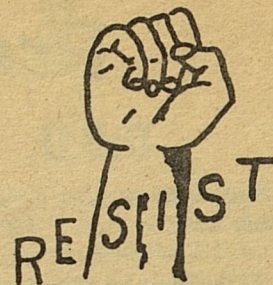


NEW LEFT NOTES



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

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 33

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

LAW CHANGES, RESISTANCE GROWS

Jeff Segal
SDS Draft Resistance Coordinator

Congress passed a new draft law which went into effect on July 1, 1967. While promising for months and months great "reforms" and "democratizing," very few changes were actually instituted by the Congress. In what seems to be an attempt to buy off students' dissent and minimize the disruptive impact of the draft among economic classes that the Congressmen think might cause them to lose elections they have provided for MANDATORY II-S (student) deferments for all undergraduates. Conditions for student deferments are now: 1) a written request from the

student, 2) written notification from the university or school that he is pursuing a full-time course of study, which is defined by the school (this is usually fulfilled by schools filing SSS Form #109), 3) the courses taken are worth credits toward a degree, 4) the student is making "satisfactory progress, which is, according to the law the completion of at least 25% of credits needed for a four-year degree by the end of the first academic year, 50% by the end of the second year, etc. and 5) the student has not reached his 24th birthday. The academic year is defined by the law to be a 12-month period following the beginning of a particular

course of study.

Tighter for Grads

For graduate students things are a wee bit tighter. The law essentially grants a one-year deferment for present graduate students. The specifics are: 1) one year for first year graduate students, 2) one year for master's candidates (or graduation whichever is first) regardless of year in school, 3) one additional year or a total of five years of deferment after receiving a Bachelors degree, whichever is greater, for doctoral or combined master's-doctoral students who have finished at least one year.

The law also provides mandatory deferments for a course of graduate study in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, osteopathy, optometry, pharmacy, or in any other subjects necessary to the

maintenance of the national health, safety or interest." The application of I-S(C) student deferment ONLY to undergraduates who receive induction orders during an academic year. The elimination of the III-A fatherhood deferment for all carrying a II-S which begins after 6/30/67. And the placement of students in the most vulnerable draft age group after their II-S's are up no matter what age they are.

Besides the changes in the II-S Congress specifically prohibited the institution of a lottery without the approval of Congress. The extension of the time limits for requesting a personal appearance or appeal from 10 days to 30 days (CO's still have only 10 days to return their application once it's been requested).

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STUDENTS ...

John Venezia
Skid Row Chapter

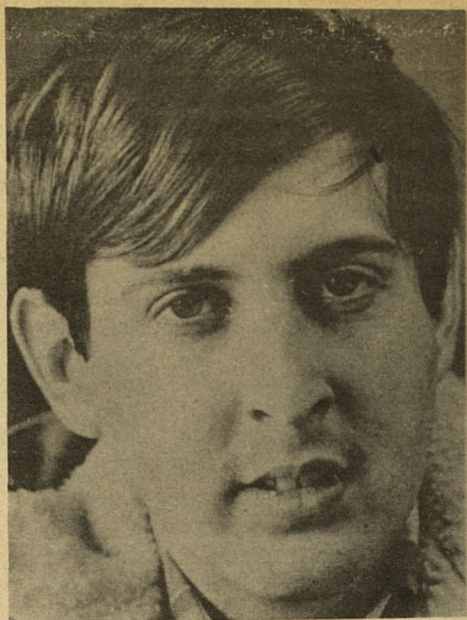
A serious student's struggle is constantly being put forward as a means of tying students into the broader struggle in America. From the point of view of not ever having been a student, I would like to outline what I think "students" are, and whether as students they could ever be involved in a serious struggle.

First of all, what is a "student"? Most students I have met have the biological properties of people. A large part of them come from middle class (student) backgrounds; the next part, from working class (aspiring student) families. The overwhelming majority of students I have met (no matter what background they come from) not only look like people but also seem to act like them. They eat, drink, make love, hate, use drugs, etc. So sometimes I get confused when people talk to me about "students" because they appear to be people.

If they are people why are they students? From the arguments I have been getting, and since I have never been a student, I sometimes wonder if I know why people become students. Out of my subjective experience I learned very quickly that the reason people (i.e., my parents, teachers, etc.) wanted me to become a student was to make more money and gain respect (i.e., attain a privileged position in society). Through objective observation (reading, labor dept. statistics, ads in newspapers, magazines, talking to students, talking to their parents, etc.), I get the same impression. Talking to some SDS people (or students), I get the impression that students are only interested in "getting the truth," "relating to each other," "having beautiful communities," etc., but the nasty old administration fucks things for them. They tell me I am wrong when I say that students and universities exist in America solely as a training ground for the exploiters of society. That universities exist as parasites on the backs of the people, in the form of taxes taken from the working class for universities, in the form of profits from the labor of the working class that the corporations use to keep those "funky" citadels of learning operating. Then to top it off, I get told that students are exploited people in this society.

Imagine some saying that after "students" sell their souls for four, eight, or however many years it takes, so they

can ride the backs of the proletariat (even as a two-bit supervisor, a sergeant instead of a general) that students are exploited, because they don't control their own lives. Then to go a step further, I'm told that since students don't control their own lives (I can't figure out who is



A student

holding a gun in their heads), they should seriously confront the "power" of the university (as a tactic I don't disagree with this), in an attempt to gain control of their own lives. Somehow seizing power in the universities is supposed to make the "student struggle" serious enough to be taken seriously by black people. Bullshit. First of all, universities have only an illusion of power. Once they cease being training grounds for capitalist dogs and their lackeys, they will go broke; and believe me, the working people of this country, black and white, won't support them either, except when forced to. Secondly, black people and poor and working class people in general couldn't give less than a damn about how "serious" the student struggle becomes. They don't quite picture students as being exploited. If you don't believe me, go and ask them.

Now I get to whether students as students could be involved in a serious struggle. No. First, because I think universities have only an illusion of power. They exist only as a tool of the ruling class; once they cease to function as such they will be shut down, and other training facilities used. By illusion of power I mean that

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IMMUNITY: Student Organizing

Carl Davidson
Interorganizational Secretary

A Preface

What can students do? Organizing struggles over dormitory rules seems frivolous when compared to the ghetto rebellions. And white students are no longer wanted or necessary in the black movement. Organize against the war? Of course. But we have pride in being a multi-faceted movement, organizing people around the issues affecting their lives.

Change your life. The war hardly affects most students. In some sense, we are a privileged elite, coddled in a campus sanctuary. Draft resistance tables in the student union building—the arrogance of it all. We organize students against the draft when the Army is made up of young men who are poor, black, Spanish-American, hillbillies, or working class. Everyone except students. How can we be so stupid when we plan our strategies?

Students are oppressed. Bullshit. We are being trained to be oppressors and the underlings of oppressors. Only the moral among us are being hurt. Even then, the damage is only done to our sensitivities. Most of us don't know the meaning of a hard day's work.

Change your life. Do "your" thing. Gentle Thursday sweeps the country. "What's wrong with having fun?" Nobody asked the black janitor who scraped his knuckles scrubbing the chalk drawings off the gray concrete of administration building facades. "Do your thing." A psychedelic dance hall in Houston hires a bearded, bearded, and belled bouncer to keep young black kids from hearing a local rock band. "Love is all you need." Change your life. Hip "merchants" spring up everywhere. Reject middle class values. "Do you have the new Beatles record?" Whose value is consumption? "Buy" a button: Capitalism is doomed!

Student power! Classes are large and impersonal. Reduce the size of the class in counter-insurgency warfare from 50 to 5. Students and professors should "groove" on each other. We want to control student rules, tribunals, and disciplinary hearings "ourselves." One cop is so much like another.

Student radicals cannot leave the campus because they might lose their 2-S deferments. Organize in the white community. What white community can be organized by an organizer with a 2-S?—Hippies, students, and middle class suburbanites. What sections of the white community are exploited and oppressed?—The poor and the working class. That's where we're at, brothers and sisters.

An Afterthought

Yet, there is a student movement. Something is afoot on the nation's campuses. What can we do with it? We have to look at the university more carefully, but, at the same time, keep it in its proper perspective. The university is connected structurally with the larger society. Nevertheless, we cannot build socialism on one campus. Most attempts in reforming the university have ricocheted immediately against the necessity of transforming the society as well.

—Which is as it should be. Our analysis of the university as a service station and job-training factory adjunct to American corporate capitalism would hardly be relevant otherwise. If this is the case, however, where do student politics fit into the picture?

In the past few years, the student revolt has been primarily directed against the form of our education: i.e., class size, grading, participation in rule-making, etc. We have emphasized these aspects over and above the "content" and "ends" of our "training"; and, as a result, we have failed in eliciting a seriousness and sense of direction in our work.

Being a student is not an eternal condition. Rather, we are a flow of manpower with the need of being whipped into shape before entering a lifelong niche in the political economy. While this process has precious little to do with education, there is nothing wrong with it in itself. I have no objection to the "training" of school-teachers.—And our knowledge factories do an effective job of that. Rather, my objectives focus on how they are being trained and for what ends. Perhaps the implications of these questions can be seen if we examine an institution like

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Project Themis ... WAR GAMES?

