leadership has broader attitudes, more sophistication, and some Marxist thinking in their politics. But, in general, a concern with politics as we understand it is missing. For the activists it is a good career within the bureaucracy.

Looking Ahead

It is clear that in the not-too-distant future illegal new leftist groups will emerge. A member of the Hungarian Communist Youth says that a secret (New Left?) group has met and issued a manifesto, and that he has a copy. The copy is going to be sent to German SDS, and after translating it into German they will mail us a copy.

There was apparently a demonstration by students of the Department of Languages of Moscow University in January. The issue seems to have been heavy-handed decisions by some administrators, and one of the organizers claims that more than 200 students took part. The activity stopped when the seven or eight key members got phone calls from unidentified callers saying the same thing - if you want passing marks on your examinations you had better stop this activity immediately. The activity stopped.

So while I can not provide an optimistic appraisal of political developments within the USSR, maybe we'll have the opportunity to send some organizers in the next few years whose slogan, "Let the People Decide," will once again be translated, "All Power to the Soviets."

Tijerina Speaks

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to her and the other Arab countries, what the US did here in the 1840's". He noted that in 1963 a memorandum on the conditions of the Mexicanos in the southwest had been presented to the UAR but nothing had come of it then.

Repression

I asked him if he saw a pattern of repression against the movements of the Black people and Mexicanos—was there a link between the murder of Malcolm X, the growing hostility to the rights of Black people in the courts, the unseating of Powell, Tijerina's arrest for "kidnapping", Rap Brown's for "inciting to riot" etc. Reies' response was emphatic: "These are part of a well-organized criminal conspiracy. Their (the Anglo power structure) system is collapsing, and in their desperation and exasperation they resort to violence, to frame-ups. Anything to hold on to power." He discussed the uprisings in the ghetto—"The Negro has become free, free in spirit, he has lost fear of the White power, he is clean of fear and terror. And when you are free of these, you become filled with anger, you strike out for freedom. Anger is the

going to Cuba as a weapon against him. They will try to win the black people from him. But if they didn't have this they would find something else. At the very most maybe he was premature. But one has to do certain things. Besides their day is over—it is a world cause, a great worldwide fight between the poor and the rich, the humble against this world Gestapo. The powerful and the rich are being swept away...mankind is taking over, the poor and the working classes are going to rule. The rich and unjust have no place any longer, and they know it so they are becoming desperate."

Seed of Freedom

"Our fight is not alone—we are part of Spanish America. We have planted the same seeds here, for the liberation, for the freedom of all Spanish America"—which he made clear was from the Southwest to Tierra del Fuego. "We are the seed to end this evil system of government."

Anglo Allies

"We, la raza, are a new people, a young



Alianza members just before they were taken to Santa Fe jail

manifestation that you know you are right and you wish to tear down the system that enslaved you." He saw this as growing too in his own people—and the events of Tierra Amarilla as a maturing force in the process of "cleansing ourselves of fear and terror", of beginning to struggle "for our land, which was stolen by the Anglo who have always used violence against us".

Black Alliances

I asked him about unity among militant forces in the Mexican community of the southwest and about their orientation towards the Black Liberation movement. "Circumstances themselves are forcing la raza together. We will have a movement all across the southwest; nothing can stop it. And our people are forced by the same circumstances, and the same fight, irresistibly towards the Negro people and their fight. This urge, this growth, for unity of la raza with the Negro cannot be resisted, it will come because it must."

Stokely

We also discussed Stokely and his trip to Havana for the Tri-Continental Conference. "Was it wise of him to go? Is there a parallel between the struggles of the Chicanos and Black people and liberation struggles by the third world?"

"Well, Stokely's enemies will use his

people, only three hundred years old—the product of Indian and Spanish—we are maturing now; we have come of age. We are a new nation." Yet because of the oppression of the Anglos, and the holding back in so many skills, la raza welcomes those Anglos who wish to fight their own evil system, who wish to side with the poor people and the oppressed. "So long as they do not try and dictate; do not try and take over, Anglo friends are welcome as allies. We have many valuable such friends." And again "but there must be no strings attached."

Dream of Future

He spoke of the future that lies at the heart of his dream and his struggle. Of a new Mexico, a new Southwest. "I dream of the beauty and greatness of both cultures being taught and shared equally here. Coexistence—isn't that what everyone talks about—on the basis of full equality. A new way of life, of men at peace. We can be the bridge between Anglo America and Spanish America. In the year 2000, scholars say there will be 650,000,000 people in Spanish America—almost as many in China today; in a land area bigger than China and the US. We here can be the bridge between a Free Spanish America and an Anglo north that can live as equals and at peace. And our fight is the seed of that future."

Learn to Print

The printed word is one of the most important weapons we have in the struggle to change America. The national office, trying to respond to the increased pressure for literature, posters, etc., wants to expand the printing operation here and to train people to man presses in other areas of the country. The print shop staff thinks that at least 25 people should be trained to print—shoot negatives, burn plates, run the presses—by January 1968. If you are not going back to school and want to learn this all-important skill for use here or in your own locale, please write immediately to the national office. Address the letter to the attention of the print shop. Training on the presses takes at least two months, and people planning to come should be prepared to stay in Chicago at least that long. Subsistence pay will be possible to those who cannot get bread from their chapter or region.

