

Don't Take Your Guns to Town

A Grassroots Approach to the Democratic Convention

Mike Spiegel and Jeff Jones

The premise underlying our discussion of the Democratic National Convention (DNC) is that the particular event of the Convention should not be viewed as the central focus for our organizing work this summer. The programmatic outlines which emerge from the National Council meeting in Lexington, Kentucky should determine the direction of our organizing this summer, and the DNC can only be viewed as a particular bit of scenery embellishing our view of this summer's programmatic needs. We believe that draft resistance should be the primary focus of our work in the coming months. The DNC is a part of external reality that we must take into account; but the most important aspect of that occurrence will be the national concentration on the electoral process all during the summer, not the event in August. Our work around the DNC, the Democratic Party, and the electoral process should tie in with and complement ongoing draft organizing and other summer programs.

This is intended to raise questions and present alternatives. We will first present a critique of the way we see the DNC confrontation shaping up, and then attempt to sketch some guidelines for an alternative.

First, we should say that we find the general strategy which leads to a confrontation with the DNC a good one; that in the face of the Convention we should stand clearly to declare which side we are on and to project that stance to the American people. However, we are concerned about the particular conditions which would arise from a super-confrontation in Chicago at the time of the Convention.

To begin with, there seem to be 3 groups shaping up for the confrontation in Chicago. The first is the Yippies. Our feeling is that their intention to bring thousands of young people to Chicago during the DNC to groove on rock bands and smoke grass and then to put them up against bayonets—viewing that as a radicalizing experience—seems manipulative at best. The idea would not be bad, were it not for the Illinois

National Guard and the Chicago Police.

The second group surrounds the plans of Dick Gregory and company. These are the most difficult to clearly understand at this time, and would seem to have secondary relevance to the programs which we are developing around the Convention.

The third set of plans, generally associated with Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden, are the most serious politically and most relevant to the development of our strategy. They see carefully planned and organized demonstrations in Chicago, intended to be non-violent, in order to make particular political points from several constituencies.

The main problem we see is the high potential for playing right into Johnson's hands, permitting him to more easily declare us the enemy of the American people and more easily repress us. It is clear that he intends to make crime in the streets his main campaign issue, and that he intends to run against the New Left and black insurrections, rather than against his Republican opponent. While Johnson is inside the convention hall speaking of crime in the streets, the television cameras deftly flash to us criming outside. His intention is to make the War a secondary issue, one which is not a political question, but rather a problem which can be solved as soon as he has the co-operation of the American people to stop "lawlessness". The demonstration is intended to make political points, particularly opposition to the War. Given Johnson's strategy, however, our presence in Chicago would guarantee total obfuscation of political content, and almost exclusive visibility of form. Of course, we will never be able to control the media's interpretation of our actions and politics, but least of all will we be able to do so in Chicago at the DNC.

A second point is the possibility that the demonstration could be turned into a pro-McCarthy or even pro-Kennedy demonstration right before our radical eyes. The number of people who are now expected to come if the plans go through range from 50-to-500 thousand—figures which almost automatically set a political tone for the demonstration that we would be powerless to control. Unless we did the most incredible

kind of organizing around the Convention, the group massed there would lean more toward the dissenting Democrats and other Left liberal groups than it would toward a politics which sees the demonstration as a declaration of disgust with the entire electoral process. Consequently, should Johnson give Kennedy or McCarthy just enough running room to make a foredoomed move on the floor of the Convention, the frustrated demonstrators could easily swing to a pro-candidate position, or split between those who will be taken back into the Democratic Party to support an alternate who is given a brief fling, and those who stay out only to be more clearly defined by Johnson and the media as "the stormtrooper crazies". To do the kind of organizing before the Convention which would minimize the danger of the confrontation turning in that direction would be to define our major work this summer in terms of aiming for the Convention.

Next, to envision non-violent demonstrations at the Convention is to indulge in pleasant fantasizing. It should be clear to anyone who has been following developments in Chicago that a non-violent demonstration would be impossible. We would suggest that Johnson expects violence at this year's Convention, and has decided that on this occasion he will clearly indicate that he will not countenance such things in this country, let alone at his Convention.

Finally, the confrontation around the DNC would most likely disrupt the kind of community organizing which has been going on in Chicago for a long time. We have a traditional outlook which sees the long-range organizing as the most important work we do. Last summer the Chicago cops came down heavy on the organizing projects, and this summer we may be giving them an excuse to finish the job. We have a responsibility to deal with this possibility.

Alternatives to the mass confrontation at the DNC could range from a different type of activity in Chicago (teach-ins, rallies, a counter-convention, and the like, rather than confrontation) to a more decentralized exposure of the Convention throughout the country.

In all 3 DNC projects we see a focus on the occasion and not on the content or relevance of that occasion. Our conception is to present a strategy of resistance which takes into account, but does not depend on, the existence of the DNC this summer. The 2 most important programmatic tasks ahead of us from now until November are to expand our draft-resistance work and to attack the bankruptcy of electoral politics. A program built around the Democratic Party and the electoral process has great potentials in 2 areas of organizing. First, it will help us research new groups of people and involve them in political activity through a description of the local Democratic Party apparatus and how it

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New Left Notes

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

MARCH 4TH, 1968

'ORGANIZE AND RESIST' SAYS SOUTHERN CAUCUS

Tom Gardner

LEXINGTON, Kentucky, February 19th (Liberation News Service)—Delegates to an all-Southern conference on the Vietnam War and the Draft held here last weekend have decided to make major efforts this year to organize both universities and civic communities in the South around the issues of repression and civil liberties.

Sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), the Southern Christian Educational Fund, and other white Left groups, the Conference was held on the campus of the University of Kentucky February 10th, 11th, and 12th and was attended by more than 200 student and community organizers from all over the South. Participants included Joe Mulloy, a SCEF worker who plans to refuse induction into the Army on February 23rd, and John Lewis, formerly of SNCC and now a full-time organizer for SSOC.

The Conference established a Southern Steering Committee Against Repression (SSCAR) to provide communication among Movement groups in the South to counter possible repression by civil authorities. SSCAR hopes to co-ordinate the legal

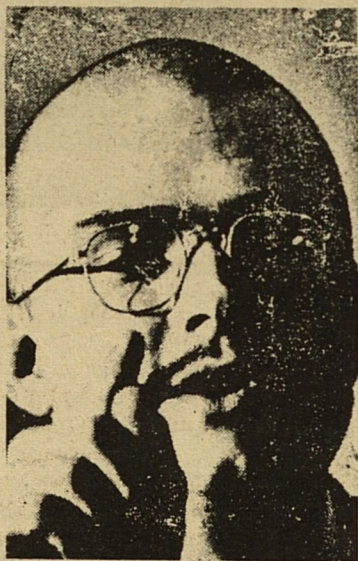


photo:kentucky kernel

(l. to r.) JOE MULLOY AND DAVID TUCK SPEAKING IN KENTUCKY

defense of groups and individuals indicted for civil-rights activities, and to publicize and protest police harassment in cities like Nashville, Tennessee and Austin, Texas.

SSOC announced plans to begin a Summer Institute "to do more systematic

analysis of our own society and more strategizing on how to change that society". The Institute will include an examination of the economic and political structure of the American South, and proposals for future political movements.

Letter from the NLF

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A New Look — eric mann

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

EASTERN FRONT

(addressed by Mister Le Thiet, vice-president of the South Vietnam Youth Federation for Liberation, to the American Youth—February 5th, 1968)

Dear friends:

Over recent days, our people have been engaged in a seething struggle everywhere in South Vietnam.

As you are aware, over these 13 years, owing to the war of aggression conducted by the US Government in our country, our youth and people have been suffering incalculable pains and mournings. US bombs and shells have destroyed our villages and killed hundreds of thousands of our compatriots....South Vietnamese youths' legitimate interests and aspirations for a peaceful and happy life have been grossly trampled underfoot. Humiliation and hatred have been accumulated in the hearts of the South Vietnamese youth and people. Moreover, recently, violating the order on military activities suspension issued by the South Vietnamese National Front for Liberation on the occasion of our Vietnamese traditional Lunar New Year festival, the US rulers and the Thieu-Ky clique have sent jets to bomb, strafe, and kill our people in the midst of our festive days, shocking strongly the South Vietnamese people's national feelings.

