

NEW LEFT NOTES

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

December 11, 1967

Finding Our Direction From Our History

by Les Coleman

See, we got a movement: talk about Oakland, D.C., Madison, New York. Talk about throwing the military off the campus. Talk about shutting the draft board down. That's been done. We know that a concerted and fairly widespread program of obstruction and exposure is going on. It is the student movement's program, and it is in effect SDS's program. We've got to work it over at this educational conference and at this NC and keep it growing through the spring. And so on.

The movement of obstruction and/or exposure has slogans at its head that are more or less a conscious political attack on the internal power structure of U.S. imperialism. But we got a history now, and in that history we got a whole lot of real, experienced, self-understanding of

MADISON STUDENTS EXPELLED

MADISON, Wis., Dec. 2 (LNS) — Three University of Wisconsin students were expelled Nov. 30, less than three hours after they walked out of their hearings before the Student Conduct Committee.

Robert Cohen, Robert Weiland, and William Simons were among 13 students arrested during the Oct. 18 campus demonstration against Dow Chemical Co. who were originally ordered to appear before the committee, which is made up entirely of administrators.

After several postponements, only five of the 13 were finally called before the Nov. 30 committee meeting. Mana Jennings, who was out of town at the time, and Carlos Joly, a citizen of Argentina who is now residing in Maryland, were also called.

The three students walked out of the hearings when their motion asking that the committee members disqualify themselves because of collusion was abruptly dismissed.

The charges, made by defense attorney Percy Julian, stemmed from a meeting held the day before, between members of the committee and the president, deans, lawyers, and several other administrators of the University.

Julian argued that the concept of "the body accusing and the body judging" being the same, was inherently unfair and unconstitutional, and that there was evidence of collusion in the fact that high-level administrators and the University's lawyers had met with the committee one day prior to the actual hearing.

Attempts had been made to hold the hearings on both Nov. 28 and 29, but were postponed when hundreds of students showed up to engage in noisemaking tactics. George Young, committee chairman and dean of the law school, threatened to close the hearings to the public, but

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the political attack we are making on that power structure. If we look back over that history we can find our direction. And then we can use that direction to critically evaluate the things we're doing: the tactics of our demonstrations, the methods and content of our political education, and the nature of the movement and the organization we're building.

Begin with the history because the history of our struggle shows us who and what we are fighting.

We began with a vague but hurting sense of dissatisfaction with the universities. Tangentially we criticized the way the political parties ran the country, sarcastically we cut at the horror and ridiculousness of a surplus economy and a scarcity culture. See, we knew someone was messing over our lives. We knew someone or something was imposing the personal morals and social regimentation of scarcity, of depriving ourselves, in a place where there was plenty of everything—but we didn't know who. From these intuitions we moved to demand and establish an organization that attempted to practice as well as preach participatory democracy. It was only that we wanted to be part of things and participate in decisions. We felt we could change our lives that way. But, see, we got ourselves into motion.

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The Political Function of the NC

Robert Pardon
Internal Education Secretary

If an anthropologist were to do a functional analysis of a typical SDS-NC he would come up with something like this; "It appears that the primary activity of an NC is debating for long hours over issues of an intellectual-political nature. The time spent talking about implementing those decisions is usually very minimal. The debates usually go on for hours and their primary function seems to be the lowering of the frustration level of those involved so that they can then go home somewhat less tense than before. For those who do not take direct part in these discussions, and that is the majority of those attending, the function seems to be to get them into the halls or onto the grass where they can discuss their organizing problems, find out what others are doing and try to coordinate their activities. A secondary function is to discourage those who are new to the organization from every coming to another NC."

It is possible to give many explanations for the fact that NC's have failed to relate to people's real organizing needs. One is that without any concrete program to discuss, it is logical that we should become a parliamentary leftist organization which concentrates on passing resolutions without really discussing the politics behind

SDS is developing within the context of a growing anti-imperialist movement. The beginnings of a new phase in that movement have been shown in Oakland, Washington, Madison, Brooklyn, and campuses throughout the country where Dow, the military, and the CIA are recruiting. The direction of a new program is in the air. But demonstrations of obstruction and/or exposure of political targets require skill in political education and organizational tactics. It requires also a critical understanding of the political direction of a program, and some planning for the next six months. We have tried to plan the NC and the Education Conference around those needs.

The direction of a new program has been set by the events of the last several months. We have not yet set the political context within which the actions can be viewed and expanded, however. At the Education Conference and NC at least one concrete program for the spring will be presented (see Carl Davidson's and Greg Calvert's article in NLN for a rough outline of what that program might look like). There should be in-depth discussion of that, and alternatives should be presented. What has been missing from our undirected action is national and regional coordination, and response and initiative aid from the national organization. That can only be done correctly if a good participation by the membership and strong mandates come out of the NC.

