

NEW LEFT NOTES



SDS

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

OCTOBER 2, 1967

New Leftists Meet with the NLF

A SOCIETY IN REVOLUTION

Steve Halliwell
Columbia SDS

The first large meeting between Americans of the anti-war movement and delegations from the DRV and the NLF took place in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia the week of September 6-13. For the 41 Americans present, there is now the responsibility of communicating to their varied constituencies—peace groups, organizations of the poor, black power groups, students, magazine audiences—the information gathered in the course of the week's talks. And the information is considerable—topics covered by the Vietnamese include the military situation in the South, the nature of the bombings in the North, the role of women, life in the liberated zones (the NLF speaks of "liberated" zones and "occupied" zones) the value of the press and propaganda, and the role of Buddhism (the so-called "third force" in the South).

But now that the conference is over, I'm afraid that all the information and the perspective forged by American radicals in a week of constant discussions large, small, and intimate will roll like so much water off the well-oiled back of the American anti-war movement unless we communicate to some degree the feeling that emerged in that conference and the context that shapes the work of those who were present. After all, most of us have been active in the anti-war movement for two and a half years now and know

that the war is a tremendously brutal affair, that the term genocide is used with real justification, and that the resistance to the war is strong and determined, both North and South. Further explanation of how real those facts are, greater documentation, etc., must seem of little consequence.

But for those present, the manner of the people from both North and South who presented that information is of crucial importance, for their manner is that of men and women struggling in a society in revolution.

What does that mean? It is difficult to explain because it is a sense that emerged through a variety of experiences. The one thing that can be described is the pattern of reactions among the Americans which created that sense: time and again in the course of the conference we were confronted with something to which we would respond with anything from amazement to incredulity to outright disbelief. It was only as the conference progressed (in the true sense of the word) only as we developed a sense of how revolutionaries live and talk and work, that these incredible facts became first credible and then understandable.

Start with a rather trivial example—the Americans rolled into Bratislava very beat after 30 hours on four planes and then discovered that the NLF delegation had left the South two months earlier (four of the NLF delegation are based

in Front-controlled sections of Saigon) and all the Vietnamese had spent 18 days crossing China and the USSR by train in order to talk to the Americans. The Americans made a great deal out of it; the South Vietnamese thought it nothing special.

liberated and that the United States forces have been defeated militarily. What that means only becomes clear when you have some sense of how the NLF operates. A liberated zone is one that has no Saigon administrative apparatus (the areas with the semblance of a Saigon administration



The people fight to defeat the foreign aggressors and to build their nation into one.

A more substantial example: the report on the military situation began with the claim that 80% of South Vietnam is now

are called "contested areas"). The NLF is the instrument of a society which has had to organize itself against more than one foreign aggressor and in which the base of that struggle has been widespread for a long time. As a political mechanism, the Front has created both local administrative structures and a central committee of leaders of mass organizations and different social areas (such as military, education and health). As a military force, it is a system of interlocking forces—there is a guerrilla unit for each hamlet (the "fighting village"), a district force (10 villages together), a provincial force and a zonal army.

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Observations of the "New Left" in Mexico

dick j. reavis
Austin SDS

My wife, Becky, and I spent the month of June touring Mexico, mainly for the purpose of talking with leftists there. We began in Saltillo and Monterrey, northern cities. Since we had no initial connections, we tried to track down the left bookstores listed in the Yellow Pages. But the operations which most impressed us were those whose enterprises were not broad enough to justify the telephone expense. For example, on a backstreet outside the business district of Monterrey, we encountered a small bookstore, La Libreria Popular, which deals not only in Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but in Trotsky, Stalin and Mao as well—in defiance of divisions which have been erected between these figures by groups everywhere. As it turned out, La Popular and other shops in Saltillo and Torreon with the same non-sectarian policy, are run by a group of eager Marxists who call themselves Spartacists. (no relation to the US splinter by the same name) One of four distinct organizations in Mexico which use the same name, these northern Sparts proceed from the following thought: that since the job of their generation is to make the Mexican revolution, they should learn from everybody who has experience. Like SDS here, they have neglected to assume any position on matters such as the nuclear test ban dispute, and they shelve material arguing for both sides. However, all of their members, and especially the student majority, are discontented with the Moscow-oriented Communist Party of Mexico,

because it, they say, has failed and is failing to encourage armed revolutionary efforts inside the country. De facto, then, they have denied the notion of peaceful co-existence, at least as regards guerrilla warfare. In doing so, they have upheld the basic commands of the Cuban and Chinese Communist Parties, without making such support a matter of issue.

THE NORTHERN SPARTACISTS

The Northern Sparts, like most student leftists in the country, begin their critique of the society by pointing to the fact of imperialism and the failure of the largest left organizations (the CP and the Popular Socialist Party) to deal effectively with the task before them. Historically, the errors they find in the CP and PPS date at least to the Presidency of Lazaro Cardenas, the FDR of Mexico. According to them, an armed struggle could have been made in the thirties, if not since then. But the organized left supported Cardenas by coalition or outright entry into the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI), an ADA-type structure. Cardenas, for all his left rhetoric, they say, did not make significant reforms—nor have his successors to the Presidency, all of them elected by the PRI. Among these reforms are the nationalization of the oil (see Gerasi, GREAT FEAR....) and railroad industries, acts which were hailed by political liberals the world over. Nationalization of the railroads, and subsequent rate reductions, the Sparts point out, benefit mainly those who ship their goods by

rails, and not the Mexican masses. Therefore, instead of benefitting the masses, nationalization has helped to erect capitalism—with public taxes. Of the 400 biggest industries in Mexico, 160 are foreign-owned (by US, British and German interests) and another 73 are of mixed capital. While this in itself may not be enough to surrender the economy to foreign domination, there is this added fact: that foreign interests control the basic industries. For example, while most textile mills are Mexican-owned, cotton production is controlled by foreign interests, mainly the US giant, the Anderson Clayton Company. And one need not doubt what they say: from Ford and Uniroyal to A.W. Root Beer and Woolworth's, American companies are in plain view. At any rate, the traditional left, they say, has worked within or for the interests of the PRI, which tends to represent the national bourgeoisie, who in turn, are but the local servants of the Colossus of the North.

In their alliance with the industrialists, the PRI and its left-wing auxiliaries have pointed to, not the US, but to semi-feudal Mexican landlords as the source of all evil—and even here have not implemented a meaningful program of land distribution. Therefore, while the Spartacists call for agrarian reform, like the PRI, they also insist on an anti-imperialist posture, and this, in turn, forces them to adopt a revolutionary socialist position. At this point, most student organizations, like the Sparts, are regionally located.

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LETTERS TO NLN

From Vietnam

A Superficial Analysis?

Regional Notices

Dear Editor.

I read today with great pleasure the New Left Notes that I have just borrowed from my friend. I am glad to know you and your friends in the New Left Notes. I'm also emotional about your works, your newspaper and your thoughts in the anti-war movement.

Being Vietnamese, we have been living in a terrible and atrocious war which we have been undergoing more than twenty years. Now, a tragical civil war which was supported absurdly by foreign forces. So, we all are Vietnamese University students, youth, people, pupils, etc., We have organized many demonstrations against the war, and we have been pressed by local governments. However, we will organize other movements against the war. So, we want to have some foreign good news or documents coming from SDS or some other newspapers in your country. Consequently, I would like you send to me New Left Note so we can pursue your movements against the war in your country or other countries of the world.

I should be very pleased if you would help me in this work.

Thank you ever so much.

Sincerely,

Nguyen - Quang

sds & sncc

Dear NLN:

Though I feel that Stokely Carmichael may have oversimplified the world situation in a recent interview in Algiers when he noted it was white against colored, hates against have-nots; and though I do not worship the "revolutionary" Arabs in their struggle with Israel, these opinions in no way give me the right to charge SNCC with a trend towards racism. Itzhak Epstein seems to have bought the lies of the Establishment Press about SNCC. SDS would do itself and the cause of future black-white cooperation a gross disservice if we pass such a patronizing resolution.