In such circumstances, on the impulse of the successful development of the resistance against the US aggression for national salvation, the South Vietnamese people united as one have risen up in 1 accord, in co-ordination with the People's Liberation Armed Forces, to deal punishing blows to both aggressors and traitors. The key organs of the ruling machine of the US aggressors

AND 2ND FRONT

(an open letter from James Forman to the New York Anti-War Conference of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, February 3rd, 1968 at the Hotel Diplomat, read by Phil Hutchins, Field Representative of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee)

Dear Friends:

When asked to speak at this meeting I hesitated and had to discuss it with some of my fellow workers, for various reasons. Among them, I did not want to speak unless I thought I had something new to add to the discussion around protest and resistance activity against the War in Vietnam. In the meantime, some of my black brothers and sisters from Los Angeles asked me to come there to appear at a rally on February 2nd showing solidarity and support for Doctor Spock and the Boston 5. Since I obviously cannot do both, I responded first to the request to come to Los Angeles. I have taken the liberty to address this letter to you.

This letter should be read in conjunction with an article I have just completed called: 1967—High Tide of Black Resistance. (Editor's note: This article will be available from SDS.) The article analyzes where the black liberation movement is today and where it has come in the last 20 years. Also included in it are descriptions of certain governmental techniques designed to pacify, contain, silence, defeat, or exterminate rebelling blacks in this country.

The white anti-war movement must plan its program at least with an understanding that all the equipment the city police forces around this country say they are buying to use against us, the blacks, can and will be used against white anti-war demonstrators. Nevertheless, our commitment to resist must grow greater and greater and take more militant positions.

I regret the illness of Arthur Kinoy and his absence from this meeting; we are both agreed that the white anti-war movement and the black liberation struggle must take the offensive and

and their henchmen in over 80 cities, towns, and townships in South Vietnam, were stormed simultaneously. All sections of the people, from working people to pupils, students, intellectuals, traders, businessmen, and religious believers, have taken part in the uprising. Large numbers of puppet-army men have sided with the people and opposed the US aggressors and the Thieu-Ky clique. The Saigon administration established by the US is heading toward an irretrievable collapse.

The stirring and tenacious struggle breaking out on an unseen scope has exposed President Johnson's allegations about the South Vietnamese people's "invitation to US troops to come and insure them security". The White House rulers' claims about the "victories" of the US troops in South Vietnam to deceive American people also have been laid bare.

In an attempt to damp the flames of

hatred burning in the hearts of the South Vietnamese people, the US Government and their stooges have been resorting to cruel repressive means against our compatriots. US aircraft have bombed and strafed indiscriminately many populated areas, causing civilian casualties by thousands and destroying hundreds of homes in the very centers of Saigon, Hue, Myho, Cantho, and other cities. More brazenly still the US aggressors and their quislings have many execution grounds erected to execute the South Vietnamese patriots. No matter what measure the US Government and their lackeys may adopt over the 13 past years as well as now they are surely unable to check the South Vietnamese people who are determined to fight for their sacred national independence. The recent criminal acts of the US prove that the Pentagon is obdurately continuing its war against the South Vietnamese people, dispatching more US youths to

South Vietnam to die there for the selfish interests of the warmongers. More than ever, the South Vietnamese youths have realized that the only right way—the one which any self-respecting nation ought to choose—is to continue their anti-US resistance for freedom and peace for their homeland. This is also the way to safeguard the legitimate interests of the American people and the future of youth in our 2 countries.

Dear friends:

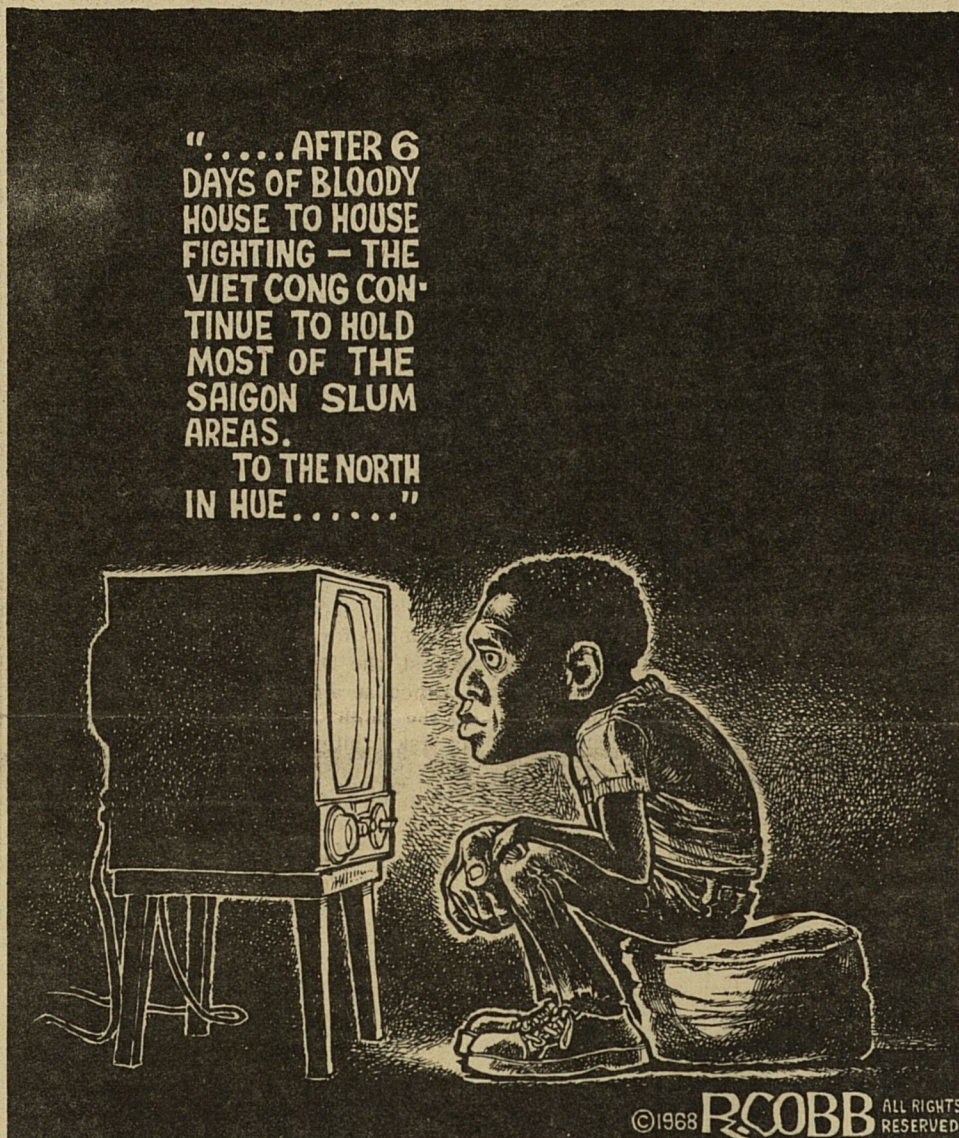
The South Vietnamese youths have always followed with deep sympathy the seething and valiant activities undertaken by the progressive American youth against the unjust war conducted by the US Government in Vietnam.

In the face of the new developments in the South Vietnamese people's struggle, we earnestly request you to take more positive actions to co-ordinate with ours, for an end to the Vietnam War. You have no reason to go and kill innocent people, women and children, and die a useless death. Let us resist the Draft and demand the withdrawal of all US troops from South Vietnam and the recognition of the South Vietnamese people's right to settle themselves their own affairs. We call on US Servicemen stationed abroad who are bound for South Vietnam to energetically refuse to fight the Vietnam War.

We are confident that you would act for justice and the US people's lofty traditions of freedom and democracy, thus giving a precious support to our struggle.

Victory will be ours.

May the friendship and solidarity between the youths of our 2 countries ever develop.



must not be scared into inactivity. The nature of the US Government repression against these 2 forces really indicates their effectiveness. Instead of being frightened, we should be celebrating our success and planning even greater victories for 1968.

We must not run or hide!

We must not be scared into inactivity and silence.

We must step up quickly our resistance, especially in view of the recent events in Vietnam.

My comments are mainly directed to a white audience that has been active in the various types of peace, resistance, and anti-war activities. Since black people in this country are engaged in a protracted warfare against their colonial domination by the United States because we are the most exploited class suffering from racism and economic exploitation, it is our responsibility to give direction and leadership to the forms of struggle. All activities against the United States genocidal war in Vietnam must be seen

r. cobb in the s.f. express times

as efforts to help oppressed people around the world to obtain self-determination—including black people in the United States, a people of African descent. This is a point which must be constantly stressed throughout the discussions today. If it is not, then it will be quite easy for people to fail to see the connection between the United States intervening in Vietnam, Santa Domingo, South Africa, Haiti, Mozambique, Korea, or wherever.