D.O.D. AWARDS CONTRACTS

Steve Halliwell
Columbia SDS

The Department of Defense has awarded 50 contracts worth about 20 million dollars in its latest program of war research for the nation's universities. The DOD had no trouble finding schools willing to do their dirty work—a total of 480 applications were made by schools for the 50 slots.

The war game is extending under this program from the big multiversities into the smaller schools in a great variety of locations, perhaps because of the mounting pressure at larger schools that have had chemical and biological warfare (CBW) or Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) contracts for a while. The release from the DOD states its objectives as: (1) the development of new centers of excellence capable of solving important defense problems in the years ahead, and (2) a wider geographical distribution of Defense research funds, favoring institutions which have not heretofore received substantial opportunity and financial support in the field of Defense research.

For now, all research will be unclassified, although the expansion of the project to twice the number of contracts next year may entail a switch into some covert work. It is conceivable that the contract to the University on Cloud Physics can stay above board, but the research at the University of Kansas on Remote Sensing Instrumentation or the work at Georgetown on lasers will probably get a wee bit

sticky after a year and involve some things that must be kept secret in order to keep our land free, open and democratic.

Anyone who questions the logic of that argument on campus will probably be asked not to register again in the spring. So join the fun, everybody, see if you are lucky enough to go to a school that whores for the DOD and start working on the program that will raise the issue of university complicity with the war. The shit's going to be flying all over the country come the fall—you too can struggle to end military research on campus.

Cuts by Congress in Federal Research Agency budgets likely will make fiscal 1968 the leanest year in a decade for colleges and universities. Appropriations may be up less than 5% over fiscal 1967, budget officials believe.

Scientists complain that costs of performing research are going up 5% a year and the number of scientists requesting grants is increasing. The net effect, they say, is that support is standing still, if not slipping back.

The Administration asked for \$1.75-billion—7% more than last year—which

would find its way to institutions. This contrasts to some years in the early 1960s when the rate of increase was better than 25%.

Hardest hit may be the research budgets of the Defense Dept., National Aeronautics & Space Administration, and the Atomic Energy Commission. They were expected to spin off some \$500-million to academicians in fiscal 1963.

NASA's sustaining university program, for example, which was cut from the 1967 level of \$31-million to \$20-million by the Administration, has been recommended at only \$10-million by the House.

The Defense Dept., too, had \$13-million of its research money lopped off in the House. However, Project Themis (designed to develop more centers of excellence in engineering and other hard sciences) was left intact at \$27-million in the House.

Basic research support from the National Science Foundation is losing in both sides of the Capitol. President Johnson recommended \$526-million; the House cut this to \$495-million, and the Senate, even lower, to \$459-million. An unexpected windfall from the now defunct Project Mohole may increase the pot some \$21-million.

from Business Week, Sept 9

PROJECT THEMIS RESEARCH CENTERS - 1967

Institution	Title	Agency
<u>DETECTION, SURVEILLANCE, NAVIGATION AND CONTROL</u>		
Georgetown University	Laser Technology	Air Force
University of Florida	Solid State Materials	ARPA
Iowa State University	Auto Navigation and Control	Navy
University of Kansas	Remote Sensing Instrumentation	ARPA
University of Minnesota	IR Detector & Laser Technology	Navy
University of New Mexico	Radiation Effects on Electronics	Navy
John Carroll University	Laser & Ultrasonic Radiation	Air Force
Ohio University	Low Level Navigation	Army
Oklahoma State University	Electronic Descrip. of Environment	Army
Texas A & M	Optimization Research	Navy
Southern Methodist	Automatic Navigation	Air Force
University of Virginia	Learning Control Systems	Army

ENERGY AND POWER

Univ of Calif., San Diego	Transport Phenom in Flow Sys	Air Force
University of Delaware	Fluid Mechanics & Heat Transfer	Army
Florida State	Geophysical Fluid Dynamics	Navy
University of Minnesota	Gas Turbine Technology	Navy
University of Missouri	Fluid Transport Properties	Army
University of Tennessee	Dynamic Sealing	Navy
University of Utah	Chemistry of Combustion	Air Force

INFORMATION SCIENCES

Auburn University	Information Processing	Army
University of Florida	Logistics and Info Processing	Army
Louisiana State University	Digital Automata	Air Force
Dartmouth College	Time Shared Computing Systems	ARPA
Case Institute of Technology	Research on R&D Management	Navy
University of Houston	Info Processing Systems	Navy

MILITARY VEHICLE TECHNOLOGY

Georgia Tech	Low Speed Aerodynamics	Army
Notre Dame University	Deep Sea Eng and Aerodynamics	Navy
University of Massachusetts	Deep Sea Submersibles	Navy
Mississippi State University	Rotor and Prop Aerodynamics	Army
Rutgers University	Separated Flow	Air Force

MATERIAL SCIENCES

Georgia Tech	Interface Phenomena	Air Force
Iowa State University	Ceramic Materials	Air Force
Stevens Institute	Nonlinear Physics of Polymers	Navy
Stevens Institute	Cryogenic Science & Eng	Army
N. Carolina State University	Materials Response Phenomena	ARPA

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

University of Hawaii	Astronomy Research	Navy
University of Nevada	Cloud Physics	Air Force
New Mexico Inst M & T	Environmental Sciences	Navy
SUNY - Albany	Modification of Environment	Air Force
Oregon State	On Line Computer Environ Research	Navy
S. Dakota School of Mines	Modification of Convective Clouds	Navy
Texas A & M	Meteorology Research	Army

MEDICAL SCIENCES

Indiana University	Environmental Hazards	Air Force
Louisiana State	Infectious Communicable Disease	Army
SUNY - Buffalo	Environmental Physiology	Navy
University of Alaska	Human Ecology	Army

SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

Arizona State University	Human Performance in Isolation	Navy
Kansas State University	Performance in Altered Environments	Air Force
University of Kansas	Social and Behavioral Sciences	ARPA
Texas Christian	Human Pattern Perception	ARMY

New England Notes

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.

and

A New England Regional Convention will be held the weekend of Oct. 13-15 at Amherst College in Amherst, Mass.

The feature events include:

- Friday night — a film
- Saturday — Workshops on "New Working Class" theory "Agent of Change" other specific organizing issues
- Sunday — Administrative plenary

Watch New Left Notes for further information.

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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 33 let the people decide SEPTEMBER 25, 1967

REC Needs Funds!

The offices of the newly created Radical Education Center will open their doors for business soon. One of the functions of the education center will be to provide a fully-stocked library for teacher-organizers and for the various research projects that will be carried out by the center's staff.

To date several dozen books have been donated to the library by various people but many more books are needed to complete the library. Several persons have promised to donate the remaining required books. However, the literature section has nothing in it and due to lack of funds and contributors it appears that it will not be stocked unless the membership of sds contributes the money required to purchase the many magazines, newspapers, etc.

At a center staff meeting it was decided that at least approximately 250.00 would be required to cover the cost of subscriptions. Since there is no money at the N.O. the cost will once again fall on the shoulders of our brothers and sisters who read NLN. Please send your cash, checks, or money orders to the N.O. made out to the Radical Education Center.

Organizers must be properly trained and that training cannot be complete without complete library facilities. So send that bread.

A Radical Speaks in Defense of S.N.C.C.

Staughton Lynd

In the eyes of spokesmen for the ancient regime, the emergent revolutionary re-ordering of society appears as chaos. "The Old Left," editorialized Time magazine in April 28, "had a program for the future; the New Left's program is mostly a cry of rage.... They have no program and they do not want one." Similarly the recent disturbances in Newark and Detroit seemed to most Americans chaotic happenings appropriately characterized by adjectives such as "irrational," "senseless," "indiscriminate." The rioters themselves were perceived as a faceless mask. Their program was assumed to be nonexistent.

A principal reason why American society is cracking into a house divided is the inability of those who govern it to deal with the political philosophy implicit in the actions of insurgent Americans. Their domestic blindness is also their blindness toward the world at large: they assume that only a society based on private property can be free, that orderly government requires a system of representation, that it is commonsensically obvious for speech to be free but action limited by the will of the majority. When populations in and out of the United States begin to put societies together on different assumptions, those who presume to articulate the American purpose see these alternative orderings merely as subversive to the only ordering imaginable to them.

Herein lies the importance of whether the urban disturbances are called "riots" or "rebellions." The difference between a "riot" and a "rebellion" is that a rebellion is assumed to have goals. The physical incidents of riot and rebellion are very similar. An eyewitness would perceive much the same events in either case: people running through the streets; orators haranguing spontaneous assemblies; the precinct police station stoned or the home of the distributor of stamps sacked; tea dumped into the harbor or TV sets taken from certain stores; finally shooting, mostly by uniformed representatives of constituted authority, and bodies on the sidewalks.

Yet one such occurrence will be called a "riot," defined by the dictionary as "disorderly behavior," because the eyewitness fails to see an ordering of action by intended goals. A similar happening, no different in its externals, may go into history as a "rebellion"—"open renunciation of the authority of the government to which one owes obedience"—if those who write the history empathize with the motives of the protagonists.

