WE MOVE ON THE DRAFT

PART 1: HOW TO DEVELOP PROGRAM

by Cathy Wilkerson

Widespread and diverse draft programs have evolved throughout the country in response to the expanding conscription program of the US Government. Each of these local programs has been set in motion by a group of individuals who got together and planned programmatic response to the widespread tension and interest around the draft issue. A year ago, the programs differed widely in content, approach, tactics, and success. Now, however, many similarities are emerging, as we move from a purely experimental stage to one which has a wealth of experience and critical evaluations to draw from.

Our task now is to make explicit the political criteria we have begun to use in planning the content and direction of these programs. As draft organizers, we have learned that our programs must have a political coherency and visibility beyond the scope of each individual organizer. The logic of our overall program makes the options for action self-evident to many whom our organizers have never personally reached. And, as we have begun to discover, these ideas and actions will bring large numbers of people to us, bringing us new contacts among new groups of people.

The question, then, is how do we decide a program is necessary, and on the basis of the analysis which goes into this decision, how do we develop a program which effectively responds to the discerned needs and which accomplishes some identified, thought-out goal?

There are 4 clear steps to the process. First, we must ask what are the present conditions in the country which necessitate the program? If we are doing real political work, it will be work which taps a serious tension in a large number of people. If our programs are politically soundand are to have the potential for radical organizing, they must draw on already-felt needs in people.

Second, what new conditions are we striving to create through the program? In the immediate future of the next 5 to 8 months, how do we want the Movement to change and grow and what new political changes do we want to induce in the larger population?

Third, what is the larger political perspective which necessitates our selection of the intermediate steps, the short-term new conditions? In the past, we depended on an intuitive sense of which problems we should work on; now we must take the responsibility for identifying and reckoning with the total picture and for presenting a rationale for our intermediate programmatic priorities. When we select a program we must be able to relate the needs for and goals of that program to our broader analysis of existing conditions.

Present conditions

By looking at our own communities and at the nation as a whole we can discern certain conspicuous tensions which are the undertow of the "Great Society". Most Americans face economic tensions—many trying to survive, many trying unsuccessfully to attain status-defined economic goals. In addition, Americans are plagued every day by a prolonged war; the War forces the confusion of the society out into the open. There is little information given to us about any major policy decisions. Confusion exacerbates the tensions and heightens the insecurities.

The Government's propaganda to gain support for the War has focused on old cold-war fears and superstitions which are losing their credibility and relevance. Fears of the urban crisis and the summer in the ghettos are more intense. The Government's attempts to link up crime in the streets and the War in Vietnam have further articulated and stressed the racist overtones of their politics.

But Americans are trained to take the blame for their suffering upon themselves; they habitually try to deal with their problems from an isolated, defenseless position. From birth, we are defined and categorized in terms of institutions which benefit the ruling class. A family wants to buy a house of its own. In first grade we learn that it is "better" to read faster than slower. It's good to have a lot of "things".

One's personal accomplishment is always tenuous and fragile because they defined the goal to start with, and they continue to define its success relative to others' accomplishments. The question is not do you have friends? but who is the most popular kid in the class? So we are taught to concentrate on and care about not the content of our lives, but our relative position in a very threatening environment.

Personal isolation is reinforced by institutional separation. Growing up means collecting a list of identifications—loyalties, interests, apparent preferences—which places the individual in a particular category defined by the elite. The question "Who are you?" is to be translated: "Which of their institutions are you attached to, and how?"

Those in the power structure have identified people in categories primarily based on economic lines, using the criteria of employment and status levels. However, in an advanced technological society, economic needs are not the only thing on people's minds; social and human considerations are just as important to most. Alienating working conditions for both blue-collar and white-collar workers and police harassment in the streets touch people as deeply as poor housing conditions.

But the natural evolution of human considerations has been repressed as the power elite seeks to preserve itself. It is to their interest to maintain the illusion that all societal problems are of material/technological substance. The "human factor" is used only as a manipulative device toward the end of efficient production.