Obviously, there are many shadings and groups in the Parade Committee. And it is not my purpose to exacerbate any of these differences, but rather to encourage a heightened form of resistance in 1968. Whereas 1967—can be considered a high tide of black resistance, we must clearly be aware that the Government is moving to make 1968 a high tide of repression and containment of all militants. We must work to counter their intended suppression by even greater resistance in the ghetto and the anti-war movement.

SNCC as an organization and black people in general are not pacifists. We do not merely wish to see the fighting stop. We wish to see the United States withdraw its troops now so that the Vietnamese may carry on their War of Liberation as they see fit. This desire is just as strong as that of the white people who fought for the independence of the United States from the colonial master. Had it not been for the racism inherent in the white mentality of those who fought by armed struggle for independence from England, there would be no rebelling black population today. The United States is suffering the consequences of an internal liberation struggle because the so-called founders of this country committed genocide against the Indian population and had the audacity to consider black people "3/5 of a man". During the American Revolution—incomplete though it was—the white settlers did not want the French or any other European power fighting on their enemy's side. So it is that the United States today has no business fighting in Vietnam.

But it is!

What do we do about that?

new left notes

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We Made the News Today, Oh Boy!

by Karen Gellen

compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service

STATE COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA—a group of 75 black students and members of PENN STATE UNIVERSITY SDS held a march through state college february 17th to protest the massacre of black students at orangeburg, south carolina. the group carried signs condemning southern racism, the racist war in vietnam, and u.s. imperialism.

PENN STATE SDS joined sds chapters at COLUMBIA, PRINCETON (see below), the UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, and the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN in demonstrations against the institute for defense analyses. the demonstrations exposed the IDA secret "select" committee meeting in new york on february 21st. the committee, responding to pressure on the CHICAGO, MICHIGAN, and PRINCETON campuses, met to decide whether IDA would retain its campus affiliation or become an off-campus concern. PENN STATE SDS used the demonstration to begin educational work on campus for a struggle against military research which will culminate in a mass demonstration on april 26th. the leaflet issued for the IDA demonstration focused attention on PENN STATE president eric. a. walker's vast military interests and his investments in south africa, and accused the board of trustees of consciously acting as agents of genocide. the leaflet also demanded the removal of IDA from the campus.

ALBANY, NEW YORK—at the STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT ALBANY over 100 students and faculty members demonstrated against dow—they physically blocked the administration building for over 7 hours, and people appearing for interviews had to be carried in horizontally. in the afternoon, the demonstrators locked arms and prevented the recruiter from holding any interviews. the administration finally called the city police, and 10 people were arrested.

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN—about 300 people attended a conference on the draft held last week on the MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY campus. the conference began with presentations by people experienced in different aspects of draft resistance, followed by a long question-and-answer period. for the next 3 days workshops led by local draft counselors were held on topics such as non-co-operation, conscientious objection, deferments and the new draft laws, and resistance.

ITHACA, NEW YORK—a mass meeting of CORNELL UNIVERSITY students demanded that the university end all co-operation with the selective service system and temporarily suspend assistant registrar e. edward maynard pending an investigation. maynard wrote to a student's local draft board advising it to consider the student delinquent, deny him 2-s status, and reclassify him 1-a, because his anti-war activities were "not in the national interest". maynard's letter to the local board was apparently against university policy, and was interpreted as a "personal opinion" rather than an official communique. CORNELL president james perkins has written to the draft board advising it to "disregard mr. maynard's letter".

TUCSON, ARIZONA—students from the UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA picketed as dean rusk met with the foreign policy association in phoenix. sds also held an illegal open-air rally on campus which was addressed by dave harris, a resistance member from california.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK—last week COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SDS planned to picket dow in order to use the recruiter's presence to direct the attention of the campus to other issues such as IDA and the war in general. but when the recruiter finally came, the spirit of the body of picketers somehow couldn't be contained, so they sort of spontaneously charged into the building housing mr. dow and sat down so they sort of spontaneously charged into the building housing mr. dow and sat down in front of his door, around 200 strong. he was out to lunch, so they sat there intending not to let him return to his recruiting. for about 2 hours they sang, talked, recited poetry, and did guerrilla theater bits. waiting for his return. the university then announced that the recruiter would not return, and that all interviewing was cancelled. so the demonstrators left—and won. since the sit-in was so short and so much fun, people took it simply as a great organizational morale-booster that would give impetus to real organizing for the spring.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS—an offer for a summer job in johannesburg south africa which is being displayed on the placement-office bulletin board at HARVARD UNIVERSITY has come under attack in a letter signed by 43 business school students. the letter, published in the business school newspaper, states that the signers are "particularly interested in the policy of the placement office with regard to publicizing through their facilities discriminatory job offers". the letter asks if "this job has any restrictions attached to it based on race or national origin". according to south african law, such restrictions are mandatory.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY—a letter: dear president goheen: we, the members of PRINCETON SDS, heartily endorse your plan to attend the "secret" meeting of the board of trustees of the institute of defense analyses february 20th and 21st to represent the interests of our university. we understand the necessity of bypassing the recommendations of the faculty committee concerning our university's affiliation with IDA, and definitely feel that you, as witnessed by your past experience in these tricky legal matters, can much better represent the positions of the faculty and student body to the trustees. we will eagerly await your public report about the proceedings of this meeting and the exact nature of the plans made for the university's withdrawal from IDA. to express our approval, sds will throw a party in your honor in the rotunda of nassau hall tomorrow at noon. we hope all who wish to express their approval of your latest open efforts in the interest of us all will join us in the festivities. popcorn and lemonade will be served. especially for this occasion the PRINCETON radical arts troupe will present its especially for this occasion the PRINCETON radical arts troupe will present its play "princeton in the nation's service" for the delectation of all who attend. (signed) PRINCETON SDS

Conversation With an Organizer

Les Coleman

....So I said to him, look, this is my idea of the beginning of the seniors program. We both know that since the deferments have been dropped for seniors and first-year graduate students a lot of folks are getting up tight. We should be reaching out to them. So you get a list of the seniors and send out a mailing. The mailing reaches them on Monday and it talks about the changes in the draft law, suggests that seniors are up on the firing line now, and asks them to come to a meeting on Friday at which information on the Draft will be given. On Wednesday and Thursday a few people do a follow-up calling to the seniors and publicize the meeting by hanging posters and handing out leaflets. On Friday night, you have a speaker like Howard Zinn or Staughton Lynd. He just talks about the Draft and the likelihood of its increasing with the escalation of the War. Then he talks about the War a little. Then someone gets up and gives a straight presentation on the new draft law, suggesting how many of those in the room are likely to get drafted. The third speaker calls for folks to get counseling about possible other deferments, or to refuse induction. A "we won't go" petition is passed around. Or maybe people are urged to file CO forms "against this particular war", with the idea in mind that we will file a mass injunction against any such filer being inducted until his case has been taken to court. Maybe just ask people to stand up and be counted if they are going to refuse. Last, an SDS speaker gets up and announces organizing programs for the spring and summer against the Draft. He is fairly specific: 1 aimed at a few neighborhoods, 1 aimed at the high schools, you know....Then he asks interested people to see him after the meeting—for counseling or for organizing programs. You could reach a lot of new people that way, I said, and it would only take a few people a week's work.

Well, he wasn't sure it would work. The campus is apathetic. They won't buy it. They won't come. They won't organize.

Tell me something about the history of the campus, I said. What went on last fall?

Well, he said, Howard Zinn came and spoke to 3,000 people. It was real good. At the end of the speech he called for revolution and got a long standing ovation from everyone there.

Oh yeah? I said....How many people are in the chapter? (Loosely—that you keep in contact with?)

About 60, he said.

Seems to me like we're doing something wrong.

INDICT RUSK DEMONSTRATORS

SAN FRANCISCO, February 19th (Liberation News Service)—A San Francisco grand jury handed down felony indictments against 9 anti-war demonstrators February 15th for alleged violence against police during a January 11th demonstration at the Fairmont Hotel.