This is why black radicals insist on the term "rebellion" or "revolt" ("a casting off of allegiance;... a movement or expression of vigorous dissent or refusal to accept") rather than the term "riot." They perceive order in the disorders. As Tom Hayden, staff member of the Newark Community Union Project and a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, has observed, those who rioted in Newark regarded what they did as a more rational relating of means to ends than anything available from the channels of decision-making customary in quiet times.

It may help us to approach an understanding of the political philosophy of the American resistance to existing authority if we attempt to relate it to the theory of revolution found in Locke, the Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln's first Inaugural Address.

The Right of Revolution?

"This country," President Lincoln said when he took over a country on the eve of dissolution, "belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

The harshest critic of Stokely Carmichael will have to recognize some kinship between Lincoln's affirmation and Carmichael's statement, reported last October by the United Press, that "there is a higher law than the law of govern-

ment. That's the law of conscience." Clearly President and peripatetic agitator agree that government cannot be the ultimate arbiter of right and wrong. And well they might: for that way, surely we would all concur, lies Eichmann.

Nor can anyone deny that in his statement on the occasion of his arrest, July 26, 1967, H. Rap Brown employed precisely the logic of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence:

"I am charged with inciting black people to commit an offense by way of protest against the law, a law which neither I nor any of my people have any say in preparing...."

"I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws made by a body in which I have no representation. That the will of the people is the basis of the authority of government is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred throughout the civilized world and constitutes the basic foundation of this country. It should be equally understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally or legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to oppress us."

This dignified statement was made the same day that Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph and Whitney Young issued a joint public declaration so far abandoning the First Amendment that it urged that advocacy of riot or arson be punished as equivalent to the commission of those acts themselves.

There is one important difference between the political philosophy of the Declaration and that of Carmichael and Brown. In classical democratic theory the right of revolution belonged only to majorities. This was one of the reasons that a bourgeois gentleman like Locke could justify revolution with such confidence.

"Nor let anyone say," he wrote, "that mischief can arise... as often as it shall please a busy head or turbulent spirit to desire the alteration of the government. It is true such men may stir whenever they please, but it will be only to their own just ruin and perdition; for till the mischief be grown general, and the ill designs of the rulers become visible, or their attempts sensible to the greater part, the people who are more disposed to suffer than right themselves by resistance are not apt to stir." Locke's majoritarian theory of revolution might appear to cut the theoretical ground from under the activists of the New Left in general, and of S.N.C.C. (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) in particular.

Yet a dispassionate observer might rebut as follows: In the first place, S.N.C.C. is not, for the moment at least, attempting to overthrow the Government of the United States. The rioters have not gone downtown. What they want is control of those neighborhoods in which they constitute a majority. They ask, not that City Hall move over and make room for them, but that City Hall and especially City Hall's policemen stay out of where they are. Rap Brown's argument that men cannot be bound by laws to which they have not given their consent would fit this situation perfectly, provided it could be shown that such consent had not, in fact, been forthcoming. In the Deep South the prima facie case that whites have imposed on blacks a "law and order" expressive only of the wants of whites is overwhelming.

In the second place, it is hardly the fault of Afro-Americans that they constitute a minority in the United States. We white folks brought them here, and one of the persistent considerations in the minds of those who did the importing was to get enough black laborers to do their work for them but not so many that the laborers might successfully revolt. What is the Afro-American supposed to do? It seems to him that his oppression is of that pervasiveness and degree which Locke said justified revolution on the part of those oppressed. Should he then not rebel because his numbers are few? That counsel hardly fits with the tradition of white revo-

lutionaries who sought liberty or death. Whether or not he would concede the kinship, that is the tradition to which Rap Brown belongs, as he stated when arrested.

The fact of the matter is that men who feel as Brown feels find themselves precisely in the position of the revolutionary guerrilla. Having rejected, not merely this or that law, but the entire structure of authority in the country where they happened to be born, they are nevertheless powerless at present to overthrow the government which they reject. Their perspective must therefore be to live for an indefinite future under the nominal authority of a government to which they no longer feel legally or morally bound.

This political philosophy of non-cooperation is, after all, not so different from that to which many white Americans have felt themselves pushed by war crimes in Vietnam. A number of American professors, including Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have drafted "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" which proceeds on the same premises as H. Rap Brown. The principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal constitute for the signers of this Call "commitments to other countries and to Mankind (which) would claim our allegiance even if Congress should declare war." (Just so S.N.C.C., following Malcolm X, now speaks of universal "human rights" rather than of the "civil rights" defined by American law.) Consciously or unconsciously borrowing a turn of phrase from the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, the Call terms resistance to collusion with the war and the encouragement of others to so resist "a legal right and a moral duty." Brown ends his statement with the words: "Each time black human-rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy. Each time



a police officer shoots and kills a black teenager, that is urban crime. We see America for what it is, and we recognize our course of action." The Call ends similarly: "Now is the time to resist."

Emergence of a Movement

It may still be said that a justification of revolution akin to Jefferson's does not quite add up to a vision of the future.

True enough, in part that vision is implicit in the actions of S.N.C.C. and S.D.S. (Students for a Democratic Society) organizers rather than fully articulated. For example, "the Movement" prefers to make its decisions by consensus, not by delegating decision-making authority to representatives. Again, in contrast to the sharp distinction in liberal democratic theory between thought and action, the Movement places a high premium on "putting your body where your mouth is," which is to say, acting on what you believe. It should be easy enough for any moderately sympathetic listener to extrapolate these clues into a sketch of future institutions.

Yet such extrapolation is hardly necessary. The "Port Huron Statement," a statement of aims by S.D.S. in 1962, remains an accurate declaration of what both S.D.S. and S.N.C.C. might do if they had power. The Port Huron Statement lists a plethora of recommended programs which if controversial, can hardly be considered irrational.

Participating democracy represented a corollary to S.N.C.C.'s 1960 statement of purpose, which affirmed the need for "a social order of justice permeated by love" and took its stand on "the moral nature of human existence." So, too, in every phase of its history, S.N.C.C. workers have sought, in the words of the Port Huron Statement, to encourage independence in men."

The evident common ground, despite all differences in experience, between the S.N.C.C. and S.D.S. statements of purpose, makes rational the hope that what will ultimately emerge is an American radical movement led by black people but with participants both white and black. Stokely Carmichael wrote as recently as 1966 that the society S.N.C.C. seeks to build "is not a capitalist society. It is a society in which the spirit of community and humanistic love prevail." We may yet see white and black together striving for that society.

What has changed since 1962 is not ends, but means. One sees this in the increasing toughness of slogans. "Love" and "participatory democracy" have given way to "black power," "we won't go," "resist," "not with my life you don't." Nevertheless, each of these phrases seeks to articulate the underlying thought that persons now excluded from our society's decision-making—which means almost all Americans, but especially the young, the poor and those of dark skin—should assume control over their destinies. Even in 1962, as the Port Huron Statement noted, the civil rights movement had "come to an impasse." That impasse and our society's failure to overcome it explain why the hopeful and innocent dreams of five years ago have metamorphosed into the hard-bitten strategies of today.

The Road to Revolution

Like any other guerrilla, the Afro-American in rebellion will seek allies where he can find them. Experience, and more particularly experience (as he perceived it) of betrayal by white and black respectable Americans, leads him to seek such allies in the Third World overseas.

This perspective did not spring full-grown from the brows of Stokely Carmichael and Fidel Castro. It is not the invention of outside agitators. Those who wish it did not exist ought to recall how they acted at the Democratic Party convention in 1964, what their response was to Julian Bond's unseating by the Legislature of Georgia, how quickly and publicly they protested (or failed to protest) the arrests of H. Rap Brown.

Some of us watched Robert Parris Moses, the principal S.N.C.C. leader in the Negro voter-registration drive in Mississippi, as experience took him step by step from an initial orientation to the use of electoral machinery and the cultivation of white allies toward embittered black nationalism. The turning point in Bob's development, so far as this outsider has been able to understand it, was when, on a visit to Africa in 1965, he saw a magazine published by the United States Information Agency. A center spread in the magazine showed pictures of Moses and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the Mississippi civil rights worker, over some such caption as: "Bob Moses and Mrs. Hamer leading delegates of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party to their seats at the Democratic Party convention." Bob felt not only that the magazine had lied in stating that the M.F.D.P. delegates had been seated, but that it had used him, and those who had died in Mississippi as a result of his activity, to convey to the rest of the world that democracy still existed in a country which could produce Bob Moses. This experience

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VIETNAM: This Is

Bertrand Russell organized the International War Crimes Tribunal to raise unfriendly questions about America's fight to save the southern half of Vietnam for the free world. People who are embarrassed or made furious by such questions invariably deal with the tribunal by changing the subject. Instead of talking about aggression and war crimes, they talk about the tribunal itself—its form, its members and its fairly conspicuous partisanship. To discredit the man, apparently, is to refute the argument.