Because of the urgency pressed upon SDS chapters everywhere to act effectively within the context of the new direction of obstruction and exposure (i.e., "resistance"), the Education Conference will focus on what we have learned through the fall, in terms of both skills and political directions, and how to use that knowledge for future action.

Of course, papers, workshop suggestions, resolutions, program, etc. are joyously welcomed so that we all may have a clearer conception of what will be most useful to everybody. Such papers, etc. should be in the NO by December 20, so that we can plan for their most careful consideration at the Conference and NC.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION

Upon arrival, check in at Ballantine Hall, first floor, Room 013. If you have any problems locating the center of activity, notices will be posted at: Ballantine Hall; 448 E. 2nd St.; 102 N. Dunn St.—all in Bloomington. If you can't figure things out from the notices, call 339-2058 or 339-4791.

Housing will be arranged for upon registration; all attending should bring their own sleeping bag or bedroll.

There will be a \$5 registration fee to cover various expenses. Arrangements are trying to be made for free or very cheap food, but that is tentative. People should play safe and bring \$2 to \$2.50 per day for meals.

them or how their implementation would further the struggle. Indeed, the real questions of implementation are very rarely discussed at all.

Probably more basic is that a movement which is mainly a protest movement has its program defined for it in a very haphazard way by the institutions it opposes. While the desire to have a program which connects issues may be felt, it is not really possible until the movement is ready to go on the offensive and to define its own battles rather than reacting to the offensives of the enemy.

It seems from the experience of the last 6 months that we are now ready to take that offensive. In some ways that change is summed up in the slogan "from protest to resistance". Resistance is not simply a defensive stance against the impingement of institutions and the state upon our lives, but an offensive stance aimed at exposing those institutions and attacking them where ever possible. What that demands is that the N.C. become overtly political and that it deal with the issues which face us in our day to day organizing. We should see as our primary task the detailed discussion of the directions of resistance as indicated by the concrete experiences of Oakland, New

York, Washington, and the many anti-military demonstrations on campuses throughout the country. We should outline how that relates to specific constituencies and carries the struggle forward. We should be prepared to discuss which targets we can attack and expose to further our goals and which targets may, in fact, have a negative effect upon the movement. We must use our collective experience to decide how to work within coalitions and how to pull off actions in such a way that both security and democracy are maintained.

These and many other questions must be discussed in detail if we wish to give the N.C. real political content toward real political action. We no longer have the time for the luxury of debating philosophical politics outside of the context of where people are moving and where we can begin to make that motion occur. The process of making radical change requires discussion of strategy, tactics and program in relationship to our base. The political function of the N.C. must be to develop the form and content of political program which carries us forward in concrete ways. It is not to develop our abilities to make parliamentary

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LETTERS

Brothers and Sisters:

It was nice to read the headline, "November 14th at the Hilton: Imperialism Eats" and in general I thought it was a good article. However, it totally failed to mention two important aspects.

First, almost all of the protesters, including many of the SDSers, spent their time within the barricaded demonstration areas that the police set up and surrounded on the sidewalks of about four blocks along Sixth Avenue. I think part of the frustrations that later expressed themselves on the maneuverings down to Times Square and at Times Square were caused by this totally boxed in feeling. I don't know whether the frustration was in the end good or necessary or what, but it was certainly present.

Second, the article was in clear error when it said, "The only time the cops seemed really rattled was at 49th and Seventh..." The cops totally blew their cool on the corner of Sixth and 53rd, kittycorner from the Hilton. At about 6:10, a barricade went over and/or a cop got hit in the head with a bottle. Cops started wildly (but very purposefully) swinging at us from all three sides. About 30 or 40 of us were downed and beaten. And the final touch was that most of us were dragged away down 53rd Street through a gauntlet of about 15 or 20 cops who each took a swing at our bodies (though not our heads.) I think about 10 persons were seriously enough injured that the cops took them to the hospital. One paper admitted that the commander of the troops in that area totally lost control. It was clear that all of the cops were quite naturally very anxious, but also that many of them truly enjoyed their finest hour. As we were being downed, we watched with horror at several cops with broad grins, peace and freedom now? Farnsworth Lobenstine Lower East Side, N.Y.

Editors:

I'm kind of disturbed by what is happening in SDS and I'd like to try to express that. It appears that some people who write things for New Left Notes think that they are revolutionary because in their reporting and their analysis they use words like resistance, guerilla, quoting Che, etc. (Don't get me wrong, I think the recent, more serious attempts at resistance tactics are good and necessary.) I feel that a lot of the writing is pretty shallow because people apparently feel that it is more important to use 'revolutionary words' than to deal more seriously and in depth with issues.

