

NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS · 1608 W · MADISON · CHICAGO · ILL.

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

November 27, 1967

November 14th at the Imperialism Eats Hilton

Steve Halliwell
New York

The architects of American imperialism gathered to sup together and listen to Dean "The White Peril" Rusk prattle about how much he wants peace. The occasion was the 50th anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association, an organization which was formed (according to the official line) to "stem isolationist tendencies in the United States." The group of corporate executives, multiversity heads, labor "leaders," and other assorted fruit provides reading material for discussion groups across the country to help stem isolationism in Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia and wherever else generals and landlords are yearning for the guiding hand of American freedom in dealing with the populace.

Press coverage for once actually outdid the actual events. Though the figures cited were, as usual, about half the actual number present (papers said four to five thousand), the coverage of the confrontations with cops was so predominant in the coverage that the evening looked like a continual battle between cops and demonstrators. In actuality, the messy situations that did occur were neither terribly messy nor all that frequent.

The relatively low level of police violence was the result of two factors: tactical decisions on the part of the people involved in direct action, and the fairly widespread cool of the New York police. The only cops bent on breaking heads, it seemed, were the squads of the Tactical Police Force, put together last year by the city and used in Tompkins Square against the hippies and in Queens at Halloween against a bunch of kids who were losing their spirits in a cemetery.

For those unfamiliar with the emerging tactics of direct action at mass demonstrations (Oakland being the prime example during Stop the Draft Week), a few principles or guidelines should be described. The idea behind direct action is disruption; that is to say, since picketing has proved completely ineffectual in producing official response and is now carefully enough controlled to prevent confrontations with the target group or individual, people have begun to find ways to prevent events from occurring or at least make those events the scene of enough disquiet to indicate the growing level of dissent to the public. The rules of the action are: (1) Don't sit down; (2) Don't fight the cops; (3) Try not to get arrested. Rule 1 grows out of the lessons of civil disobedience—the savagery of the cops is much enhanced by people stopping things up by sitting down and also affords people little opportunity to protect themselves. If the group stays on its feet, it can choose one target after another and keep arrests to a minimum, since a limited number of cops attempting to clear an intersection for example have little time for taking people off to squad cars or paddy wagons. The actions on Sixth and Seventh Avenue the night of the 14th involved people massing along the sides of a street where there was no police line and streaming out

into it between lights. The regular cops would come down into the area, the mounted troops would gallop down and the TPF squadrons would be marched in columns two abreast to the top of the intersection to await orders. At a signal, they would come down toward the demonstrators. The kids would clear off the street as the cops got to them and move back onto the sidewalks; they would then move down into the next block and do

LA People Busted During PTA Invasion

Francis Berweger
Los Angeles Region

Four staff members from the L.A. region were busted at a PTA meeting in Silverlake on Thursday, Nov. 16. It all started when the high school SDS chapter decided to picket a speech by Police Chief Tom Reddin at Marshall High School's PTA meeting. Marshall is one of the key schools in the Silverlake Community Organizing Project.

Reddin didn't show up. He was attending a conference on "riot control" somewhere in the midwest. At about 8 p.m., about one hundred people (high school students and regional staff) showed up at the meeting to hear Reddin's substitute speaker (another honkie cop) talk about the evils of drug addiction and sex. Most of the young kids were turned away because they were dressed funny and began to picket outside the school. The rest of us entered the auditorium and sat down together.

When the cop talked about the Griffith Park love-ins (where hundreds of young kids have been busted and clubbed in the past few months) we all began to hiss and carry on. Then one of the demonstrating student's parents (a doctor in the community) got up on stage and asked that the young people outside be allowed into the auditorium to take part in the program (it had been advertised as an open meeting). When his request was turned down after a long debate, disruption tactics went into effect. It was a beautiful scene—fifty or so of us clapping and stomping, "let them in, let them in." Angry fascist parents, screaming obscenities and threats, kids squaring off with parents, plainclothes cops everywhere; it was all very surreal.

Finally it was made known that if the comrades outside couldn't come in, the meeting could not go on. The embarrassed PTA president came up with a brilliant piece of strategy. She moved the meeting to another room in an attempt to lose us. Cops and security guards were posted at the doors and stopped us when we tried to enter.