Implicit in the values of the hierarchical power structure is the value that all men are not created equal: some men can make it, but most can't. This unspoken value is explicitly manifested in the consistent racism and cultural rigidity of the ruling class. The drives for creative exploration are channeled into a struggle for acceptability in the context of the narrowly defined cultural standards of the elite. The meaning of culture in America is exclusion. The most marked,

(Continued on Page 2)

Students for a Democratic Society 1608 West Madison Street Chicago, Illinois 60612

New Left Notes

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ATTACK ON MILITANTS

THE MAN MOVES HARD:
WHERE ARE WE?

"Rap Brown Held on $100,000 Bond in New Orleans"..."16 Black Panthers Arrested in California"..."Nashville Police Terrorize Ghetto"..."3 Black Students Murdered by Police in Orangeburg"..."National Guard Holds Riot Practice in City"...Just a tiny sampling of this month's headlines about attacks on the black people of this country and their liberation struggle.

Isolated incidents? A few cops gone berserk? Walk down any street, stop in any campus cafeteria. The talk is the summer. Will there be race wars? What are those cops doing with their tanks and carbines and helicopters?

And the Movement: Do we know what's happening? Do we have the facts? Can we talk to people? Are we building a white counterforce that not only recognizes the plans for genocide they advertise in Esquire but can move to stop them?

It would be well for us to start by taking a brief look at how the Man is moving to destroy militant black leadership (1 facet of the preparations for genocide), to get those facts out to everyone within our reach, and to make the clear link in each community and on every campus between the move against H. Rap Brown and SNCC and the shit that's coming down in your hometown. What are your cops up to?

A key question we must face, answer, and ACT ON is clear: WHICH SIDE ARE WE ON?

CONTINUED

SPRING N.C.

The Spring National Council meeting will be held in Lexington, Kentucky on the University of Kentucky campus. It will start the evening of Thursday, March 28th, and will run through Sunday, March 31st. Housing requests should be sent to Frances Frampton, 203 State Street, Lexington, Kentucky by March 18th.

Chapters should also send the names of their delegates to the National Council meeting to the National Council Office by March 18th, so that we may verify credentials beforehand.

Proposed structure for the National Council meetings: Thursday evening: a panel presentation by people who have just returned from Cuba. Friday morning and afternoon: workshops on spring and summer program and on organizing problems. Friday evening: National Council plenary. Saturday morning and afternoon: resolution workshops. Saturday evening and all day Sunday: National Council plenary.

WILKERSON CONT.

but by no means only, institutionalization of this rigidity is the institutional impossibility for black and white people to share common experiences, expectations, or work possibilities. The basic competitive dynamic of the system and the threatening environment turn this separation into blind fear and hate—which again serves the interests of a stabilized, rigidified status quo among unequal men. Even by kindergarten, black kids dance 1 way to 1 kind of music, and white kids dance another way to another kind of music.

The ruling class is the beneficiary of a tradition of fears and tensions which reinforce the separation of categories. The economic delineation of categories prevails, and the growing human concerns are perverted to serve this delineation as the energy for preserving the economic categories. For instance, students are trained to perform as non-creative functionaries in the system, but they are also taught to be technological elitists who are intimidated by the mere existence of superior technological knowledge and disdainful of the human potentials of those with inferior knowledge. (Social-science skills are as much technological skills as those in engineering.) Factory workers who perform certain economic functions for them are also induced to become racists in order to obscure a common state of oppression. IBM technicians, government bureaucrats, and low-level sales executives are charged with the business of conducting the shit-work of directives which come from above, but they are also charged with the responsibility of renouncing politics and revering authority in order to defend the not-quite-stable-enough bureaucratic positions and eternal promise of a meaningful leisure-time life. Women are induced to consume 75% of the retail goods, so that they can be delectable (worthy). Yet when they inevitably fail at gaining a sense of self-worth, they must direct their drives for a creative identity through their children, with the result of compulsive insistence on control over the child's development.

New Conditions

We now know that though the degree of economic oppression varies widely, the experience of human and political oppression is common to all those within the false categories. None of these people can confront their lives honestly; all of them must take a blatantly insulting series of orders and dehumanizing degradations each day as they plug into the whirring technological system. Only the mechanisms and style of oppression are different.

