

NEW LEFT NOTES

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

FEBRUARY 5, 1968

Potentialities and Limitations of the Student Movement: 1967 - 68

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James J. Tarlau

Last year, in response to Greg Calvert's article on the shift in SDS from protest to resistance, Todd Gitlin noted that a campaign to expel the military from the campus would join revulsion against the War with the drive to reform the university. In such a way, SDS could link strictly on-campus issues with a larger and more significant political movement off-campus.

In fact, this type of campaign, as suggested by Gitlin, has occurred more than once in recent months. Yet, although there is a greater awareness among radicals that the student movement, by itself, cannot be the only white radical group in motion, SDS remains contained within the university community, isolated from the insurgencies in the urban ghettos and in the labor unions. We find ourselves largely without support from any organized group off-campus.

Last June the SDS National Convention decided to spend this year building an anti-war student resistance movement. This decision derived from the belated discovery that mass mobilizations and marches—whether in New York or Washington—do little to slow down the war machine. Emphasis has consequently shifted to the slow dismantling of the military complex at its roots, one of which is the university. Precisely because it is the location of the anti-war movement's social base and political strength, it is open to attack.

Although only first impressions can be entertained, it may be worthwhile to discuss several aspects of this campus phenomenon. The campus movement consists primarily of three distinct though inter-related programs: draft resistance, anti-recruiting protests, and campaigns against university war research. It is with the last two that we intend to deal specifically, because such an approach will enable us to derive relevant general impressions about the campus movement as a whole.

Two types of politics

In examining the student movement, it is important to understand the various political positions supporting the current campaigns against secret war research and recruiting. Though quite intricate, and never completely separated, these types of politics form two rather distinct modes of thought and action which embody serious differences and have ultimately profound consequences for the movement. In order to attain greater clarity in describing and analyzing them and to avoid the prejudicial reactions that unavoidably accompany familiar labels, we will arbitrarily call them types "A" and "B". After having described each separately, we will be able to make judgments about what is appropriate to "radicals" and what is not. Of course, in virtually every SDS chapter, tendencies toward both types exist and often the individuals involved are unable to discern the distinctions between them. This is what makes this critique necessary, for it is only by understanding these very distinctions that we can move on-campus programs in directions that are meaningful in a larger context.

In the first type of politics ("A"), its proponents act to define themselves by taking a specific position on specific moral issues. They may be characterized in that they see the War as the primary target for the movement, and that they do not have any strategy for social change which would not only seek to stop the War but would also work for a permanent transfer of power away from those elites guiding America's imperialist policies. Though the advocates of this type of approach admit that building a movement for radical social change is important, they say that it deserves secondary consideration either because the War, as the greatest evil, must be stopped first or because any other major issue may be divisive for the anti-war coalition. What is implicit in this position is the belief that the War is a tragic miscalculation, an aberration of the government.

This leads to the view that campaigns against war research and recruitment are important as effective protests against the War and in helping to fight the encroachments of the military-industrial complex on the university. From this perspective comes a demi-strategy for changing the university, or at least parts of it. The university,

here, consists of a community of interests (and perhaps scholars) which would act in pursuit of a common interest were that view articulated. The common interest is seen as the preservation of the university for open scholarship which is bound only by the most minimal restrictions. In our case, the university should not, as a corporate body, be a party to any agreement which facilitates secret research. As shall be noted later, this minimum definition of the university's role as an institution of critical intelligence leaves much to the discretion of the individual faculty member, and thus, ultimately, to the power of a few external institutions which have the necessary funds for research. Consequently, the primary objective for the anti-war "A"-type activist is the termination of all secret contractual ties between the university and the military.

To this we may counterpose "B"-type politics. It is probably fair to say that this brand of politics is practiced by very few of us because, by its very nature, it demands that we transcend the difficult but inevitable boundary between symbolic and effective action. Its general perspective is that the university is relevant to us not in isolation but as it relates to other institutions in society.

The university exists, as it is, in a complex field of social forces in which it finds itself dependent upon certain elites which utilize it for very specific ends. As such, the ability of SDS to achieve significant changes within the university or in the university's relations with society may be impossible without a political movement based upon groups located elsewhere in the American social structure. Of course, we may be able to wrest certain immediate gains of a narrow scope from a university administration, but such advances will probably not alter the primary role of the university in society, and thus not allow real changes in the educational conditions of most students, or in the function of the university as it is related to the government and military. In the interim, before the creation of a mass political movement, "B"-type politics strives to impart to individual students what is generally referred to as a radicalized consciousness, which is essentially an awareness of their role in society, of the real nature of their condition, and of their collective potential in a truly liberated society.

"B"-type politics views campaigns against war research and recruitment
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NY SDS TO ORGANIZE AGAINST TRANSIT FARE INCREASE

Leif Johnson

During the spring term, people from Columbia, City, Brooklyn, and Queens College SDSs and other chapters in the region are undertaking a campaign to block a fare increase on the New York City buses and subways. The fare will probably be increased to a quarter on March 1st, when the Transit Authority is merged into a super-authority embracing local city and commuter transit, or on June 30th, the end of the Transit Authority's fiscal year.

A fare increase would affect nearly all New Yorkers, falling most heavily on workers and students who must use the transit system daily. Because of a common interest in this issue, we feel that this issue will enable us to break out of the isolation of student-only

politics and begin to deal with the vital concerns of the people, students, wage earners, and small businessmen.

Our campaign will enable us to talk to large numbers of people, to learn from reactions to our demonstrations and leaflets, and, most important, to understand what people expect from students politically. This campaign will help us, in the words of the NC program, "to make our politics understandable and relevant to other students and non-students."

Public reaction to our first leafleting and demonstration at the Transit Authority headquarters in December was unusually favorable. We distributed to shoppers in downtown Brooklyn 40,000 leaflets calling for holding the fare and giving

the transit workers higher wages. Leaflets were also given out in other parts of the City to both riders and transit employees. The response to this leafleting was also favorable.

The demands we will raise in our campaign are: (1) no fare increase: A fare increase diminishes the money that we are able to spend for food, clothing, luxuries, and other consumer items. (2) higher wages for the transit workers: Transit workers are subject to the same rising costs of living as the riding public and require higher wages. (3) abolition of the transit debt: Banks should not receive any income from the transit debt before higher wages are paid the transit employees and the fare is maintained at the present level or lowered. (4) taxation of real estate and other corporate and financial institutions to pay for transit: That's where the money is—tax it.

The campaign against the fare increase will include both mass leafleting and demonstrations. We have discussed the possibility of holding a large demonstration at the City budget hearings in mid-February and then conducting a mass leafleting campaign. The leaflets would explain the issues behind the fare raise and demonstrate that students are concerned with the livelihood of wage earners as well as the interests of students. Fighting in the interests of working people will reflect more credit on the students than the blocking of traffic or banging on the hoods of taxi cabs in a resistance-type demonstration.

Transportation of workers to their jobs, students to school, and shoppers to stores
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"A printed word is worth a thousand pictures."

(J. Dunn, 1946-)

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PRINTERS

Anyone who is interested in learning how to print, or who knows how already will receive a warm reception and find challenging work by coming to Chicago.

PRINTERS

HURRY - HURRY - HURRY



Advancing across a bridge over the Perfume River in Hue, U.S. marines suddenly scatter and turn back under heavy Communist fire. (AP)

ANTIOCH GIRL FASTING IN CINCINNATI WORKHOUSE FOLLOWING DEMONSTRATION ARREST

Cincinnati is becoming one more front where the movement has begun its fight against the forces of repression. Beginning with 86 arrests, made during the December week of draft resistance, an entire scenario has been unfolding in which the forces of repression are growing stronger.

All but one of the original 86 are now free-- that is, free as long as they don't re-enter the city in the next year. If they do, it would result in an immediate 6 months sentence in the workhouse--an ancient, pre-Civil War fortress with buckets in the cells, rather than toilets...The one remaining girl is DeCourcy Squire, an 18 year old Antioch student, who refused to co-operate with the courts in any way, and was given a sentence of over eight months and a fine of \$125. She has been fasting since entering the workhouse, and at this time the doctors are fearing that she may have already done irreparable damage to her brain. The following are excerpts from a statement that she made, a few weeks after entering the workhouse.

"First of all, my fasting is a personal response to imprisonment. My freedom is an essential part of me, as freedom is of every person. When I am in a situation where my freedom is being taken away from me, I will not assist by giving up my freedom, nor by acting in such a way as to imply that I consent to having my freedom taken away.

"Only in that way can I maintain my inner freedom. For this reason, I cannot co-operate by eating while I am being imprisoned. I do feel a basic responsibility and need to keep myself alive, and so I drink water and take vitamins; but as a free human being I do not feel I should help maintain myself a prisoner."

So far, she has lost over 20 pounds, and has not yet been force fed, although she has been in the hospital three times. People from the area are requesting that letters and telegrams be written to the governor (Rhodes), the city manager, and Judge Heitzler, who originally heard her case.

In order to draw attention to DeCourcy and the critical state she is in, a three day fast was planned for Cincinnati, Yellow Springs and Columbus. Two of the fasters

were leafletting in front of the Cincinnati general hospital, when two others walked up, to ask about the location of their car. The police immediately descended upon the four of them, charged them with loitering (some ancient statute which says that one is loitering if gathered in a group larger than three), and promptly arrested them. Their trial brought many spectators, out of which three joined them in the workhouse by refusing to stand for the judge. As these latter three were being dragged away, one more girl threw herself in front of the police, successfully blocking their path and raising their wrath. She was then dragged by her hair, along the cement floor, so that when she reached her cell she had received a concussion, and was in need of stitches.