It's never hard to lampoon a group to its political enemies; and the tribunal, rich in enemies, is also quite a soft target on its own. It comes from nowhere, with neither constituency, mandate nor customs, announces its intentions in an anti-American broadside or two, is ignominiously booted out of Paris by a politically sympathetic head of state, and arrives ruffled and internally disquieted in Stockholm to hear in public eight days of often polemical testimony which it in fact had collected by and for itself, and then produces on the ninth day (May 10, 4:50 A.M.) a judgment which everyone supposes could just as well have been drafted a year before. Its membership contains no really big-name jurists and only a few lawyers. It is a politically selective assortment of left-wing writers, intellectuals, politicians and ombudsmen without portfolio; and it seems so clearly less judicial than political that almost no one on the outside (which includes a lot of space) has been able to take it for anything but a stretched-out and fancified party rally.

But that's beside the point. The importance of the tribunal, the measure of its goodness or badness, lies in much different territory.

A long tradition of positive international (i.e. Western) law holds that there is such a thing as an act of aggression—a crime against peace. This is a fact. There are also such things as crimes of war, and these also, in a long series of conventions, protocols and treaties stretching back to the Hague Convention of 1907 and including the Paris Pact, the Nuremberg Charter and the Charter of the United Nations, have been most carefully described, defined and registered by the national powers of the so-called and self-styled civilized Western world. Nobody is trying to pull any wool over anybody's eyes; these laws really do exist, have been officially adopted by official acts of the heads of state, are in fact the law of our land, and all the outrage in Washington and sarcastic obscurantism in the New York Times will not change that fact.

There is also a war in Vietnam. This war has a very concrete life in a very concrete set of events. It has an internal historical density about which it is possible to gather data of a more or less verifiable type.

That is to say, there are findings of law to be made about wars in general, and findings of fact to be made about the Vietnamese War in particular. These findings having been made with as much care as a body of serious and intelligent (who isn't partisan these days?) people can muster, it then becomes possible, appropriate and essential that the facts and the laws be exposed to each other through the very simple question, "Are these actions criminal according to international law?" This question can be answered yes, no, maybe or insufficient evidence. If crimes exist, it is possible, appropriate and essential to say so.

That is what the tribunal is all about. If it finds evidence of crimes, and if it is quite powerless to do anything about them, these conditions don't seem to be the fault of the tribunal. Criminality and victimization will or will not exist in Vietnam whether the tribunal says so or not; and on the matter of the tribunal's isolation from state power, Sartre's opening-address remark that this is in fact the tribunal's leading virtue seems to me quite enough to say on the subject.

The tribunal set itself the task of finding the law and the facts on five questions:

(1) Has the U.S. Government (and have the governments of Australia, New Zealand and South Korea) committed acts of aggression according to international law?

(2) Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character?

(3) Has the United States made use of or experimented with new and/or forbidden weapons?

(4) Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and in particular have they suffered torture and mutilation?

(5) Have forced labor camps been created? Has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterized juridically as acts of genocide?

These five questions subsume four criminal acts: aggression (or crime against peace, *jus ad bellum*); war crimes "properly called" (*jus in bellum*); questions 2, 3, and 4); crimes against humanity (distinguished from war crimes by their greater scope and intensity), and genocide. The first session of the tribunal arrived at affirmative verdicts on the first two questions. The remaining three will be taken up in a final session to be held in the fall.

That the tribunal has reached these decisions does not surprise anybody. But that should not suggest that the decisions are empty or without portent for Americans. In particular, the peace movement, struggling in its own awkward fashion to decide exactly what it ought to say about the war, will have to come to grips with the political and ethical implications of these judgments.

The Crimes of War

Consider the first, that the United States Government is guilty of the crime of aggression. The tribunal does not affirm this in any loose moralistic sense. It bases its finding upon a crucial clarification of the political entities which are involved in this war, and this clarification requires us to re-examine most coldly one of the staple arguments of the peace movement "radicals".

From the 1961 White Paper to date, our government's position has been that the trouble in southern Vietnam is ordered and directed from Hanoi, whose creature organization, the National Liberation Front, is therefore illegitimate, criminal and deserving of the violently repressive treatment it receives at the hands of the American military. To this line of reasoning, the opposition movement—at least in its more "political" sectors—has usually responded: not so. We have been saying that what has been happening in the south in the late middle fifties and onward is indigenous—a gathering of a population increasingly outraged by Saigon's dictatorial terror and cornered into a choice between annihilation and defensive violence. The NLF, so this argument runs, is mainly a southern force, and not, as the government maintains, an invader from without.

Along the banks of this issue, the opposing debaters deploy their statistics about infiltration and their analyses of rebellion. The implicit symmetrical assumptions of this debate are (1) that the American position is established if the NLF is a "creature" of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV); and (2) that it is destroyed if the NLF, instead, is independent of the North and indigenous to the South. The government says "invasion", and the opposition says "civil war". The argument seems to be clear enough.

What may not be immediately apparent about the tribunal's verdict on U.S. aggression is that it rejects both positions. The line of reasoning the tribunal puts forward—in my estimation simple and unanswerable—is as follows:

(1) Starting in the 1930s and continually gathering strength, a Vietnamese rebellion took shape against French colonialism. This rebellion was both nationalistic (aiming to break Vietnam's subservience to France) and social (programming the destruction of the exploitative landlord system).

(2) This revolution, waged across the

breadth of Vietnam, achieved conclusive military victory over the French Union forces in 1954. The crucial diplomatic event at the Geneva Conference of that year was the formal surrender of French colonialism to the Vietnamese revolution. Geneva was very much like Yorktown in this respect.

(3) To provide for orderly transfer of power to the new nationalist regime, the country was temporarily partitioned at the 17th Parallel, the Vietminh forces withdrawing above it from the south and the French Union forces withdrawing below it from the north.

(4) An international diplomatic inter-

contrarily that it did, then the DRV was only doing what it had a very clear—very legal—right to do, namely, resist an aggressor against its national sovereignty. One and only one political force, Ho Chi Minh's, spoke for Vietnam at Geneva. And since no legal elections have taken place since to change the situation, one and only one government, Ho's again, has the right to speak for the Vietnamese, from the mountains in the north to the Camau Peninsula in the south. You and I and the U.S. Government may or may not approve. It remains the fact.

Legal realities do not, of course, uniformly coincide with political realities.



vention originating in Washington but tolerated (at least) by Moscow and Peking required the Vietminh to submit to popular ratification in an election scheduled for July, 1956.

(5) The French withdrew ahead of schedule, forced to do so by the Americans and in any case weary of the position, and (via Bao Dai, who had no status) delivered their interim custodial obligations over to the Diemist cabal, which had no more legal authority to govern Vietnam than Montana, and which would have been incapable of even pretending to have such authority were it not for the direct and massive political and economic intervention of the United States. For its part, the United States had no claim whatsoever on 1 square inch of Vietnamese land and had no business even being there. In dealing with Diem, it dealt merely with its purchased man.

(6) Over the period roughly from 1955 to 1958, the U.S.-Diem regime made clear its intention to frustrate the Geneva Agreements bearing on the unity of Vietnam. Under U.S. prodding and protection, the Diemist puppetdom declared itself the government of something called the Republic of Vietnam. Legally speaking, this government and its "republic" came from nowhere. Its claims were based on an election which, besides being notoriously fraudulent, it had no right to hold in any case.

(7) Thus deprived of that victory which it supposed had been legally consolidated at Geneva, Vietnamese nationalism again began to mount a violent resistance to the new foreign rule. Hence, the second Indo-China war.

There is no civil war in Vietnam. There is, rather, a war of nationalist resistance against an invader—the United States—which appeared on the scene illegally under the flag of truce and which lost no opportunity to suborn Vietnamese against their country. It therefore perpetuates a fundamental misconception of the historical and legal situation in Vietnam to argue about the presence or absence of "infiltrated invaders from the north", as if we were dealing here with two separate and sovereign Vietnams. In point of unambiguous international law, there is only one Vietnam and it is not possible for one country to invade or aggress against itself.

In this case, it is legally pointless to argue about the relationship between the DRV and the NLF. If the evidence shows that the DRV did not create the NLF, then that is merely something for the DRV to be ashamed of. If it shows

There is evidence that the DRV, for reasons which need not detain us here, may have been prepared to concede at least temporarily the occupation and de facto severance of the south, and that the post-1954 resistance arose in the south independently. That is a matter, however, for the DRV and the NLF to settle between themselves at some later date when the invader has been repulsed. No outside nation or people, and certainly not the United States, has anything at all to contribute to that forthcoming private conversation.

Negotiations Now?...

Look now at the peace movement's suggestions. Almost everyone from U Thant on over thinks that our bombing of the north should be stopped so that we may enter at last into negotiations with the DRV. As unlikely as it may seem at the moment, something like this could very well occur within the next two years. And what exactly do we suppose is going to happen at this very elusive conference table? In Korea, we could negotiate for the ante-bellum status quo without losing face (our ambition to forcibly unify Korea not having been much publicized). But such a position can clearly not be held with Vietnam if the Vietnamese take the status quo at 1954 while we take it at c. 1958. What is the anti-war movement prepared to do or say when the voices start rising around this problematic conference table? Who are we? What do we want our country to be? And perhaps most painful and menacing: whose side are we on?

There are other basic complications. If the DRV is really separate from the south and the NLF, then what remains to be negotiated once our bombing has stopped? And if it is not separate, then why all the clamor about recognizing the NLF? More generally, what interest in Vietnam can the United States legitimately and morally lay claim to? And if, as I believe, there is no such natural American interest, then what is there to be negotiated in these negotiations except the precise conditions of American withdrawal?