If we accept the categorical criteria of the ruling class, we are making ourselves impotent from the start. For the causes of our dissatisfaction lie precisely in those criteria and the values which they assume. We must identify and define those criteria and then expose and discredit the falseness of the categories that are based on them. They say that if there is malaise, it should and can be managed by a psychiatrist. We can show that damaged human beings are the result of systemic problems. We must assert that there are only 2 major divisions in our society: those who stand to profit from the existing structure, and those at whose expense that structure is maintained. Within that second group there is a massive configuration of different cultural, economic, and human experiences. In the past, we have too often let ourselves be intimidated by our lack of understanding of those different experiences into accepting the Man's interpretation of separate categories. So, early ERAP organizers spent most of their energy trying to adopt the life styles of community people, because they could not see enough to note the common situation and were preoccupied with the separation of people. They denied their own experience in the process and so could not really organize around the fundamental radical issues.

But if we accept the basic radical premise that all men are instinctually similar and equal, and that all men have a similar consciousness of man's progress, then the aspirations awakened in man by his civilization constitute the primary force driving man. Man can, and must, communicate, express, and build upon those drives for creative human development. The basic mechanism of oppression in the society is the forced repression and perversion of those drives.

In an advanced technological society, the importance of social and human drives has risen in proportion to purely economic needs. Therefore, by breaking down the old categorical criteria, we establish the new condition of men able to see themselves as part of an affirmative human struggle against the people who are trying to maintain the archaic values and who direct the system of oppression. (The ruling class are not for the most part acting in a conspiratorial fashion, but are oppressive precisely because they are trying to retard the natural historical development of society in order to maintain an old, comfortable—for them—order.)

We must establish an alternate base of legitimacy which shows up the destructiveness of the current separation and isolation and which establishes a new tradition of values and modes of human relationship. By doing this, we will be the ones who define success and accomplishment, both in terms of our values and in terms of our political strategy. When we let them define success, it is linear, economic, and tenuous; the essence of it is competitive. We must establish new criteria as the only legitimate ones.

People are beginning to react in common to the Draft, because it is a form of oppression which touches all people's lives in the same way. Right now, the conscription system looks and feels the same to people in many different categories, even while they accept those categories. So we can begin to build a sense of common identity among people while at the same time we begin to identify the different mechanisms of oppression and challenge the values that support that oppression. We can begin to move beyond a general anger at the oppression, and focus our strategy on concrete men and institutions and develop a more concrete strategy for change.

Larger Political Perspectives

Underlying all our work is the question where do we want to go and how do we want to get there? What we want is the achievement of our values in the reality of a society. We know that this means a radical change in the kinds of lives people lead, the way they understand their own potentials and those of their society, and a complete change in the institutional organization of the society.

But, we do not have a comprehensive political program which outlines all our means and ends. There is a good and healthy reason. We do not yet know enough about the conditions of this country or even our own lives to understand how to go about changing them or precisely how we would like to change them. We know that we hold the values of a socialist system, but as yet we do not think that socialism has any fixed content or broadly applicable descriptive blueprint. We can, and do, learn a lot from Mao, Debray, Uncle Ho, and the NLF, but the content and conditions of our struggle are vastly different, though obviously connected.

It is most important that we stress that we are trying to achieve our values, and to have them implemented in every aspect of society. We must develop and make visible those values in our own lives and in our organizing work. At the same time, we must be unabashed in indicating that we understand that to accomplish this end will necessitate a great upheaval in the society over a period of time when we can see how to make these values operative. We want a revolution, but we see that occurring in the form of a prolonged struggle. We will always be formulating strategy, though at each stage we will be able to see farther into the future, and our strategy will be more comprehensive in scope.

What is our perspective that says that the specific new conditions sketched above are the necessary next step in our struggle? The Movement has already created significant new conditions that bring us to our present position. We have built an analysis which now provides us with the relevant questions to ask about

(Continued on Page 3)

GI JAILED

SAN FRANCISCO, February 19th (Liberation News Service)—1 of the harshest sentences ever handed down at a San Francisco Presidio court martial was imposed on 19-year-old Private First Class George Davis Friday. He was sentenced to 4 years at hard labor for refusing to fight in Vietnam.