Enraged by what had taken place, seven others made their way into the courtyard of the building, and awaited their brothers and sisters, who were to be taken to the workhouse. As the paddy wagon was ready to leave, these seven threw themselves in front of the paddy wagon, blocking it until they too were thrown inside. Needless to say the treatment they received was not the gentlest.

The situation there now stands with twelve people either out on bail or in the workhouse, awaiting their trial, with 85 activists from the area unable to enter the city, even to let the people of Cincinnati know what's happening, and one girl, in critical condition in the Cincinnati general hospital.

Letters should be sent to the following addresses: Municipal Court Judge George

Governor James Rhodes, State House, Columbus, Ohio.
City Manager William Wichman, City Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio.

For further information, contact either Bradford Lyttle, Apt. 2R, 217 Mott St, NYC, NY 10012. or Mitchell Miller, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

BALTIMORE SNCC FIGHTING FOR BLACK CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

The first major goal of the newly established Baltimore SNCC will be the control of the public school system by the black people of Baltimore.

"Black children make up 70 per cent of the school population of Baltimore," said Baltimore Field Secretary Robert Moore, "but they have always gotten the rotten end of the deal. The whites of this city have completely forfeited any right to make decisions in this area."

To this end SNCC has joined a coalition of eight other Human Rights groups, among them CORE, U-JOIN, and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, to press the attack on the school system. The groups' immediate demands are the installation of six Afro-Americans on the Baltimore School Board, and the appointment of a black Superintendent of Schools. The groups have recommended John Hopkins, former assistant to the late School Superintendent Lawrence Paquin and in charge of the Community School Program, for the position.

SNCC presently has before the coalition a further three-point program. It calls for instruction in Afro-American History and Swahili, and for the control of local schools by the neighborhood. "Black people are in a better position to understand the needs of black children than are white people," said Moore. He also indicated that the "general feeling" of the coalition was toward acceptance of the SNCC program.

In a corollary program, Moore said that SNCC would work to establish Black Student Unions in the Junior and Senior High Schools. He said that high school students had been found to be "very aware of what was happening". He said that nine high school rebellions had taken place this fall. He also indicated that the Unions would include programs of Black Draft Resistance.

Moore said that SNCC would encourage and assist students at black colleges to form student unions to fight for student-faculty control and to bring the "culture and heritage of the Afro-American to the campus." In line with this, he said SNCC would seek to create ties between these colleges, which are potential sources of leadership, and the black community. "Despite their responsibility to relate to it," he added, "most students look down on the black community." He said that college administrations fostered this outlook while attempting to serve White America.

Mr. Moore called on black students at Hopkins to form a Black Student Union, and also urged them to contact the SNCC office at 432 E. North Avenue if they wanted to work with or assist SNCC in any way. "Contributions are welcome from anyone," added Moore. Checks are payable to Baltimore SNCC.

SNCC is sharing its office with U-JOIN and the Mothers Rescuers from Poverty,

a welfare group. The office will be staffed six days a week from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. The three groups are hoping to put out a newspaper.

"Looking to the future," said Moore, "we intend to organize Economic Cooperatives and Independent Political Action Groups, so that black people may have an opportunity to control their own lives and destinies."

Commenting that the police had already "visited" the office several times, he said that the police "would probably make it a long, hot summer. They are already getting their riot equipment together, and in my book that smacks of genocide." Moore said that the black community was organizing itself to prepare to fight for its survival. "In many parts of the black community," he added, "this is the key question--how to survive."

Moore is a native of Baltimore, and attended Morgan State College. He was one of the original organizers for U-JOIN, and this fall campaigned for Walter Lively, now Executive Director of the Baltimore Urban Coalition, in the Second Councilmanic District. Prior to the Lively campaign, he was for two and a half years a SNCC Field Secretary in Alabama and Georgia.

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

The Neil Buckley review of "Bonnie and Clyde" would seem to indicate that Mike Spiegel's statement: "The New Left developed and named itself in conscious opposition to the bankruptcy of existing Left leadership in the United States" is null and void. They are equally bankrupt.

Responsible revolutionaries have said that crime is the unorganized struggle against the capitalist system, hence it is counter-revolutionary and can lead only to the destruction of those who follow that path.

Lenin said: "Let the bourgeoisie shoot first", and Mao said: "The first principle of all military science is self-preservation." The justifiable use of revolutionary violence is for decent people to defend themselves against the Bonnies and the Clydes who set themselves up as sovereign states and roam the world with their napalm and their hydrogen bombs. Let us let them shoot first. Let us keep the law on our side.

Sincerely,

Paul Burke
201 South 32nd Avenue
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

new left notes

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Politics for Radical Change

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in terms of their effectiveness in enabling students to see the actual role of the university in society. Its primary objective is to make explicit the university's integral role in a society controlled by a highly differentiated, polyelite power complex which furthers its ends by supporting abroad and at home interventionist policies serving to suppress any manifestations of discontent which may have the potential for general liberation. With this new awareness will hopefully come the vision of what a free university in a liberated society might be; indeed, a large part of "B" politics involves the necessary model-building which points the way for radical change. Consequently, this analysis assumes that for democratic control in the university to be meaningful the general society must be substantially changed.

The proponents of "A"-type politics measure success by the number of "victories" that are won. "B"-type politics, however, weighs the value of campaigns waged on campuses by their success in building a movement of students with a radical analysis of society and a strategy for changing it. While some "victories" can certainly be important in building such a campus movement, others may not. With the current high degree of "mobilization" in the student community, almost any activist can generate sufficient interest for a protest or demonstration which, however ineptly executed, usually manifests a greater degree of militancy than was evident anywhere only several years ago. Yet student activism is becoming increasingly institutionalized. Its capacity for new assaults on the status quo is not significantly increasing. Despite the rhetoric of resistance, there has, up to now, been no qualitative shift in our activity. What is badly needed is a set of criteria which contain guidelines for activities that can build a radical student movement.

At this point we must recognize that SDS should be aiming at "B"-type politics, and we may even allow ourselves to denote this as radical politics. Moreover, keeping in mind what we have already said about it, we can begin to construct guidelines for meaningful political action. To this end, we may observe that not every demonstration is to be desired, nor are all protests equally valuable; success, we would claim, is linked to any activity which significantly furthers the development of a student movement having as its conscious goal the changing of this entire society. Should this general definition be accepted, we will then be forced to reach the somewhat disappointing (for sentimentalists) conclusion that many of the "victories" achieved recently on many campuses have not been at all "successful"; some have, in fact, actually been damaging.

Significance of the current campaigns

In light of the descriptive dichotomy between "A"- and "B"-type politics, most of the recent campaigns (related to recruiting and war research) must be classified as "A"-type, that is, grounded on moral objections and taking their strategy from that position. We notice that the CIA has begun to recruit off-campus, and though there are stories that Dow is worried about the demonstrations, there is no indication that it is having any trouble in recruiting able scientists. The implication is that the net effect of the demonstrations against military-oriented recruiters, particularly Dow and the CIA, has been, at best, to force them into town instead of recruiting directly on campus. More often not even this minimal "achievement" has resulted, and the operations of these organizations have not been affected in any degree at all. So what we have is non-radical logic and non-radical effect: this war is seen as immoral, and thus the university should be no part of it; the recruiters, because they serve a part of the war machine, are likewise immoral; hence they ought to be excluded from the university, a citadel of purity. For all the militant rhetoric and revolutionary slogans, the substance of the campaigns is politically minimal, as we can safely agree that radicalism does not generate demands as a collective personal catharsis.

The campaigns against war research are somewhat more deceptive. Gabriel Kolko, who seemingly has become the leading authority on war research at universities, recites "victories" every month in the Nation. The list continually grows longer: the University of Pennsylvania's chemical warfare research contract, the Cornell Aeronautics Lab, the University of Minnesota, Stanford, Columbia's Electronics Research Lab, and now, maybe, even Princeton and IDA. What are we to make of this?

Kolko has stated that the "achievements" at universities in opposing war research have occurred because of an undefeatable coalition of the anti-war forces which are attempting to stop the war machine and those liberals who wish the university to remain free from classified research because it is contrary to "the goals of a liberal institution". The coalition, in effect, consists of establishment liberals who are lodged in the university-faculty apparatus and have not yet completely surrendered their consciences to the status quo, and insurgent students who engage in "A"-type politics to satisfy their revulsion against this war. Against such a coalition, which demands so little, the administration invariably yields after making sure that nothing significant to the functioning of the university's primary operations is given up. Yet another "victory" is added to the list.

But, of course, we should analyze these "victories" more closely. While the Department of Defense was inconvenienced by the Penn affair, it did not take long to find another manufacturer to do chemical-biological research. Cornell and Columbia cut all institutional ties with the two DOD research labs, thus leaving them relatively more immune to any further student protests against informal collusion. Stanford, Minnesota and NYU continue to accept classified research, though in lessened amounts.