I would like to suggest a resolution that would read somewhat like this: SDS reaffirms its continuing support for the revolutionary program of SNCC, and especially for its open identification with the world anti-colonial struggle in which the black people of the United States are already participating. SDS stands ready to offer assistance whenever such assistance is deemed necessary in fighting the repressive machinery of the state, or in positive actions whatever they may be. SDS looks forward to the time when significant portions of white America have been radicalized and can join AS EQUALS with their black brothers just as the varying groups of Cuba and the rest of Latin America (Indian, mestizo, white, black) have done and are doing.

Up the revolution,

Mike Meeropol

Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Editors:

I would like to make a few critical remarks about Julius Lester's article, "The Immorality of Peace," which appeared in the September 4th issue of NLN. The general technique of the article is familiar: define the idea you want to discredit in the narrowest possible way, then make unsupported associations or disassociations of the idea with other ideas to suit your purpose.

Mr. Lester characterizes the "Peace Movement" as a group of liberals concerned mostly with their own consciences. I suggest that if such a narrow definition is to be used it be supported by some basis in fact. It is my personal opinion that the multifarious nature of the Peace Movement, shown by the mixture of people at any of its mass gatherings, denies such a characterization. Further, it is inaccurate to speak of the marches and demonstrations as constituting the Peace Movement. Are we to forget draft work of various kinds, campaign work, medical aid projects, civil disobedience, and more?

The "Peace Movement" of which Mr. Lester speaks is thus a product of superficial analysis. Mr. Lester goes no further to make a significant analysis and thus destroys the legitimacy of his conclusions. Not only is his analysis superficial, but he leaves wholly untouched the subject of potential dealing with what HE might term historical information. To claim that the Peace Movement is inadequate is an easy trick if one severely limits its scope by definition. If one goes further to claim it is inadequate because it has not solved the War, the awakening problems of the Third World, the ghetto problems and general exploitation, then the error is more than a trick. It becomes an affront to responsibility. To call the Peace Movement inadequate because the "Peace Movement" has failed at accomplishing the above is more than a logical error; it assumes that something can solve these problems much more adequately. At least this is implied when Mr. Lester mentions the success of the Black Power movement. Yet, are we to be persuaded by such vague alternatives to the already inaccurate "Peace Movement?"

Mr. Lester equates the desire for peace with the desire for the status quo. In so much as one speaks of certain people who make the equation it is valid to discuss it, but to characterize the entire Peace Movement as having made such an equation is an irresponsible simplification lacking any basis in fact. Mr. Lester also says, "The Vietnamese don't want peace. They want their country." This again is an irresponsible assertion. He cannot claim to know what the Vietnamese want without some documentation and to imply that a peaceful solution will not yield an independent Vietnam is at best simply unsupported. Anyway, why must the line be so clearly drawn? Is there not an oppression in the bombing itself? Is not war an immense oppression that we cannot know without experience and with

which we should not presume to judge another people's willingness to coexist?

Lack of documentation can be a petty criticism, but when one makes sweeping assertions of the type found in Mr. Lester's article one had better present an impressive amount of it. To make the associations of peace and oppression Mr. Lester has to appeal to such a narrow and simplified definition of peace as to make the association illegitimate. The inflammatory title of the article sums up this kind of association through simplification.

If we really are trying to build a society free from exploitation then perhaps we should begin with ourselves. We must not allow our feelings of urgency to be exploited by those who seek to simplify the problems we face. If only such a black and white reasoning could bring Mr. Lester to conclude that we should "spread the flames" then spreading the flames does not seem to be a very credible solution.

Sincerely,

Paul Huebner
1134 W. 31st Street
Los Angeles, Calif.

Hassles

in Oklahoma

Debbie Hinton & Jodey Bateman
Norman SDS

After the convention, Oklahoma SDS started a regional office in Norman and the local cops stepped up the hassling of SDS members and their friends. Score so far--- 14 arrests, 35 police harassment incidents, no convictions.

AMONG THE SUMMER'S INCIDENTS

The cops were supposedly helping to find to SDSers when they had not hitched back to Norman from the court-martial of anti-war GI Andy Stapp by 2 A.M. The mother of one of them asked Al Jennings and J. Bateman to help. On the way to make a phonecall to friends on the way where the two might have stopped, Al and Jodey were stopped by the cops, were frisked, and were taken to jail. There they remained until the following afternoon, when they were then charged with "wandering aimlessly without legal purpose" and then were released on recognizance.

An SDSer's brother was driving to a gas station after midnight with an SDS member, a high school boy, and two girls. The cops arrested them --- perhaps the first case in Norman of arrest for loitering in a car. Bail was \$100.

While bail was on the way, one of the girls, a colonel's daughter, who didn't know her rights, allowed herself to be photographed by the cops. She found that her picture was put into an "SDS" file, even though she protested that she wasn't a member. She got to see that the file contained such things as a list of "SDS cars" with license numbers of members' and friends' cars.

The same driver was taking his girlfriend home from the office a few nights later. A cop followed them three blocks and arrested them for loitering. After they were bailed out a cop drove into the alley in front of the office and ordered Debbie Hinton of the office staff to get out of the office parking space (our front yard, and clearly marked as a private drive) and to go inside. She questioned whether he was there for any purpose other than harassment, since our front yard is not covered by the loitering ordinance. When she asked him to identify himself he refused. He asked her if he didn't have the "power" to arrest her for any reason he saw fit. She acknowledged his power but questioned his right.

A few nights later a group of drunk

Attention: The Niagara Regional Coordinating Committee (NRCC) has moved its office to 1504 E. Genessee St., Syracuse, N.Y., 13210, because its new traveller, Bob Tumposky will be living there and doing most of the bureaucratic-shit work. Someone should please write from every chapter to make contact easier. There will probably be a regional conference in Rochester in early November. If so, please send new addresses to get on regional mailing list.

Dissolved GI Unit Sought

The Pentagon is looking for 66 soldiers stationed at Fort Ord, Calif., who are unaccounted for since their unit was dissolved 13 months ago, Senator Vance Hartke, Democrat of Indiana, said Tuesday. "Some of the men simply walked away," Senator Hartke said. He said the investigation began when an Indianapolis mother asked why her son had received no separation papers when he came home a year ago and said he had been discharged.

high school guys charged into the office and tore it up before being ordered out by Debbie, who was there alone. She called the cops (being curious as to how they would perform their cop duty in a situation calling for legitimate police action). When the cop finally arrived, he joked and acted friendly with the high-schoolers, one of whom was playing with the spotlight on the cop car. The cops left, the guys returned, the cops were called again and they returned just as the landlord was confronting the guys with a rifle. The cops cooled the scene without arrests.

Shortly afterwards, two carloads of SDSers and sympathizers arrived in town. Only one arrest was made that evening... A sympathizer's 15-year old brother was arrested because he refused to go home because he wanted to be with his sister.

The ACLU has been notified of all this. Also SDS members have met with City Commissioner Joe Coulter, City Attorney Tom Lucas and Police Chief Bill Henslee.

Their answers are epitomized by Lucas, who denied that there was any attempt at harassing SDS. He stated that he always dropped charges when he knew there was no chance of winning the case, but the police, not being lawyers, could not be expected to know or understand about things like the legal purposes for being out late at night.

And why can't you SDS people be like everybody else, anyway?

Has your chapter sent in the name of its chapter contact. It is really important that this be done. So.... please send in his or her name so the N.O. can in touch with what is

new left notes is a member of ups.

new left notes

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October 16...A Moral Witness?

Steve Hamilton

A subject for much heated debate at any recent draft resistance or New Left conference in recent months has been the Resistance, the movement for total non-cooperation with the draft. These discussions, charged with accusations of "no balls" and counter-accusations of "no political sense," have usually ended with a rational plea for putting aside the bickering and supporting the Resistance in whatever ways possible. That's the best advice for the time, but political analysis should not be indefinitely set aside on these grounds. As one of the original organizers of the Resistance, having since dropped out, I think I can make some comment on the strengths and weaknesses of the Resistance and the implications of these observations for the radical movement.