I think it can be put in a nutshell. Both the DRV and the NLF affirm the unity of Vietnam. Both say that the NLF is the only legitimate voice of the people of the south. It follows that—at least in their own view of the matter—the DRV and the NLF are also one. As the SNCC people say: "Get to that."

To accuse the United States of aggression is to assert the legal unity

Guernica

Carl Oglesby

of Vietnam (and vice versa, of course), and this does not merely add another curse to the vocabulary of dissent. It is a substantive charge which has substantive political consequences. Anyone who is persuaded that the charge has been proved will be logically obliged to abandon such intermediary and "moderate" positions as are implied by the slogans, "stop the bombing and negotiate" and "recognize the NLF". Sen. Robert Kennedy's idea that we should invite the NLF to take part in a coalition government in the south becomes in this case nearly as impudent as Johnson's refusal to do so, and perhaps a good deal less coherent. For the coalition which is being offered in this burst of generosity can be nothing other than a coalition with the Seventh Fleet, the White House and Vietnam's own sorry Vichy. It implicitly presupposes, moreover, the de facto partitioning of Vietnam. We should be able to forgive Vietnamese patriots for being unmoved by such generosity.

Wanton Destruction

The verdict on war crimes has consequences for us, too: less specific politically, but humanly more intense. Each of us will have to work them out for himself.

War crimes include, among other things, "wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity" (Article 6, b, of the Nuremberg Charter). This definition, made in 1945, looks back to the fourth convention of The Hague of 1907 and the annexed ruling, of which Article 25 states that "belligerents do not have an unlimited right concerning the choice of means of doing harm to the enemy." America's legal commitment to abide by such law is embodied in various treaties, especially important ones being the Nuremberg and the UN Charters, and in a document published in 1956 by the Department of Defense, The Law of Land Warfare (FM 27-10), which stipulates this country's acceptance of the laws and customs of war.

The law is easy enough to find. But if you happen to be an American, more or less dependent for your news on the good gray Times, the facts are not so ready. My national press had not prepared me for Stockholm. The enormity of the picture that eyewitness after eyewitness uncovered there left me first incredulous and finally revolted. Example:

Some miles above the demarcation line in the province of Nghe An, coastal district of Quynh Luu, there is a spacious rocky plain bounded on three sides by the South China Sea. The spot is both tillable and isolated, and for these reasons was selected in 1957 as the site of a major leprosarium. Construction was completed and the complex opened in 1960, since which time it has handled about 5,000 patients.

The Quynh Lap leprosarium was visited last April by the French medical doctor, M. F. Kahn, a member of the tribunal's fourth investigating commission. According to Dr. Kahn, "Quynh Lap was not so much a hospital as a small village," designed "to give the sick a social life as close as possible to a normal one, offering everyone a chance for rest and re-education and preparing them to re-enter society after their cure." Besides being entirely isolated geographically, the Quynh Lap colony is big (160 buildings) and internationally famous, at least among world medical and health organizations.

In May, 1965, it was overflowed by several U.S. reconnaissance aircraft. On June 12, a Saturday, at 8 P.M., it was attacked with demolition bombs and rockets. Damage was light. One nurse was wounded. Since the nature of the complex was assumed to be well known (hospital roofs were also marked with red crosses), the officials decided the attack had been an error and would not be repeated. They did not evacuate.

On the next day, at 1:45 P.M., a second strike was made against Quynh Lap. This one was violent. It killed 120 staff members and patients and wounded more than 100 others, nineteen of whom subsequently died of their injuries.

Officials immediately began evacuating the patients to a mountain grotto some 5 or 6 kilometers distant. The move was watched by more reconnaissance flights. Two days after the second attack, this grotto was attacked with rockets. Thirty-four were killed and thirty wounded. Survivors were forced to move still further into the mountains.

By June 22, the complex had been attacked thirteen times. Through the first quarter of this year, according to the Vietnamese, it had been hit a total of thirty-nine times. Except for a few buildings whose shells still stand, the colony has been flattened. It is unusable and desolate.

Tribunal member Lawrence Daly, a Scottish labor leader, asked Dr. Kahn what he thought the point of these attacks might have been. "I can find no reasonable explanation," said Kahn—a medical man, not a strategist. "First the buildings where the patients and the staff lived were attacked. Then the grotto was attacked, as if the purpose were to drive the lepers back into the population. Then, after many more attacks had destroyed almost all of the buildings, the attacks turned against the road, as if the purpose were to make it hard for people to come and see what had been done to Quynh Lap. I cannot explain this."

It might be just as hard to explain why not one provincial hospital in northern Vietnam and not very many of the smaller district hospitals remain unbombed. Or why Nghe An province alone has been raided (through the first quarter of '67) 6,817 times with 52,157 demolition bombs, 49,164 fragmentation bombs (see below), 40,050 rockets, 71 fire bombs, and 1,082 strafings with 20-mm. cannon, losing thereby 10,379 dwelling units, eight hospitals, one leprosarium, twenty-eight churches and pagodas, sixty-six schools, 743 fishing boats, and no one knows, apparently, exactly how many people.



The CBU Business

The fragmentation bomb business has already become a minor controversy in the United States. Its use was the one tribunal accusation to which the Pentagon responded immediately.

The main and newest weapon in the frag-bomb category is the cluster bomb unit (CBU), a refinement over the first-generation lazy dog and the second-generation pineapple. The CBU is a three-stage weapon. What the aircraft drops is a large canister or mother bomb which falls to a certain altitude and is then opened by a timer or barometric switch, giving birth to anywhere from 200 to 800 bomblets (called guavas by the Vietnamese), each about the size of a baseball. The guava second stage is flanged to produce a spin in the plane of descent. The centrifugal force created by this spin apparently cocks the internal spring-loaded detonating hammers by throwing them outward against their springs. Upon impact (ground, roofs, trees), or if the planes of spin and trajectory deviate in flight (which makes for an air burst), the spin stops, the

centrifugal force is removed, the hammers are snapped inward by the springs, and the guava explodes to release the third stage, about 260 steel pellets about twice the size of a BB, which are embedded in the surface of the spherical casting. Because the guavas scatter in the air, one CBU will cover an area about 300 yards wide and 1,000 long.

The pellets, which have an effective range of about 50 yards, are quite useless against the "concrete and steel" targets to which Mr. Johnson has assured us he restricts his bombing. Nor are they effective against people hidden below the forest canopy, where trees and heavy foliage afford good protection. They are effective only against people who happen to be in exposed, cleared areas, or who have no other protection than the frail straw thatch of which most Vietnamese village dwellings are made. CBUs are good for nothing but attacks against people. But for this specialized use, they seem to be very good indeed:

When the CBU story began to leak some time ago, the Pentagon's first impulse was to deny that there was any such device in the arsenal: impossible to design, too expensive to manufacture. When this lie became unstable, the new truth was confessed that there were indeed such things as CBUs, but that (1) they constituted no more than 5 to 10 per cent of the total "number" (conventional measurement is in tonnage) of bombs used in the north; and (2) they were used only against "convoys, aircraft on land, ammunition depots, radar installations and anti-aircraft batteries."

The first point is disputed by the Vietnamese, who claim that the proportion of CBUs is 40 to 50 per cent, and by the tribunal investigating commissions, whose members thought the proportion might have been still greater in the areas they visited. It is at least possible that nobody is really lying. If each canister counts

of the French General Staff and now a professor of physics in Paris, was in many ways the most effective witness the tribunal heard. His concern for method, his quick command of facts, his grasp of the politics of military strategy, and above all the simple lucidity of his intelligence reminded me of Bernard Fall, who had the same warm relish for accuracy and common sense. I copy here my notes of the exchange that followed Dellinger's reading of the Pentagon statement:

Dellinger: Let's go down this list. The Pentagon says, first, that CBUs are used against convoys.

Vigier: Because they scatter over an immense area and because the pellets have such little mass, I don't see how they would be at all useful for this. Better against either rail or road convoys would be rockets.

Dellinger: What about aircraft on land (which, by the way, the Pentagon has only recently admitted that it attacks)?

Vigier: Attacking military air bases is a conventional problem. It is taught everywhere that you must strike the fuel depots, the maintenance buildings and the airstrips. For these targets, you need high explosives.

Dellinger: Ammunition supplies.

Vigier: These are always buried or sandbagged and the pellets would be of no use.

Dellinger: Radar installations.

Vigier: Perhaps. But this would be a very exotic use.

Dellinger: And anti-aircraft batteries.

Vigier: No effectiveness at all. Anti-aircraft batteries are guarded by sandbags which the pellets cannot begin to penetrate. We saw many batteries that had been attacked by explosive bombs or rockets, but none that had been attacked by pellets.

The Strategy of U.S. Bombing

If a final word is needed for this little dialogue, let it go to the U.S. Air Force. Its ROTC manual, Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems, explains that "fragmentation bombs", of which the CBU is merely the latest and most cunning type, "are designed specifically to be used against personnel." I shall come back to this manual in a moment.