The 9 were among 52 arrested in a protest outside the fashionable Nob Hill Hotel where Secretary of State Dean Rusk was speaking at a fund-raising dinner.

The accused, all Bay Area students, are charged with assault and/or battery against a police officer. If convicted, they could be sentenced to 1 to 5 years in prison. All but 2 are presently free on their own recognizance after paying \$1250 in bail.

The indictments were obtained by the District Attorney after the defendants had already been arraigned and set for preliminary hearing on the same charges. Reindictment by the grand jury means that the right to cross-examine the accusing officer in a pre-trial hearing has effectively been bypassed.

Alexander Hoffman, 1 of the defending attorneys, has indicated that he will challenge the method of selection of jurors for the trial, as well as the indiscriminate use of the grand jury by the District Attorney to avoid due process.

The accused students charge that their indictments are a cover-up for police violence against anti-war demonstrators during the January 11th protest. Several demonstrators and at least 1 bystander were brought into jail bleeding from head wounds inflicted by billy clubs.

(from SCN Berkeley)

Should We Bust It?

by Mike Klonsky

A national conference on "College Student Disruption" has been planned by paranoid members of the power structure in order to develop a strategy around dealing with campus agitators—and specifically SDS people.

The Conference will be held March 18th and 19th at the International Hotel in Los Angeles, and there is a \$60 registration fee for the privilege of attending.

The "College Student Personnel Institute" in Claremont, California, a front group for the State's giant corporations, is throwing the Conference to "discuss on-campus confrontation and disruption and 'alternatives'".

Some of these "alternatives" become obvious when one looks over the guest list expected to check in at the swank hotel: First off, there are the co-opters: William G. Thomas, Dean of Student Affairs, San Fernando Valley State College; Arleigh Williams, Dean of Students, University of California at Berkeley; William Sloane Coffin, Chaplain, Yale University; Mister Norman Epstein, Chief Counsel, California State Colleges; J. Elliot Cameron, Dean of Students,

Brigham Young University; Edmond C. Hallberg, Dean of Students, California State College at Los Angeles; George Demos, Dean of Students, California State College at Long Beach; and Donald Walker, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, University of California at Irvine.

Next on the agenda is "the Man". Campus security and civil police officers from all over the country have been invited to demonstrate new techniques.

Workshops are scheduled in which, according to the Conference brochure, "college administrators, security officers, legal authorities and faculty members will discuss on-campus confrontation and disruption and explore alternative plans for dealing with them."

Other things to be discussed include "the position and disruption potential of the large number of 'uncommitted' college students" and "the position and disruption techniques of the activist leaders". Specific papers to be used as resource material will include Carl Davidson's paper on "Institutional Resistance".

The Conference could well provide an opportunity for Movement people to find out what the enemy is planning to do to them. Perhaps the "Orangeburg approach" will be placed on the agenda.

APPRAISAL & PERS

Continuation of this article, dealing with a functional overview of SDS politics and a broad strategy of resistance, will appear in forthcoming issues.

Radicals have traditionally been plagued by the dilemma of having a different set of priorities and ultimate goals than the people they are trying to organize. Besides the obvious challenges to democracy and honesty that such a situation creates, it also raises some profound technical problems. Recent SDS history reflects a long-standing conflict among radicals—the battle of the “hards” and the “softs”.

The “hards” are very concerned with maintaining an ideological and stylistic purity, believe that co-optation is the major threat to the Left, and often advocate measures considerably to the Left of their constituency. They argue that the role of a radical is to project challenging programs and analyses that “radicalize” people’s thoughts and actions. The traditional pitfall of the “hards” has been projecting programs and tactics that are irrelevant or harmful to the constituency they are trying to organize. By trying to avoid co-optation they often isolate themselves from struggles which the “masses” think are important, such as large peace demonstrations, elections, and poverty programs.

The “softs” argue that a radical must get involved with people’s immediate concerns and relate to the existing institutions in the society that affect people’s lives. They see the major threat to the Left as isolation. In practice, the “softs” actually like American society more than they let on. But they often have a better understanding of the people than the “hards” (partially because most Americans are more like the “softs”). They find it difficult to maintain a clear radical position in their day-to-day politics. They believe in winning reforms as both important in themselves and as stepping stones to building a radical movement, but have great difficulty in developing a strategy to effect the latter. They often become very defensive about being “outflanked on the Left”, and develop an analysis of “objective conditions” that precludes radical action. “Personally, I think it’s a great idea; but the people aren’t ready for it now.”

Fortunately, these stereotypes have less relevance to the present situation in SDS. The factions and stereotypes exist, but they are less sharply drawn. Although not immune to sectarianism, SDS also has the benefit of a vital and critical membership that is in touch with its constituency and can inject needed doses of reality into doctrinal arguments. This sense of reality will be necessary to help synthesize the strong points of both tendencies into a program of Permanent Resistance. But before outlining such a program it might be useful to take an inventory of the present strengths and weaknesses of our organization.

strengths

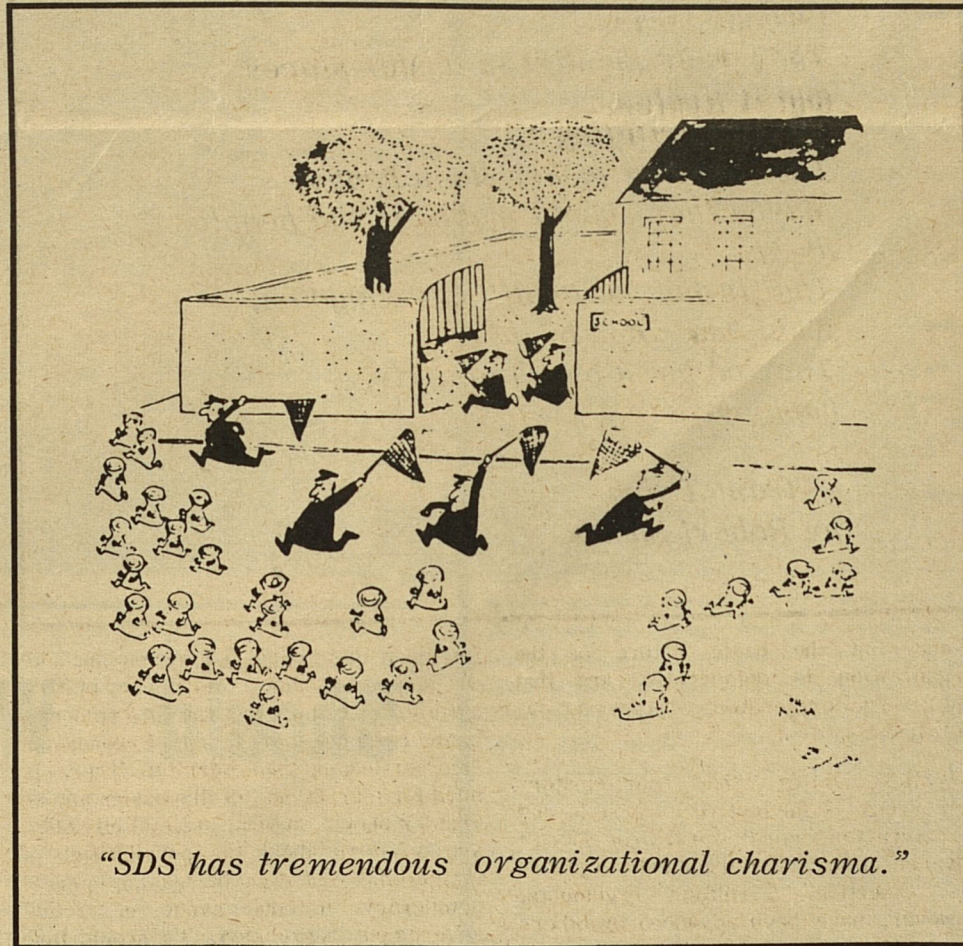
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SDS has tremendous organizational charisma. There are many students and adults who have never officially joined SDS, but who have identified with SDS as the most vital radical organization since the April '65 demonstration against the War. Many disillusioned adults who see no radical vehicle for themselves consider SDS “their” organization, even

though they have never been approached by SDS for money or political involvement. Similarly, the growth of SDS chapters has been less a product of SDS staff members going onto campuses to organize membership groups than a product of spontaneous meetings of dissident students who have decided to call themselves SDS.