The Resistance movement has grown fast. Lenny Heller's bold, angry challenge to knock off the bullshit and defy the government now if our radical ideas mean anything, David Harris's appeal to create a better world beginning by living our own lives in an honest, uncompromising, and non-violent way, have struck a responsive chord in many who have been frustrated by meaningless pledges and petitions, opportunist and still meaningless electoral campaigns and big, orderly and still-ignored marches. Here was something that certainly would make people stop and think. If thousands of middle-class young men turned in their draft cards and went off to jail for four or five years, the moral force that the government still conveys among most people would be severely shaken. Justified or not, this was the hope of Resistance thinking.

To some, such direct political goals were secondary because this kind of non-violent, moral resistance would be the character of radical opposition. After all, they argue, the roots of violence are within our own hearts, not in class oppression. This kind of world view, arising out of the minds of intellectuals, avails itself little to political arguments. Therefore, for the remainder of the article we will deal with political, not religious matters.

Regardless of whether middle-class consciences can be reached, the strength of Resistance action and rhetoric lies in its open defiance of the Establishment. The Resistance may contribute significantly to anti-war militancy. Certainly many changes have come about in the lives of individuals who have seriously considered dropping out of school and going to jail out of political and moral conviction.

The rejection of class privilege was another political argument motivating many of us in the creation of the Resistance. Students and anti-war activists get the deferments—2S, 1Y, CO—black and white working guys do not. How then could we speak to them? When we put ourselves on the line the guys called on to do the fighting will know that we're serious in our opposition. This is, of course, the logical extension of talk about rejecting 2S deferments.

As to the above arguments for non-cooperation, I think that we cannot say that they are wrong but must be weighed against other factors in working out a

political position and organizing political action. The argument from class privilege is true enough, especially when approached from the perspective of what middle-class students can do.

I think, however, that the answer might better be that there is nothing we can do, as middle class students. I don't think moral witness on our part can have any concrete effect on those who cannot afford to make a moral witness. On the other hand, those of us who have the perspective of being political organizers can get off the campus and do draft resistance work ourselves in communities, on high school and junior college campuses.

As to middle class political effect, no revolution is built on bad consciences but on the organizations of those who are exploited. Middle-class tears and money mean very little.

Many are willing to turn in their draft cards who share none of the idealistic notions of the Resistance and who don't plan to end up in jail. This too, I think, is a mistake. It reflects the development of a frustrated kind of consciousness that assumes that any way you can tell the system to shove it is a good thing and doesn't see being forced to stop organizing and go underground as bad because sabotage is, perhaps, the only meaningful thing left to do.

That kind of attitude is developing, I think, because not many of us in the New Left have been organizers, particularly

few of us have tried to organize other than a student base. I think that with a little experience we will see that organizing can be done and that it has to be done. A handful of radicals with no political base is useless.

I might add a few more words of self-criticism that might shed some light on the usually unstated political attitudes and emotions that motivate the development of a political perspective.

All of the early literature of the Resistance, especially that which I wrote, emphasized the suffering imposed upon the Vietnamese people by American aggression. Ours, of course, was not the first bit of anti-war literature emphasizing American atrocities, war crimes, and the "genocide" of the Vietnamese people.

These atrocities are real enough but to speak only of Vietnamese suffering does not reflect the character of the war in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are, in fact, winning the struggle for their liberation and in that struggle the people are gaining a revolutionary consciousness and commitment, a confidence in their power and in the power of oppressed people throughout the world, that will not see their revolution defeated.

Our early rhetoric, I believe, reflected a sense of desperation, a feeling that we might do anything that might possibly effect American withdrawal from Vietnam. The political character of the movement in the meantime was not so important. (For example, although most of us were

not pacifists we avoided alienating pacifist support.) As much as we disassociated ourselves from the electoral politics tradition we were still addressing that base—middle-class liberals who might be edged just far enough left to create a strong national consensus against the war.

Our goal was not political organization, even middle-class organizations such as the NCNP represents, but public effect. That effect could be created by a movement based on moral commitment—that was the basis of our unity. The urgency of that moral action overshadowed the need to develop a radical ideology within the movement and served to discourage political debate. This tendency, I believe, was inherent in a movement based on "moral commitment."

These political attitudes, never a consciously articulated philosophy, expressed themselves more clearly as the movement developed and defined its "apolitical" character.

Our primary mistake, then, was in building a movement that hoped to stir one more wave of middle-class liberal sentiment against the war and American militarism. We did not, and again we were not alone. We must recognize that the job of revolutionaries is to organize those who can make revolutionary change—black, poor white and working class people.

It has often been said, and let us remind ourselves, that there are no shortcuts to making a revolution.

What Goes On Here A Report from L.A.

Sue Eanet
Southern California Region

Looks like the biggest things about to happen in the city-wide Movement will surround "Stop the Draft Week," which is several praxis-steps above Mobilizations in terms of its potential for organizing and militancy. Problem out here is that many confuse militancy with radicalism, and that others equate militancy with violence, and reject it. We are holding weekly meetings of the LA Draft Resistance Union at the SDS House. Lots of people have been coming, and within the framework of tactical sessions on STD Week, have been hashing out their own ideas of violence, radical action, guerrilla activities, responsibility within community. Women and high school girls as well as draft-eligible guys have plans for disruption at the LA Induction Center on October 17—the day we're gonna shut it down. (A women's sit-in, complete with hard hats and plenty of crazy and funny ideas for stopping the functioning of the building, and for action in other Federal buildings in the city that day are also in the works. More on those later.) Interesting the way people at the LA DRU meetings divide themselves around the

question of disruption. It's alright, as long as nobody gets hurt. It's alright, as long as the inductees are sure it's not directed against them. It's alright, as long as it makes the papers. A pacifist has been chairing the meetings and even he is at the point of suggesting that the June 23rd fiasco out here is not the worst thing that could happen to the peace movement. Many people are concerned lest we provoke the cops to another such scene (Hundreds were beaten and busted, etc.). Some assert that we should say on all leaflets that anybody who is afraid of being trapped in another of those scenes should confine himself to picketing from the opposite side of the street from the Induction Center. The rest of Stop-the-Draft-Week includes plans for campus rallies at all universities and high schools where we have people; a mothers' campaign at the local board offices, to shut them down and discourage 18-year-olds from registering. Wednesday the 18th will be a city-wide Draft Holiday—teachers and students taking all or part of the day off and engaging in disruption or holding rallies. As far as the men from October 16 Resistance goes, a support rally is planned at the Federal Building in LA on Monday. The final day, October 20, will concentrate on members of the draft boards: picketing and harassment of homes and businesses.

The Regional Office: now about a dozen full-timers, office living, scraping for coins, mimeographing at midnight. Every Sunday Jim meets with high school students from all over—not just the metro area, but also from suburbs and the harbor area. A city-wide high school newspaper, "BURR'D", has had its first printing, and a regional conference of radical high school students will be held on October 1. Some of the schools are having petition campaigns against ROTC, and the San Pedro Community Action Center, staffed primarily by high school students, which began as a Vietnam Summer project, is going on and on.

the Valley State College campus, where lots of SDS kids were suspended last year for everything ranging from sit-ins at the Air National Guard base and Dow Chemical, to a free speech battle complete with armed riot cops being summoned on campus, is showing its colors early. On the first day of registration, Cliff Fried and John Johnson were busted as they leafleted about the "New Action 2-S." (John is still on probation from the

Air National Guard sit-in here last winter, and if convicted here for interfering with Cliff's arrest, he faces a 12-month sentence, and a \$1,000 fine.) A funny thing happened to John and Cliff on the way to being booked: They were first taken to the campus police offices, where two "hippies" walked in and introduced themselves as undercover cops. Photos of the two will be duly taken and plastered all about the campus. All VSC campus cops now carry loaded guns at all times. The chapter seems to have strong support from parts of the faculty now that the word of investigations and dossiers on most faculty members has spread through the school.