RESISTERS

continued from p. 1

center.

Work at Induction Centers

A very profitable place for radical political work is at the slaughterhouse, i.e., induction center, where young guys are sent for their pre-induction physicals and for induction. Among the tactics discussed were: disruptions of induction and pre-induction proceedings by both infiltrators and inductees and leafleting and demonstrating against the war and the draft at the induction center—especially if someone is planning to resist in his physical or to refuse induction.

Effective acts of disruption can take the form of 1) riding the buses with the guys to the induction center; 2) talking to the guys on the buses about the war and the draft; and 3) organizing them to refuse to sign the security questionnaire and to refuse to release their police record. Bus companies and draft boards should be called for schedules of the induction center buses, and the names of delinquents and people who are absent can then be used to gain entrance to the buses. Similarly, this adoption of names can be used to go through the pre-induction or induction processing. Challenging the authority of army personnel, making speeches against the war, handing out leaflets or, even better, wallet-size draft fact cards, helps the captives of fear at the induction center begin to question the authority of the military over their lives. Workshops and role-playing with future pre-inductees and inductees can be scheduled to show the nature of the draft and to give them the attitude of defiance so necessary for building revolutionary consciousness.

II. Counselling

If draft counselling is to be an effective tool in radicalizing people, it must be conceived of as political work instead of as a social service. A counselling program acts as a "hooker" by which young men are brought in and shown that they can struggle against the draft. By getting the counselees involved in their own interest, for example, by having artists do signs and by connecting issues with the draft such as the war, black people's struggle for liberation, workers' struggle for decent wages, etc., we can show the counselees that it is the system that is screwing them and their "brothers" and point the way to correct struggle. One contradiction which appears in draft counselling is that if the system is bad, should you work through it to get people deferments?

III. Resistance Strategy

Draft resistance is one part of the resistance movement in the country and is important in building a resistance mentality among people. It is a precedent for action in that it gets individuals involved in collective activity around concrete struggle (fighting the draft). For draft resistance to be an effective tool in building revolutionary consciousness, a young man resisting the draft on one level must be moved to a higher level of struggle, eventually ending up with some sort of "class consciousness".

Draft resistance has two functions: 1) to keep people out of the military and 2) to develop revolutionaries. Some people at the conference, including me, felt that it was unrealistic to think about sufficiently depleting the military machine's manpower to end the war, and that our focus should therefore be on building revolutionary consciousness. We felt that our approach to draft resistance should be "fight the draft" instead of "get out of the draft". Other problems that came up at the strategy sessions were: 1) Is a draft for a just cause all right and a draft for an imperialistic war wrong, or is all conscription wrong because of its coercive nature? 2) Can we stop the Vietnam war and the draft under capitalism or do we need a revolution to end U.S. imperialism? 3) Is draft resistance a revolutionary tactic or at most liberal protest? These are the problems which must continually confront the draft resistance movement in its development.

NIC Meeting

continued from p. 3

had not heard about N.V. from eyewitnesses would hear about what was happening there. The NIC decided to send Cathy Wilkerson as the first delegate and Jim Kennedy of the New Mexico area as the second person who might go. Thorne Dreyer of Texas was chosen as alternate in case either of the first two could not go. (However, recent information has disclosed that Thorne has been selected to go to Prague with a delegation of New Leftists. So he would not be able to go in any case.)

On the Imperialist-Controlled NSA

John Fuerst reported on the plans which the New York Regional Office had made concerning the NSA Congress. He said that SDS was setting up counter-symposia to those which had been set up by NSA. SDS also had been recruiting most of the leftist speakers whom the NSA had invited to speak...successfully. SDS aims have been set forth as:

1) to try to recruit people rather than to try to ram through meaningless resolutions.

2) to send the largest delegation from SDS in four years.

3) to present alternatives on the campus situation.

4a) to push NSA on its foreign policy and bureau. There has not been much of an indication that NSA would even discuss its foreign bureau plans at the Congress. The leaders say that NSA "should be concerned with student and educational reform."

4b) to strip NSA of its false "history", which is built on the premise of the cold war. Mike James brought up the question of whether or not he should speak at the NSA Congress, or whether he could take the money for the plane fare, go to the Congress, and then get up at his symposium and say that he would not speak there, but would be speaking at the SDS counter-symposium. Mike said that he would "abide by the decision of the Central Committee." The NIC's whole reaction to the NSA plans was—"carry on."

REP Plans and SDS

REP is concerned about what sort of relationship it would maintain with SDS. REP people sent in a tentative plan, and the NIC discussed how REP people could work with SDS on capacities outlined. REP asked if they could have a weekly page in New Left Notes. The NIC felt that NLN would continue to accept articles from REP, but because of past experience it was noted that REP did not keep up with a regular page and therefore NLN could not give REP a full page. REP and the REC set up some sort of guidelines concerning literature production. REC would try to solicit and print up new pamphlets which would be needed and REP would try to reprint pamphlets which are no longer available. REP will also be working with the Boston Labor Project.