The guards began to shove some people around. The Klonsky brothers (Mike and Fred) gave the cops some shit and were busted and handcuffed by a security guard in plain clothes. They were taken into a hallway and held until the LAPD could come and take them away. In the meantime, the kids outside heard about

the same thing. Rule 2 is implicit in that description of tactics, because it is clear that no one tried to "hold" an intersection against a police effort to clear it—it just took them time to get it clear. And then by god it would happen again.

Rule 3 is also implicit in that description but it should be added that the police in New York made arrests most frequently when they had picked out one "trouble-

maker." Once they had picked someone out, they would really run him down, no matter how deep in the crowd he buried himself. There was one report of the crowd liberating a guy seized by two cops, but most often the cops were so precise in their targets and so savage in their determination to get him, that most people they tried to arrest were taken. Furthermore, the people who were obviously marshals (at the head of crowds shouting directions or else carrying bull-horns) were picked up whenever the police could get at them.

As mentioned above, police performance was for the most part very controlled, a very shrewd move on their part. Some cops could be heard commenting to others that they didn't know why the captains in charge didn't want to "do a job," i.e. beat and disperse the crowds that were obviously going to continue to disrupt as long as they could stay in the area. But the few scenes where the cops really did set on the demonstrators with a real vengeance sparked exactly the kind of rise in anger that the cops in charge were seeking to prevent. One action taken on 51st Street and Sixth Avenue is a good example. The TPF boys were called in at about 8 o'clock to clear the corner.

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Protest Murder of Che, Tuition, Yankee Imperialism Brazilian Students Block Rio de Janeiro Streets

RIO DE JANEIRO—A thousand high school and university students pulled off a lightning all-purpose street demonstration in Rio de Janeiro recently and virtually occupied the downtown area of the city for nearly an hour.

The students were displaying their anger over the murder of Che Guevara, the establishment of tuition in the traditionally free universities, and a series of agreements between the Brazilian education ministry and the United States Agency for International Development.

In the view of the students, these agreements will destroy the autonomy of their universities and result in a Yankee takeover of education in Brazil.

Specifically, these U.S.-sponsored agreements would virtually exclude political activity on the campus by reorganizing the university in the name of "efficiency." Furthermore, they would involve U.S. foundations and impose a foreign atmosphere and style on university education.

The students blockaded the street with a utility company barricade from a work zone, and used unique devices made from bottle tops and nails to puncture the tires of cars.

One of Rio's main avenues, the Avenida Rio Branco, was completely tied up in a traffic jam that involved hundreds of cars and thousands of people.

The students, who have been on the defensive since the right-wing dictatorship

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took power in April, 1964, maintained the upper hand all afternoon.

Several student organizations, all of them declared illegal and subversive long ago by the military government, organized the demonstration. It began with a series of fiery speeches at the Ministry of Education building.

As they raced through the streets, between cars and on top of them, the students chanted "Guevara! Guevara!" They also yelled "Down with imperialism," and "Freedom."

The little bottle-cap-and-nail devices were placed in front of automobile tires so that when the car moved forward, the nail entered the tire and caused a flat.

The students climbed on top of the roofs and hoods of cars to deliver speeches attacking the Brazilian and the North American governments.

The police were caught by surprise and when they finally got to the scene, the students quickly dispersed. There were only two arrests. Hours after the incident, which occurred October 25, the political police (known as the DOPS) held a meeting to discuss the situation.

Rio's leading "establishment" newspaper, the *Jornal do Brasil*, which provided the facts on which this article is based, was clearly up tight and published an angry editorial entitled "Defiance and Impunity."

Brown Raps with White Left

Marc Steiner

LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK, Nov. 16 (LNS)—H. Rap Brown, the chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee told Columbia University white radicals that he considers them brothers in the vanguard of a revolution.

Dispelling the notions of black chauvinism generally associated with him in the establishment press, Brown emphasized the need for black-white unity in forging an American revolution.

"A revolution is not a white or black thing," Brown said. The talk was sponsored by Columbia's Afro-American Society.

Brown said that the increasing militancy and revolutionary tactics of white leftists have brought them closer to black militants.

"We have a common problem—our extermination," Brown said. He explained this problem by asserting that the government has readied 24 concentration camps, with a capacity of 500,000. Brown cited the existence of renovated camps, first built in the 1940's, when they were used for Japanese-Americans. Brown warned that black and white revolutionaries must be prepared to resist a wave of repression launched in the name of "American security."