Research into the interests and sub rosa operations of the University of California and its administrators and faculty has turned up some intriguing relationships which we'll blow one by one as sort of a weekly provo-present to the U.C. community. The University Complicity Teach-In at UCLA on October 11, followed by city-wide workshops on what's going on behind closed doors and what we should do about it is planned to provide an air of righteous indignation for the lib faculty members who are arranging it. They may find it difficult to look their neighbors in the eye after the teach-in.

We visited San Francisco for one day last week, to see how Stop-the-Draft week looked up there, where the original call for it was issued. Steve Hamilton at the MOVEMENT office summarized their plans, which are similar to ours, but with greater emphasis on the guys turning in their cards, since there are only 7 of them in LA and apparently some dozens in San Francisco. The best thing in Northern California was a black radical movement mushrooming on the San Jose State College campus; several leaders of which are star athletes who promised the president of the college that until de facto segregation in housing and classes, and other subtly discriminatory and racist devices were done away with, the college would enjoy no sports events or other "celebrations of the American dream."

Our greatest need in terms of communication with the movement in other parts of the country is for model pieces of literature leading to or describing campus strategies. We are building up a radical library of studies of the university complicity type, also of chapter newspapers, high school organizing materials, and anti-draft leaflets.

NEW ENGLAND FREE PRESS

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Poem in the Grass

Youngblood
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Leaves of Grass is bullshit!
had Whitman really been hip
he'd prophesized
the destruction of democracy.
he'd known about the dismantled dream
i am part of.

"but the country was young then"
and the bearded father spoke with
only limited meaning
in that
the poems he wrote are out of context
with this age.

what relation can i have
with Walt
other than admiration of some of his
long poems
that preach the gospel of
knowing one's self
but there's more to life
than introspection.
(does peace come thru' "soul searching"?
are the ranks of the fascists any thinner
because of it?)
maybe i don't understand Walt!
my fault? yours?
????????????????

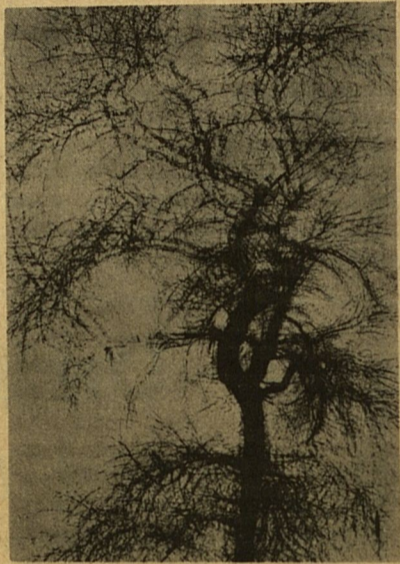
Walt Whitman,
as part former of my poetic mind
i am come back to you with my hands
clutching
the dead grass of doubt.
where did it stop being people
and start being machines and statistics?
where did my brothers stop feeling kin
to the grass
&
accept the perverted status quo
that i am expected to wear over my
heart?
Walt, where are the messages you left
for me?
must i take up the sword of Sparticus,
or guns,
of Zapata?

i sit on the University of Chicago campus
wishing i had an education
but knowing my place is in the streets
with my people.
i scream mental messages to the students
i watch walk by.
"lay down your books and abandon this
campus
leave this factory that teaches
obedience
in servile speeches
walk back with me to the ghetto where
i live
come back with me
we need you now, not tomorrow
but now.
when we have won we can come back
for the
education we all desire.

around me the ranks of my enemies
tighten
new laws burden us
taxes rob us
teachers teach the great lies
i want to strike out at the liars, thieves,
and killers

who make me (in my frustration) strike
at you.
i apologise for the first line of this poem.
your poems are beautiful, Walt
beautiful like the grass i lie on
beautiful like the breeze that cools me
but your poems are about ideas
that the leaders have cheated us out of
we want them back
they are ours
they belong to the people.

i am afraid
i am ignorant
i have a one track mind
freedom was bought with blood
and it will be maintained with blood
not the battlefield blood of Viet Nam
but blood on the roads of Ala. Miss.
& Ga.
and in the halls that Justice has vacated.
but we are afraid
our sons, lovers, friends, and fathers
are dying on battlefields of uselessness
&
i watch black people go by
and again i am afraid
afraid of the hatred my skin might cause to
boil over.
i ramble on hoping something will happen



to cauterize the cancer of lethargy that
eats
on my brothers.

today i am becoming for the first time
a poet
and
will use words until guns are necessary
then i will write in blood what can never
be written in ink.

for a death blow must be dealt to shite
supremacy
bigotry and nationalism.
i feel silly about some of this poem
but one thing i know is
that i am in love with freedom
i am drunk with the desire to see a
free America.

Walt, i see only praise for capitalism in
your poems
&
realize you must 'had a different definition
for the word.

Youngblood is from the Uptown community. He moved up from the South with his mother who is also involved in working with JOIN. He has moved from being the organized to being one of the JOIN community organizers.

SWISS GOVERNMENT ADMITS DESERTERS

(Translation from LE MONDE, September 20, 1967—page 2)

The Swiss Government denied on Monday that deserters of the US Army opposed to the war in Vietnam and seeking refuge in Switzerland, have been sent back to Germany to be then given over to the US military police.

Invited by two deputies to furnish explanations on the information published in the press on this subject, the Federal Council, in its answer, remarks that the competent services: "examine carefully the admission demands in Switzerland by the deserters or insubordinates on the same level as they would the ones of

a foreigner seeking asylum. A forced expulsion of such people into a country in which they would be persecuted for desertion or insubordination is excluded."

The Swiss government admits that "a small number of Americans have come to the fore, who refused to serve in the army and presented themselves to the federal authorities." For example, the answer of the Federal Council indicates that again, not long ago, two American deserters had gone to Switzerland. "One of them left Switzerland not long after and decided this all alone without informing the authorities of his leaving, whilst the second, in possession of an American

passport, has had residence conditions arranged following the regular procedure."

This precision of the Swiss government follows the series of news bulletins that came out last spring, according to which several American deserters, opposed to the war in Vietnam, had been sent back to Germany, where they were automatically given back to the American military authorities. According to this information, the Federal government in certain cases had only knowledge of these facts "a posteriori;" the decision of giving back certain American deserters having been taken by the authorities in the individual cantons.

Elmo Gets Tough With Resisters

Mikhail Knichenko
Kansas City

(KCDRU) The Federal Courts here in the name of Judge Elmo Hunter, Federal District Judge, seem to have given an unofficial but firm ultimatum on local draft resistance. At the sentencing of draft resister and revolutionary hero TOM JEPSON, on September 8 in Kansas City, Elmo made it clear that he and the courts would do everything possible to crush organized resistance here. Hunter also stated that in the future, as far as he was concerned, all draft resisters would receive the full five-year term, and that he would make every attempt to indict non-cooperators and resisters alike on conspiracy charges. Conspiracy to council individuals to evade the draft carries a heavier penalty than does refusal to be inducted.

The Politics of Blowing Your Mind:

The L.A. T-O Institute

Michael Holcomb

I write mainly about my own changes of this past summer. Up to the past two years, I pretty calmly accepted the daily American repression, integrating into slave/master relationships as best I could for my own survival. To avoid suicide, I embraced the doublespeak rhetoric of domination, strengthened my barriers, steered clear of real relationships.

But moving from the mid-south to Southern California began my turn-on to drugs, resistance. Dropping out of school, left with a biological insistence for a healthy lifestyle, I moved towards those whose energy-radiations were bountiful, constructive, gentle.

"Movement people" were always a bummer with their concentric speech patterns, elitist moods. "Hippies," shipwrecked and spontaneous, passionate to the point of brutality, masters of the art of street living, caught me up in their style of resistance.

The posture of indignant academicians was not so much incomprehensible as light-years removed from health. Depressed with contrived experiences and unending frustration with community, I felt a surge of enthusiasm about 15 to 20 people exploring themselves and flexing their muscles for a summer together in the context of articulation and politization. Don't misunderstand. I was at a fairly healthy energy-level, learning welding, use of a multitude of materials, becoming in a lot of directions. The point is, I was turned off to the movement. I expected to be turned on to the movement as I grew with the Institute. And I Was!