We have even scored such a victory at Princeton. As a result of the arrest of thirty-one students, and numerous open and closed faculty meetings, a committee of the faculty will probably recommend to the Board of Trustees that Princeton withdraw its sponsorship from the Institute for Defense Analyses. Another victory: the important decisions were made solely by the administration and the faculty without any meaningful participation by the students, the legitimacy and structural integrity of the university apparatus remains unimpaired and, ironically, perhaps stronger for adopting the content and rhetoric of the anti-war reformists. In fact, this was a victory which accomplished nothing but increasing the prestige of SDS. We have arrived as an accepted part of the student political culture. But nothing of real substance resulted; witness that one of the most convincing arguments for Princeton's severing all institutional connections with IDA was that this would materially affect neither IDA nor Princeton.

Nature of our targets

There are four ways in which the university does research for the DOD. First, through classified research contracts; second, through unclassified research contracts; third, through sponsorship of semi-independent research laboratories; and fourth, through the use of individual professors who are consultants (usually spending about one day a week, though it varies) for the DOD or its contractors. The campaigns against war research have mainly centered on, and been effective when aimed at, the first and third categories.

With regard to classified research, the university's present role is unstable because it faces not only student protesters, but also a large disaffected segment of the faculty. It is not clear how important university classified research is to the government, but at least at Princeton, which has one of the more "outstanding" and infamous Physics Departments, there is no fundamental financial need for classified research contracts. Generally the government can do classified research in its own laboratories, through private corporations or in independent think-tanks without "risking the autonomy of the university" with classified research. There may be two or three schools at which the opposite is true. M.I.T., Johns Hopkins, and possibly the University of Michigan are integrally connected with a prime amount of national security work, and the hundred million dollars worth of contracts at the three universities includes a large amount of classified research.

The traveling Field Secretaries of the National Community Union are in desperate need of at least three small one quarter ton pick-up or van type trucks that are in good operating condition. Although the need is great for trucks we could use cars if that is all that is available

Within one week NCU's travelers will begin nationwide speaking engagements which will necessitate traveling with large amounts of literature plus sleeping on the road. Good trucks or at least cars will be most valuable in helping to reach potential radical community and labor organizers across the country. please notify the National Community Union, 630 No. Racine Ave., Chicago, Ill., 60622, or call 312-666-7257. We will pick the vehicles up anywhere.

Vocations for Radicals

a conference sponsored by Paper Tiger & New England sds March 8, 9, 10 at M.I.T.

Young professionals and college students are now among the most vocal forces for radical social change in the white community. But the conditions of political activity by students are very special. Students are supported without working. They have a lot of free time and no family responsibilities. They are concentrated in a relatively small area

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NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____

present occupation:

—undergraduate —graduate student — year _____
school _____ field _____

Check two or three vocations workshops you are most interested in attending:

- Planning & Architecture
- Movement Administrators
- Clergy
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- Art & Theatre
- Social Work
- Law
- Health Professions
- Teaching (non-college)
- Adademia
- Community Organizing
- Labor Organizing

Other: _____

—I will need housing in Cambridge (—places) on —Friday night, —Saturday night.

(—I cannot come to the Conference. Contribution enclosed \$—. —Please send working papers.)

Clip & return to Conference % Ken Frisof, 27 Myrtle Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138

A Man Named Charlie

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is an incidental cost of the functioning of the corporate society. The New York subway system enabled manufacturing and financial companies to efficiently concentrate their activity in a small area of Manhattan while drawing on a labor force living many miles away. While this clearly benefited the corporate and financial groups, the wage earners were made to bear the cost of transporting themselves to work. Meanwhile, large areas of Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx were "opened up" to real estate speculation whose profits returned to the very banks which used the transit system to deliver their employees to their doors.

In addition to securing the transportation of their work force at no cost to themselves, the banks and corporations derived a substantial profit from the building of the subways. The banks floated the bonds which secured the capital for all subway construction. By 1940, when the City unified the privately operated subway lines, subway construction had cost \$1,433,000,000, but the interest on

that borrowed money had cost \$1,853,000,000. Since then, the City had floated additional transit bonds and made further interest payments. It now pays yearly, to service the transit debt, \$115,000,000, of which \$60,000,000 is payment of interest.

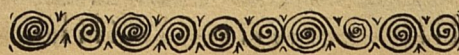
While the banks reap \$60,000,000 a year on the tax-free transit bonds, the subway riders will be asked to pay a higher fare. This increased cost is especially onerous now, at a time of increased Federal, State, and City taxes; rapid inflation of prices; and the continued burden on the people of the losing war in Vietnam.

The transit-fare issue will enable SDS people to relate this specific issue to broader radical struggles of the people against the ruling class. It will demonstrate how the transportation system is a service to employers and commercial interests, bringing their employees and customers to their doors, while the cost of the system is borne by the people. In addition to the real cost of building and maintaining the system,

the riders must bear the unnecessary cost of enormous interest payments on the transit debt to New York banks.

Cancellation of this debt is a popular demand and at the same time an extremely radical one. Cancellation of the debt would attack the property relations of capitalism.

A campaign against a fare increase is being waged also by SDS chapters in the Boston area, and similar campaigns might be applicable to other cities and towns. The value of this kind of activity is first that it identifies the common and immediate interests of wage earners and students, defying the system's efforts to keep these groups apart, and second that it leads to contact with many people in the communities around the schools—which can be important for future struggles on the campus.



Program for Campus Draft Organizing

Randall Patterson

1. There are numerous indications that the U.S. is involving itself in a limitless land war in Asia.

2. Draft calls more than doubled this year because the Armed Services "need" men to replace the many who have completed their tour of duty in Viet Nam.

3. There is growing evidence that induction physicals are more lax than previously. Many persons who were previously classified IV-F have been reclassified I-A.

The pressure is on. Any guy who passes the Army physical and mental exams is forced to choose among the selected number of "opportunities" into which the Government and its corporation supporters want to channel them. They can choose between fighting for the U.S. government in the front lines of Asia; or pursuing a career acceptable to the "national interest", such as graduate education in engineering, the natural sciences, or math, or skilled work in a defense industry; or entering one of the "peaceful" imperialist services—VISTA or the Peace Corps. The Government is very frank about this function of the Draft. In the words of a Selective Service spokesman: "The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in other countries where choice is not permitted." (SS statement on channeling)

Although some of the advantages offered college-trained persons in regard to the Draft remain, anyone who has held a II-S since June, 1967 is subject to certain specific disadvantages in obtaining further deferment.

1. It's likely that very few first-year graduate students will be able to obtain deferments next fall.

2. Any person who has held a II-S deferment since 1967 cannot obtain the III-A fatherhood deferment. For other guys proven responsible for a child, whether legitimate or illegitimate, calls for a mandatory deferment. III-A classifications are given also to guys who can prove induction will mean extreme hardship to their dependents. This classification, however, is very difficult to obtain.

3. Under present policy it is required that all draft-eligible men, ages 19 to 26, be called for duty the oldest first. The new law empowers the Secretary of Defense to call up men born in a specified calendar year. This gives him the power to order that 19-year-olds, for instance, be drafted first. The new law also states, however, that all men who have held II-S deferments since June, 1967 would be included among those called first, regardless of age (up to 26).

In contrast to most guys in poor and working-class communities who have no expectation of attending college and so resign themselves early to the inevitability of conscription, many students are accustomed to assuming they can avoid military duty. They are more likely, therefore, to defend themselves, and put up a fight against their own induction. Because of this we can expect a sharp escalation of individual anger and frustration about the Draft this summer. We can also expect a sharp escalation of mass protest against the draft system.

Since it is difficult to find individual ways to avoid the channeling power of

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER SCHOOL BEGINS

The first session of the National Community Union's organizer school will begin March 1, 1968 in Chicago and will last for five weeks. Anyone interested in attending the school and doing radical community organizing should contact, as soon as possible, the National Community Union, 630 No. Racine Chicago, Illinois, 60622. 312-666-7257.

B. Personal contact should be made with as many people as possible. This means that you might want to deliver personally the letter or leaflet to each affected student; or just begin talking with people informally in the lounges,

corporations would have difficulty obtaining the men to do their work for them within this country. The thrust of such an argument should be that the Government does not belong to the people. The Government has us over a barrel just like all those guys who are the Viet Nam casualties. And that if we don't like it, then the battle is here, against an illegitimate power.

Many of us would agree that it's not fighting as such that we're against, but being told against our will where and for whom we must fight; where and how we must work; and what and how we must study. If we agree that we are against the Draft not only because we do not support this war and the next war, but because we challenge their "right" and power to manipulate our lives, then it follows that to defend ourselves we must stick together and work for the abolition of forced conscription, which is one of their best tools for manipulating us.

It also follows that we cannot accept as a goal (except perhaps for intermediate strategic reasons) the reinstatement of privileged status for certain groups within the population. As long as they have the power, the only guarantee of permanently reinstating any given deferment is to abolish the Draft. Otherwise it's always at their discretion to change the law and directives.

All persons attending the meeting who agree that we need to fight the Draft should agree on how to work from there. Our first need is to strengthen our defense. We do this by: (1) informing each person about the Selective Service law and its application; (2) enlisting all possible supporters and fellow fighters before the battle begins this summer; and (3) learning about the Government, its economy, and its politics so we know what we're fighting and how best to fight it.

Not everyone will accept the goals and the program right away. But those who do will form the working core, and part of their program will be to convince others.