Zeroing in on his student audience, Brown urged a redefinition of university education. He said that "the university is a job-filler," and warned students not to waste their four years in irrelevancies. They should do vital research on the government's activities against the people of this country and of the world.

If students get these facts and ideas across to people, Brown said, they will be fulfilling an important role—raising the consciousness of the American people.

While praising both black and white rebellions clearly directed at the corporate imperialist state, he had sharp words for people of both colors whose roles were not revolutionary.

He condemned the hippie as "an apolitical person in a time when we need political people."

He likewise condemned the newly elected mayor of Cleveland, Carl Stokes, as a typical "Negro," a man who lacks awareness of the true racist nature of American culture and of the beauty and proud history of the black people. He said that Stokes "has no real relevance to the Black movement...no real power in that city, which is controlled by white corporations. He will be a tool of the government.... He has a role of an oppressor of the black people. And as a Democrat he is our enemy!"

More On The NIC

Mike Spiegel
National Secretary

(This report was inadvertently left out of last week's issue of NLN - Eds.)

Port Huron Statements—The NAC had passed on to the NIC the decision of how to deal with the many Port Huron Statements which we have un-collated, feeling that it was a political decision about the circulation of the statements. At present we still receive many requests for the PHS to be used by students and teachers for courses, and by new members who believe that the PHS constitutes the sds position on everything in the world. Since it was felt that sds policies have changed considerably since the PHS was written, the NIC decided to have inserted in all future copies of the Statement, a brief forward which explains that the PHS is the founding statement of sds, and that it should be looked at as an historical document, rather than representing an sds position which is widespread now.

Dee Jacobson reported on the progress of the new white organizing projects which are now being set up in working class communities. They are mainly centering around community-based draft resistance as an entrance issue into the community, later expecting to get involved in other issues in the area. The projects will have a small office at the REC house where one or two people will maintain contact between the projects and put out a bulletin written by and for organizers.

There was a brief discussion of our relationship with Liberation News Service and no final decision was reached, although everyone agreed that we should keep in close contact with them in order to see of what help they could be to the movement and sds. There is the possibility that sometime in the future sds could work out a more concrete working relationship with them.

A topic of discussion running through the entire two-day meeting was the role of the NIC, and how to achieve more democratic collective leadership in sds. Complaints about the handling of the Oct. 21 Mobilization were raised by Mike Klonsky of the L.A. Regional office. It was felt that, despite NC resolutions mandating action in relation to the Mobilization, that sds' role there was determined without real participation of the membership. The specific situation of the mobilization led to a general discussion of how sds should act in such situations.

Although no real answers were found, it was felt that the NIC must take a more active role in decision-making, and attempt to reflect more clearly the feelings of the membership. The only real result of the discussions was the raising of consciousness of those on the NIC, forcing them to more deeply consider the problem and start seeking concrete solutions, particularly since situations requiring quick decision-making are sure to arise more frequently in the future as action which relates to sds begins to take place on more and more fronts.

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and the

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Anti Imperialist Action in New York

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Most of the people there had not been part of the direct action squads that had roamed the periphery and chosen places to block. But when the police formed a line and started pushing them back with clubs held in both hands waist-high with the TV cameras blinding the demonstrators, anger began to mount. Then things were really triggered when the cops stopped at mid-block and started back up the block with big grins on their faces; the grins, at first incomprehensible given the retreat and the return up the block of the swaggering demonstrators, were explained when the cops whirled around after about fifty steps, and charged back at the demonstrators, sticks high. The mounted cops in the street had not been very pushy, and demonstrators by then had filtered into the street and filled the sidewalk on the other side and chanting and banging on cans went up until the horses almost panicked. The group then moved out into Seventh Avenue (to the rear) and blocked three intersections in a row before beginning the move to Times Square where disruption went on for about three hours.

For the brothers and sisters who haven't seen Times Square, it should be made clear that it is not only the greatest monument to American adoration of go-go girls, smut, and the latest sado-masochistic thrillers out of Hollywood west of Saigon; it is also a terribly busy area and very long because of the oblique angle at which the two streets that make the square cross. Its crowning touch is a recruiting center for all services in the center of the square. Given the size and the amount of traffic (plus another crowd gathered to ogle at Frank Sinatra at a premiere), disruption was possible for an extended period of time.