Davis's conviction stemmed from 2 violations of the Universal Code of Military Justice: he refused to board a military transport ship bound for Vietnam, and willfully disobeyed a direct order from a superior officer. The 7-man military tribunal which judged Davis included 3 Vietnam veterans. Davis's lawyer, Stanley Faulkner, succeeded early in the proceedings in dismissing as president of the Court Colonel Paul Wagner, a career officer with extreme Right-wing views.

Davis's personal history follows a pattern that is becoming more prevalent as the Draft grows larger. In June 1967 Davis enlisted in the Army under the assumption that he would be allowed to finish high school and be financed in pharmacist school. Instead, however, the Army sent him to Fort Sam Houston in Texas after basic training to become a medic.

In the course of his medical studies in Texas, Davis was shown patients injured by napalm and phosphorus inflicted accidentally by American troops. On December 3rd, faced with an order to report to the Oakland, California Army Base for shipment to Vietnam, Davis went AWOL and hitchhiked to New York. On consultation with attorney Faulkner there, Davis decided to turn himself in to military police and attempt to win the case. He was arrested on December 28th in Oakland and placed in the Presidio military stockade, where he is presently in confinement.

It is still possible, while Davis is being held at Presidio, for the Base commander to reduce his sentence. Appeals for reduction of sentence should be sent to Colonel Harrell, Presidio Military Base, San Francisco, California.

DURHAM

DURHAM, North Carolina, February 16th—Students associated with militant black groups on the Duke University and North Carolina College (black) campuses marched on Durham in protest of the killings in the past few weeks of students in Orangeburg, North Carolina.

The protest was a part of state-wide demonstrations that night which saw demonstrations in Greensboro (300), Charlotte (300), Raleigh (75), Winston-Salem (30), and Chapel Hill (65). The co-ordination of the actions is new for North Carolina.

After a rally at NCC, about 300 students marched to the downtown part, Five Points. There they attempted to burn a mock coffin for the 3 dead students and an effigy of South Carolina Governor Robert McNair. As soon as they lit the coffin Fire Department volunteers were ordered to shoot not only the coffin and a tree that had caught fire, but also to directly hit the demonstrators so as to disperse them.

The students, who ran down Main Street, began to throw bricks and trash cans through several downtown windows (12).

Howard Fuller, a controversial community organizer in Durham, was arrested for assault on an officer, and 2 other students were arrested on other charges.

new left notes

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SDS HAS THIS TO SAY

" When you think about the draft, and the wars and war machine it is for, we think you are going to fight it - - for yourself, and maybe with us for your brothers and sisters all over the country."

Quote from a new SDS pamphlet on the draft -- HELL NO ! Order now from the N.O.

present institutions and values. We have begun—though barely—to put some meat on our analysis. And we have thousands and thousands of Americans who see the only human and decent way to live their lives is to engage with their brothers and sisters in a struggle against the antiquated power elite of the USA.

These conditions, not existent as recently as a year ago, necessitate a more self-conscious and deliberate course of action. We can begin to identify concrete short-term goals. As a movement, our first task is to learn how to deliberate and act in an intentional fashion. We must understand the historical forces at work in our society and how to act intentionally to achieve our values within the historical process. Only as a self-conscious and intentional political force will the Movement be able to create the immediate new conditions we see as important. If we are intentional, we will continually try to develop increasingly consistent strategies throughout the country coming from a common analysis.

Most men today reject the oppression of their lives, but they will continue to repress their desire for something better until they can perceive an alternative which can realistically evolve from the present conditions. An immediate task of the Left is to present itself as that alternative. But to do that entails some changes. To think and analyze politically, that is to say with a total approach based on certain values, has been taboo in America, and the power elite is determined to keep it that way. We need to establish an alternate base of legitimacy, from which will grow an alternate base of power.

In the past, we have been confused and defensive about explicitly stating that, yes, we are for a change that will affect the roots of our society. But, until we make that position and our own seriousness clear and begin to organize around that, few people will—or should—take us seriously. If we are to take ourselves and our discontent seriously, we must take the responsibility for thinking out the consequences of our ideas, for to toy with men's lives is to negate the content of our values.