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SDS has, with relative success, dealt with the dilemma of being to the Left of the campus movement. The War has been a difficult issue to be “too radical” about. In the instances when SDS has moved without mass support, its isolation has not been permanent. Specific unwise tactics may be condemned by potential supporters, but the continuing horror of the War and the development of new programs and tactics by our chapters has allowed us to win back our constituency. Also, the first organized march on Washington against the War, the widespread actions against the military on campus, and the confrontation with the troops at the Pentagon have been attributed to SDS leadership. These



actions have been “popular” and have given a national reputation to local SDS chapters that often gives them greater credibility among vacillating students.

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SDS has attracted most of the leading young radical personalities. On October 21st the official SDS leadership was very active in the group of demonstrators on the steps of the Pentagon. But also, although very few of the thousand demonstrators on what has now come to be called the “Left flank” of the demonstration were from SDS, most of the people who took leadership were SDS people a few years out of school who were known and trusted by some of the demonstrators, and who became “leaders” in the situation by showing a sense of tactical direction and “cool”. Potter’s speech at the first March, Hayden’s trips to Vietnam, and Oglesby’s rise as a leading radical intellectual have given SDS an impressive “image”

among many Left-inclined students and adults. Image doesn’t change people’s politics, but it has made SDS an attractive radical organization for liberals and radicals who already are favorably disposed toward our politics.

*

The ERAP projects, although less politically important than the publicity they received, made SDS 1 of the few student groups that was attempting to build political alliances outside the campus and gave the organization a nucleus of former students who could contribute a supplementary perspective to discussions of student issues.

*

SDS is the only national student organization that has the potential to combine a clearly anti-capitalist analysis of American society with the development of a mass movement. Despite a theoretical opposition to American corporate control, very few of the early SDS statements and actions really embodied a clear radical perspective. Potter asked us to “name the system”, but, indicatively, he didn’t. Oglesby did, and the present leadership has been trying to develop substantive programs that not only name the system, but challenge it. A year ago I didn’t feel comfortable using the word imperialism. I felt it was strictly the political property of the “crazies”. When speaking at teach-ins I would put forth an imperialist analysis of American foreign policy but would shy away from using the word. The present emphasis on building an

to people’s real understanding. Although this section is on SDS’s strengths, clearly the major weakness of the anti-imperialist emphasis is that frequently it is a mouthed slogan and not really an analysis.)

*

SDS, in developing and projecting the idea of resistance, is developing a new model of political behavior for thousands of middle-class students. In the past, middle-class radical politics has been rather civil, even pleasant in style. Snide jokes by witty “radical” professors at teach-ins, Socialist scholars’ conferences that have a disarming similarity to stockholders’ meetings of a family-run corporation, petitions by “disturbed” students, revolutionary rhetoric with little action, and personal-witness demonstrations have been the style of the middle-class Left. SDS, despite many tactical mistakes, is trying to develop a program of mass resistance, rather than the actions of a splinter group trying to substitute militancy for constituency.

*

SDS speaks to the concerns of people who fear a duplication of the American Communist experience. Without Red-baiting, but through a conscious effort to emphasize democratic procedures, SDS has attempted to make democracy not just a good rhetorical issue, but a central political concern both within the organization and in our projection of the type of society we would like to create.

weaknesses

*

SDS is really not much of an organization. Its organizational problems can be broken down into several categories:

*

Growth: Despite the dramatic increase in SDS membership in the past 3 years, our membership is much smaller than it should be. Some chapters are too sectarian and cliquish and turn off many students for reasons that are often rationalized as “irreconcilable political differences”. Other chapters have a much more open attitude toward the students they are trying to organize, but are having difficulty developing programs that can enlist large numbers of students in a day-to-day working relationship. More often than not, SDS on a campus is a hard-core group of from 25 to 50 members who are able to turn out larger numbers during confrontation situations.

Another area of great potential is on the many campuses where no chapters exist. On many of these campuses there are local, ad-hoc anti-war and radical groups that might be interested in affiliating with SDS. At present, however, we have few tangible services to offer such groups. There is a great need for experienced organizers to set up new chapters on unorganized campuses.

*

Co-ordination: Many chapters feel a strong sense of isolation, and have few organizational ties to a national organization. The National Office provides little in terms of staff, programmatic ideas, and regional co-ordination. Though New Left Notes is an unusually good organizational paper, it reflects more than remedies chapter isolation. The fact that most of the articles in New Left Notes are written by a relative handful of people and most of the chapters reporting are from traditional centers of radical activity indicates the alienation that many of our own chapters feel from the organization. I’m sure many chapter people look upon SDS as the closest thing there is to “their” organization—but still not really “theirs”.

PECTIVES

eric mann

*

Political education: Chapter politics reflect a broad spectrum of opinion on the Left. While too much emphasis on political agreement can lead to useless sectarianism, a certain fundamental set of assumptions about American society and the alternatives open to changing them are often lacking among our members.

**

Internal democracy: Despite our commitment to participatory democracy, SDS has made little progress in developing viable democratic institutions and procedures. In practice, participatory democracy ends up as "do your thing" on 1 hand, and "elitism by default" on the other. Our inability to develop workable governing institutions for ourselves has placed an unhealthy emphasis on inter-personal rather than institutional decision-making.

This can be most clearly illustrated in the workings of the National Council. Most of the agenda items for the NC are not known to delegates until they show up. Delegates, therefore, can't possibly have the mandates of their chapters, because chapter members have no means of considering issues before NC meetings. In some chapters the position of delegate to the NC is not considered very important. In practice, the delegate to an NC is often someone who lives near the particular city where the meeting is held. Since inter-personal relationships are often primary at the chapter level as well, a delegate may attend an NC but have difficulty convincing chapter people to accept the decisions he made in their name. Since the agenda wasn't known and discussed in advance, since regional decision-making structures rarely are set up to give direction to the NC, since people in the NO are often isolated from the chapters and often develop programs that don't reflect political conditions on campus, since many chapter people resent public personalities in the NO—often because they feel they have no control over them, since delegates are often uninfluential in their own chapters, and many chapters don't even bother to send delegates, since the National Office has no institutional means of making chapters comply with decisions made at NCs, and since both the NO and regional structures are badly understaffed and can't implement many of the substantive resolutions passed, it's no wonder that many people don't take the NC seriously. Faced with the ineffectiveness of the NC as a decision-making body, the NO must operate by calling the chapter people they know best, and, with the help of a few campus travelers, some mailing lists, and New Left Notes, getting out the word and hoping for the best.

An article by Greg Calvert entitled "Participatory Democracy, Collective Leadership, and Political Responsibility" (New Left Notes, December 18, 1967) has many frightening implications. The article is frightening, not because of the specific organizational suggestions made, which are reasonable and well overdue, but because of the analysis offered to justify these proposed reforms. Greg begins by giving a sympathetic history of the importance of participatory democracy, but then criticizes the concept as not being applicable to present-day conditions. Calvert states: "The primary contradiction in SDS involves the conflict between the notion of participatory democracy as a vision for the good society and its ineffectiveness as a style and structure for serious radical work." In fact, however, the specific organizational reforms he proposes—elected steering committees taking programmatic initiative, work-study groups analyzing, criticizing, and offering alternatives—are already in effect in

some of our better chapters and are quite compatible with the idea of participatory democracy. I don't remember ever hearing that participatory democracy doesn't allow for the delegation of responsibility. What is strange, therefore, is the way Greg attempts to justify some reforms which don't contradict participatory democracy, but are aimed at making it work. Basically, Greg argues that participatory democracy is a "Marxian vision of post-scarcity communism" and not a working model for a present-day radical movement. If this argument is accepted, then radicals can have no criteria for combatting the development of an undemocratic and authoritarian radical organization. It will probably take a revolution to make participatory democracy real for all Americans. But the development and expansion of a democratic, radical organization in America is clearly possible right now. SDS has many problems, 1 of which is the inadequacy of its internal decision-making institu-

A second argument advanced as to why participatory democracy can't work is that under the present system repression will force us to develop a tightly disciplined cadre organization. This argument is weak in that despite the existence of genuine attempts at political reprisal, the basic response of the Government right now seems much more in the nature of harassment than of repression. In the face of this harassment our best response seems to be the development of a broad-based radical movement, not a cadre organization. Historically, radicals have used the spectre of repression to retreat into "underground" activity that often wasn't justified by the actual political situation, and which served as an excuse to avoid the hard, tedious local organizing work that was necessary. There may very well come a time when some of our democratic options may be limited by government repression, but such a situation clearly does not obtain at present. Since present political conditions offer tremendous possibilities

The recent indictments against Coffin, Ferber, Goodman, Raskin, and Spock are odious and should be vigorously opposed. But they shouldn't be seen as an indication of government repression. The purpose of the Resist campaign was to openly violate the law, and in doing so to provoke the Government into arresting its members and thereby building the base of the draft-resistance movement by further challenging the legitimacy of the Government. Resist could hardly have survived as a serious political challenge if no arrests had been made. Arguing that the Government is hypocritical for not arresting adults who openly violate federal statutes may be valid, but it is hardly persuasive. Few Americans can understand a movement that complains because the Government doesn't arrest its members. Now that the indictments have come, Resist, and the more central issue of the draft-resisters it is "conspiring" to support, is being given greater publicity, seems to be helping the draft-resistance movement, and seems to be appealing to the underdog spirit that most Americans—feeling like underdogs themselves—can respond to.