But in general, the police were careful not to provoke the demonstrators. Lots of cops, especially the mounted ones, would ask the demonstrators to move onto the curb in a tone of voice that sounded like the occasion was not at all unusual and the people in the streets had somehow broken a rule by accident. Lots of "pleases" were heard as well. The only time the cops seemed really rattled was at 49th and Seventh, the last block of disruption before the march south to Times Square. There were several arrests and quite a few really savage fights, including one between two cops when a cop on a scooter rammed a guy on foot.

LA busts

continued from page 1
roughed up. Dorothy Bricker, the mother of a Marshall High girl, got busted for interfering. As they drove the cars away with the captured prisoners inside, people tried to block the cars and banged on the windshield.

They busted the Klonskys for "disrupting a school." Sue Eanet was booked on two charges, "interfering and battery." Mrs. Bricker was charged with interfering and at the time this is being written, Kay Murray is still in jail with a felonious assault-on-a-cop charge hanging over her.

The action has pulled the high school kids together and given the community project a beautiful opportunity to gain an initial base in Silverlake. Our next step will be to call a community meeting with kids and parents to plan a strategy around community control of the schools and community defense.

The toll on the anti-imperialist side was 46 arrests and at least 50 injuries. The exact injury figure is still not known as the police refused to release it. Twenty-one demonstrators were known to have been taken into one hospital alone.

Except in one case, those arrested were released "on their own recognizance" without setting bail. The vast majority were charged with minor offenses, but three were charged with "incitement to riot." They were Mark Rudd, Ted Gold and Ron Carver, all from Columbia SDS and leaders of the mobile band organized on Seventh Ave.

The toll for the forces of reaction was five police injured, an uncounted number of limousines dented or defaced and a vast number of ruling-class feathers ruffled.

new left notes

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Seriousness in the Movement

Students and the Revolution

I am writing this for three reasons; I want to answer "Brother Shank"'s letter (NLN 10/9/67) criticizing John Venezia's article STUDENTS... (NLN 9/25/67), to defend Carl Davidson's position stated in IMMUNITY: STUDENT ORGANIZING (NLN 9/25/67) and to put forth some of my ideas on the subject.

Brother Shank:

I am part of the "masses" that you want to play Moses with and I just want you to know that I wouldn't let you or anyone like you lead me across the street. First of all because I don't think you're intelligent enough to lead anyone, and secondly because when the "masses" want leaders they will create them.

I define "revolutionary potential" as follows; if you don't know what dog is biting you you're less able to deal with the problem, but if you know you're in a better position to stop the dog that's biting you. And poor peoples knows.

So when you say "The working class has unfortunately been duped into believing that they live in freedom and democracy," I say "yes" but what segment of our population hasn't been (except for the elite)? (NLN 9/9/66 Toward The Working Class)

You accuse John of being off base and then make a statement like, "He obviously hasn't noticed that the greatest revolutionary potential today lies with the students and intellectual communities

Protests hurt Dow

Dow Chemical Co. is being hurt by protests against its supplying napalm to the Defense Department, the chairman of the board admitted recently.

The company has also been hit by a strike which began Nov. 20 against Dow's plant in Torrance, Calif., sole producer of all the napalm used in Vietnam.

Carl A. Gerstacker of Midland, Mich., told a regional meeting of the Society of American Business Writers Nov. 17 that Dow was being "hurt by a boycott of consumer products . . . hurt by people saying they should sell our stock . . . hurt by some of our important people spending so much time answering criticisms against the company." But he added he couldn't conceive of the time when Dow would tell U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, "We will not send you weapons."

Campus protests against recruiters for Dow Chemical Co., manufacturer of napalm, seem to have hit the conscience of the firm's president Herbert D. Doan who called it "a stinking, lousy, goddam mess." But he also insisted Dow should not have to judge the moral issue of napalm's use.

"It would obviously be impossible for me to ring up Bob McNamara and say, 'Sorry, fella, we are not going to do any of your dirty work.' We believe in the general policies of the government. If history should later judge Lyndon Johnson as a mass murderer or another Hitler, then we too would gladly stand trial for having believed our country was moral," he told Newsweek (Nov. 13).

Napalm accounts for only one-half of one percent of Dow's worldwide sales of \$1 billion and fewer than 100 of its 35,000 employees are involved. But the company has received over 2,000 letters and postcards against its manufacture, in addition to militant campus protests.