By the end of Step I, the organizers should have a group who will work alongside them in developing the rest of the program.

STEP II

Develop a program for the spring with the purpose of engaging large numbers of students in the fight against the Draft and military complicity; and in preparing for draft organizing in their own or other communities when they leave the campus in June.

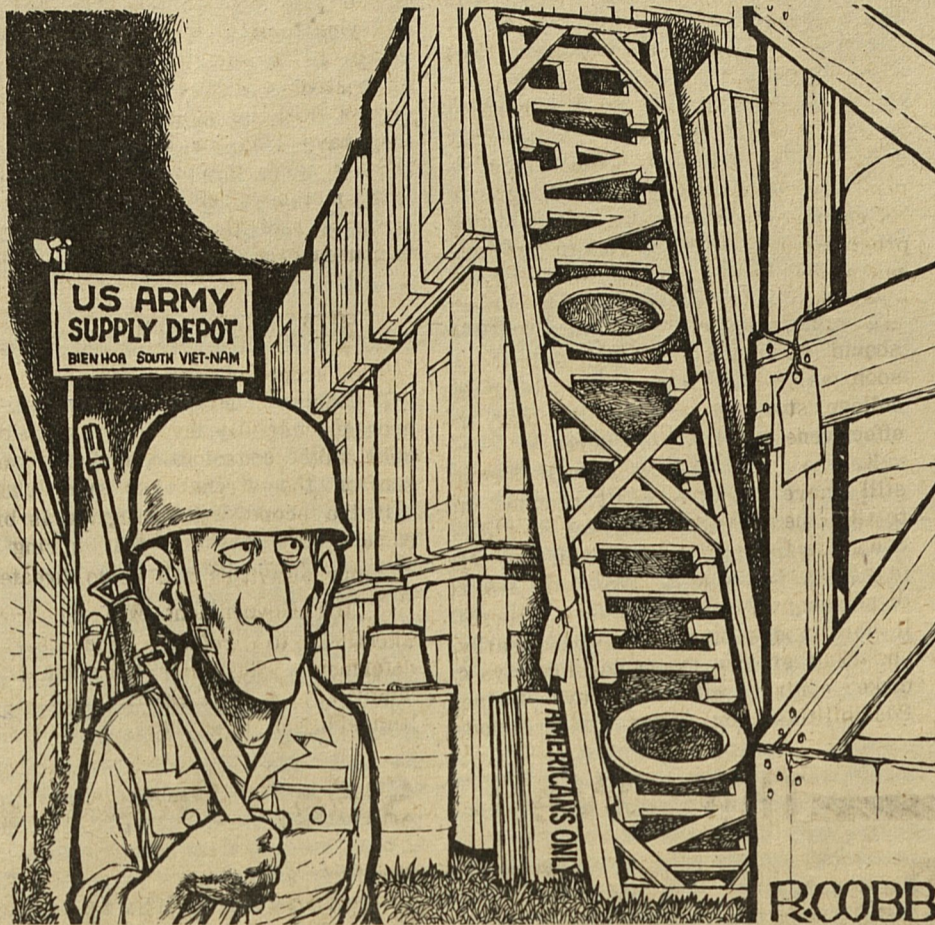
Before each meeting to discuss programs and plans for activities the organizers should talk with everyone who's expected to attend, and have some good suggestions for programs; but decisions about what should be done should be mapped out by the people intending to do it. Organizers should be prepared to present several suggestions and discuss with the group the pros and cons of each.

Although this program is geared primarily to seniors, who will be most vulnerable to the Draft this summer, it's important that juniors be brought into all levels of planning and work to ensure that there will be continuity in anti-draft organizing when the fall semester begins.

POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES

A. Organize a study group on the Draft and why it's an essential part of the system in terms of the economic, military, and political needs of existing power. Study Viet Nam, Korea, and U.S. operations in other Third World countries. This kind of thing is most important to the initial group in increasing its organizing effectiveness.

B. Plan to contact personally (again if necessary) all male seniors. Each



the military, right now is a very opportune time to develop a politically conscious movement of young people against the Draft on college campuses. It is possible to have an on-campus draft movement in which the self-interest of students coincides with that of non-students facing the Draft. This creates the possibility of building a mass movement of students against the Draft—one which is attractive not only to the already morally and politically conscious but potentially to all those who don't want their lives manipulated by the Draft. It also means that at least one of the barriers between students and non-students is partially broken down. This will facilitate student organizing among non-students, and make it more realistic to create organizations in which both participate.

PROGRAM

The following suggestions are an outline of a program which campus organizers should undertake right now to prepare for a massive politically conscious resistance movement this summer. On each campus this program should require only 2 or 3 organizers, which means that present activities of SDS chapters and draft resistance unions can continue alongside and complementary to the suggested program.

STEP I

Develop a working core of seniors and graduate students who will form the basis of the anti-draft work on and off the campus. It is important that this group not be composed of just SDSers, since one of the purposes of this program is to reach out to new people and bring them into a working group. The thrust of the first step of the program, therefore, is to get a core of new people interested enough so that they want to work in developing the rest of the program.

A. Send a letter to, or in some other way communicate directly with, all male seniors and perhaps graduate students, informing them of the changes in the law; challenging them as to what they're going to do about it; and inviting them to a meeting. It would probably also be good to use the college newspaper, posters, etc. to reinforce the effect of the letter; to get out the information about the Draft and the War; and to inform girls as well as guys about the new program and the meeting.

lunchrooms, etc. In these personal contacts you could talk about why it's necessary to prepare now (I suspect most guys won't want to face up to it); and begin talking about things that can be done, depending on your campus and at what level you have to discuss things.

C. Hold the meeting. The purpose of this meeting, as of the work beforehand, is to develop a working core of perhaps 5 to 20 people. How you do this will depend on the campus. One campus, for instance, might have a very small meeting in which discussion can be informal Work (i.e. the development of further program, people taking on tasks) can begin right there. On another campus it might be a large meeting with a speaker and less group participation.

The content and tone of this meeting will set the direction for future activities. All future programming should be evaluated in terms of its contribution to long-range goals. The goal toward which such a group would move is the abolition of conscription, and the content of the meeting should develop the logic of that goal and make suggestions for moving toward it.

CONTENT AND GOALS OF THE PROGRAM

(as they might be discussed at the meeting)

People attending the meeting should be informed bluntly and in detail about the "opportunities" available to them as isolated individuals, such as fighting in Viet Nam, Laos, Korea, or Latin America; graduate-school studies acceptable to the Government (and competition for these will undoubtedly be tough); employment acceptable to the Government. It should be clear that there is no individual way to avoid the effect of the Draft, although it will be harsher on some than on others. With almost no exceptions, at this point, any individual way of getting out of the Armed Forces is acceptance of one of the channels offered by the Government.

Secondly, this meeting should describe how the Draft works as an essential part of the corporate-military structure. Without forced conscription there would be too few men willing to risk death and killing to maintain and strengthen that structure's hegemony. And without forced conscription the Government and

member of the anti-draft group might be asked to contact 2, 3, 5 persons—whatever number is necessary.

C. Plan for speakers on the subjects in A. and also on university complicity with the military.

D. If an SDS chapter or DRU hasn't done much literature collection and leaflet preparation, someone in the group should get together a good selection of literature, and the group should draw up their own pamphlet explaining who they are and why the issues they confront are urgent for everyone.

E. If there isn't a faculty support group already, one should be developed—preferably one which will be committed enough to support the students after they leave the campus. To do this contact RESIST and find out about other adult support groups.

F. Hold a demonstration or confrontation on campus with clear demands to show your strength and pull in new members. This shouldn't be undertaken until the group has done sufficient background education for the demonstration to draw the sympathy and active participation of persons who haven't been involved before. If the group is strong enough it ought to plan a disruptive demonstration which actually does some damage (however temporary) to the military effort, whether on or off the campus. These activities could be planned to co-ordinate with the SDS national days of resistance in April, and/or the Vietnam graduation now being discussed nationally.

G. People brought in by demonstrations or any other public or person-to-person activities should be brought into the program, participating in study groups and preparing for summer activities.

H. If the demands of a demonstration aren't met (which is likely), then the demonstration should be escalated (with

the same demands), becoming either disruptive or more disruptive.

I. If an induction center or corporation with known military contracts is nearby, the group might want to plan activities around these targets. Demonstrations off the campus should consider carefully the effects on the non-student community. The purpose of the demonstration should be discussed with local people, perhaps through, propaganda squads, before it occurs. The same principle employed on the campus is fulfilled—your potential allies, such as working-class guys, are with you instead of against you. This kind of activity will be useful in preparing for summer activity during which students will have to be able to communicate with non-students.

J. The above suggestions have concentrated on increasing the numbers and strength of the anti-draft movement on the campus. If the group is sufficiently large and cohesive, it should begin to diversify its activities, continuing with its campus organizing, but also planning programs explicitly geared to reaching new allies. Seniors in high schools from which few people are going on to college are vulnerable to the Draft. Programs should be started in high schools as soon as possible. If high school and college students can work together, the effectiveness of both will increase.