The mechanics of the Institutes seem this: The people in Chicago, the National Office of SDS, the ones whose daily concern is "building a movement," had an incredibly paternalistic view of the Institutes, springing from their own frustrations, their Chicago-ghetto, nat'l officer, mid-continental (and probably conscious) ISOLATION: from people's different levels of radicalism and lifestyles, and even from a radical concept of education.

Tom Jepson, just prior to receiving a B.A. in Economics from UMKC, refused induction in February on this year, was arraigned, and sentenced to three years in a Federal Penitentiary. Jepson had filed for a C.O claim before his refusal, but was refused because he did not have a "religious" basis for his claim. Judge Hunter stated that he was being "lenient" with Tom because he believed him to be a serious conscientious objector, plus the fact that Tom might set a precedent as being the first Eagle Scout to be put in a Federal Penitentiary. Jepson's cause was the first case of political draft resistance in the history of the state's SS system.

The threat impending from Elmo should reaffirm our convictions as resisters NOT to let ourselves be put in the clink, since from now on it looks like they will lock us up for a long time.

According to perhaps the most representative SDS big gun, Carl Davidson, people were supposed to come to the Institutes to learn skills, like how to do research, ways to approach people, organizing techniques: Community being something that would develop as a matter of people living together, the maxim "people having control over their own lives" being preserved by the "students" and "teachers" getting together to talk about curriculum, a subject we were supposed to be helped on, incidentally, by a sophisticated overview made up by Calvert consisting of practically every question one could ask about organizing, imperialism, etc. Like they didn't even expect us to ask our own questions!

So what happened? Numerically: (According to my tally, which could easily be off depending on your definition of full time), 8 of the 18 (in LA) were doing full time movement stuff before the summer; now 14 are (4 are organizing while in school). There is a regional office in LA now; there wasn't before really. Like people got turned on to the movement.

The reason the Institutes were so disappointing to the nat'l office people is those people paid so much more attention to the rhetoric of organizing than to the reality of the problem of community, how it takes a real effort to build. They (Davidson, Gottlieb, esp.) wanted to see growth, but growth in a group, with a group, is community, something which came (comes?) pretty slow. Also, they (big guns, again) have very dominating personalities, and they were unable to maintain their usual dominating (or strong or influential or guiding) role. Avoiding dominating when you actually have admirable expertise is a real problem. As community grew during the summer (with the people that stayed), it came with shared activity; going down to the induction center, cooking meals, hawking Guardians on Sunset Strip, going to the beach, facing the cops at the love-in. None of these are very revolutionary, but while armed struggle builds beautiful cadres, our struggle is far less advanced.

Sitting in a circle in a classroom with people you don't know, have had no shared experience with, is worse than a contrived, synthetic experience; it's a confrontation, with nothing going on but role-playing.

Community is digging people's hang-ups because of the vibrant energy that IS those hang-ups. (Community is sacrifice for your mates, I'm told, but the dictionary says sacrifice is destruction, loss, so scrap that word.) This began to happen, to develop, near the end of the summer: To be in real movement community (seeds of it, anyway) after all the scrapping at the beginning of the summer was the mind-blower.

People should have gone hiking together for a week or rented a super-decrepit house and spent a week fixing it up together.

Calvanist commitment is ludicrous. You become serious about the movement if you're serious about your life and the movement is a healthy meaningful thing.

Thoughts from the Left

A Visit to Prague

continued from p. 1

So when Westmoreland decides the Cong are somewhere out there and sends out the troops, the countryside mobilizes and the American forces moving in are hit by a combination of guerrilla assaults, local sabotage, and attacks by large-scale forces. The end result is high casualties and the necessity to regroup the Americans into tighter units and then withdraw. It remains impossible for the US

military to maintain troops in areas which require communications and supply lines; they have to return to the base areas.

Now that represents military defeat and it is happening throughout South Vietnam. If you read the papers only randomly, you know how often battles are fought in the same place with many killed by the Americans but without change in the total situation: some Vietnamese dead, some Americans dead; the American troops back at the base and the countryside still in resistance.

In order to grasp the level of organization that a sustained resistance like the Front represents, it is important to understand how comprehensive the Front has become. The new political program of the Front released September 1, 1967, presents a picture of a society in which every social element outside the direct interests of the Saigon government has become mobilized against the American occupation—small shop keepers and even the smaller landlords who have assisted the Front, are treated in the new program.

At the same time, the incredible brutality of the American operation becomes clearer. Since the military is faced with a society in revolt, all it can do is go out and shoot some of the people or better yet (safer) bomb them to death from planes. If women and children from 15 years of age are carrying guns, then women and children must be killed. And since the only possible "victory" for the American government would come from a winning-over of the populace, the greater and greater brutality of the military indicates how badly the American effort is failing.

So, to take another example, when the NLF says that as the bombings grow heavier, the people take heart because they know the Americans are increasingly aware of how badly they are failing. The statement seems at first incredible, but, in the context of the total society, very understandable. It is only when there is some sense of the extent of NLF operations that the impotence of the American occupation becomes clear—the only weapons are on the side of the Vietnamese.

At one point I asked an NLF representative if they ever thought in terms of a calculus, i.e., if there was conceivably a point at which the gains they are currently making among the urban population would be outweighed by the losses the bombings are taking in the countryside. He smiled and said no, that the population in the countryside was only made more firm in its resolve by the bombings.

It is that total endeavour by a society in revolution that came across in the

course of our conversations. Against a society demanding freedom and independence from an imperialist force, there is no weapon save destruction of every individual in revolt that will bring about any end other than victory for the liberation forces.

It is a form of life that American radicals find hard to understand at first because they have been conditioned by the nonsense in our newspapers. The simple fact that most of the news we read on Vietnam deals with the petty intrigues of the government that sits on what's left of occupied Saigon makes us think in terms far removed from the real social forces of the country. How many of us, for example, know that the NLF seized control of the Hue radio station for two months last year?

But there is another reason why talking to people in a revolutionary society is at first incredulous. We don't believe they are possible because we don't believe in ourselves. We can't believe in their triumphs against the man's machine of war because somewhere inside us we still believe in the power of the man. Most people in the movement reject Jack Neufeld's notion of our role as that of a "prophetic minority," a group of young idealists who heroically throw themselves spread-eagled against the solid bulwarks of American society—very few of us with simply to provide the material for another chapter in the history of America's peculiar radicalism. But we have yet to develop in ourselves the confidence that is so evident in the Vietnamese. We realize that our society is not a stable one—there are fissures deep into the system that only deepen as the war continues and national politics grows more hypocritical and banal. And yet we have not learned how to move with confidence in that society. We believe that every room is bugged, every phone tapped, not as a principle of security, but because we believe in the power of the police, the stability and the efficiency of the powers of the state.

Furthermore, in place of that confidence we have established an overburdened belief in our own sanctity. We assume that unless other elements in the society speak our language and share our responses, they are worthless. The NLF has managed to put together an all-nation coalition on the basis of a deep sense of the movement of a whole society, not by isolating themselves in language, thought or purity of principle. There was in fact, a noticeable slackening of hostilities among different movement types at the conference when confronted with the Front's ability to weld together a whole nation.

The New Left in England

Richard Fried
Princeton SDS

In the mid-fifties, partially in reaction to the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian uprising, a new intellectual force emerged on the Left in Great Britain. Located generally on the campuses, yet without much student activism, this conglomeration of various disparate radical and Marxist circles gradually coalesced into what is known as the New Left. Its shared analysis is usually associated with the NEW LEFT REVIEW, a bimonthly magazine which provides an open intellectual forum for examination of the state of the labor and socialist movements. The New Left's greatest political success to date has been the massive Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the early sixties. Since the dissolution of this broad-based movement and, more recently, since the election of a Labor government for the first time in fifteen years, the New Left has remained active primarily in academic circles.