A most unlovely picture emerged over the eight days of testimony. Along with all those famous roads and bridges—which in any case seem primarily to serve the civilian population—a violent attack appears to be aimed, with seeming malice aforethought, against hospitals, schools, churches, pagodas, dikes and the intricate irrigation systems of the countryside. Why? What is the point of attacking a leper hospital? And of doing it thirty-nine times? What have we possibly got against public education for Vietnamese children that we should seek out and destroy their schools? Was the leprosarium really a supply dump? Was the cathedral really a barracks?

Dr. Kahn's bewildered answer, "I can find no reasonable explanation," will probably convince many that such things just do not happen. We seem to confront a motiveless malice, something we will not lightly impute to our fathers, sons and brothers. Since this is not comprehensible, it must not take place. Sad to say, however, a motive exists.

The Air Force ROTC manual, Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems, is a completely open and aboveboard text, available to anyone. Read it abstractedly and go to sleep at the third page. Read it, however, with Vietnam's people on your mind, and weep for your country—the land of Strangelove, Herman Kahn and huge computers in the War Room.

Each night, says our President, he agonizes over the maps, picking the targets personally for the next day's raids: this little concrete thing here, or that little steel thing there? We might have taken him more seriously.

For most of us, northern Vietnam has remained a more or less vague and undifferentiated geopolitical entity. If we do recognize special places within it,

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VIETNAM "Selected for destruction"

continued from p.5

we are likely to go no further than to note that Hanoi is politically a crucial target or that there are dikes on the Red River which no sane man would bomb, or that Haiphong is a doubly dangerous target because of the Russian and British ships that are often at dock there.

The impression I bring from the hearings is that, at least for those who are attacking it, northern Vietnam is a highly complex social organism whose elements are acutely differentiated, and that the American attack—premeditated, precise and politically structured—is based on detailed economic, cultural, political and sociological "maps" of the territory. Our Air Force does not simply bomb the north. Using conventional explosives, pellets, napalm, white phosphor, thermite, magnesium or rockets, depending on the mission, it bombs this or that sector of the city of Vinh because, this Thanh Hoa cathedral instead of that pagoda because, this central irrigation system instead of that northern canal because...because why?

The ROTC manual begins to give us a sense of the answer.

"The first order of the day," it affirms, "must be to know the enemy." Target analysis and selection proceed, therefore, in terms of what the manual calls the "components of national structure." There are four of these, each entwined with the others.

Military structure. "U.S. Air Force leaders have made it amply clear that this nation's No. 1 target priority is the enemy's military force and war-making potential." On the surface, and except for the troubling ambiguity of the last phrase, this may sound as humane as the military spirit can be: if we must attack an enemy, leave his civilians alone. But we have not heard the explanation yet. "The logic behind the high priority assigned these targets rests on the fact that unless the military forces are destroyed they can retaliate. Other targets can wait their turn."

And what if we are dealing with a military force which cannot seriously retaliate? Clearly, we move on.

Economic structure. This category is described in rather commonplace terms—raw materials, basic processing, end-product industries, and services and utilities—until two long and especially forceful paragraphs make us remember in a new light what little we know of the bombing of northern Vietnam. They deal with transportation systems, and their argument is that the importance of transportation has dawned on our analysts only since World War II. It seems that German industry collapsed in 1945, not really because of Allied attacks on petroleum but because the attacks on the transportation network were finally paying off. In Japan, the importance of transportation had been sadly overlooked by our intelligence. "Later," says the manual, "we found that strangulation of that system would have destroyed Japan's economic structure. Lack of transportation would have reduced Japan to a series of isolated communities."

Differences between mature and immature economies notwithstanding, we apparently do not intend to miss our second chance. In the repeated bombing of a little wooden bridge connecting some tiny isolated hamlet with its marketplace, we may behold history's lessons being put to use.

Political structure. The manual deals here with the national "ruling body" which "makes decisions for the people" and "galvanizes a nation into action and causes it to function as a cohesive unit." We have come into interesting territory: "A government is most vulnerable in its relations with the people, for it must control their actions and it must have their support." If the locus or the medium of these relations can be broken—as, for example, in the destruction of the communications system—then the "nation would soon cease to function as a cohesive unit....The resulting confusion would overlap into all other components of the national structure."

Psychosocial structure. The manual speaks for itself on this point only too clearly:

"For purposes of target study, the psychosocial structure of a nation or

people is often reduced to terms of morale, because morale is something that can be sensed, observed and influenced....Production requires efficient organization and direction, cooperation among all the people, their willingness to consume less and produce more, to devote their energies to the production of war materials, at the expense of consumer goods, and at the same time to face personal hardships, tragedies, and the dangers of war....

"Some of the conventional targets for morale attacks have been water supplies, food supplies, housing areas, transportation centers, and industrial sites. The objectives of these attacks in the past have been to dispel the people's belief in the invincibility of their forces, to create unrest, to reduce the output of the labor force, to cause strikes, sabotage, riots, fear, panic, hunger, and passive resistance to the government, and to create a general feeling that the war should be terminated. Although the question of how far the will to resist of a given group of people could be weakened or destroyed by aerial bombardment with conventional weapons was debatable, it was an irrefutable fact that a labor force preoccupied with civilian defense duties and the finding of food, shelter and transportation could not operate at peak efficiency in the production of the materials of war....

"If we were to search for the single type of target whose destruction would have the greatest adverse effect on the morale of a population today, we would have to conclude that the destruction of an enemy's major cities with high-yield nuclear weapons would produce the most telling results, not only on morale, but on every other component of the nation's structure."

All this from a soldier's primer.

Try out a new definition of "military target". The same manual provides it. "A military target is any person, thing, idea, entity, or location selected for destruction, inactivation, or rendering nonusable (sic) with weapons which will reduce or destroy the will or ability of the enemy to resist."

A military target, that is, is whatever the military decides to attack.

And in a war against a whole people, the military must sooner or later decide to attack the whole people.

These pretty Vietnamese teachers and

peasant girls, for example: in every picture of them we see, in rice paddy or schoolroom, don't they also have rifles on their backs? Don't they also shoot with these rifles at our aircraft? Aren't they all our military enemies? These children: unless we act now, will they not grow up some time in the duration of this interminable war and be infiltrated into the south of their country? Is there any Vietnamese, in fact, who can prove to us that his life deserves, in the name of Western civilization, to be spared?

It comes to this: Whatever doubts Americans may anxiously cling to about the tribunal's data on the Air Force's purposive destruction of Vietnamese hospitals, churches, schools and people, it is nevertheless a fact that the accusation has to be granted an immediate claim of plausibility. Given the official strategic-bombing concepts this country uses, we are simply obliged to say, in advance of a single snapshot of a single ruin, that such attacks are possible, plausible, and indeed that they are probable. We have no grounds for insisting that they could not happen, or that if they seem to happen, they must be accidental. On the contrary. We may henceforth be moved to raise our eyebrows when the hospitals are not bombed.

Psychosocial Realities

To explain our government's systematic obliteration of Vietnamese society, we need neither postulate a ruling band of Iagos nor assume that a certain leprosy base. We need only to see the "psychosocial" reality of this war for what it is, and to understand that the structures of the externally "limited" war allow for no internal limits at all. By a process which in itself is cool, meticulous and no angrier than a computer can make it, a decision to breach the psychosocial forms in which the Vietnamese have their psychosocial being is most even-temperedly, most implacably reached.

The result, looked at from an old-fashioned angle—that of the Russell tribunal—is war crimes "properly called". This does not mean, however, that an old-fashioned history—that of Nazi Germany—is being re-enacted in the home of the brave. It means rather that when the previously parallel histories of the master and the slave crash inward upon each other, the old chivalry loses its

power to shape and explain experience. In the face of a Rommel, after all, an Eisenhower might recognize himself. In the iron of the Panzer Corps, a Patton could see a proper and familiar world order. But what security for General Westmoreland is there in the face of Nguyen Huu Tho, the faceless? What do we expect General Walt to make of punji spikes and part-time teen-age terrorists? And what can a class society which defines happiness as privilege and equates it with profit make of a declassed society in which work is defined by the whole community's needs?

Across the historical gulf which has segregated master and slave, empires and colonies, there is no lawful way for Western coercive power to reach—not once that power has been called morally into question by the appearance of the rebel. For America even to dream of victory in Vietnam, it must destroy the revolutionary society. The enemy is the revolution, the breaking of the empire, and it is in the liberated people that the revolution has its being. To say that America commits war crimes in Vietnam is merely to elaborate legalistically the simpler fact that America is fighting in Vietnam. From the decision to fight that fight, the necessity of war crimes follows irresistibly. When the tribunal makes the accusation and implies thereby that the crimes ought to stop, what it really says is that the war ought to stop. If the revolution disappeared, there would be no more war crimes. If the counter-revolution disappeared, the same would be true. But when one world is occupied by both, it will be filled up with the violence of resistance, which the counter-revolution calls terror, and the violence of oppression, which the revolution calls crime.

After all, it is not Auschwitz which is being judged again by the Russell tribunal; it is Guernica, which is an entirely different matter. And even as we hurl the legalistic accusations of aggressor and criminal, which on the simplest level of fact seem so depressingly well founded, we ought to remember the source and the purpose of the laws we are invoking, and reflect that laws written by a culture for the purpose of guaranteeing its survival will never be used by that culture to guarantee its defeat.