I'm not challenging people's sincerity, but I think a lot of people are avoiding dealing with what I feel is the most important thing that SDS could be dealing with right now. That is, what are people going to do with their lives after school? How are we going to sustain our commitment and revolutionary vision when we get into the Real world? In other words, instead of proving we are radical by using the right rhetoric, we should be

more seriously preparing ourselves for assuming revolutionary life styles after school. Which might mean that local, regional, and national SDS should be spending more time struggling with what it will mean to be a radical teacher, lawyer, doctor, engineer, organizer, etc. The Radicals in the Professions conference this summer was a start, but I feel the need for more of this, not only for people already in the professions, but for us who are trying to decide how we are going to support ourselves and remain radical.

Mike James has attempted to start this kind of necessary dialogue with his article a few weeks ago about choosing some cities and directing as many radicals as possible into these cities on all different levels (teachers, social workers, lawyers, doctors, people to work in factories, community union stuff, etc.) These urban coalitions or cadres working in a coordinated way, helping each other financially, emotionally, working out strategy together, helping to sustain each other's commitment, and creating real possibilities of some meaningful movement in these cities, seems to me to deal fairly effectively (even though it needs much more developing) with some of our problems of building a sustained, effective radical movement in this country.

It is interesting that I have not noticed one response to Mike James' article. The purpose of my remarks is to encourage people to respond to and start dealing with the things that James is raising. I think that Mike is offering the beginnings of a viable strategy for white radicals to develop a meaningful, effective radical movement to unite with the black militants, so we can prevent fascism from coming to this country (which I feel is a real possibility) and begin to lay the groundwork for the revolution to make ours a truly humane society. I hope people will start dealing with James' thoughts as soon as possible because I've been told that 4000 SDS people are going to graduate from school this year. What are they going to do after June? To be effective we are going to have to deal with developing viable radical life styles collectively, not individually. Tom Ehrlich Columbus, Ohio

Editors:

Howard Zinn is right in pointing out that corporation recruiting is a fact and not a philosophical proposition; the issue of freedom of thought or speech is irrelevant. But a more specific and stronger case for barring Dow and other military industrial corporations can be made on the grounds of protecting the University as such.

This year 86% of money for Research and Development is for military purposes. This disproportion in the use of brains has been going on for two decades and is on the increase—in 1962 the ratio was 71%. In some of the greatest schools, more than half the budget is paid directly by the military and related operations like the CIA. Thus the balance of facul-

THE EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The basic structure will be workshops. We are planning to have many resource people who will probably speak at mass sessions. The major thrust of all the workshops planned is how to do effective political education and work around action, although they all should be vital to chapter people in planning and carrying out a wide variety of activities.

Dec. 27th, 8am-10pm: REGISTRATION at Ballantine Hall, first floor, Rm. 013. The Indiana University campus at Bloomington, Indiana. (This should be the first place you check in upon arrival—even if you arrive late.)

Dec. 27th, 6pm: MASS SESSION with discussion of perspectives on the educational conference, working papers will be distributed on the different aspects of the student movement and recent activity. We are attempting to get the "Battle of Algiers" to be shown that night.

WORKSHOPS:

Dec. 28th, 9:30am-10pm: SELECTING POLITICAL TARGETS: The increasing importance of research and careful analysis of targets, taking into account their impact, educational and political, in on and off campus constituencies. Also, resource people on "how to...."

RECRUITMENT AND EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY LEADING UP TO ACTION: Two workshops on techniques of political education for action, publicity and propaganda work, the pre-action work with the grassroots.

DEMONSTRATION TACTICS AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE: Two workshops on the new militancy and its political direction. Lessons from recent situations, resource people from Oakland, New York, etc.—weaknesses and strengths of particular situations.

REPRESSION AND DEFENSE: Arthur Kinoy as resource. The growing importance of protection of the movement as we mature and take more effective political action. "How do we best deal with the bastards" information.

Dec. 29th, 9:30am-7pm: NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COORDINATION: Their increasing importance in light of a possible national program for the spring. What is necessary at the local level, regionally, and nationally for effective communications and coordination; what it means in terms of future action.

SUMMER PROGRAM: Initial thought and planning for a summer program in order to effectively maintain momentum through the summer and into the early fall.