This year, several intellectuals who have edited the NEW LEFT REVIEW since its inception seven years ago have written a brief document which marks an important point in the development of the New Left. The 45 page pamphlet, entitled; 1967 NEW LEFT MAY DAY MANIFESTO, combines a succinct and penetrating analysis of England's foreign and domestic political scenes with a review of the New Left's short history and a prescription for further work. Though it focuses primarily upon the problems of England, this manifesto deserves a wide reading elsewhere, especially in the American New Left, because its analysis, if not the particular political solutions, can within limits be extended to other advanced industrial societies.

Divided into five sections, the manifesto begins with a schematic description of what Galbraith has recently characterized "the new industrial state." The manner in which the large corporations use the state, under the guise of traditional liberal or socialist rhetoric, for the rationalization and thus further entrenchment of capitalist values and priorities is lucidly stated. The role of the Labor Party in aiding this transformation provides a familiar description of the function of many American liberals and social democrats in justifying the partial, expedient Great Society measures as solutions for serious social problems.

The manifesto then discusses contemporary social realities such as inadequate housing, antiquated health services, insufficient welfare allowances and widespread social poverty. A traditional socialist solution for these problems was nationalization of the "commanding heights" of the economy. In this paper, that concept of democratic social control is redefined in a more inclusive manner to encompass the demand that workers have meaningful control over the institutions in which they work. In doing this, the manifesto argues that further democratization of society is possible by expanding certain partially accepted, partially developed social remedies and thus reinfusing them with new socialist content.

The next several parts of the New Left manifesto reconsider England's international relationships in general and her position with respect to the United States in particular. The final section concerns the New Left vis-a-vis the Labor Party; there is much in this discussion which echoes the debates of American new politics' participation in the Democratic Party. In short order, single issue campaigns are examined for their inutility the dangers of simple-minded electoral politics are noted, the bureaucratic Labor Party machine is analyzed and seen as impenetrable, the trade unions are viewed for possible political potential, and finally

the distinguishing characteristics of the New Left and its plans for the immediate future are presented.

Briefly, what is the meaning and significance of this manifesto?

For the English Left, it probably signifies the initial transfer from solely intellectual criticism to organizing a viable political movement for change. This shift would entail a serious and long-term effort to build a multi-issue movement which would attempt to fuse the discontent of industrial workers with the radical critiques of socialist intellectuals. It is difficult to predict the likelihood of success of such a venture, though at the recently-concluded Trade Union Congress meeting, Harold Wilson's Labor Party administration was repeatedly denounced, and its political and economic programs violently condemned.

For the New Left in America, this manifesto is important for two reasons. First, quite simply, we need to be constantly aware of the condition of the Left in other countries. We can profit from lessons drawn from some of their struggles and learn about our own society as it is seen by others, from outside the Leviathan. Second, while it is always dangerous to adopt uncritically analyses and strategies from other movements, this manifesto would seem to have more relevance for the American New Left than some other statements of purpose. Though it may be a simple truism that our path to power, if there is one, will emerge from our own organizing and intellectual experiences, lessons learned by other left movements in advanced industrial societies should form a part of our political consciousness. For these reasons, the 1967 NEW LEFT MAY DAY MANIFESTO deserves close consideration.

(Copies of MAY DAY MANIFESTO available from Radical Education Project, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48101, for 50¢.)

Poster which has been observed while wandering around Michigan State University.

SUSPICIOUS ?



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M. S. U. POLICE

the duty of a radical newspaper is to build the radical movement

the duty of a radical movement is to build the national guardian

The new National Guardian, largest-circulation independent radical weekly newspaper in the United States (circ. 25,000), devotes itself to building the domestic movement for revolutionary social change. The staff-owned and operated Guardian considers itself part of this movement.

And it takes its lumps for this, too. Liberal conscience money does not flow any more abundantly to the Guardian than to SDS. Indeed, it's probably flowing away a lot faster—particularly in the last six months since the staff took control, converting the "progressive newsweekly" to the "radical newsweekly." This is a price the Guardian is willing to pay in exchange for being able to publish movement-oriented news and analysis; for being skeptical about electoral politics; for giving full support to black power, ghetto power, student power, poor people's power and National Liberation Front power.

But to survive and to build the movement the Guardian needs help from movement radicals. Money we don't expect, because most young radicals don't have any and most liberals can (and will) keep theirs. Another kind of help, however, is well within the ability of the radical movement—especially the student radical movement. To survive and grow the Guardian needs a major circulation increase. Because of the movement's expansion in the last few years and the Guardian's unique role as a newspaper unparalleled in reportage and analysis of this movement, the conditions for a dramatic increase in readership clearly exist.

The movement can help by spreading the word about the Guardian, the new Guardian; by seeing to it that the Guardian receives news about the movement, and—most importantly—by participating in the Guardian's mass circulation campaign, a program that offers a substantial financial return to chapters, organizers and individual student radicals. See the "deal" we offer in the box to the right. A number of SDSers are already engaged in the campaign, having been contacted at the Ann Arbor convention. Some chapters hope to finance activities for the semester from the money gained in the subscription drive.

Why help build the Guardian?

"The National Guardian," says Greg Calvert, "has transformed itself to take a new task. It has decided that its staff will devote their journalistic talents to providing the links of communication necessary for critical and self-critical evaluations of movement experiences. It has decided to become the open voice of movement activity. But that voice, that criticism, depends on you. It depends on movement people who will collaborate with the Guardian staff—in writing and distribution."



The Guardian seeks to fulfill this role by reporting and analyzing radical developments from Gees Bend, Ala., to Havana — with on-the-spot coverage. The liberation struggle in South Vietnam is covered from South Vietnam (from the liberated zones, at that), by the world's most respected radical journalist—Guardian staff correspondent Wilfred Burchett. Also abroad, the Guardian has correspondents in Havana, Peking, Moscow, Southeast Asia, Europe and Latin America. At home the Guardian reports from a movement perspective under several-score datelines. In the last several months, for instance, the Guardian carried numerous articles on SDS from Chicago, New York, Princeton, Bloomington and other cities and campuses. No other publication matched Guardian news coordinator Jack A. Smith's report on the Ann Arbor convention. Many articles were published about "new politics," about the ghetto uprisings, about community organizing projects under the byline of William A. Price. The black liberation movement (including exclusive interviews with H. Rap Brown) is thoroughly explored by Robert L. Allen. Other bylines have included such movement activists as Staughton Lynd, Rennie Davis, Thorne Dreyer, Carl Davidson, Neil Buckley, Jack Minnis, Jeff Segal, Mike James, James Boggs, Robert Analavage, Hamish Sinclair and Stanley Aronowitz, among others. The Guardian's European correspondent, incidentally, is the former foreign minister of Republican Spain, J. Alvarez del Vayo; its London correspondent, William J. Pomeroy, is a former guerrilla fighter who served with the Huk rebellion in the Philippines. Add to this hip coverage of new films and other cultural developments, a sharp, radical editorial viewpoint, a column entitled "opinion" that lets readers say what they please, an attractive design and professional editing—put it into 12 tabloid pages each week—and it amounts to one hell of a good movement newspaper.



the deal

... for building the radical newsweekly that's building the movement: 50% commission for SDS on all new annual subscriptions and on all single issues of the National Guardian.

how it works

Subscription cost	SDS keeps
\$7 annually to every radical non-student	\$3.50
\$3.50 annually to every radical student	\$1.75
\$0.20 per issue to every dubious radical*	\$0.10

*There's also a special 10-week trial subscription for dubious radicals at \$1. You get no commission on that one, but it's likely to lead to an annual subscription when it expires—on which you will collect your commission. We'll keep track.

On the first — and every successive — new sub you send us, be sure to include your name, address and SDS chapter affiliation. We'll set up a credit file for your chapter account and accredit you as a radical agent.

All of this, we assure you, can and will be done with an absolute minimum of burocratismo, a vile disease against which we, too, struggle.. Subscription blanks, poster material, leaflets, sample copies of the Guardian are available, and will be sent to students who request them.