But the political lessons of the Spock indictments should be made clear. The indictments reflect the growing role of the Federal Government as a policeman over its own people, and help expose the nature of the legal system. But a political strategy that attempts to provoke the government into arresting its people shouldn't be called repressed. Repression is active initiative by the government to physically and legally intimidate a political movement that is trying to operate legally.

It is important to make these distinctions, but not because there is a clear moral difference. Our government's distinction between prosecuting draft resisters and tolerating more legal forms of dissent is often a tactical one, not an ethical one. But it is important for us to understand these tactical distinctions in order to develop the appropriate tactics with which we should respond. Blanket use of the word repression to describe any hostile action on the part of the Government: 1) will further anesthetize our own people who talk a lot about "repression" but don't really believe it will happen; 2) will make us vulnerable to "crying wolf" to civil libertarian types who are only too willing to understand the distinctions; and 3) will create a misperception of the political climate in this country, which presently is very conducive to open organizing work.

*I know a dirty Queen.
She probably has a dirty King.
They live in a dirty castle.
I imagine there are dirty little princes
running all over the place.
And a filthy princess.
What a grubby family.
They're always laughing.
I wonder why.
They wear the dirt in tender places
and it tickles.
Isn't it irritating?
The laughing makes them happy.
Maybe they should make all sad people
dirty.
That is the policy of their kingdom.
What has come of it?
They've got a bunch of dirty,
happy people.*

—from *Twink*
by Robert Shure

tions; but the basic nature of the organization is democratic, and that nature is quite compatible with present-day political conditions.

While stating that participatory democracy is ineffective as a style and structure for radical work, Greg doesn't advance any specific arguments to justify his assertion. 2 major arguments, however, have been advanced by others to justify this position, and should be discussed.

A psychological explanation argues that a radical organization can't be democratic until its people are freed from the contradictions of capitalist social relations. But this is just a cop-out. 1 of the key tasks of our movement is to liberate people by offering them alternatives. Many of those alternatives will have to be developed within the present economic structure, and if one argues that all alternatives must wait until after capitalism is done away with, then we offer people no hope or model for the type of society we believe in. With regard to internal democracy, present-day capitalism clearly debilitates people—including Movement people—and makes the building of a democratic and efficient radical organization difficult. But although capitalist society can be used as explanation for the difficulties of building such a movement, it shouldn't be used as an excuse for authoritarian measures.

for open organizing and increasing both the democracy and the efficiency of SDS, articles that imply that the Government's basic response to us is one of repression are misleading and harmful. There is need for a great deal of discussion among chapter people, at NCs, in New Left Notes, and so forth about the possibilities of maintaining and even increasing internal democracy in the event of actual government repression. We should turn our attention to developing specific organizational responses to repression that will avoid the need for increased elitism in times of crisis.

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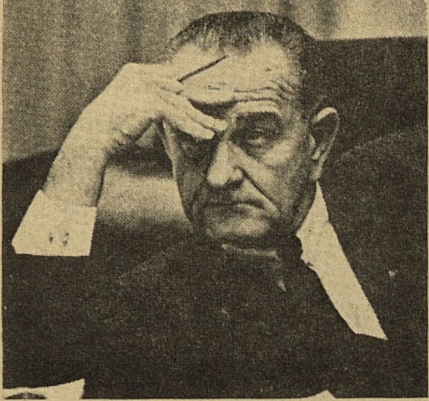
A few thoughts on repression: The actions of the Government during the McCarthy period are accurately described as repression. The campaign against the Communist Party was directed at a political organization with revolutionary rhetoric which clearly had no revolutionary intentions. The CP wanted to operate legally, and the purpose of the government campaign was not to stop a Communist revolution, but to stop the CP from operating within the unions, schools, and electoral arena. Under the guise of protecting itself from foreign agents, saboteurs, and revolutionaries, the Government was able to immobilize the CP by converting it into a legal defense organization.

more



to come...

THE KNOWLEDGE INDUSTRY



THIS MAN JUST HEARD OF REP

IS THE LARGEST, MOST RAPIDLY EXPANDING INDUSTRY IN THE U.S.
(CLARK KERR)

WE DO OUR PART (REP)



THIS MAN JUST HEARD OF REP

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Letter from Forman

Continued from Page 2

All anti-war activities must have 2 objectives. Our short-term goal is immediate US withdrawal from Vietnam. Our long-term goal is no more US military intervention in wars of liberation wherever they occur. Oppressed people must exercise their right to overthrow their oppressors in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, and inside the United States. Implicit, but we must clearly state it, is that both short- and long-term anti-war objectives must be founded on the principles of anti-racism, anti-capitalism, and anti-imperialism.

Implementation

How do we proceed to implement these principles and objectives?

1) Recognize the right of the Vietnamese to wage a war of liberation and to fight by whatever means necessary for victory.

2) Replace the phrase "The Peace Movement" with "The Anti-War Movement". It is not enough to be for peace in Vietnam. We must also be against all wars in which the United States tries to stop liberation movements. We must resist United States armed intervention.

3) Confront the Money-makers. I urge the conference to pass a resolution today that March 5th, 1968 will open 4 days of demonstrations at Wall Street, pinpointing the true imperialistic nature of this war and confronting the Money-makers as we confronted the Warmakers at the Pentagon. I suggest this date because Crispus Attucks, a black man, became the first person to die for American independence on the Boston Commons on March 5th, 1770. Anti-war activists in cities throughout the country could participate in this by going to the financial districts, large or small, in their cities. The Warfare State by Fred J. Cook and The War Crimes Tribunal by Bertrand Russell are 2 books all of you may have read and certainly should read to fortify yourself and to understand the profits derived from the War, those very profits which form the basis of the standard of living that most United States citizens enjoy. While there are many specific ways to implement this resolution, this paper will not deal with them.

4) Sustained springtime, eveningtime demonstrations. We must hold sustained demonstrations lasting 3 or 4 nights starting at 5 o'clock in downtown Manhattan. They would snarl traffic, overwork the police, and throw cities into a panic. We must not repeat the error witnessed at the Humphrey demonstration. While the day before 8,000 demonstrated against Rusk, only 50 appeared against Hubert Humphrey, though he is no less a part of the war machinery. This occurred not because of lack of interest, but because of poor planning and organization. Large numbers must come out day after day.

5) Take to the streets.

a) Resist the armament-makers and confront union traitors. Demonstrations should be held at both international union headquarters and regional offices. For instance, the AFL-CIO supports the position of President Johnson on the War in Vietnam. Some of the spring demonstrations should center on the offices of those union presidents who feel union survival depends on profits from armament manufacturing and exploitation of people in the Third World. This is the most direct and fastest method to raise the consciousness of workers.

b) Intensify mass protest against Dow Chemical Company recruitment on university campuses. While recognizing that Dow is but 1 of the many companies engaged in legalized slaughter, we must continue concentrated protest as it has already threatened the Company as well as raised the level of student involvement. Demonstrators must be prepared to battle with the police and to defend themselves against police brutality. Young people must actively confront, in direct struggle, anyone who is supporting the War.

c) Induction-center protests should develop into mass activity in white

communities. Rallies should be held in various sections of the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island. After people assemble for a rally, with a minimum of speeches, they should then disperse and go into the various communities knocking on doors around the location where the rally is held. Following this they should return to the central location for discussion and analysis of what happened at this type of community work. We must remember that many people do not understand the complicated machinery of writing to their Congressman or know what specific legal steps they can take for the redress of their grievances. This type of activity is far better than the traditional trips to Washington or the same old tired faces standing in front of an induction center. In other words we don't need to keep politicizing each other. But we need to get more and more grass-roots people doing what we have been doing traditionally, so that we, the vanguard, can move on ahead.