FINAL MASS MEETING OF EDUCATION CONFERENCE: Summary evaluation of the conference.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dec. 29, 7pm-10pm: PLENARY SESSION: Reports and necessary administrative work.
A. Credentials C. Recognition of new chapters
B. Financial Report D. State of the organization, reports from the 3 secretaries
E. Report on the Education Conference

Dec. 30th, 9:30am-4pm: RESOLUTIONS WORKSHOPS: Workshops on resolutions and major topic areas relating to programmatic needs of the organization. Obviously, additional ones may be set up and resolutions dealing with totally different topics may be proposed from the floor. We have attempted to confine workshops to major topic areas which are dealing with the program.

A. Spring Program C. Repression and Defense
B. High Schools D. Summer Program

Dec. 30th, 5pm-10pm: PLENARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dec. 31st, 9:30am-10pm: PLENARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

ties has been distorted. Research has been extrinsically directed and narrowly channeled. There is secret research, alien to the academic tradition. And teaching in many fields has degenerated into training apprentices for military industrial corporations. The new proposal to grant graduate deferments in mathematics, physics, and engineering (and medicine) underlines the situation.

It is the duty of faculties to purge this Whore of Babylon as incompatible with the integrity of the University; certainly barring the recruiters is a relevant first step. The principle is the same as when Harvard barred Joe McCarthy and his committee; since their investigation struck at the essence of the University, they were not allowed to come on campus.

Faculties are corrupt or timid and do not do their duty—and professors courteously do not scrutinize one another's contracts--so the students must do the pugging. This means, of course, not only blocking the recruiters but boycotting certain classes and picketing certain reserach projects. A campaign along this line is long overdue.

In defending thd Dow protesters at C.C.N.Y. before the faculty disciplinary committee, I tried not merely to get them off but to get them commended as loyal sons of Alma Mater.

Paul Goodman 402 W. 20 St.
N.Y.C.

Editors:

More and more students are finally realizing that it is NOT all right to obey orders when orders are immoral. More and more students are taking a second look at the war in Vietnam and finding

that things are NOT the way they should be.

Women Strike for Peace has issued an excellent reprint, "Opposition to Viet Policy Escalates on Campus." Since I feel it should be read by a wide audience, I will be glad to send a copy to any readers of New Left Notes who will send a long stamped envelope requesting it.

Peace!
Richard A. Chinn, Esq. 600 Third Ave. So.
Providence, Ky. 42450

HELP! REP Staff Position

Just what is movement "internal education"? Beginning in January the Radical Education Project will have an office staff position that needs to be filled. Salary is \$30 a week and we can help find a place to live in Ann Arbor. Contact REP at P.O. Box 625 -Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48108.

Anyone applying for the position should expect:

- 1) to come to AA and meet with the REP staff (we'll have a place for you to stay)
- 2) to make a staff commitment until at least Sept. 1968.
- 3) to have ideas for substantive work-research, writing, etc.--that would contribute to internal education programs
- 4) to spend considerable time in office shitwork (experience is not necessary)
- 5) to have time set aside for #3 often interrupted by the pressing demands of #4 which are part of #3 (really!)
- 6) to live in Ann Arbor, home of one of the largest defense contractors in the nation.

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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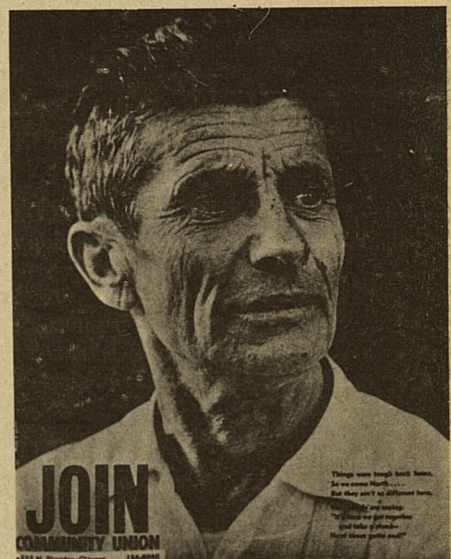
Introduction for the Educational Conference

Man...
Read



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We began also in isolation. We began in programmed isolation. We were being trained for an oppressive colonialist society and at the same time kept from learning the nature of that society. You know what that looks like: training which we could not see fitted us for anything. Only a 'general preparation', but certainly not a preparation for life. There was the meaninglessness of the social sciences and the humanities. There was the strict social and academic regimentation of the business or government oriented training. The university was bad enough in itself, but worse because it led into something we knew smelled rotten.

And it worked, this program of isolation. After two or three years of that bullshit it got to be hard just to talk to folks in the streets, ordinary folks, about making a living, and the way a rotten society made it hard, and made it "for nothing." See, we knew about exploitation, and we knew about our special kind of exploitation, but exploitation is an evil, not an enemy. We could not find an enemy. And let's say the truth: we weren't ready for a fight just yet. They really had us cut off.