K. The organizing group will become still more effective if it reaches out to GIs, the guys who have been or will be doing the fighting in Viet Nam. One way to get in touch with them is to leaflet or start conversations with GIs at airports. If there is an armed services base nearby, anti-draft groups should develop ways to make contact with the guys inside. Possibilities for doing this include

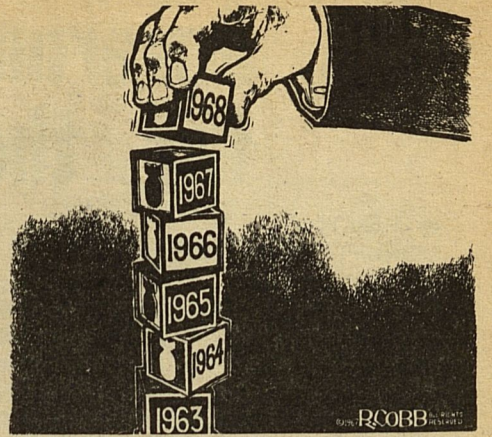
riding the buses with inductees or, on a more long-range basis, establishing a coffee house in the town where the guys go when they're on leave. The importance of such activity is evidenced by the expressions of dissatisfaction within the Army—resistance to going to Viet Nam, union organizing, riots, and rumored mutinies.

L. In preparing for a summer program, campus anti-draft groups should obtain information on the types of city-wide or community-based anti-draft groups now in operation, and discuss the pros and cons of each in terms of their goals and the types of communities the campus draft cadre will be going into. They should also discuss the pros and cons of trying to stick together as a working group in a selected community. The alternative will be that members of the groups will be going home, to places they have jobs, or to other campuses. In any case, they will want to tie up with members of cadres from other campuses so they can work together to continue the struggle against the Draft.

SUMMER PROGRAM

The scope of the summer program will depend on how many campuses have been successfully involved in developing politically conscious working cadres and on the strength of such cadres.

If the scope of the program is broad enough, it's possible that spring and summer activities will be so threatening that the Government will reverse its intention to refuse graduate-school deferments. Since the pressure is on, however, as was pointed out in the beginning of this paper, any privilege



19-year-olds; and if 19-year-olds are granted one group means that another will be harder hit. This would probably be hit harder, all college students who have held II-Ss since June, 1967, and are not going on to graduate school, also will be hit harder. It was mentioned earlier that a "victory" for one group of draft-eligible persons really isn't a victory, for a privilege granted by the Government can just as easily be taken away by it, and in fact is one of the tactics the Government might use to divide us and weaken us.

It could, however, be a victory for us if it operates to strengthen our organizing among the groups that are and will be sending most guys to Viet Nam, the poor and working classes. Everyone who continues the struggle to abolish the Draft could do so with added confidence and strength, knowing that people who are together have demonstrated their power.

A number of ideas for summer program have been brought up, including the off-campus draft programs mentioned before; specific suggestions for organizing within home communities; and the

continued on page 6

The West Side Project Community-Based Draft Resistance in New York

Jean Weisman

We are working to build a draft resistance movement that will be an integral part of a movement to radically change America. We analyze our work not in terms of the number of guys we have gotten out of the Draft; for we know that each time we get someone out, someone else will go in his place. Nor do we analyze it in terms of the number of demonstrations held, or hours we successfully disrupted traffic around an induction center. For these impotent moral protests can only express our disgust at the war in Vietnam; they do not in themselves alter the power relationships that propagate imperialist wars. We analyze our draft-resistance project then in terms of how we have helped to build that radical movement. Has our project helped us to understand how America oppresses people at home and abroad? Does our movement offer a viable alternative to people? Have we created the kind of environment in which people are willing and able to take effective political action?

The West Side Project was started in June 1967 as a summer project. A group of City College and Columbia SDS people wanted to create a project that would involve students in meaningful radical activity. The war in Vietnam was uppermost in people's minds. The people in America being most directly hurt by the war in Vietnam are draft-age young men. The young men being drafted for the most part are from poor and working-class communities.

Columbia Vietnam Summer provided us with an office and operating expenses. Many of the people that were recruited by Vietnam Summer decided to work on the project.

The people on the project had all sorts of ideas as to what we wanted to get out of the summer. Some people were interested in getting a few guys out of the Draft. Others hoped to build a draft-resistance union by the end of the summer. Others saw it as an experiment to see if it was possible to start a community-organizing project in the fall.

The neighborhood that we decided to work in is predominantly Puerto Rican. There are also some poor white, black,

Dominican, Haitian, and Cuban students living here. We all had apprehensions about working in a predominantly Spanish neighborhood, but felt: (1) We were living in the general neighborhood. (None of us at the time were living on the blocks where we were organizing. (2) There were no indigenous radicals doing organizing in the neighborhood. (3) The Draft is an issue which affects students as well as poor people. (4) We were offering desperately needed legal and medical assistance.

There is a long history of students going into this neighborhood to do organizing. Several years ago students came in to do tenant organizing. Progressive Labor has been doing organizing here for the last few years.

When we started working there were people in the neighborhood whom we had met before, people who had had experiences relating to students. In talking to people in the neighborhood about the tenant organizing, we were told: "The problem's not with the Government; it's the landlord." One guy told us the PL had frightened a lot of people away. "You would go in there to talk about your problems with hot water, and 75% of the time they'd talk to you about the revolution."

It is difficult to define this neighborhood as a community. There is a great deal of antagonism between the different racial groups living here. There are a lot of junkies living in the neighborhood, and although there is a lot of community among them, most of the people in the neighborhood are ambivalent toward them. They are sympathetic to their plight, but don't want their kids to get involved with them. In New York a neighborhood is defined by the block someone lives on, not as a community such as "The Upper West Side", "Morningside Heights", or "Spanish Harlem". Several thousand people live on one block.

During the summer our activity centered around sending groups of two people into the neighborhood to talk to people about the War and alternatives to the Draft. A number of people had been trained by the National Lawyers Guild and the American Friends Service Committee as draft counselors. Our store was located three blocks from the neighborhood where we were organizing, so instead of encouraging people to come

to the office we went out and talked to them. Guys hung out on the street corners and played basketball with the guys in the neighborhood. Girls talked to women in the laundromats and on the stoops. Through this process we managed to make several friends in the community. We managed to counsel several guys in the neighborhood on alternatives to the Draft. People started sending their neighbors to us.

Many of the people in the neighborhood are against the war in Vietnam and in favor of immediate withdrawal. Many people think that we've got to stop communism; but if all your life you'd been told that communism was a disease, wouldn't you be against its spreading? Most of the people do not understand the War. And for that reason they do not want to go and fight. Their opposition to the War is not a moral one. It is a genuine feeling that they do not want the Government to interfere with their lives. It is the Government which is responsible for the lousy conditions in which they live. It is the American way of life that is destroying their culture and their language. It is Columbia University that is destroying their homes. It is the police, the schools, and the brutality of New York that is destroying their children. It is the Government that is sending their sons and husbands and brothers off to Vietnam. They want to stay in their communities, with their families and friends. They are not interested in interfering with anyone else's life.

It is true that the Army offers the people in this neighborhood a good job. In several instances we have found that people enlisted in the Army when they were undergoing a personal crisis and there was no other way out. The fact that someone will go to Vietnam because he has no job doesn't mean that he wants to go. It is for him the lesser of two evils. Support-in-Action, an adult support group in New York, has been telling us about jobs that would be available for guys as an alternative to the Army.

During the summer we also held several demonstrations at the Induction Center. We decided not to have a picket line. We didn't want to antagonize the inductees. Many of them didn't want to go; picketing them or raising political issues

about the war in Vietnam at one of the most tense times in their lives without offering them any real alternatives would really turn them off. So instead we gave out leaflets informing people about alternatives to the Draft and giving them numbers to call for draft counseling. SDS got six phone calls on the first day.

Our experiences at the Induction Center reinforced our belief that we should concentrate our work in the community. At the Induction Center you see someone once, and you probably will never see him again. What someone will do about the Draft is one of the most important decisions in his life. We really felt arrogant telling a stranger what to do with his life. By working in the community we could see to it that any decision someone made not to go to Vietnam would be a well-thought-out decision and would have the support of the community.

The results of the summer project were: three demonstrations in which no community people were involved, several people had been counseled, and a few friendships with community people had been started. The project in those three months had very little effect on the community. But it did have a powerful effect on some of the students. Most of the students got discouraged that we hadn't formed a draft-resistance union, and decided to go back to school. The experience of a direct confrontation with poverty was a very radicalizing experience for some of the students. (Unfortunately the movement today offers very few of the kinds of radicalizing processes that existed in the past, such as working in the South or ERAP.) We saw how the laws in this country are designed to oppress poor people and are broken to oppress them even more. As students we began to feel that we could relate to other constituencies. We learned that much of the non-student population in the area around Columbia was against the Draft and the War. At the end of the summer, five of us decided to create a community organizing project centered around the issue of the Draft.

(To be continued next week.)

The Government Prepares for the People

by Allen Young
LIBERATION News Service

(Editor's note: Allen Young was, until very recently, a police reporter for the Washington Post. His specialty was covering municipal police action in Washington, increasingly the scene of anti-war protests against the Johnson administration. The following article incorporates much of what he learned while working within the metropolitan police department. He is now a full-time staff member of LIBERATION News Service.)

WASHINGTON, D. C. (LNS) — They're getting ready for another war—but this time the battlefields will be the streets of America.