The Chemical Workers Union, which is on strike at the plant, said it wanted an increased voice in setting safety standards and had rejected an offer of a pay increase. Oren Smith, president of Local 598, said the strike would have "nothing to do with the war in Vietnam."

Fifteen of the 125 union workers at the plant are involved in making the jellied gasoline used in the bombs. Company officials said they would try to run the plant with management and non-union workers during the strike.

from the NATIONAL GUARDIAN

in this country." I disagree with you and cite the fact that during the hot days and nights of the past summer, riot control police rode four to a car here in the Uptown area (this is a predominantly southern white area). Any large gathering of people was dispersed. There was none of this on campuses or in the white middle class suburbs. This I feel is an example of the non-student intellectual community's (your definition of intellectual) "revolutionary potential."

You go on to say, "Apparently only the academic community has been able to see through the fog and realize that an economic and political bureaucracy is molding and directing our lives." Again I disagree with you by referring to the fact that in the Detroit uprisings there were white southern snipers and looters. I can honestly say that I feel they were "able to see through the fog..."

In making statements like these you show that not only are you off base but that you're not even in the damn ballpark.

To further destroy your theory of where the real "revolutionary potential" is, I'd like to say that my step-father refused to fight in the Korean War because he knew then what we are learning now. My mother was on a picket-line when you were still hung up on flashy cars (or whatever your "thing" is). My sister (through the movement) was granted a scholarship to a radical college where she is now into draft-resistance, anti-war, and other movement operations so that she can be of service to her people. Then there's the young white southern guys who have applied for C.O. status (and gotten it) because of their association with JOIN. Many of the same guys have Che posters on their walls and are reading and learning how to stop "the dog" from biting them. They are talking to their friends who are draft age, or approaching draft age about why the war is wrong.

Let me give a brief description of what JOIN is: JOIN Community Union is an organization in the Uptown area of Chicago (see MOVEMENT 11/66 Page 12, and 10/66 Page 3-4) that is working to organize poor and working class whites, most of whom are southerners. We organize around issues that affect the lives of these people: housing (which is some of the worst in the country), police brutality, violation of civil rights, exploitation by merchants, land-owners, etc., welfare, health, public schooling, urban renewal, and employment.

These issues have caused us to start a school that teaches people what these issues are and how they affect their lives and what they can do to control and change them: rent-strikes, boycotts, block clubs, tenant unions, welfare groups, a radical theater, food co-ops, clothing co-ops, a young guys' club (ours is the Goodfellows) and maybe a co-op gas station (still working on this).

LETTER TO ED

Editors:

After reading the thing on hippies: why are you so uptight? Hippies bug you cuz they think they can turn the world on with their good feelings instead of working and being intellectual radicals. You say they're non-creative, middle-class neurotic, and running away from Everything, esp. Sds. Maybe they're asking you to do what they're trying, to shut up and learn to feel how beautiful you are. You can't see the thing they are running to catch because its too simple for words, and nobody's gonna tell you. I get your paper way out here, and I like it but we are moving away from it. At sds at the Uof O since Brandy and Lee went off to Cambodia, we just been workin things out. But I guess N.Y. must be pretty hard. Love, Susie Eugene, Ore.

There is more "revolutionary potential" in what I just wrote than in a dozen of your "intellectual or academic communities". If you think that a revolution is going to take place over dorm rules or where the light show is going to be held please don't call yourself a radical (revolutionary)! I don't want anyone to think that's what it's all about.

You go on to say, "Freeing the campuses from the system should be one of the most important objectives of the liberation movement." John made it damn clear that control of the universities isn't important, "Once they (the universities) cease being training grounds for capitalist dogs and their lackeys, they will go broke" and shut down. What happens to your power base then? John states later that, "The only reason even to attempt a campus movement is that students are useful and universities have a large concentration of young potential (potential for becoming organizers) people whose middle class and bourgeois values are not irreversibly entrenched; otherwise it is not worth the trouble." And I agree with him. Much can be done on campus to reach the "duped" intellectuals and direct them into different parts of the movement off-campus. Students are needed not as "leaders" (it wasn't students that stormed the Bastille) but as organizers working off the campus, as John goes on to say, "Programs must be designed on campus (underground newspapers, boycotts of federally funded programs, classes, teachers, wild-cat classes, strikes, etc.) to make as many students as possible leave; and off campus programs (see THE MOVEMENT 10/67, Putting Radicals to Work, A Role for Whites, and Radical Research, THE MOVEMENT 8/67) must be set up to channel people who desire to come into situations where they can both learn from the people in the movement and use what rudimentary skill they learned in school for the benefit of the people who need them."