But the cry of politically oppressed people inside our own country came across the barriers and structures of isolation. We finally discovered that Black people in the South were getting killed, and raped, and burned and jailed for trying to stand up against the long-hurting day-to-day oppression of their lives. See, people stood up against something—and they weren't always sure what it was—but because they stood up, and got butchered for it, we heard them. We responded,

"A consciousness is growing that says we don't want to participate in this government, we want to help defeat it. We are no longer simply practicing a style of democracy among ourselves; we are fighting an enemy."

a few of us, to that cry and to their need: partly because they just needed help, partly because we couldn't see who to struggle against, and they seemed to have found someone. In the South, students that went met the same raw military power that the black people did. Some died. They learned about the repression that comes down on people who threaten the system of those in power. Students came back talking about 'the man', and they weren't on his side. Through the desperation of their struggle, black people exposed to us the presence of racism and repressive power that supported it.

Then the cry of the Vietnamese broke through our structured isolation again. First it was horror: we just wanted those people to stop being killed. But the struggle of the Vietnamese made us learn their history, and the history made it clear that the U.S. was acting as a colonialist power, maintaining its presence in Asia through unrepresentative tyrannies and finally through U.S. military force. The Vietnamese taught us that our government lied to us: The Vietnamese exposed to us the presence of colonialism through the desperation of their struggle.

And see, the participation in those peoples' struggle, in the civil rights movement and in the anti-war movement, gave us this restless feeling, and we wanted to fight our own battles. The first Berkeley riots came from that restless feeling, but they didn't know who to direct themselves at. We moved, on intuition, and when we moved we uncovered new targets: From attacking the university administration we got to the board of regents, because they controlled the administration. We moved along until we began to talk about student power—and all that was concretizing who the enemy was by attacking the structure he was hiding behind. We knew the university was a corporation, we just had to punch it a couple of times to see who owned it; to see who grunted.

Meanwhile the black movement changed and spread to the Northern ghetto. It was not negro, but black. It was non-violent

and egalitarian, but militantly self-defensive and in political opposition to the U.S. government. The people in the ghettos moved with the same intuition of the enemy that we had, only they saw him in the shopkeeper first. But they learned. You hit a bunch of shopkeepers and people who live outside the ghetto start screaming. People right up in Washington, people over in the big financial district....

When old SDS people told black militants that they should work for control of the ghettos, of the poverty programs, of local elected officials, militants said: "We don't want to control the ghettos, if they're still ghettos. The ghettos do not represent black America; black America is a history of persecution and a chance for freedom. The ghettos are colonies. You are not offering us political control. Your big corporations are going to continue to exploit the economy of the ghetto. Your corporate planning is still going to herd us into the ghettos through the regimentation of economic hardship and social and political oppression. We are colonized. Our enemy is the racist, colonialist power. What we want is his defeat."

When the black movement moved against colonialism—as it moves today—in the riots, in the South and in their political education, they are met with large-scale military oppression, like the colonized of Vietnam.

See we responded to the cries of the black people in this country and of the Vietnamese. But both peoples, and both their struggles told us: "We are fighting colonialism." In the face of that statement white students could not say they were

there and active to help black people, or to help Vietnamese people, if they themselves were still part of the colonialist power. Black people and Vietnamese people asked us: which side are you on, the side of the colonialist or the side of the colonized?

So the restless intuition inside ourselves that someone was messing over our lives, what we had exposed for ourselves in the student power struggle, and the strong statements of the black and Vietnamese movements of liberation all pushed us to find the colonialist power out, to hit him, obstruct his effectiveness and expose him to our own people. And when we moved—out of the campus regimentation—on the military-industrial machine, we got repressed: just as black people and Vietnamese people had been repressed for attacking and exposing their colonial control. Through that repression we learned that the universities had been a thin but complexly articulated veil to keep us from seeing colonialism. We acted again with an anger at the wasted and muddled lives that had been passed through those veils and training grounds for the colonial system of power and exploitation. We acted with the anger of having been foiled and hurt for a long time. We acted with a new sense of brotherhood with those people who are part of our fight against colonialism. A consciousness is growing that says we don't want to participate in this government, we want to help defeat it. We are no longer simply practicing a style of democracy among ourselves; we are fighting an enemy.