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Portraits of the Mexican "Left"

continued from p. 1

While all leftist students call themselves Marxists, no national group has come forth to replace the discredited CP.

THE GENERATIONAL REVOLT

The generational revolt is underway in Mexico. But leftist groups are little affected by it. While student-age Marxists are incensed at their elders for having been wary of militant action, they will nonetheless follow those of any age who call for the sword. As students, most of them take their careers more seriously than we do; many believe that they will be the academic and industrial leaders of a socialist Mexico that is just around the corner. Furthermore, there is no genuine move on to develop an alternate life-style, and when it comes to artistic and literary endeavors, the student left in Mexico may be counted in among the conservatives. (After all, when you've got Rivera and Orozco, what more could be wanted in art?) In fact, their perspective is almost wholly economic. Freud has excited few minds—but the first concern of Mexican leftists is still the material poverty of their nation. The humanistic EARLY MANUSCRIPTS of Marx have not been read in Mexico, and at this point, most leftists among students look upon CAPITAL as his most significant work. Lenin is more widely read than either Marx and Engels, but more and more every day Che and Mao are in the hands of students.

SKETCH OF A MAOIST BOOKSTORE

Becky and I spent about two weeks in Mexico City, talking with students there, and especially with a core of people centered around a Maoist bookshop, El Primer Paso (The First Step), which was the distribution point for all Chinese publications in Mexico. In July, several people associated with the operation were jailed on conspiracy charges—and twelve tons of literature were confiscated. Since some of the men behind the Maoist trend in Mexico became friends of ours, and since their influence on the student left is even greater today, I thought a couple of them might be worthy of mention here.

"INGENIERIO"

A civil engineer and ex-CP leader, Javier Fuentes Gutierrez, about 45, was the titular chief of the group literature operations. Fuentes, whom I knew only as "ingenierio," ran for office with the CP's sponsorship in the state of Guerrero some years ago. But following the twentieth Congress of the CPUSSSR, he broke with the Mexican Party. Even prior to that, he had fought against destalinization, and was kind enough to sell me, at a decent price, a complete set of Stalin's works, which can nowhere be found in the CP's bookstores today. (Stalin is commonly available only in pamphlets of Chinese origin.) A pudgy, short, few-worded guy with a twinkle in his eye and a laugh on his lips, "ingenierio" was the picture of a bewhiskered Indian Santa Claus. He left Mexico for China by means of a forged passport, the government says, late in June. At first skeptical of me, he put me through an interrogation (all Americans are suspect to left Mexicans, though I found the Primer Paso less so than usual), but later extended almost full friendship, and had promised to bring me a Red Guard armband from his journey.

ENRIQUE

More important to the movement, however, was veteran guerrilla Enrique Marenco Martinez. A dark and athletic man, with a thick Central American accent, and almost knotty hair, he was possibly of Indian and Black heritage. Thirty-six and of Sawadovean origin, Enrique had been involved in two unsuccessful uprisings in Nicaragua, and had been berated by both Fidel and Che for his part in their failure. He had lived in Cuba between the wars. Banned from the US as well as his native country, he entered Mexico some two years ago. At the onset of his armed activity, his position had been that

of "Marxist, undefined." But when the Soviets withdrew their missiles from Cuba in 1962, his Latin American pride and his militancy were both offended, and he began to turn towards Maoism. Far from being sectarian, among the students he employed in El Primer Paso, was a Trotskyist, and he was not directly critical of my own unlearning. Of the two weeks we spent around El Primer Paso, my wife and I passed most of our time with Enrique.

A man's example can be a powerful argument about his politics. Enrique never debated his opinions much, and once came almost to tears when he forecast the bloodshed that imperative changes would force. And this was the one thing he most impressed upon me: that blood and politics are inseparable, however much we might wish it to be otherwise. But Enrique was not a hawk; in fact, his whole character showed that a man's beauty does not rule out his ability to deal in death. Cut off entirely from his family, Enrique could yet have lived his life out in Cuba, but he preferred to be enmeshed in an aggressive struggle on unconquered (ideologically or militarily, Mexican authorities should note) territory.

He had nothing but his poverty, not even a degree to claim status by. Born into a peasants' family, he had learned carpentry and accounting on his own, but had instead chosen the movement. He slept on a cot inside the Paso, owned but a single set of pants—and now he is charged with receiving a King's ransom from China!!! Enrique smiled little, spoke less, and always seemed to be worrying about some far-off affair. He clung to us, I think, partly from courtesy, but partly because my wife and I were symbols of hope to him. Throughout our stay, when we boarded a bus, Enrique would lead us to the rear, uncomfortable though it was. At the time, I thought little of it. Since that time, my wife has pointed out that from the rear, one may see who boards behind him, hence knows if he is being followed. Perhaps Enrique knew what was coming. To this day, I don't know if he is guilty, but at the worst, I suspect the charges against him are exaggerated. Even were they correct, the matter would be the same; somebody should make a revolution in Mexico; a thousand beggars and besickened children testify to the matter.

"MARXIST, UNDEFINED..."

But if Enrique represents the best among those Mexicans who are currently influencing students, he is nevertheless in the minority. For by and large, even if the Mexican students do not respect the CP, it is still influential in their learning.

For example, on invitation of the Red Flag (a Maoist group), I spoke at a college which was preparing for student elections. Although most of the 100 who turned out to hear me were "Marxist, undefined," and although the PRI had to contend itself with backing a CP candidate for student body president, only three or four of the group had ever heard of Stokely Carmichael. To a man, these were Trotskyists, who as a group were the most internationally-aware leftists I encountered. The problem is that while, Maoists, for example, are informed about disputes among socialist nations by means of Peking-printed texts, there are AP and UPI, the only hemisphere press services in Mexico, who don't carry much about him internationally, and the leftist press, which is CP-controlled. (Trotskyists tend to inform themselves through foreign bulletins from the US England, etc.) Furthermore, although everybody knew of Muhammed Ali (because boxing is highly popular in Mexico), nobody except the Trotskyists even had a concept of black people as existing in a separate sub-culture, and therefore looked upon Ali's nationalism as racism, plain and simple. Most of the students I conversed with were appalled to hear that no real alliance exists between white and black workers, or between workers and the left. No one I encountered, again excepting Trots, knew anything about SDS. (One who led me to his tenement room showed me a map of world conflict centers, wherein the only point marked in the US was Berkeley.) Therefore, while militancy may be the new rule, that strength is deprived of international awareness by the domination of the left press by Moscow-oriented journalists and US news services.

However, most of the new-spirit students are aware of the problem. In response to it, they have begun to ignore the standard left magazines POLITICA and SIEMPRE. The free-form SUCESOS (which hired Debray to report from Bolivia), and a satirical comic, LOS SUPERMACHOS (cir. 130,000 weekly), are now the most widely read publications among them.

In summary, if a New Left may be said to exist in Mexico, it is a revolt against the Moscow line. It is decidedly not attempting to uproot traditional Mexican values as far as art, personal relations and life-styles go. If the New Left is for real, it is hostile to the older generation of leftists, but only to those among the elders who counsel patience and parliamentary action. Its attitude is straightforward and forceful: the task student leftists in Mexico say, is to transform the world materially—everything else can wait.