Another error is when you say, "we will be sucked back into the system," talk about being "duped", man you're part of this system until they bury you, or we bury them. If you say that universities aren't part of the system then you're calling yourself a liar and defeating your own argument.

In closing the only advice I can give you is to go back to school or get back on base by getting off your white horse and join us organizers and organize.

Mr. Spangler:

I agree with almost every point Carl made because I believe that's where it's at. His article can be compared to a loaded shotgun, it depends which end you're on. If you're on campus calling yourself a radical and lying around blowing grass, digging the latest rock sounds, and talking (doing your "thing") to your

SDS DEFEATS MILITARY

Boe Shomer

Princeton SDS, in a confrontation with members of the Army and Navy ROTC, emerged victorious. The well-coordinated militant action took place in a large field, where the heroic Brothers refused to be daunted by rain and hail.

Final score for the afternoon was 3-2, with no injuries or arrests reported. The SDS strategy of resistance was evident in the tactics employed, with offensive moves repeatedly giving way to defensive stances until the ROTC members revealed a new loophole.

Dissent within the chapter prior to the action centered on the question of the relevance of the scheme to the major ideological dispute between SDS and ROTC. But since the challenge had been made in a letter received from the military, apparently it was agreed that refusal would be interpreted as cowardice.

Spectators, largely made up of SDS supporters, were enthusiastic in their response. The battle waged, alas, was one of touch football. This time.

Radical America

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little clique then I guess his article does seem a little hollow but if you're out in general society working your ass off (movement wise) it looks just a little different.

I am not going to argue point by point with you but I would like to say something about your point 3. I don't think Carl is "morally pure" nor are any of the other organizers that I know. What Carl is saying (and he speaks for a lot of us) is that the time for fun and games is over and we have to begin dealing with this (the movement, the revolution, etc.) a life and death struggle.

When I was working off a \$25.00 fine and 30 days on a prison farm in Mississippi (picking cotton) in 1957 one of the screws that guarded us used to yell, "Let's get to work! I don't wanna see nothin' but asses and elbows." That what we're calling for now, "elbows and asses".

ANOTHER CALL FOR SERIOUSNESS

First of all I contend that we don't have the ten to fifteen years everyone is talking about and that the next two or three years will be a life and death struggle for the movement just to establish itself (numerically, ideologically, and financially) and become powerful enough to deal with the reactionary forces that are even now trying to halt the liberal line of thought alive in America today. I believe that through the media of television, radio, newspapers, and general propaganda they can not only halt the liberal line but bring about a complete reversal (anyone remember McCarthy?). We have to use the next two or three years to become powerful enough to repel any attack they might use against us (HUAC, The McCarran Act of 1950, "operation dragnet"—for "operation dragnet" see REALIST #75, June 1967 and the Berkeley barb, Vol. 4 #24, Issue 96, page 4.)

I don't mean this to be just a put-down of students. The way I see it, the movement is like a wheel, with lots of different groups being the spokes. And the wheel needs all of those spokes to be able to run. But students are only one spoke, not the whole wheel. Just because they've gotten most of the publicity doesn't mean they should think they're going to make the revolution by themselves. It's time to start looking around at the rest of the country and talking to the people you see out there.

Yours in struggle,
Youngblood

(Youngblood is Doug Blakey, a southern white from Uptown and an organizer for JOIN Community Union.)

NLN-SPECIAL

The special issue of NLN is available to chapters for the cost of postage. This September 25th issue has in it "Guernica—this is Vietnam" by Carl Oglesby, and articles on Student Organizing by both Carl Davidson and John Venezia, and is valuable as an organizing tool. Mail requests to Literature Secretary.

The University and the Military:

Notes on the Chicago Conference

Jim Jacobs, REP Staff

Since September, student-led demonstrations against military research, and corporate and military recruiting on campus, have erupted in almost every major university. These disruptions have dramatically demonstrated the service station nature of the American university, bringing on mass arrests, tear-gas, and police brutality from the seemingly benevolent university administrations. Nonetheless, the demonstrations continue.

As a means of bringing together participants in these actions to take stock and exchange experiences, a conference on "The University and the Military" was sponsored by the Radical Education Project, SDS, the North American Congress on Latin America, and the University Christian Movement at the University of Chicago, Nov. 10-12th.