We have learned that colonialism depends on sectoring off the colonized from each other while they are prepared to accept and/or participate in the colonial system. We have learned that colonialism depends on keeping the colonized from access to an understanding of power. We realized we had been products of the necessities of the colonialist system. But we learned that from our struggles and the struggles of our brothers and sisters against the enemy. We have begun to fight

our way to consciousness, and consciousness means that we know we must design our struggle to recruit others for it, from whatever parts of the population that will join us. It means we know we must use our struggle to expose colonialism—and its oppression—to those people we want and need as allies.

Our consciousness didn't come as an accident. We learned it, partly because we initiated struggle, and partly because others built their struggles so as to expose the power structure to us. Now it is our turn to build political bridges across to new constituencies, while we continue to organize our own. Our political targets and our political education has got to reveal power and recruit people against it. That takes serious organization and discipline. That's what it took the Vietnamese and that's what it is taking the black people. Part of our job here is to build that organization.

We have three objectives:

1. to reach people and recruit them in the fight against racism and colonialism.
2. to obstruct racism and colonialism here, at its heart.
3. to protect and defend our movement as it grows.

Now we can look at some of the criticisms and evaluations of how we are carrying out our objectives.

1) We are not reaching the mass peace movement because we are not working closely enough with it. The Oakland strategy for "joint" participation may be at least one good strategy for working with other organizations, but we must work in better cooperation with the mass movement in order to create in that movement the same anti-colonialist consciousness that we have learned.

2) We are not reaching enough students because, as an organization, we have not attempted to make mass appeal. Demonstrations, for example, should include long recruitment and education drives, rallies, etc., not only on campuses where SDS exists, but on the thousands of campuses where it does not. SDS should produce literature—pamphlets and newspapers as well as leaflets—that speak to the whole student population, not just to its own circle of friends and look-alikes.

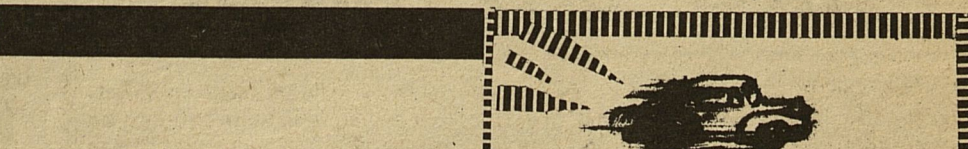
3) We are not reaching adequately or effectively the white non-student population. We are not building that political bridge that the black people and the Vietnamese built to us. We could begin more to work with it, building for demonstrations in white working class areas, and attempting to explain our demonstrations to working class areas both during and after demonstrations through "education squads" and open rallies or community meetings. That takes preparation and work in areas where we have little experience, but if we are at least going to neutralize white working class people in the face of the growing repression, we will have a greater chance of surviving. Similarly, one large demonstration target should be at a struck company, to make it evident that the new student insurgency is pro-labor. Finally we must use what projects we have in poor and working class communities and create more, to explain and build new bases for student initiated mass action. Our struggle must consciously

proceed so as to convince others who are used by the colonial system to join us.

4) Our political targets are not teaching participants or political constituencies enough about the nature of colonialism. Good new steps were made at New York during the Foreign Policy Association demonstration, but we've got to go farther. No one asks a steelworker on a picket line, "what do you think you're going to accomplish?" The important difference is that those pickets have chosen the right target—they are confronting the real source of power they want to affect. In retrospect, it does seem silly to try to end the war, or change the direction of the university by picketing a science building. That is not to say that science building demonstrations or anti-Dow demonstrations on the campus are not important ways of mobilizing people. They are and will continue to be. But where students have broken their way through to a sense of where real power is, they should attack it, and expose it. Much more of movement research energy can be used in finding new targets, but the important thing is to see how those target-power-structures affect the constituency the demonstration is trying to reach. So a demonstration that hits at AT&T in connection with the war must reach out and explain that demonstration to the millions of people that are exploited by the telephone company.

5) There is not enough political education leading up to demonstrations and built into the programs of the demonstrations. Partly that means we have to educate ourselves, maybe in work-study groups leading up to the demonstration. Partly it means that we have to use more propaganda techniques—rallies, posters, leaflettings, canvassing, large city-wide

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Send in your chapter name and the number of delegates coming to the NC no later than Dec. 20th to the National Office. 1608 W. Madison Rm 206 Chicago, Ill., 60612

Mail in the same information PLUS the number of cars you plan to bring from your chapter and special housing information (e.g., children, couples, etc) to Jim Wallahan 448 E. 2nd Street, Bloomington, Indiana also by Dec. 20th. This information should be sent in order that housing and meeting rooms can be arranged for in advance.

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points about issues which in reality are not oriented toward reaching new people.