We are reluctant to see ourselves in such a self-conscious fashion precisely because it entails this responsibility—a responsibility that it is hard to wake up to every morning. But, when we become unafraid to feel the full import of being free human beings, that responsibility will become the means to living the kind of lives we have yearned for. That responsibility will not at all be oppressive, but will be liberating.

So we must create a radical movement which is not defensive before its liberal critics. And when we see ourselves as responsible, and lose our defensiveness, we will no longer need to constantly reassert our politics through actions which are not historically necessary to the building of a movement. Instead, we will be able to sit down together on the chapter, regional, and national level, work out programs which have explicit goals, and implement those programs in a fashion which projects our analysis. We will begin to make our politics the object of discussion, not the false category of "New Leftists" which the Man has created and put before the public as a false issue.

To talk simply about building a base outside of this context is apolitical. We are not about collecting signatures on a statement of dissent or a blueprint for somebody else's revolution. We are about engaging people from all parts of the society, barring those few who benefit from its present structure, in a struggle against oppression and for the liberation of man's undeveloped potential.

As we accomplish these goals of an alternate base of legitimacy, we will also begin to diversify and concretize the tasks and the lives of those in the Movement; and it is only from this position that we can perceive the possibility of engaging the Man in a struggle from which we might survive and be able to build our society.

PART 2

MODEL PROGRAM

If we want to build a viable movement, we should give the Draft a high priority in our work. The conscription system is a form of oppression which affects all people, cutting across the Man's categories to reach manpower, especially when the System is operating in full swing. Furthermore, the nature of the Draft helps verify our description of life and power in America; it helps clarify the inconsistencies in the elite's own definition of itself and the USA. America is the land of equal opportunity, but in Wisconsin, where the large corporate farmers (like Bordens) sit on the draft boards, they consistently draft the sons of family farmers, necessitating foreclosures, while farm-hands get 2-A deferments to work on corporate farms. America is the land of golden opportunity and freedom of choice, but young guys end up making the most basic decisions of their education, work, and life-style around the omnipresent club of induction. The Draft provides us with real political openings through an issue which really affects people's lives.

The Draft breaks down the myths of "democratic freedom" by indicating the true dichotomy among Americans. The elite defines the needs for manpower, on the basis of information which is not only kept from the public, but is also a taboo subject of debate. At the same time, the vast majority of people who are shut out from decision-making and scolded for any signs of curiosity are the ones who have to meet these manpower needs.

Finally, when we raise the simple question about why Sam insists on you, we easily get into a discussion of the more precise nature of the elite's manpower needs. What about these military commitments all over the world? Mike Locker's description of the 3-phase military strategy in developing nations pinpoints and states the means and ends of our involvement very well (See Viet-Report, January 1968.): the preservation overseas as well as at home of a status quo defined by US interests. And in developing countries, that status quo is even more archaic and more conspicuously oppressive than in the US.

So how do we develop a viable program which grows out of existing conditions and develops the new conditions we seek to attain? We cannot develop the concept of resistance any farther than it is now until we make it a community issue and begin to develop community support and participation. A value which we can begin to make explicit in our work is the value of community; it should be a basic unit, a category, of relevance to people's lives—one that should be more relevant than the Man's categories. The young people who are most immediately affected by the Draft are, of course, going to play an important role in the resistance movement. But these young people do not live in a vacuum; if their political development occurs in a false vacuum, then we are just reinforcing those old categories.

To some extent, we have fallen into this trap in the past because a number of issues were confused. We, as young folk, wanted desperately to make and restate our assessment of how messed up society was, and as a consequence, how messed up we were. We took the self-righteous stand of the prophets whom no one would listen to, but who perceived the truth. So we burned our draft cards and disrupted induction centers, seeing these actions as ends in themselves.

But again, it is time for more conscious intentionality in our programs, because we are beginning to deal with real people's lives in profound ways. Our goal: to break through the categorical separation and establish an alternate base of legitimacy. But the conditions in no way are such that we can begin to have any real institutional power to confront institutional mechanisms. In other words, we cannot keep most people out of the Draft. But that should not discourage us from striving for the more basic goal of an alternate base of legitimacy. We can start doing that now, even though we have not got power as yet. We speak of real problems, problems which young people see as legitimate, although the Man would deny their legitimacy.