Not intended to stimulate a new major program for combatting university involvement with the military, or even to discuss specific actions for the future, the conference drew many SDS chapter members (over 250 attended) to provide information and discuss strategic problems of the university and military issue. Often, in both conference workshops and panels, fundamental substantive issues—civil liberties for recruiters, the relation of independent think tanks to the university, the nature of the modern university—were raised and discussed in depth. Given the helter-skelter nature of the Movement, the mere possibility that these issues were discussed by such a large group of people actively involved in the struggles, suggests the conference served a worthwhile purpose by evaluating the actions of the past few months.

From the outset, the issue of the university and the military was subsumed under a discussion of the general purpose of the university in the context of American society. On Friday night, panelist Martin Nicolaus spoke of the "iceberg phenomenon," insisting that military research was only one part of the overall integration of the university into the corporate and government structure. By aiming at the absurdities of secret research or the outrageousness of having Dow recruiters on campus, the movement might neglect the struggle against the ordinary, "non-secret" research daily going on to sustain the existing system. All panelists shared the opinion that the universities were institutions of domination: places where people were inculcated with skills and ethics useful for the performance of modern capitalism.

For the most part, the panelists were surprisingly in agreement on the thrust of any strategies for change. All rejected the concept common to most academics that the university should remain the "oasis" of the intellectual and cultural tradition of Western civilization. This view, associated with a recent article in the Nation by Gabriel Kolko, was considered elitist for it created an artificial distinction between the university and the real world, and contributed to the type of snobbery and mistrust for the common man so pervasive even among most radical university professors today. If the task is building a movement, the university cannot stand apart as a refuge.

Also rejected was the technocratic alternative articulated primarily by the new "action-intellectuals," who see the university functioning to adjust or smooth over the sore spots in the society in order

that stability be preserved. Growing out of the pragmatist school of philosophy, the technocrat assumes that all knowledge must be relevant, but rarely questions in whose interest it will be used. Thus, counter-insurgency research to deal with ghetto unrest is easily accepted by the good liberal academic who sees his research "helping" the black person to a better life within the present society. The alternative, at least as posed by Nicolaus, Carol Brightman, and John McDermott (both editors of Viet-Report) was one that combined the liberating qualities of education (the developing of an individual's capabilities) with the belief that these skills must be used in the interests of ordinary people. Nicolaus in particular emphasized the point, urging the audience to "combine education with redness," using knowledge to remain with the people. This type of academic activism is necessary if education is to have any substantive impact upon the affairs of non-university people.

Throughout the conference, one important drawback in the discussions was the lack of hard empirical information to document many of the generalizations. Continually, theories were spun-off with little apparent factual underpinning. Most of the panelists were guilty of this, and perhaps the forcefulness of their arguments was lost.

The lack of concrete information had an important pay-off when programs were discussed. Statements such as "social science research only aids the government's ability to manipulate people," (of course true on one level, but also meaningless at that level) were taken as a matter of faith, without any suggestion of what could be done about it. For an effective program against social science research, political criteria must be developed which isolate particularly obnoxious projects and who benefits from them, and then, how to attack them.

Unfortunately, other discussions fared no better. Although many interesting anecdotes were exchanged by activists (for instance at Oberlin's recent recruiting

demonstration, policemen, neglecting to notice the direction of the wind, were routed by their own tear gas), the panelists proceeded to list actions but with little discussion of their mistakes or how their experiences were relevant to the struggles of others. Perhaps more disturbing was the lack of long term strategic programs in any of the campus struggles discussed, although we are beginning to see the anti-war struggle in terms of building an anti-imperialist movement rather than witnessing against an immoral war.

Unfortunately, these weaknesses of the conference—lack of specific information, and the inability to articulate strategy—reflect the Movement more than the conference organization. We still have a long way to go before capably dealing with the university and military issue.