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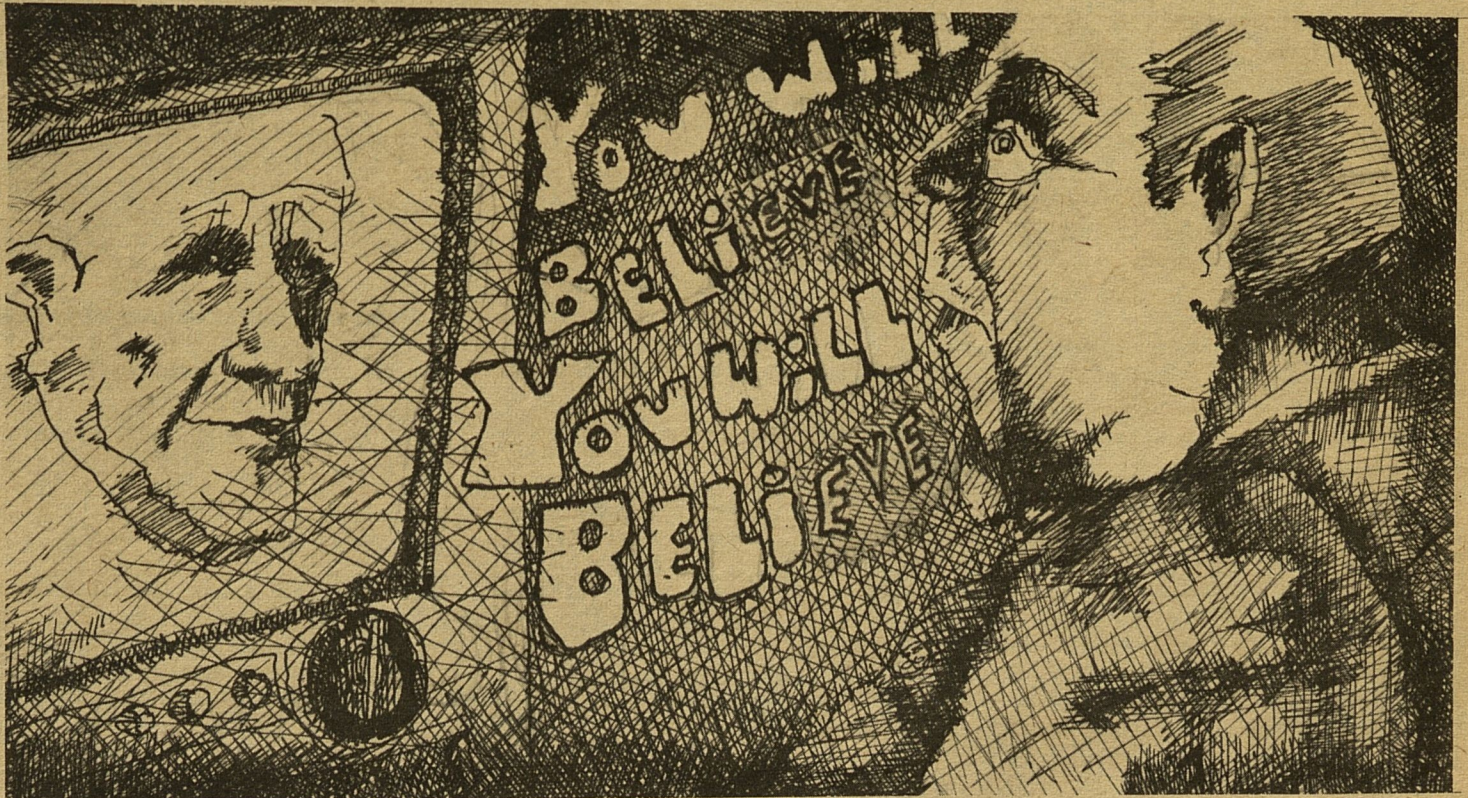
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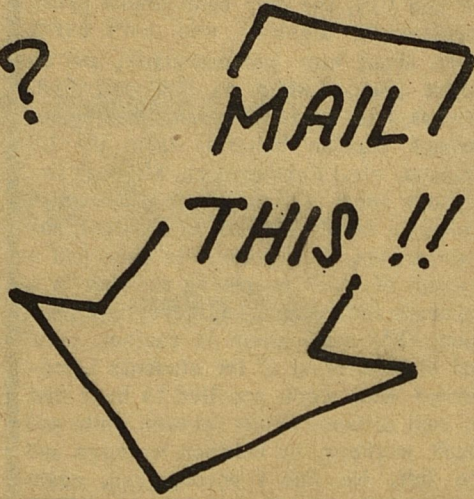
(A.D. 879)

Ts'ao Sung

The hills and rivers of the lowland country
 You have made your battle-ground.
 How do you suppose the people who live there
 Will procure "firewood and hay?"
 Do not let me hear you talking together
 About titles and promotions;
 For a single-general's reputation
 Is made out of ten thousand corpses.

Have you changed..

your address without
 telling us?



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NAC minutes

September 21, 1967

Members present: Rossen, Buck, Pardun, Kissinger, McCarthy, Davidson, Spiegel.

Members absent: Silbar, Tepperman.

Others present: Pohlman, Gellen, Kempf, Urban, Venezia, Harris, Horton, Draznin.

1. FINANCIAL REPORT. Contributions had fallen off by \$300 over the previous week. McCarthy noted that if things continued at the present rate, we would be broke at the end of the month. Rossen added that, comparing with last year's budget, SDS had to bring in \$1600 a week to keep its head above water. Currently, we receive about half that amount. Dig deeper, brothers and sisters.

2. SALARIES. Staff salaries were cut to \$20 a week for the foreseeable future, except for Eric and Wendy Kindberg (\$30), Marilyn Levine (\$85), and Geno Harris (\$90).

3. CORPORATION. The NAC voted to approve the establishment of a holding corporation (New Ideas Publishing Co., Inc.) to protect the office and printing equipment of SDS and Liberation Press. This does not entail the incorporation of SDS (an act which would require the approval of the entire membership) and deals only with the expensive equipment in the NO. New Ideas Publishing signed a contract this week for the purchase of a new Webb press (total purchase price \$15,000). The installation of this piece of equipment will greatly enhance the production of NLN and SDS Literature.

4. LIST EXCHANGE. The NAC voted to exchange contributors lists with Vietnam Summer, under the conditions that neither group would use the other's list

for 6 month hence.

5. ANTI-FACIST SECURITY. Since several offices of anti-war groups in the same building as the NO were vandalized last week, with files and membership lists stolen, the NO staff and the NAC have had several discussions on the problems of office security. The NAC approved certain security measures to be taken in warding off the local fascist counter-insurgents. One of the NAC's decisions on security was not to print its other decisions on office security in the NAC minutes. Never fear, brothers and sisters, the NO will take care of itself (we hope).

6. NLN SPECIAL ISSUE. It had been decided that New Left Notes would run a special issue near the beginning of the school term. Very few requests had been received asking for the issue in quantity. However, those who had requested the issue had asked for extremely large quantities... in the neighborhood of 15,000 to 20,000! Thus there was a real question of how many should be printed and how many should be sent to the different chapters. John Rossen said that he would loan the office \$500 to print a larger quantity. This offer was accepted by the NAC and \$250 more was allocated by the NAC since the paper had been printed for two weeks in the print shop and had therefore cut down on the normal costs of operating.

submitted by Brother Carl Davidson

September 28, 1967

Members present: McCarthy, Rossen, Silbar, Spiegel, Davidson.
 Members absent: Buck, Pardun, Segal, Tepperman

AGENDA

1. 48th Ward NCNP and SDS member-

NEW LEFT NOTES
 Room 206
 1608 W. Madison
 Chicago, Ill. 60612
 RETURN REQUESTED

Second-class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois.

Edward J. Lessin
 2231 Peel St.
 East Lansing, Mich. 48823

- ship lists
 - 2. Illinois State Commission's request for Ill. membership lists.
 - 3. Speakers wanted to go to Champaign-Urbana.
 - 4. Wayne Draznin's request for a loan
 - 5. Financial report
 - 6. Question of Night watch for the office
1. The 48th Ward wanted our membership lists. The NAC decided to wait until the NC and ask the NC for clarification on whether or not we should give our lists to branches of NCNP.

and Bruce Pohlman were delegated to go, Vernon to shake up the college kids and Bruce to shake up the high school kids.

4. Wayne had previously been picked up for a traffic violation. He wants SDS to loan him the money to pay the fine. The NAC agreed to do so.

5. Tim McCarthy was chastised for not having prepared the financial report for the NAC meeting.

6. A. It was decided that there was to be a night watchman every night. The SDS staff will rotate in the watch. The doors are to be boarded.

B. It was also decided that there would be no guns kept or used in the office at this time. However, an attempt will be made to procure some type of tear gas.

submitted by Tim McCarthy