Only the people who can surpass that culture can impose those laws.

Let's Pretend... THE LEARNING PROCESS

continued from p.1

student government.

What Have We Learned?

My objection to student government is not that it is "unreal" or "irrelevant". Quite the opposite. Student government is quite effective and relevant in achieving its purpose. Beginning in grade school, we all went through the "let's pretend" process of electing home room officers. In high school, student council was the name of the game. And so on into college.

Throughout it all, none of us ever doubted the fact that the forms of our self-government had any power. We all knew the teacher, or the principal, or the administration, or the regents had the final and effective say-so in most of our affairs.

But think about it for a minute. Did not the process effectively achieve its purpose? We learned to acquiesce in the face of arbitrary authority. We learned to surrender our own freedom in the name of something called "expertise".

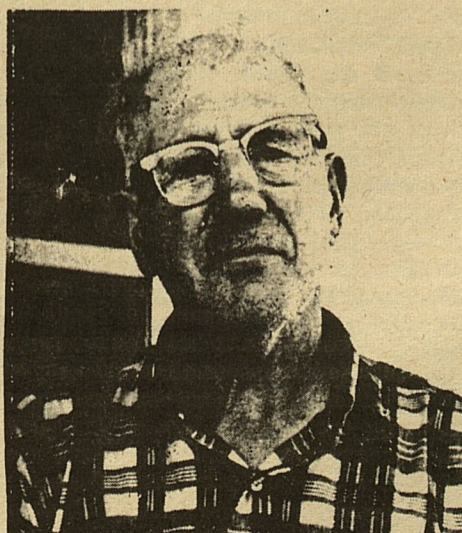
We learned that elections should be personality-oriented popularity contests; that issues with which we ought to be concerned should only be the most banal.

Most of all, we learned about "responsibility" and "working inside the system". Was all of this not an adequate preparation for "life in the real world"? Are national, state, and local elections any different? The farce of it all is only evidenced by comparing the reality of our political lives with the ideals we were given to revere. Even so, we were also taught to smirk at "idealism".

We learned our lessons well, so well in fact, that some of us have embraced a cynicism so deep that the quality of our lives has been permanently impaired. Perhaps a majority of us have been castrated by the existing order: a generation's young manhood and womanhood manifesting nothing beyond the utter destruction of seriousness. Give a flower to a cop. Join the marines and be a man. James Bond is the fraternity man of the year.

Student government reeks of the worst aspect of this syndrome. Because of that, it may be a good place for initiating on the campus the movement for human liberation already in progress off the campus. We have no blueprints. Only some guidelines. Administrators are the enemy. Refuse to be "responsible". Have more faith in people than in programs. Refuse to accept the "off-campus-on-campus" dichotomy. Finally, demand seriousness by dealing with serious issues—getting the U.S. out of Vietnam, getting the military off the campus, enabling people to win control over the quality and direction of their lives. In short, make a revolution.

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In Defense of S.N.C.C.

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blended with accounts of Central Intelligence Agency machinations, as in Ghana which Bob visited shortly before the deposition of Nkrumah. Robert Moses, gentlest of men, returned to the United States convinced that no infamy or perfidy was beyond the capacities of "this country."

Others traveled the same road. As recently as the summer of 1964, this writer, then directing "freedom schools" for the Mississippi Summer Project, insisted that discussion of foreign policy be excluded from the curriculum of the schools because S.N.C.C. had no position on foreign policy. The trauma of the Democratic Party convention, followed by the bombing of North Vietnam a half a year later, set in motion a change. The April, 1965, demonstration in Washington against the war in Vietnam, organized by Students for a Democratic Society, had its District of Columbia headquarters in the S.N.C.C. office. In July, 1965, Negroes in McComb, Miss., where Moses had started voter registration in 1961, issued the following statement on the occasion of the death in Vietnam of John D. Shaw, 23 years old, who had participated in the 1961 demonstrations and sit-ins:

"Here are five reasons why Negroes should not be in any war fighting for America:

"1. No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the white man's freedom, until all the Negro people are free in Mississippi.

"2. Negro boys should not honor the draft in Mississippi. Mothers should encourage their sons not to go.

"3. We will gain respect and dignity as a race only by forcing the United States Government and the Mississippi government to come with guns, dogs and trucks to take our sons away to fight and be killed protecting Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana.

"4. No one has a right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other colored people in Santo Domingo and Vietnam so that the white American can get richer. We will be looked upon as traitors by all the colored people of the world if the Negro people continue to fight and die without a cause.

"5. Last week a white soldier from New Jersey was discharged from the Army because he refused to fight in Vietnam and went on a hunger strike. Negro boys can do the same thing. We can write and ask our sons if they know what they are fighting for. If he answers 'Freedom,' tell him that's what we are fighting for here in Mississippi. And if he says 'Democracy,' tell him the truth—we don't know anything about Communism, Socialism and all that, but we do know that Negroes have caught hell here under this American Democracy."

In midsummer, 1965, the thrust of the McComb statement still ran at cross-purposes to S.N.C.C.'s desire to win liberal white support for its effort to challenge the seating of the regular Democratic Party Congressmen from Mississippi. The Washington, D.C. office of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party repudiated the McComb statement. But with the defeat of the Congressional challenge a few weeks later, no inhibition remained to the expression of S.N.C.C. dissent to American foreign policy. The S.N.C.C. staff joined unanimously at Christmas time, 1965, in a statement which expressed sympathy and support for those "unwilling to respond to the military draft." For the first time S.N.C.C. conceptualized what it had been doing for the past five years as a "black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination."

This then laid the basis for a comparison of the murder of S.N.C.C. field secretaries unprotected by Federal power to the murder of people in Vietnam: "In each case, the U. S. Government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths." Just as, in the perception of S.N.C.C. staff members, "elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free," so overseas, "the ability and even the desire of the U. S. Government to guarantee free elections" were questionable. And therefore the conclusion: "We maintain that our

country's cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound and refuse to be bound by expediency of U. S. cold war policy."

At the time, white Southern liberals, such as the late Lillian Smith and the editors of The Atlanta Constitution, wondered aloud what outside agitator had drafted the S.N.C.C. statement. Theirs was a dangerous misconception. How genuinely the S.N.C.C. statement spoke for rank-and-file Negro sentiment was suggested the next year when an American Friends Service Committee employee, in conversation with Mrs. Ida Mae Lawrence, a leader of the embattled black plantation workers of the Mississippi Delta, uncovered the following poem which she had written:

Vietnam: A Poem

We say we love our country

We say other people love their country

We said that all men are brothers

What would we call the war in Vietnam

Would we call that brotherly love

Does the word freedom have a meaning

Why do the history books say

America is the

Land of Liberty a Free Country.

Then why do all mens Negro and White fight

the Vietnam and Korea why cant we be Americans

as North and South regardless of color

What does we have again the Vietnams?

Why are we fighting them?

Who are really the enemy?

Are Vietnam the enemy or we Americans enemies to ourselves,

If we are the same as Vietnams

Why should we fight them?

They are poor too.

They wants freedom.

They wants to redster to vote.

Maybe the people in the Vietnam can't redster to vote

Just like us.

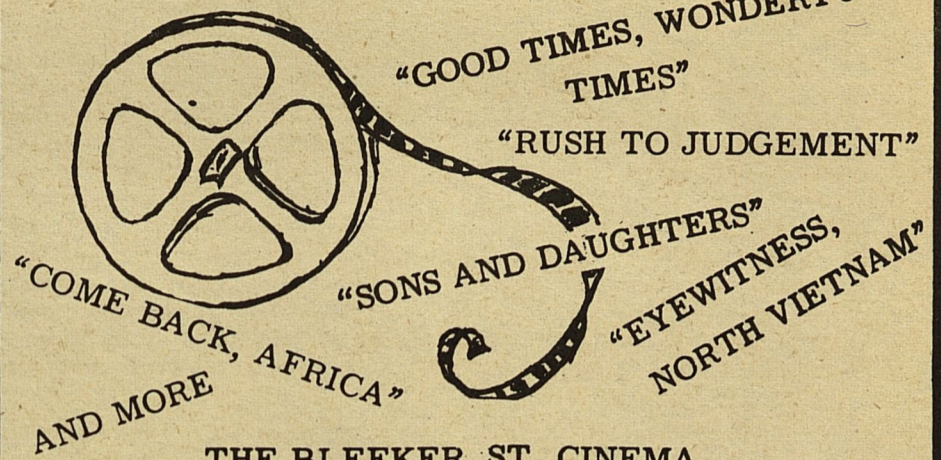
Thus, in its political philosophy concerning illegitimate authority both at home and abroad, S.N.C.C. stems directly from long-standing American tradition. The most eloquent white position paper on "the black rebellion" was that issued by S.D.S. It simply reprinted the preamble to the Declaration of Independence.

S.N.C.C.'s present advocacy of violence is also altogether in the American grain. It ill becomes white Americans to rebuke S.N.C.C. for repudiating that "passive obedience" which the leaders of the American Revolution themselves so much scorned.