The four-hour panel on strategy was the highlight of the conference. Essentially, the issue discussed was civil liberties: whether demonstrators were justified in impeding the rights of individual recruiters, or the students who wished to be recruited, and more importantly, whether such tactics wouldn't serve to isolate anti-war activists from other students. Many radicals argue that civil liberties issues are merely bourgeois conventions that must be shattered by a revolutionary movement. Although Carl Davidson advanced this position, he was refuted by some SDS chapter people, particularly from Chicago (Chris Hobson), Michigan (Eric Chester), and Columbia (Mike Klare). Klare raised the situation at Columbia where, according to a number of people, the SDS chapter has been severely isolated and put in bad disarray over civil liberties issues. It was generally agreed that to advocate the denial of civil liberties of recruiters, potential recruiters and research required that the issue be morally clear and the campus of sufficient political consciousness that the chapter will not be isolated from the

CHICAGO

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TRIBUTE to CHE

Featuring Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of Communist Party of Ill., Sec., National Negro Affairs Commission, Gene Tour-nour, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Vivian Rothstein, SDS.

Saturday, December 9, 1967
Humboldt Park Civic Center
California & LeMoynes
Dinner and Admission to Rally: \$3.50 at 6:00 p.m.
Rally: \$1 Students 50¢ at 8:00 p.m.
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students and susceptible to the counter-pressure, perhaps expulsion from the campus.

The Sunday panel was exciting for it involved sustained discussion from the floor. Since no one had the answers, during these interchanges new strategic dimensions were added and various positions clearly delineated. Given the shoddy nature of the conference planning, seemingly endemic to the new left, it was fortunate the conference ended so well.

Results? A hefty set of working papers was distributed, and many delegates came away with extensive notes from the strategy workshops and the "how to research your university military involvement" sessions. A workshop discussing John McDermott's proposal for a radical faculty organization was well attended, and from the discussions, it appears likely that such an organization will be established in the near future. Most important of all however, real issues were discussed by participants. Clearly, if the movement is to grow, we must remain critical of our efforts and continually evaluate them. It is necessary to go beyond rhetoric and perhaps this conference helped the process along.

NAC Minutes

November 21, 1967

Members present: Earl Silbar, Carl Davidson, Howard Strange, Tim McCarthy, Karen Gellen, Carol Neiman, Henry Balsar, John Rossen.

Members Absent: None

Others Present: Boe Shomer

1. The Committee to Aid American War Objectors requested the chapter contact list. The NAC approved the request.

2. The \$450 debt for the Ann Arbor Convention will be paid to the VOICE chapter in payments of \$50 per week. The NAC decided to pay only that amount, while supporting VOICE efforts to fight the extra \$300 charged by the University of Michigan for fire marshalls. All chapters are encouraged to pay their chapter tax of \$5 per national member, since the N.O. really cannot afford to bear the expense of the convention; especially with the current expenses of the press, the fund-raising campaign, repairs on the office and the REC house, etc. Chapters are reminded (ahem) that the chapter tax was a mandate to each chapter by the April NC, and very few chapters have

NEW LEFT NOTES
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made any effort at all to send any money.
3. The report requested by the last NAC meeting on printshop income showed that for the period of Sept. 18 - Oct. 8, income was \$453.10. For the period Oct. 30 - Nov. 19, income was \$1469.20, (\$800 of the last figure consisted of two advance payments for paper, for two books.)

4. Financial report:

Income:		Expenses:	
Dues and subscriptions	\$489.00	Petty Cash	\$ 18.14
Literature	319.46	Travel	100.00
Contributions	125.45	Subsistence	250.00
Pledges	29.00	Office and REC Supplies	42.50
Sales	98.37	Printing Supplies	308.09
Miscellaneous	20.50	Exchanges	35.00
Exchanges	35.00	Cars	2.35
NLN Ads	00.00	Typesetting	33.94
Printing	92.00	Postage	358.16
Loans	65.00	Miscellaneous	30.00
Chapter Tax	00.00	Debts	82.64
Journal A	250.00	Phone (staff apt.)	26.52
Total	\$1523.78	Total	\$1287.34

Still to be spent: \$236.44
Balance: \$1540.72

CONFERENCE

NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE-----
Boston University, December 9th. Discussions will be on the Student Strike, Student Organizing, and other topics which relate to Student Organizing (the draft, and University Complicity).

REGIONAL CONFERENCE-----
Iowa City, Iowa, December 8, 9, & 10. Workshops will include: Underground Newspapers, Researching The Power Structure, NLF's new program, etc.
Denny Ankrum 124 Church St. Iowa City, Iowa

REGIONAL CONFERENCE
Lawrence, Kansas, December 2 & 3. Workshops include Police resistance, Underground papers, Draft resistance, and Black power.

912 Alabama, Lawrence, Kansas