6) Vietnam dialogue.

a) Explain to people the origins of this war. Most middle-class people forget that book-reading is a middle-class habit. Few people are aware of the United States historical involvement in the War. Discussion groups must be formed in all the poor communities trying to explain the true nature of the War.

b) High school students must be involved. We must teach them the imperialistic nature of US foreign policy, the racism of a country which drafts its black youth to be killed, and that high school students too must yell "Hell No!" and refuse to co-operate with the System.

c) Leaflets and discussion teams must go to the churches, whose members are often strong supporters of all the wars of the United States. Dissension must be created. The racism of whites as well as the racism of the Government should be confronted in these discussions. The true nature of US military and economic involvement in suppressing liberation movements must be revealed.

d) Women's peace groups should go to

their communities. Brigades must stop spending money on airplane flights to Washington to talk to racist, warmongering Congressmen. Instead, women's brigades should go through the communities passing out material against the Draft, holding coffee klatches, talking about the Draft and the War. There are already being held many brunches and small meetings for various Presidential candidates. Those women truly concerned about anti-war activity should go to those meetings with a clear anti-racist program built into whatever they are proposing for anti-war resistance. You will be surprised at what will happen. Vietnam dialogues should be organized in every major city, giving information to mothers about their sons' rights and the legal steps for obtaining conscientious-objector status. The PTA must become a forum where the War is discussed. If you don't belong, join and raise in school debate the question of Vietnam and the wars of imperialism which the United States fights. People should be asked on a mass basis to contribute to anti-war activity.

7) Support and give funds to the newly formed Black Anti-Draft Union headed by John Wilson of SNCC. The Defense Department and all branches of the Services spend billions of dollars on propagandizing and preparing all people, blacks included, to accept the Government position on the War. This means we must initiate a counter educational campaign. Many of you in the audience can afford to give generously for black anti-draft work.

White Americans to support
Black Liberation

Many of you may be in despair over old slogans like "black and white together" and "we shall overcome", and feel that Black Power has destroyed some of your identity. But do not despair. If you feel yourself part of a revolutionary force that is fighting racism, capitalism, and imperialism, you will understand that

THE INCOMPLEAT PRINT SHOP

by Tim Moriarty

Only about half the members of SDS know that the National Office in Chicago is not only a place where the National Secretaries keep their headquarters and where NLN is addressed and mailed, but also a place where all SDS literature is produced—namely the National Office Print Shop. When members do hear about the Print Shop, it is often only from the rumblings which are carried back to chapters by those who pass through Chicago. Another way people get to "know" the Print Shop is through orders for literature. Often a member or chapter will receive a note saying that this piece is out of print or is being printed up, and would he please write back in a month. When he finally does get it, say 3 months later, it is often not useful anymore. The following will describe the situation of the Print Shop and why articles are out of print for 3 months.

There are 2 types of printing presses: offset and letter-press. We use offset because it is easier to learn, requires fewer people, and is faster and cheaper. The equipment we now have gives us a complete offset print shop; in other words all processes are done in the NO—including typesetting, art work, layout, photography, stripping, plate-burning, printing, folding, collating, and binding (stapling). While this means lower costs because we do all the work ourselves, it also means that more skill is required from each worker—and skill is something only time can teach.

This brings us to 1 of the 2 basic problems of the Print Shop: reliable, capable, and stable manpower. Often, people answer our Print Shop ads in NLN saying they would like to come for a few months to learn to print. While this is

fine, and all of us in the Print Shop want to teach people to print, it doesn't help the situation here when you have a new person coming in every 2 or 3 months whom you have to teach, while at the same time you are understaffed because not 1 other SDS member is willing to commit himself for even the minimum of 6 months. Thus, while we have taught 6 new people to print since last fall, only 3 have stayed on, and now form the backbone of the Print Shop. If the 3 whom we did teach to print—and who left—were out starting a small press on a campus or in a community, we would feel better. None of them are, nor, as far as we know, do they have such plans. Hence our skepticism.

The other problem we have is that of equipment: Printing machines and related equipment becomes obsolete about 10 years after manufacture (depending on the make and purpose of each machine). All of the equipment in the NO is at least 15 years old except for our Frieden typesetting equipment, which is only a few years old. The camera is about 40 years old, still fairly good; but it lacks modern precision devices. The small press, a Multilith 1250, 10 by 14 inches, is 15 to 20 years old and still runs fairly decently but is terribly temperamental. The large press, a Webendorfer, 17 by 22 inches, is at least 40 years old and is the 318th machine made by the Webendorfer Company. It is lucky to have survived this long. Our folder is a Baum, 19 by 25 inches (Baum makes quality folders), but it was made in 1928. It is old, is not worth repairing, and tears up to a fourth of the paper which has been printed. It also doesn't give an even fold,

our fight is one, and you will respect and follow revolutionary black leadership.

After the behavior of the white longshoremen at the Induction Center, I should hope you understand the need to do some civilizing work among whites. Seriously, there is no need to despair. But there is a great need to work among whites to curtail the rising white fascism toward which we are heading. While doing this, it is imperative that you recognize that the black struggle for liberation is one against racism and imperialism and must be supported. It will not pay to take your cues and wisdom from the Village Voice and Jack Newfield, who believes that all institutions in the United States are democratic—therefore there is no need for violent activity by blacks to achieve their liberation, and we should all vote for Bobby Kennedy.

It's up to you to struggle concretely with the manifestations of racism and all its overt and subtle outpourings. If you do, then you step up the timetable of revolution. But if you sit quietly back and allow black militants to fight the white power structure alone, you only widen the gap. This should not be construed as an invitation to work in the black community. I'm sure all of you have moved beyond that and have found some worth in working in your own buildings, if not communities.

As the Director of the New York Office of SNCC, which is also the office of International Affairs, I have asked Abe Weisburg to head a committee called: White Americans to Support Black Liberation. Many whites have come to me asking what they can do about the Queens 17, LeRoi Jones, Eddie Oquendo, Cleveland Sellers, Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and the upsurge of black resistance and revolts. These are people who are prepared somewhat to move against the New York City Police Department when it seals off Harlem. Therefore, they have to be organized.

Since I know something about the inner workings of this committee, and the consistent support given to Black Power and SNCC by Abe Weisburg, let me say that Abe has the respect of the leadership of SNCC. So Abe is the best man to head this committee, and I urge you to work with him, for it is obvious to anyone with an ounce of brains that the 2 main props to this corrupt system of government have been, and are, the Draft and us, the colonial black subjects with our cheap labor. They are inter-related, and they will be used time and again to try to suppress liberation movements around the world.

As I said Monday night, January 29th, 1968 at the rally for Doctor Spock, white America must begin to formulate its plans to deal with the 101st Airborne Cavalry and all the other divisions when they occupy the ghettos of the United States trying to exterminate black people. That too will be a heightened war of liberation.

Finally, let me add just a personal note. 1 of the ways the Man deals with "uppity niggers" all over the United States is to assassinate them. Those of us in SNCC have come to the conclusion that, as a front-line cadre, our time may not be long on earth; but we are determined we will not die in vain. That is why we are working hard to organize anything that moves. But those of you who are white and have mobility in the white community must also take a vow for black liberation fighters. You must be prepared to retaliate if black leadership is assassinated.

And I will tell you what I will expect from white revolutionaries for my assassination:

10 war factories destroyed.

15 police stations blown up.

30 power plants demolished.

No flowers.

1 Southern governor, 2 mayors, and 500 racist white cops dead.

A generous, sustaining contribution to SNCC. Money is needed. Make checks payable to:

SNCC

100 5th Avenue (Suite 803)

New York, New York 10011

Do it now!

Best wishes for a successful meeting.

Continued on Page 8

THE OTHER CONVENTION

Continued from Page 1

derives its manipulative power outside the electoral process while manipulating the people through that process, and an answering ensuing analysis of the community implications of that apparatus. The inevitable result of the descriptive work will be a radical critique of power and values in the local power system. Second, by identifying particular people and institutions in the community as political targets, the program will create a community politique—an acceptance and awareness of specific enemies and the need for ongoing broad-based programs to struggle against these enemies. Once we dissolve the New Deal legacy of the Democratic Party's "responsiveness to popular needs" and identify the specific co-optive, repressive, and manipulative characteristics, the way will be much clearer for community responsiveness to radical ideas. The actual purpose of the electoral process as it has evolved to date will become very clear.