The implication of this perspective on the N.C. is that people must discipline themselves. It is really not necessary to express your own personal slant on every issue. Unless you have a position which has not been raised and which is important to the debate, you should assume that people can make valid decisions having heard each side a minimum of times.

The chances are that attacks against your politics are not attacks against your soul. Retaliating to every argument against you drags the debate on for hours and drives others out of the room in droves.

Finally, don't raise issues for debate which have no other function than to give SDS the correct line on some issue. Experience has shown that our members'

WE WON'T GO!--Lutherans willing to sign a "We Won't Go!" statement should contact Chuck Whitman, Lutheran Action Committee, c/o 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, 60607. This national campaign aims to change the present silence or compromise of Lutheran Church officials on these issues. Your response will bring: copies of the statement; report on LAC activities; information about clergy available to you locally for "sanctuary," etc. **REPLY AT ONCE!** Chuck Whitman
Lutheran Action Committee

politics are determined by their role in the discussions leading to and following meaningful action, and not by some resolution passed at an N.C.

I sometimes reel at the thought of having N.C.'s which are exciting and relevant enough to inspire the membership to attend in large numbers. If we are going to try to make them that way each of us is going to have to discipline himself.

COME PREPARED TO SACRIFICE YOUR BULLSHIT

I read the news today...

A REVIEW OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST
by Carl Davidson

1) **THE NEW REPUBLIC** (11/25/67). SDS'ers who have been engaged in or are planning anti-Dow struggles should make use of the information in Galston's "Herbicides in Vietnam" in this issue. In addition to napalm, Dow is heavily involved in the development and production of the chemical defoliants used in Vietnam. Dow engineers also developed the mechanical spraying apparatus attached to helicopters for spraying the chemicals. Finally, Dow chemists and researchers developed a product called "DOM", a deadly nerve gas. Galston's article documents the effects of many of these goodies of the Vietnamese countryside and its inhabitants as well.

2) **LETTER FROM CHINA** (11/23/67) Anna Louise Strong devotes a page of her newsletter to a relatively accurate analysis of the American Student resistance to the war. In an article on the war, she quotes from an interview with Le Mai, a student and press attache from the NLF, concerning U.S. technological advances in weaponry. It seems that our generals were not quite satisfied with their anti-personnel weapon. Previously, U.S. fragmentation bombs had been "improved" by filling them with jagged steel pellets rather than round steel pellets. The jagged pellets caused greater internal damage. Now, according to Le Mai, "They (the U.S.) have lately invented a new kind of plastic pellets whose wounds are very hard to treat because X-rays cannot detect the pellet" Le Mai also mentioned this ingenious development to several dozen SDS'ers when we met with the NLF students in Montreal.

3) **THE NATION** (12/11/67) Many SDS'ers are unaware of the recent growth of a radical movement of Spanish-speaking Americans in the Southwestern United States. This issue contains two articles ("Cabinet Meeting in El Paso" by P.D. Ortego, and "Cesar Chavez's Biggest Battle", by Doug Adair) that review recent developments in this struggle. While written from a left-liberal point of view, both pieces contain some important information. For a clearer perspective, back issues of the **MOVEMENT** and the **NATIONAL GUARDIAN** with related articles should be read as well.

4) **LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS** (12/1-7/67) This issue of the **FREE PRESS**, one of the older and more established underground papers, has a brief report on an anti-recruiter protest ("Student Counter-Spy Play Sends CIA Underground") at the University of California at Santa Barbara. It seems that the local anti-war group, in addition to a conventional anti-CIA picket, had several of its people don trench-coats, hats, and dark glasses. These "secret agents" planned to stalk the CIA recruiters wherever they went, even into the bathrooms. The CIA, somewhat nervous about the implications of the planned action, cancelled its appointment with the placement center and never showed up. Imaginative actions such as this have been fairly successful, and should be seen as viable alternatives on those campuses where outright obstruction of recruiting is unfeasible.

5) **THE MOVEMENT** (11/ /67) This issue is **MUST** reading for all radicals. It contains 9 articles explaining, analyzing, and criticizing the Oakland "Stop the Draft Week" demonstrations. The front page headline appropriately reads, "The Days We Seized the Streets in Oakland". Furthermore, reprinted in full is "We've Got to Reach Our Own People: A Plan for White Resistance". This position paper, up until now circulated only privately, expresses the program of those people in the movement urging the development of draft resistance projects in white poor and working class communities.

Madison

continued from 1

under such circumstances the defendants would have been given the prerogative to refuse to appear.

In the interim the controversial meeting between the committee and University officials was held. The committee dismissed Julian's charges on the grounds that the meeting had been only a strategy talk on how to keep decorum at the hearing.