The signals are clear and numerous. The emphasis is on preparedness, with special attention being given to manpower (police and military) and to weapons (especially the new sophisticated non-lethal variety).

The enemy in the war, as defined by the U. S. government consists of various elements: black revolutionaries fed up with their miserable ghettos; white revolutionaries, now in a conscious struggle against U. S. imperialism in Vietnam and elsewhere; pacifists and draft resisters ready to put their bodies on the line; free men and artists seeking personal liberation.

To a large measure, the two groups coalesce functionally, if not politically or organizationally. Both groups seriously threaten to disrupt the corporate imperialist power elite.

Although the war will be fought in isolated battlefronts, the preparation from the government side is being directed largely from the Pentagon and the White House. This preparation starkly outlines the inextricable relationship of the Vietnam war, the anti-war movement and the ghetto uprisings.

To start with, the efforts of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders clearly are aimed at the summer of 1968. This is preventative investigation.

Already, witnesses favoring repression have made clear their view that civil rights demonstrations, marches and civil disobedience are related to the ghetto uprisings.

E. Wilson Purdy, director of public safety of Dade County, Florida, who is also former Pennsylvania State Police Commissioner, told the disorders commission that he fears the consequences of raising "an entire generation of young people to disobey any law with which they do not agree."

Purdy said this "scofflaw generation" is a "serious by-product" of the civil rights movement.

Law enforcement officials all over the nation have clearly shown their disdain, even their hatred for the anti-war demonstrations. The mobilization of thousands of troops at the Pentagon demonstration on October 21 was in large measure a rehearsal for things to come.

Collaboration between municipal police and military officials, once a rarity in American law enforcement, is now commonplace.

The latest step in tightening this collaboration is a Department of Defense plan to help local police forces recruit men from the armed services. According to the plan, men who sign up as city policemen will be discharged from their military obligations 90 days earlier than scheduled. The plan affirms a general affinity between the police and the military—both refer to outsiders as "civilians."

This plan was issued by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara following a get-tough-on-crime speech delivered by President Johnson when Washington's new city government was installed in November.

The soldier-to-cop syndrome has several advantages for the power structure. It answers the cities' police problem. The nation has about 15,000 police vacancies, 381 in the capital city alone. The reason for the shortage is not

completely clear, but it is partially inadequate salaries and partially the fact that today's policemen are forced to play the role of mercenary soldiers occupying a hostile foreign territory.

Mercenaries usually seek high salaries, and cops just don't make that much money (average starting pay in big cities is \$6,000 annually). Besides, many cops aren't really mercenaries at heart. They want to be sincere law enforcement officials, but when they find out the truth, they become resentful; some quit, others get even tougher.

Placing ex-soldiers in the police departments is an attempt to answer the problem of the Vietnam war veterans. Repression is one of the talents he has been taught, and what better place to utilize that talent than in the police forces? So goes the logic.

This grand plan may not work so well, however, since black soldiers may not take too well to their policing roles, once they discover that it means occupying the soul folks' territory.

As for the white soldiers, the reactions may be more complicated. When it comes to action in the ghettos, they may be just as much at home shooting black men as shooting yellow men. But when it comes to getting tough with white anti-war demonstrators (the other half of the police role), there are two ways of looking at it.

On the one hand, the white soldier who risked his ass in Vietnam may look upon the demonstrators as hateful traitors.

On the other hand, the experience of the October 21 Pentagon demonstration shows that there is an undetermined amount of potential rapport between the anti-war demonstrators and the soldiers. Youthfulness, pot and a shared resentment against an elite are the main factors at work in creating this rapport.

The soldier-turned-cop, black or white, is not going to be all that easy to handle.

One returning black veteran, dismayed at his life now that he was back in the land of freedom, said: "I didn't know I would return home just to be another nigger."

Black veterans working as cops, once they get the feel of their neighborhood, are likely to paraphrase, "I didn't know I would return home just to be a nigger cop."

There are even signs of indifference among white cops—simply because the true mercenary attitude is lacking. "I don't give a shit," an experienced white detective in the Washington Metropolitan Police Department said. "Let 'em burn the town down. It's a fucking hole anyway, and I live out in the suburbs."

Aside from the new plans to turn soldiers into cops, there are elaborate programs involving the deployment of troops in case of big scale disturbances. During the October 21 demonstration, thousands of troops were prepared to meet the demonstrators on the streets of Washington, D. C. itself, had the demonstrators not gone along with the permitted plan of march across the Potomac River into Virginia to the Pentagon. (In this sense, the military was far ahead of the demonstration leaders, who never thought about abandoning their Pentagon march in favor of occupying the streets of the capital city.)

It is virtually certain that Pentagon experts are currently at work preparing troop deployment plans for every major American city.

Likewise, plans are underway to protect the machinery of American "democracy" in an election year. Given the extent of anti-war feeling, and the militancy of movement people everywhere, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, two of the most hated men in the land, will be virtually unable to make a public appearance except under very heavy armed guard. In many cases, the protection of the nation's "leaders" will require the occupation of entire cities. It is difficult to imagine, for example, how the Democratic nominating convention in Chicago will take place in anything but an armed

ON-CAMPUS DRAFT ORGANIZING

relevant information on student deferments

1. Student or non-student, there is no way for a guy between 19 and 26 to avoid the all-embracing channeling and manipulating effect of the Draft.
2. Persons most vulnerable to the Draft are high school graduates who do not want to or cannot attend college; college drop-outs; college students who have fallen behind in their studies; and college graduates.
3. Under current law, no first-year graduate student will be given a deferment except for students of medicine, dentistry, and allied fields subject to the doctor's draft (eligible for induction up to age 35) and students in fields "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest as identified by the Director of Selective Service upon the advice of the National Security Council". (Sec. 1622.25)
4. The National Security Council has yet to make available a list of fields. It is expected, however, that graduate students in the natural sciences, math, and engineering will be exempt. And all others, about 90% of college grads, will not be exempt.
5. Although it was the clear intent of Congress to subject almost all college graduates to the Draft, delay in releasing the lists suggests that the Government is afraid of the repercussions of trying to draft a formerly privileged group. It is also apparent that the Government is being subjected right now to pressure from graduate schools which do not want to lose their potential teaching assistants, researchers, and the federal grants which often accompany graduate students.
6. Both the Army and graduate schools are pressing President Johnson to take more 19-year-olds instead of college graduates. The Army prefers younger men because they are "easier to handle, less resentful, and not as afflicted by personal commitments back home as college-trained inductees". (Chicago Sun-Times, February 1, 1968)
7. It seems likely that if the intent to draft graduate students is eliminated or modified, it will be 19-year-olds who suffer the most.
8. It is currently required that all eligible men 19 through 25 be called into service the oldest first. The June, 1967 law, however, empowers the Secretary of Defense to call up men born in a specified calendar year. This gives him the power to order that 19-year-olds (for instance) be drafted first. If this were done, all men who have held II-S deferments since June, 1967 would be included among those called first, regardless of age (up to 26).
9. Students enrolled in 2-year institutes qualify for either II-S deferments (if they are taking credits toward a B.A. or B.S.), or II-A deferments (occupational deferments given to almost all vocational students).
10. Undergrads are given mandatory deferments if: (a) the student has requested a II-S deferment in writing, by letter or Form #104; (b) the school has sent Student Certificate Form #109 to the local board; (c) the student is taking a full-time course load and is receiving credit toward a degree; (d) the student is making satisfactory progress toward a degree (e.g., in a 4-year program has completed 25% of credit requirements by the end of the first year, 50% by the end of the second year, etc.; in a 5-year program, 20% of credit requirements by the end of the first year, 40% by the end of the second year, etc.); and (e) the student has not reached his 24th birthday. II-S deferments are granted for 1 academic year at a time, and the regulations now specify that in determining II-S eligibility, the academic year shall be considered 12 months from its beginning.

camp.

Movement style organizations, which thrive on openness and are often manned by transients, are also especially vulnerable to infiltration tactics by investigatory agencies such as the F.B.I. Means to resist this infiltration will undoubtedly have to be sought.

Means to resist the weaponry of the police and troops are also being sought. Already, demonstrators have learned the advantage of wearing helmets and the wisdom (and ease) of running away from a club-wielding cop. In the ghetto, the firearm is a common household item.

But clubs and guns will not be the only police weapons.

Government agencies are busily developing more sophisticated riot-control techniques. A crowd might find itself covered with itching powder or with a sticky person-to-person glue. The use of tear gas and other chemical sprays is bound to be commonplace.

Some movement people have already come up with some counter-weaponry of their own. One suggested carrying a pocketful of marbles to spill in the path of a cop who is in hot pursuit. Other suggestions will be forthcoming, it seems certain, as the struggle becomes more acute.

RADICAL VOCATIONS

continued from page 3
with many political comrades. Outside the academic world, conditions are very different. It will be difficult for many of us to sustain long-term radical commitment unless we start thinking now about what we are going to do with the rest of our lives, both individually and collectively.

At the Conference on Vocations for Radicals, we will seek ways to sustain our political commitment beyond the campus. To that end, we will discuss the radical in a professional career, full- and part-time work for the Movement, and how radicals can help each other to survive physically and emotionally.

The registration fee is \$4. We will mail out working papers when we receive your registration form. Please return the form by March 1st. If you cannot afford \$4, please send as much as you can. Checks should be made out to Jamie Kelem.