NAC MINUTES

August 17

members present: McCarthy, Buck, Kissinger, Pardun, Rossen.
members absent: Segal, Silbar, Tepperman, Spiegel, Davidson.
others present: Halliwell, Gottlieb, Venezia.

Tim gave a financial report. We now have \$400 in the bank. We owe \$175 to the phone company, \$175 for printing, \$250 for rent, \$150 to the post office, and have \$1000 in miscellaneous outstanding debts.

We've been getting more money than usual in the mail for the past few days as a

Role of the NIC...Strategy

After all the concrete problems and questions had been dealt with, the NIC settled down to a long summer's day of discussion about itself. Certain members felt that the NIC should be the vanguard of political theory for SDS, saying that if SDS is to function it must have a vanguard which can raise the level of political discussion in SDS. So...on with political theory, or rather some programs.

Cathy Wilkerson once again brought up her strategy for the University, which takes off from the ideas Regis Debray expresses in the August issue of Monthly Review. The purpose of this whole type of strategy is to break down bourgeois ways of thinking and dealing with people and issues. The University program deals with the idea of student action. Those people involved would write up programs on campus as well as on off-campus issues (e.g. labor, military on campus, government projects on campus). People would start demanding the rights to make decisions about their campuses. The third program would be to make a push for allying with the people in the black ghettos. At this point questions were raised about 1) how would the Student Union relate to the Black Rebellion, 2) how would it be a revolutionary movement, and 3) how would this strategy be different from old strategies. Greg Calvert tried to answer these questions by talking about power's being the issue. The students would work with and service the Black Rebellion. They would also focus on other oppressed peoples, who are in fact themselves. Students must take themselves seriously before they can start dealing with other groups seriously. Because the student population is a product of "white" society it cannot be the "new Man". Students must control their own institutions before they can help their brothers. Student control would then be used as an organizing tool. The student movement could bring organizers to poor groups. After more discussion on this subject people decided to take a short break. However, that break has not yet ended since people "broke" to their homes in their various cities.

Convention

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of sensitivity to humanistic values and an ability to articulate them in a political way. And this kind of person has generally been elected President of SDS. In deciding to do away with this (or, maybe, in not being aware of it), I think the organization lost a very valuable thing. And while it was said that the idea was to recognize the political functioning of the bureaucrats in the N.O., when election time came around people didn't use particularly political criteria for selection. Another disturbing sign of anarchist thinking was the notion that having a presidency gave someone an ascendancy which he shouldn't have, and that it would be more democratic not to have that. If one accepts my notion that a basic differentiation between conservative/liberal and radical is that the former looks for ways to limit power while the latter seeks ways to use power rightly, then this is a conservative/liberal trend or indication or whatever.

THE SEXUAL CASTE SYSTEM

The most disturbing session was the plenary on the "liberation of women" question. The men distinguished themselves by an extraordinarily clear manifestation of their insecurity. None of that, of course, came out in the form of debate; the men who spoke generally agreed that women were the victim of a sexual caste system. But most of the men were noisy and very insensitive to the whole thing. This was the one issue (except for the draft, which was not a basis for inter-necine conflict) which touched people very personally, and the men showed their guilt at their superior caste position by actions ranging from the creation of a barrier of noise (a pretty constant hubbub) during the session, to almost totally failing in any way to make the analogy to black power—i.e. to say that on this question the women should have the right to deal with it as they want to. (Specifically, the issue arose as to whether a resolution drawn up by women in an all-women workshop could be declared in part unamendable by the plenary as a whole. The men attacked this—on grounds of participatory democracy, of course—and the women were unable to hold out.) The whole thing was a very disturbing spectacle and, of course, a demonstration of the existence of a really vicious and deep-seated sexual caste system. Disturbing...but hardly unexpected.

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result of the appeal in NLN, and we just sent out a 1700-piece fund-raising mailing which should start to bring in some money soon. However, there still are lots of debts—old and new, big and small.

We decided we should try to do the printing for the NCNP Convention, which would bring in some money. We discussed the problems the JOIN people feel on our doing their newspaper. It was decided we would give them an itemized account of what they're being billed for.

Vicky Smith was hired to work as literature secretary and in the print shop. Buck and Pardun were put back on full salary.

The New England region requested free literature to start off the year with, and two poor organizers asked for free lit.

to sell to support themselves. We decided not to send the lit. to N.E., since they are one of the richer regions and there's no reason why they can't hustle up the \$\$ to pay for what they need. On the organizers, it was decided that the REAC, when functioning, will take care of such requests of which a lot more will probably come in.

It was reported that we now have the REC house. The National Secretary will sign the lease when he returns.

We discussed getting a new press which could print NLN. People felt that it would probably be a good thing to acquire, since it would mean vastly increased printing facilities and we could probably pick up money-making contracts with it. No decision can be made until next week, when we know what our fund-raising has produced.