Upon hearing the dismissal, the three students left the committee room around 10 am, and were notified of expulsion by 1 pm. Hearings for Carlos Joly, who remained at the session, and Mana Jennings were again postponed.

Robert Gabriner, editor of **Connections**, off-campus radical publication, described the three defendants as "very prominent in campus leftist politics and activities" and said the state legislature has been pressuring University president Fred H. Harrington to "make heads roll" in reprisal for the Oct. 18 demonstration.

NAC Minutes

submitted by Earl Silbar

December 5, 1967

Members present: Mike Spiegel, John Rossen, Howard Strange, Henry Balsler, Karen Gellen, Carol Mieman, Tim McCarthy.

Others Present: Boe Shomer

1. WSP in Philadelphia is organizing an adult support group for draft resistance. They want a list of SDS parents. Since there is no such list in existence, it was resolved to send an area chapter contact list.

2. The NAC voted to inform Elaine Ladon, who has asked for the National Contact list, that we charge \$10 for handling charges.

education conference

continued from 3

rallies, inter-campus rallies—leading up to demonstrations. Partly, too, it means that in the organization structure of our demonstrations we must make more use of small roving squads that explain the demonstration to people. If those squads have done their work in the weeks before the demonstration they can neutralize areas they cannot mobilize.

6) We are not technically proficient in many areas of education and organization. We've got to set a goal for ourselves of revolutionary competence and discipline. We've come a long way to consciousness, now we must consciously decide to be effective. The enemy is very good at what he does.

7) We are not protecting ourselves. Tactically, in demonstrations, we have to be more careful to protect ourselves and the people involved with us. A good part of self-defense is hitting back, and a good part is planning. We have to be more serious about obtaining legal protection and support and about projecting more people than is necessary through the spring to legal prosecution: the movement should be killed in trying to pay for defense cases; or its organizers could just all end up in jail.

We also have to function more efficiently organizationally. We better demand more structures and tighter ones in the organizations that call, prepare for and run demonstrations. The careful selection of workable sized units to plan and administer demonstrations would not only be more efficient, but would eliminate the small elitist control that is occurring because the decision-making process is left unattended to.

8) We need better national coordination. A good national organization: a) could even out political education. It is good in some places, not so good in others; b) could have a larger effect on the population by facilitating coordinated demonstrations; c) could give the sense of a movement to places where it doesn't exist through its publicity and education programs; d) could appropriate new political moves, like the support of a strike to show working people the resistance demonstrations are pro-labor; and e) could

pick off the educational value of repression in one local area and spread it around. (We learned by repression; others can too.) A certain amount of defense support (legal, financial) could also be raised nationally.

The primary functions that national organization must have in order to work that way are 1) good communication with local chapters and 2) a more developed propaganda system.

9) Finally, we've got to develop a longer range plan. That's going to take time and organization, but some kind of program for the spring and summer has got to evolve over the next few months. The spring program would be preparing students for the summer program. Since students will work off campus in the summer, spring demonstrations should be as much off campus oriented as possible. A summer program might consist of planning regional targets, recruiting in that region for intermedary

toward the end of the year. There should be some concerted action: that will depend on an estimation of the war, the nation and the movement at that time. It is essential for ourselves, for the Vietnamese, for the movement against racism and colonialism that we carry our momentum through the summer, because disaffection throughout the country must be spoken to and recruited from. We must reach or at least neutralize the non-student white population. We have to do that job: we don't want those folks to be on the other side.

Most of these criticism areas will be dealt with during the educational conference. We need to trade and discuss our experience, and in some cases plan together. The anti-war movement is growing very large and the summer action may be a turning point in the country, or at least in the movement. We have to begin to develop a clear critical estimation of our forces and the political role we can best play: the struggle that we have learned from which has taught us to find the enemy, must be carried to others.

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3. Report on adds. Money and copy for a full page add was sent in to the **New Republic** for an add in the Dec 23rd issue. The NAC decided to run the same copy in the **National Guardian**. Depending on the return on the **New Republic** add, the same copy will also be run in **Ramparts**.

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ATTENTION CHAPTERS!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

The **REC** is trying to build an effective information service covering topics which are of importance to the movement. A lot of the information we need entails research which we simply don't have time to do in the office at this time. Besides, there have been lots of demonstrations against specific targets, such as Dow, the CIA for which different chapters have probably done their own research. It would be of enormous help if you would send us copies of the research you have done as well as copies of leaflets, posters etc. which you used to get the point across to your constituency. Please send anything which might help us next time someone writes in and asks, "We are planning a demonstration against----. Can you please send us information." Send your copy or material to the **National Office** c/o the Literature Secretary.