Draft Program

continued from page 5

relationship of anti-draft organizing to the Democratic Convention. These will be discussed either in New Left Notes or with other material sent out to those who are doing anti-draft organizing.

National Co-ordination

Since campus organizers have different levels of experience and confidence in their ability to organize; and since some of the aspects of this program require national co-ordination, participation of national and regional SDS offices and of existing draft-resistance unions is required. In this regard several needs can be listed. These should be revised and supplemented as feedback from campus organizers is received.

A. Regional travelers who are good organizers, to help campuses get the program off the ground.

B. Literature, such as: (1) a pamphlet on the political and economic role of the Draft; (2) the SDS series on imperialism now in preparation; (3) a packet of information on the Selective Service law and its application relevant to a student population (possibly with a column in New Left Notes to keep up to date on trends and interpretations); and (4) a pamphlet or some other information medium about the goals, methods, and experience of existing draft-resistance unions.

C. A clearing house for leaflets, pamphlets, and information that local groups have found most effective.

D. Compilation of a list of all persons participating in the program and the communities they plan to go to in June. If such a list existed individuals would be assured of knowing that compatriots existed in their own community to help form the nucleus of a cadre to carry on the program.

If you are either already organizing against the draft or would like to start an anti-draft program, write to Draft Program, SDS National Office, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612.

Alianza faces new attack

By Tony Rey
Special to the Guardian
Tierra Amarilla, N.M.

Tierra Amarilla is dying. The highways that criss-cross the town are lined with the decaying remnants of a once bustling farming community. Closed restaurants, a dilapidated, shuttered motel, a gutted movie theater and a couple of general stores long ago out of business emanate silence. Tierra Amarilla is like a dozen other towns in northern New Mexico. Its citizens, like its scattered buildings, are quiet and somber.

For the second time in six months this town of Tierra Amarilla is being recognized throughout the country. In June of last year it was identified as the place of the courthouse raid. Today Tierra Amarilla is being heard from again, and again the news stories talk about violence here. The reporters are saying that the silence, the detached air of its citizens is the aftermath of a murder. They are wrong. Tierra Amarilla is dying.

What the sophisticated gringo reporters interpret as fear is not caused by the June raid or the murder of Eulogio Salazar, a county deputy sheriff, here Jan. 3. What the police and state officials describe as blatant disregard for the law and terrorism are the spasms of a community refusing to die.

To prevent the death of Tierra Amarilla and several other towns like it in northern New Mexico, some of the residents of the area are desperately jumping into the political arena. The vehicle has been the Alianza Federal de Mercedes. Slowly more and more of the residents of northern New Mexico have come to see the Alianza as the only hope for survival. The Alianza's impact in northern New Mexico is profound. The

impetus of the movement is felt throughout the state. The legitimacy of the Alianza is recognized by political activists throughout the country.

The Alianza has given hope to the Spanish-Americans of northern New Mexico. Moreover, it has given them pride in their Hispanic past. It has begun to erase the inferiority that has

of "insurrectionist" and "traitor."

The actions and reactions of establishment politicians fitted their degenerating changes in attitude. At first they tolerated the demonstrations and marches. Then they criticized the rallies and conferences. Then they began outlawing the meetings. This was followed by an investigation of the organization.

New charges and high bail for 16 Mexican-Americans

By James A. Kennedy
Special to the Guardian

Albuquerque, N.M.

Sixteen of 20 defendants from last summer's incidents involving the Mexican-American liberation movement were told Jan. 18 of new charges against them and higher bail, just as they prepared to post bond for release from the state prison at Corralitos.

Their new charge is assault with intent to kill as a result of the shooting June 5 of state cop Nick Sais. They have been ordered to remain in

prison until they produce a \$10,000 cash bond or \$20,000 property bond each. Bond money has run out, as well as money for food for the defendants' families. The Alianza's general office, 1010 Third St., N.W., Albuquerque, has put out a new call for contributions.

The 20 defendants had been returned to jail Jan. 16 when the state supreme court revoked their bond on the charge of killing R'o Arriba county deputy sheriff Eulogio Salazar on Jan. 3.

been engendered by the gringo in the minds and hearts of these people.

The established politicians of New Mexico long ago recognized the threat of the militant, grassroots political movement. At first they ignored Reles Tijerina and the Alianza. Then came the accusations of "charlatan" and "opportunist." These were followed by the labels of "Castroite" and "Communist." The reaction culminated with the accusations

Then came the wholesale arrests of the Alianza leadership and wild, criminal charges, blatant violations of civil rights and complete disregard of human rights.

The investigations and prosecutions continued and Alianza members and other militant Mexican-American activists began to accept this as a way of life. Then came the murder of Eulogio Salazar.

Movement Critique

continued from page 3

Concerning unclassified war research, there have been few attempts to attack this brand of university-military collusion; and there have been absolutely no victories. The same is true with consultation. Where SDS has even raised the question that it might be possible for a university to limit certain types of consultation work, we have immediately and effectively been isolated from our previous allies on campus. For example, the recent series of protests over recruiting by Dow and our inability to establish, as a point of principle, the legitimate right of the academic community (students and faculty) to control campus recruitment, bodes ill for any attempt to regulate off-campus consulting by professors.

Finally, there are the sponsored laboratories and institutes such as Cornell Aeronautics Lab, Stanford Research Institute, and the Institute for Defense Analyses. It does not cause any university or laboratory involved much anguish when forced to cut the "institutional" ties while leaving untouched the more extensive personnel ties which are the heart of the military-industrial educational complex.

If the preceding analysis of classified research is correct, one may wonder why there has been any resistance to the student demands of the last several years. It seems to us that the resistance comes from an initial reaction by the university administration which fears that any new student demand might gain a precedent-setting victory and thus legitimize this type of politics. The two complementary goals of a university administration are those of preserving legitimacy and stability: it may be willing to grant certain marginal reforms except when such an act would bestow upon the insurgent group an increased amount of legitimacy, and thus power, to an "untenable" extent. Also, the university does everything possible to preserve stability, and to this end it tries to satisfy already legitimate student demands while resisting those not considered proper. Resistance to student demands, consequently, is intrinsic to the university apparatus, not necessarily to the demands themselves. Thus, the strategy of the campus reformer has been to threaten the stability of the administration so that it grants the requested reforms; this has provided the locus for the conflict on

the campus. Again we have the bitter irony that we have compromised ourselves by ceasing to threaten the university administration's near-complete hegemony—our real immediate goal—to achieve marginal "changes" in prestige or legitimacy which is conferred by liberal academic elites.

Some final thoughts

A conclusion which can be drawn from this analysis is that since our recent victories are not important in themselves, they can only be important in terms of the effect they have had on the student community. This is to say that through a confrontation with the administration a new consciousness may be achieved and students may become more aware of the role of the university in society. After the attack on Princeton's sponsorship of IDA, questions concerning the nature of the university and society were asked, and we of SDS were present to supply some answers. In this manner, through radical education, we begin to build a movement including others like ourselves who better understand America. Again, protests focused on recruiting and research are valuable only insofar as they advance this process of creating radical cadres and of politicizing the general student culture. For this reason, the distinction between "A"-type and radical politics and the failure of the campus movement to go from the former to the latter is very important. (That we have gone from dissent to resistance can become, unfortunately, very much less significant when unaccompanied by this further change in strategy.)

Part of this past failure to see the relative insignificance of the protests in themselves and not to view them as material for the radical education of students has been a narrowing of vision from a broad multi-constituency movement to one primarily centered on the campus and dealing with the issues troubling it. Though SDS usually agrees that a student movement by itself will not be able to remake society, it has not succeeded in establishing many off-campus locations in which ex-student radicals can work. In addition, because it is true that only the most highly motivated radicals feel able to make the necessary commitment for off-campus organizing, SDS has concluded that it ought not contain a

program which consciously calls for the education of such a group; to do so seems somehow to neglect the remaining SDS members or to manipulate them politically. Instead, all the programs (and also the direction) of SDS are seen as emerging from the campus struggles themselves. While this mysterious process of political purification, unmediated by corrupting analysis, is not explained, the actual result of this precept is to permit the attenuation of any radical movement which directly links the campus to various other areas of potential New Left organizing.

As a result, SDS tends toward a very self-centered movement unable to generate radical politics because of the limitations inherent in its isolated setting. Despite the new rhetoric, the New Left has up to now been largely confined to campus political activities which we are encouraged to call resistance. Radical politics, the creation of politically radical organizers, remains in the background; moreover, the drive to begin new organizing projects off-campus is not a major part of SDS's program. Occasionally, the student movement becomes aware of non-campus situations but the predominant "A"-type politics distorts this perception.

Draft resistance may be an example of this phenomenon. Although draft resistance is important on campus as an organizing tool, the still unresolved question, whose answer many in the resistance have assumed, is whether this issue provides the most salient point of entry for organizing non-campus communities. "A"-type politics dictates this approach to organizing without assessing its relevance either to the target communities or to a larger, more pluralist radical movement. In any event there may be other issues which define opportunities for SDS in these non-campus communities. But a new radical politics is needed before these other issues are seen as real and worth dealing with by SDS. In the interim, campus politics will most likely continue to remain within the boundaries of an essentially moral critique of the War and the society which created it.