Our intention, declared Brown on July 26, is to respond to "counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life." Is this sentiment essentially different from the import of Locke's question: "If the innocent honest man must quietly quit all he has, for peace's sake, to him who will lay violent hands upon it, I desire it may be considered what a kind of peace there will be in the world, which consists only in violence and rapine, and which is to be maintained only for the benefit of robbers and oppressors. Who would not think it an admirable peace betwixt the mighty and the mean when the lamb without resistance yielded his throat to be torn by the imperious wolf?" And when Stokely Carmichael hints, purportedly, at the assassination of resident Johnson, must not those words be catalogued along with Patrick Henry's "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third (here Henry was interrupted by cries of 'Treason!') may profit by their example?"

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NEED GOOD IDEAS FOR FRESHMAN ORIENTATION OR FOR GENERAL FUND-RAISING?



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ANTI-DRAFT ACTIVITY

continued from p. 1

The Justice Department advisory opinion in CO appeals has been eliminated; which cuts the FBI investigation and Justice Department hearing out. This will greatly shorten the time that CO cases now take.

C.O. Changes

In the section on CO's the part defining "religious training and belief" as "an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation . . ." was cut out of the law. This was done in an attempt to nullify the Seeger decision but it looks like it will have no effect on the Seeger precedent since it just eliminated the part of the law that made the Seeger decision necessary.

Women may now serve on draft boards.

What's Happening

Enough of that legal bull-shit, and on to a run down of present anti-draft activity. The summer began with most of the anti-draft activists refocusing their programs from campus to community work. There are now anti-draft programs in almost every major northern city and a number of cities in the south; such as, Portland, Seattle, the San Francisco Bay area, Sacramento, Los Angeles, San Diego, Denver, Austin, Des Moines, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago, Madison, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Atlanta, Washington, Philadelphia, New York City, Buffalo, New Haven and Boston. People have been working in a wide variety of communities including white middle and working class, Black, Puerto Rican, and Mexican; all of them have provided counseling services, most have been involved in demonstrations around induction centers, and some have also been involved in a wide variety of other activities.

Exclusive of local variations activities have generally followed a similar pattern. A union is set up with, at its core, students, most of whom had been active in campus anti-draft work. The union, at base, is designed to (a) activate people to resist the draft, particularly, by starting with their own relationship to the draft and (b) act as a self protective agent for their members. They begin their activity by organizing demonstrations around the induction center for the area and simultaneously setting up one or more service centers. These provide a geographic base for educational/organizing work and provide a matrix for plugging in draft counselors who supply advice on ways of beating the draft.

Then comes the development of a whole series of projects designed to get the word out: leafleting at induction cen-

ters, draft boards, on street corners, TV and radio interviews, speaking at meetings, mailings and door-to-door discussions with guys on the I-A list, etc. These activities, in most cases, are connected with such provocative acts as draft card burnings, induction refusals and disruptions, and organizing people not to register. The acts of confrontation have occurred both as local actions and are being used as a part of such national programs as the End the Draft Week or the October 16 draft card turning-in. Out of this work there has developed numbers of different and imaginative ways of involving large numbers of people in meaningful anti-draft activity. We will discuss these programs in a future column.

Madison Conference

The middle of August saw the gathering of most of the major anti-draft activists at a conference called by the Boston and Madison groups. The conference was designed to bring activists together for the purpose of exchanging information and developing techniques and tactics for expanding the draft resistance movement. But fruitful discussion never took place and the conference floundered without a purpose and direction.

What this means is that the anti-draft movement has pushed itself out of the spontaneous "gut-level" organizing stage and is now uncertain about exactly what it should now do.

There has apparently been no strategic thinking down on the local level about anti-draft programming. Although most of the draft activists have a general radical perspective there has been no clear development in which people could fit counselling, induction center disruptions and other action into a revolutionary framework. This has been one of the basic problems of all of the present single issue "movements."

Programatically, this has meant that even in areas where draft work has begun with very militant or radical activity it gets tied up in a very moderate counselling-servicing program in which there is no difference between liberals and radicals. The dangers of co-optation become very great.

Even though the conference collapsed, a few positive results emerged.

It forced most of the participants to begin to grapple, around their local work, with the problem of relating day-to-day activity with a long-term perspective.

The halting discussion of strategy that did occur has planted the seeds for the production of a broad, radical, multi-issued framework within which the draft becomes the initial catalyst issue.

reprinted from the MOVEMENT
September 1967

S.N.C.C.

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Nevertheless, I do not wish to close with a defense of violence, whether George Washington's or H. Rap Brown's. For the political philosophy of those intense young men and women regarded by the American Establishment as purveyors of chaos and anarchy appears to me sparked, above all, by compassion. Until we let them down, they struggled to create a "beloved community," a "band of brothers standing in a circle of love," in the face of Southern sheriffs and police dogs. Do we think them different persons now? If so, we are mistaken. There comes to my mind S.N.C.C. poet laureate Charlie Cobb, and especially "Charlie's Poem," read at the Berkeley teach-in of May, 1965, when S.N.C.C. was halfway between Freedom Summer and Black Power. Here is the concluding section:

*so cry not just
for jackson or reeb
schwerner, goodman
or chaney
or lee*

*cry for all mothers
with shovels
digging at hovels
looking for their dead*

*cry for all the blood spilled
of all the people killed
in the Standard Procedure
of the country
which is not ours
but belongs
to those who run it
and can't be seen
but are very few
who
listen to each other
and not to us
cause we don't know
what it takes
that makes
Standard Procedures*

*now I must say
about these guys who uniform us
in lots of ways
and make us each
the enemy of the other
the world around*

*that what we've been taught
we should get
is theirs
and not for everybody to get
and what they do
is teach us
to beat
everybody down
who's trying to get
what they already got
and what everybody can't get*

*So we throw away
our lives
and take instead
their things
and the things they have
are like
missiles & guns
money & cars
slots & walls
we take these things
and use them to
kill and hurt
be AFRAID
and be Unhappy
and to lose life
but to mostly kill
cause we want to die
cause deep down
we know
WE are life
and we have been taught
that's bad
and must be destroyed
(our life)*

*cause that's a threat
to
missiles & guns
money & cars
slots & walls
cause life can be ours
to be planted and grown
in 2 Billion ways
we can each call our own.*

I don't know where Charlie Cobb is now. It doesn't matter; I think I know where we are driving him. In my mind's eye I see him clearly, standing against a brick wall somewhere, blazing away at us from the gun in his hands, with tears of compassion and hatred streaming down his face.

reprinted from The New York Times Magazine, Sept. 10, 1967

UNDERGROUND POLITICAL PAPER NEEDS RADICAL STAFF

Our former full-time staff of 12 is down to 6. 4 have returned to school and the cops-of-the-world have picked off the other 2. (1 is in jail and Uncle Sam has forced the other into exile.)

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continued from p. 1

universities are only extensions of corporate power. If they were changed in any significant manner, corporations would simply withdraw support and set up counter-training camps to replace them. Even if students as students in isolated actions destroy campuses, it will be meaningless to the revolutionary segments of society. Not until "students" become people and acquire a base in the community will the destruction of universities have any meaning. Students as students, in my opinion, are not necessary for a revolution. The only reason even to attempt a campus movement is that students are useful and universities have a large concentration of young potential people whose middle class and bourgeois values are not irreversibly entrenched; otherwise they are not worth the trouble.

Students - To Teach or To Be Taught?

Secondly, I think the situation in the U.S. is vastly different from that of most of the rest of the world, in that the U.S. is almost totally literate. The situation doesn't exist, as in various other

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Student Revolutionaries ?

parts of the world, where about 70 or 80% of the people are illiterate, that for a revolutionary movement to start it needs the help of the students. The people who are in movement in this country don't need students to come down to "teach" them the whole picture. They already know it. It's the "students" that must be taught by the people.

Thirdly, I don't think the working class people of this country will ever take the student struggle seriously until students become people again, and come off the campus, and be willing to kill and die for their (i.e. the people's) freedom.

What can "student revolutionaries" do? I don't believe there is any such thing. If a person in the U.S. in 1967 considers himself or herself a student, he or she negates the meaning of being a revolutionary. On the other hand, what can a revolutionary who works with students do? Turn them back into people. His or her sole job should be to bring students off the campus. Programs must be designed on campus to make as many students as possible leave; and off campus, programs must be set up to channel people who desire to come off into situ-

ations where they can both learn from the people in movement and use what rudimentary skills they learned in school for the benefit of the people who need them.

Things that students can do to be taken seriously when they leave the campus include developing large numbers of mobile broadcasting units, pulling together communication systems, and various other research and intelligence projects that will put them in touch with the people whom they want to be taken seriously by.

I don't mean to imply that there aren't some (probably quite a few) people who would benefit by using college training for the projects that are necessary. Obviously, a trained electrical engineer is of more value in setting up a radio station than a beginner would be. The main point I would like to bring out in this connection is that anyone in school who considers himself a serious radical or revolutionary must see school as simply a place to be trained in order to get and disseminate the skills necessary to destroy and rebuild that thing called America. Any other reason is a sham, phony excuse for satisfying personal ego.