Localized actions during the week of the DNC will allow the new people to formulate their own programs on the basis of the information they have gathered. The selection of local targets and actions would draw on the skills and imagination of these people, and would generate community excitement and unity. The program would help us create that coherency we want among the political programs with high-school students, in working-class neighborhoods, and in middle-class suburbs.

This program would complement and begin to tie in with draft organizing. It will help the community to concretely understand why young guys feel powerless and coerced—why they feel that resistance is the correct political program. Our expanded summer draft program should also take the DNC into account. It could culminate with visible action against draft targets throughout the country during the week of the Convention, clearly relating the action to the DNC. Actions around the Draft and local electoral myth-busting are confrontations which deal with real issues in people's lives; they bring our politics home. The effect would be to take the confrontation out of the politically and militarily dangerous situation of Chicago, and spread it visibly throughout the nation.

The specific action which would take place in Chicago by local people as part of this program could quite possibly achieve the same objectives as a larger one, although with less possibility of tremendous physical harm being done to large numbers of people. Johnson would probably still feel the need to mobilize the Guard, although the likelihood that they would make an all-out attack on a smaller number of people who do not pose the same threat as 50-to-500 thousand is probably less. The television cameras would still show Johnson and his conventioners going to their meeting under the protection of troops. At the same time, however, there would be actions speaking to people in other urban centers, including a strong emphasis on draft targets. Many of these actions could link up the coerciveness of the Draft and the failure of electoral politics.

The culmination of the week's activities could be a call, timed to coincide with Johnson's nomination, for nationwide action against the Draft, to occur on Election Day. We could again hit the targets that were used during the spring and summer action. We could also leaflet at the election polls (an action illegal within a certain distance of the polls), attacking the electoral system by asking what real alternatives are being presented to the War, the Draft, racism, imperialism, and so on. Our position on the elections should be that we do not consider them worth participating in until we are provided with alternatives, chosen by the people, among which we may really choose. By planning action around the Draft and racism/imperialism

on Election Day, we can set a tone for the months from August through November. Every time a candidate makes a campaign speech we can meet him with anti-war/anti-draft demonstrations.

It seems to us that this provides a viable alternative to the plans for a Convention-oriented summer, and permits us to place the fact of the DNC within the context of the work we consider most important in the coming months. It minimizes the chances of tremendous injury being done to the Movement by the National Guard and Chicago Police mobilized to meet us in a situation in which we are tactically weak. Local actions could more easily plan around their own particular conditions to achieve a tactical position of strength. In more political terms, it would be more difficult for Johnson to obfuscate the nature of the demonstrations to his own ends. We can expect virtually no control over the message which would be conveyed to the American people by a single super-confrontation in Chicago. By decentralizing actions with more specific targets we would be better able to clearly state the political message of our resistance to the people; this would provide us with greater control over the political statement which would confront America. Third, it would obviously be impossible for Kennedy or McCarthy to use such demonstrations to the end of support for their candidacy or to pull the demonstrators visibly into the Democratic Party. Finally, almost every New Left summer project will be involved in draft resistance to some extent. This type of action could flow out of, rather than interfere with, the projects in Chicago and other cities—each of which will have its own political dynamic and produce its own response.

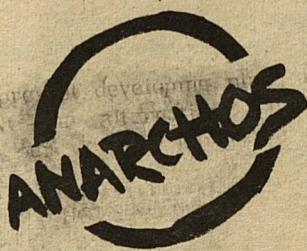
For the next historical period, our response to any offensive by the enemy, whether it be escalation of the War, repression at home, or high-level caucusing such as the Democratic National Convention, should be met by a visible increase in the organizing of resistance. That resistance, however, must be the means by which we most clearly project our politics to the American people. The program we have outlined attempts to present an alternative to the present developing plans around the DNC—an alternative which will project our politics more clearly to America.

NC HOUSING INFO

Mail in the number of cars you plan to bring from your chapter and special housing information (children, couples, and so on) to Frances Frampton, 203 State Street, Lexington, Kentucky, by March 18th. This information should be sent so that housing and meeting rooms can be arranged for in advance.

ABSOLUTE DEADLINE:
MARCH 18TH!

A Revolutionary, Post-scarcity,
Anarchist Magazine
Issue No. 1
REVOLUTION IN AMERICA
by Robert Keller
ECOLOGY AND REVOLUTIONARY
THOUGHT by Lewis Herber
DESIRE AND NEED
by Murray Bookchin



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THE PRINT SHOP

Continued from Page 7

so you sometimes get a wrinkled page or a page on an angle. Our small folder, also a Baum over 20 years old, is in the best condition of all—it works almost all the time. Our paper-cutter is over 20 years old, is hand-operated, cuts up to 23-inch-wide paper, and is known for its slowness. We recently got a power model made in 1903, but it broke and is now being repaired. It also functions well. We don't have a collator, so we collate by hand; our staplers are at least 20 years old and act like it—they are desk models made of cast iron.

The above-mentioned problems wouldn't be so serious if we didn't have so much literature to produce, but every extra hour we spend taking the torn paper out of the folder, or adjusting an essentially unadjustable ancient Webendorfer, or even stapling by hand what could be stapled much faster by a wire stitcher, means that so many copies of existing literature won't be printed and that some pamphlets in the making may not be printed at all.

Our printing problems were going to be solved last fall when the down payment on a Gazette web offset press was made, but final purchase arrangements were delayed from week to week for about 5 months until it became "impossible" to afford it. The NO is now contemplating buying a 30-to-35-year-old Webendorfer

for \$500 or so (plus \$500 to install it) which should last 6 months or a year if we're lucky. In short it will stay the problem of getting a press that works and it might be capable of printing as much literature as SDS needs till maybe after the Convention. But then, if the NO had \$5,000 right now, it could go out and buy a press that would last for 10 to 15 years and run reliably and continuously without the hundred and 1 problems we have—including sweating each sheet that comes off the press. Then too, if the NO had \$2,000, it could buy a folder-collator that would fold all SDS literature instead of tearing up to a fourth of it. Then, lastly, with only \$300, we could buy a stitcher that would save not only hours of stapling but dollars as well—buying coiled wire instead of pre-formed staples. With the above 3 pieces of equipment we could greatly increase the efficiency of the Print Shop along with our output of literature. We might even be able to keep up with literature requests.

Our real problems will be solved, however, only when we have money (\$18,000) for a high-speed web offset press (such as the Gazette) which by itself prints as much as any 5 sheet-fed presses. Then, we could sell the folder, get a folder-collator (\$3,000), print NLN as well as literature, and truly keep up with literature requests.

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ATTENTION NEW CHAPTERS!

new chapters planning to be recognized at the spring NC MUST send in to the NO: 1) the names of at least 5 NATIONAL members; 2) a chapter constitution or statement of purpose (can be brief—must be non-exclusionary, and in broad general agreement with the aims and principles of national SDS—many chapters use the preamble to the national SDS constitution)

ABSOLUTE DEADLINE: MARCH 18TH!

NEW LEFT NOTES
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WORKING-CLASS WORKSHOP

Robert Pardun

The body of the NC has mandated SDS to hold a conference on the working class. Originally, LRAP, REC, and REP were mandated to prepare the Conference. Partly due to the vagueness of that mandate the Conference has been a long time in coming. It would therefore make sense to put another resolution up before the NC making the idea more specific. This is it:

There should be a 3-day conference held in Chicago, or perhaps elsewhere in the Midwest, in early May. The purpose of this conference would be to 1) educate the SDS membership about the nature of the American working class, 2) educate the SDS membership about the nature of organizing efforts aimed at the working class, and 3) develop a strategy that students can use in relating to working-class struggles.

REP, NACLA, SCEF, SSOC, the NCU, PL, groups involved in organizing GIs, and labor-union-organizing groups such as the rank-and-file organizing committee in Detroit would be asked to participate by sending speakers, planning workshops, and contributing papers.

Hopefully, the 3-day conference will draw members from SDS chapters who are interested both in relating to working-class struggles and in doing educational work about working-class struggles on their campuses. There should be, therefore, a combination of national traveling and advertising for the Conference. People who are interested in working on the Conference should contact the National Office as soon as possible.