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The reaction of the state was totally unexpected and, by any standard, unwarranted. At the suggestion of Gov. David F. Cargo, the bail of the Alianza members charged in the June incident was revoked. No cause was given. No connection between the Alianza and the tragic death was demonstrated. Cristobal Tijerina and Alianza public relations director Felix Martinez were arrested, charged and arraigned on what the Albuquerque papers called "murder (accessories)." The governor, the press and the politicians lunged at the opportunity of destroying the Alianza and with it the politicalization of the Spanish-American in New Mexico.

A day after the screaming headlines and the official accusations, it became increasingly evident that Cristobal Tijerina and Felix Martinez were not involved. A reporter for the Santa Fe New Mexican wrote an article placing the two men in his presence in Santa Fe at the time the murder took place. The state did not drop the charges. Reles Tijerina and others of those who were placed in the State Penitentiary for "safe keeping" were in Albuquerque at the crucial time. The state refuses to reinstate the bail.

The crude and apparently illegal behavior of the governor, the State Police and the judge demonstrate the threat felt by them. The threat is political in terms they don't really understand because it represents an indigenous Chicano (Mexican-American) political movement.

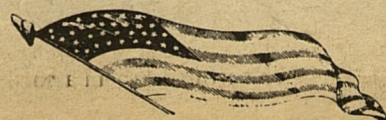
They don't know how to control such a movement. They know they must destroy it, and undoubtedly their efforts will continue. They will continue to try to break the political back of the residents of Tierra Amarilla and other towns in northern New Mexico that are trying so hard to survive. When the movement has been destroyed Tierra Amarilla will be dead.

Rey is a Mexican-American, born and raised in Albuquerque, N.M. He is presently on the editorial staff of *El Papel*, a monthly newspaper published in Albuquerque.

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Two Views of Black Power

BLACK POWER: THE POLITICS OF LIBERATION IN AMERICA
Stokely Carmichael
and Charles V. Hamilton
Vintage paperback, 1967, \$1.95

BLACK POWER AND URBAN UNREST
Nathan Wright, Jr. (Rev.)
Hawthorn paperback, 1967, \$1.95

Reviewed by Thomas Rose
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Leif Johnson reviewed Carmichael's book in the November 20, 1967 issue of NLN. In part, this discussion is an answer to him. First of all, it seems to me that in reviewing books radicals ought to always state the argument of the author. Criticism is hollow without this. Johnson is bothered that Carmichael uses "corporate ideologists" such as Charles Silberman, Kenneth Clark, and Hans Morgenthau. But he is naive to think that radicals cannot successfully use these men for their own radical critique of American society. To slur Clark and Morgenthau together with Moynihan and Glazer is to be a simple fool. But there is a larger question that Mr. Johnson did not cope with, and that is, who was the book written for? It is obviously not a primer for white radicals. The book seeks to help white America understand Black Power, and for the family in suburbia it probably does a pretty good political job. It is about time radicals understand the importance of this. Furthermore, I have spoken with some black radicals who feel the first three chapters are damn radical and meaningful to their organizing and personal lives.

Carmichael and Hamilton begin, "This book is about why, where, and in what manner black people in America must get themselves together." The authors both define and encourage "a new consciousness among black people...." They place the struggle in America in world perspective and conclude that black Americans must take the side of the Third World. The first three chapters, obviously written primarily by Carmichael, are an outline of the kinds of political action black people must pursue. He discusses the colonial situation in white America, Black Power, and the myths of coalition.

The book is not divided into parts, but it should have been. The second set of three chapters are case studies showing the fallacious coalition approach to building Black Power in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Black Panther Party in Alabama, and the continuation of Booker T. Washington politics in Tuskegee, Alabama. The final three chapters, or part three, are a threat and warning of just how much dynamite is now in the ghetto.

Carmichael argues that Black Power is the only alternative. "The choice lies between a genuinely new approach and maintaining the brutalizing, destructive violence-breeding life of the ghettos as they exist today. From the viewpoint of black people, there is no choice." As Albert Camus points out, rebellion is a reaffirmation of existence. "I rebel, therefore we exist."

For Carmichael Black Power means that black people must organize themselves independently. This means that black people must lead and run their own lives and organizations. They will not share the goals of domination and exploitation that the white society shares. "The goal of black self-determination and black self-identity—Black Power—is full participation in the decision-making process affecting the lives of black people, and recognition of the virtues in themselves as black people." Black people will no longer reassure white people about anything.

It is not surprising that they take a strong stand against coalition because it is not in the interests of black people, because politically and economically

secure groups can not form a coalition with a politically and economically weak group, and because there is no moral basis for coalitions. Coalitions will only perpetuate a paternalistic colonial relationship for black people. But they do leave the door open a little.

Coalitions are possible on certain grounds: "Black people must first ask themselves what is good for them. Second, there is a clear need for genuine power bases before black people can enter into coalitions." Third, each party must accept its own independent base of power. Finally, the coalition must deal with specific, identifiable goals. The authors conclude that if black people have learned anything from history, they must now build a new black independent base. They also leave the door open for a coalition of poor whites and blacks.

"It is purely academic today to talk about bringing poor blacks and poor whites together, but the task of creating a poor-white power base dedicated to the goals of a free, open society—not one based on racism and subordination—must be attempted."

In a discussion of the colonial situation of white power in America, Carmichael and Hamilton point out that colonial subjects in the ghetto have traditionally had all decisions made for them from the outside, but that black people are no longer going to "play ball" and be co-opted by colonial rule. Colonial rule is quite simple: everything is designed to dehumanize the individual and perpetuate his dependence on the white man. Black people are exploited and victimized equally by the white school, businessman, and welfare worker.

In a chapter on the need and substance of Black Power the authors set forth new values and goals. First, black people must redefine themselves. "From now on we shall view ourselves as African-Americans and as black people who are in fact energetic, determined, intelligent, beautiful, and peace loving." Second, black people will develop a process to rid society of racism. This will mean changing the values of a society based on racism that began with slavery. Black people "...will begin to stress and strain and call the entire system into question." Third, "Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks." (One should question their assumption that society is now open and for whom.)

Institutional Racism

The crucial point made by Carmichael and Hamilton is the difference between individual and institutional racism. The pervasive cyclic implications of institutional racism become clear.

"Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two closely related forms: individual whites acting against individual blacks, and acts by the total white community against the black community. ...the first consists of overt acts by individuals which cause death, injury, or the violent destruction of property. The second type is less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts. But it is no less destructive of human life."

An example of individual racism is the terrorist's bomb thrown into a Birmingham church killing five children. Institutional racism is an American city letting hundreds of black babies die annually because they lack proper food, homes, and medical facilities. Thousands of other black people are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally, and intellectually because the system, white society, keeps them in poverty. This is the function of institutional racism.

Wright avoids a definition of Black Power, and his major point is that amelioration and relief have not solved

and will not solve anything, but that only rehabilitation and re-creation will get at the causes of ghetto unrest. He suggests a number of new ingredients for this re-creation: community colleges that come to the ghetto; co-operatives which are especially important because "black people have no substantial stake in the capitalist or free enterprise system which is undergirded presently by our national political power." Tenants should take over the management of public housing. Finally, through Black Power the churches "...may receive their greatest boost and challenge for their own cleansing, regeneration, and fulfillment."

The two books are distant from each other. They agree on very few basic ideas. Wright believes that the "talented tenth", black men of "training and articulateness", will come up with the answers. "The Negro clergy represent the most authentic Negro sentiment...." Hamilton and Carmichael give little recognition to the church. They hope the black middle-class will unite with their brothers in the ghetto, but they realize that the strength of Black Power will come from the millions who are awakening in the ghettos.

Wright's position on coalition is in clear opposition to Carmichael and Hamilton's. Wright believes, as do most black and white clergy, that all people must work together for the common good. But black people have traditionally done this and no longer consider it an option. Wright is so naive at one point that he says this chapter (five) is "designed chiefly as an in-group discussion for black people." He hopes whitey will really dig it!

Wright argues that for the good of America black people must grow into greater solidarity, but Carmichael and Hamilton believe that black people must first get themselves together in order that they can fight "the man". Wright believes that immaturity creates and sustains American racism, whereas the other book indicates that racism has helped build this nation, maintain the position of black people at the bottom where their services can be used for little money, and keep white folks up on top where all the good things are. Wright is pleading with the white man

for a little more money in the poverty program, but Carmichael and Hamilton are demanding that the horrible war in Vietnam be stopped and the 40 billion used there annually be used to repay black people for 300 years of institutionalized racism.

Carmichael argues that integration isn't even worth discussion, but that being proud and having good schools, jobs, and housing are. Once white America gets with it and comes to the realization that Black Power must come before integration, then the rebellions may wane. Wright's position is that white and black Americans must live and work together or America will fall apart. Carmichael and Hamilton want to create conflict in order to make the white man understand where he is at, but Wright seeks to manage conflict. For Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power means black control of the ghetto, and a little extra, but Wright is willing to share control with the enlightened good "white folks".

The two books agree that Black Power has deep historical roots. Wright quotes Carmichael's "guru", W.E.B. DuBois, from the concluding lines of his 1920 poem entitled "The White World's Vermin and Filth":

I hate them, Oh!
I hate them well,
I hate them Christ!
As I hate hell!
If I were God
I'd sound their knell
This day.



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