Participation in the draft system has necessitated for most an acceptance of the draft system. For instance, the government has a lot of expertise and must know what it is doing. If you have accepted that, how does it feel when a sergeant tells you you're worthless and makes you spit-shine the barracks floor? Or, that people relate to each other in terms of how much power they have, and when you have more power you must make that clear. When you have less power you cringe and become isolated, because to have less power makes you an inferior human being. You also have to accept the premise that what a guy wants to do with his life is not so important, it's what Sam wants that counts, because he is superior to you.

The alternative means of dealing with this kind of treatment is to get angry, an instinctive human emotion in those circumstances, and to try to liberate both your mind and your body from the imperatives of the System. Our job is to work out a program which provides a realistic, possible way of beginning to choose that alternative approach, to create an alternative identity, an alternative definition of roles which people can relate to. (Say a guy we are counseling feels he has to go into the Army, because he doesn't have the resources to take another course. How do we give him an alternate way of relating to that institution besides being just another soldier—how do we help create a mentality which can withstand the indoctrination and be self-conscious about what is being done to him?) We must also make clear the necessity of our program and of mass participation if our values are important and are to win out.

Because we now realize that we cannot keep most people out of the Army, and that we must start to do more than make position statements, we have to make some changes in our programs, changes that are already evidenced in several draft-resistance projects. No longer should we emphasize saving particular people's skins, but we must emphasize liberating our lives from the more basic oppressive mechanisms of the SSS—the acceptance of those premises of the elite. Our counseling cannot confront the Draft in isolation (an acceptance of a false category), but must be political counseling which can create an alternative way of perceiving oneself within the system of manpower channeling. The real political issue which we face is not the Draft—it is the system of which the Draft is only 1 functioning part. To counsel a guy on how to get out of the Draft, and then to leave him with only that information, gives him no way of perceiving all of his alternatives, no way of defining himself in opposition to the Man's categories. We would be merely serving the reformist function of trying to get around those categories. If we do more complete counseling, then when guys go to Canada, to jail, or into the Army, they will be political resisters and their analysis and life-style of resistance will carry into all aspects of their experience. This is what will build our movement in the direction we need. We must make the political point that if people begin to work together in visible, coherent political groups, we can overcome the widespread sense of powerlessness and begin to build an alternate base.

DRAFT UNIONS

I will outline a model for a draft program which, with modification, I suggest offers many possibilities for campus draft activities. I will then expand the programmatic possibilities of the principles behind this model to talk about summer draft programs and the establishment of the Draft as a community issue.

Most campuses have a nucleus of at least 5 people who can start a draft-resistance union (DRU) or assert their interest in starting a campus program on the Draft. They call for a mass meeting of all seniors, graduate students, and teachers interested in finding out more about their draft situations. If extensive publicity is done, through personal contact, posters, and leaflets, most campuses can be assured of a large turnout. We are defining a problem and stating it as such on an issue on which the power elite is trying to deny that a problem exists. Our definition elicits a response from a large number of guys and chicks who have also defined the Draft as an acute problem and have been troubled by the elite's way of defining the situation.

At the mass meeting, a few people talk very hard and seriously about the purpose of the Draft, its inherent manpower-channeling mechanisms, and the current condition of US foreign policy which necessitates the huge draft calls. We must stress that it is essential for people to understand the manpower channeling functions of the Draft if they are to make sound decisions on how to deal with the Draft in its largest context. This broad perspective is the one we must push if the DRU is to be more than an apolitical service group which will soon die because it cannot service people. Graduate students and seniors should understand that they were purposely chosen as the next manpower pool because the Service needs college-trained men to fill the hundreds of vacant low-level officer positions. The SSS figures that when pushed into a corner and pressured, many college students will "choose" to enlist and take OCS rather than be drafted. So the college graduate who thinks he is opting for 1 of the better alternatives should be very clear that if he "decides" to opt for

(Continued on Page 4)

DRAFT CONT.

OCS, he is in fact obeying the predetermined laws of the SSS. Unless we deal with the Draft on all fronts from the start, we will not be able to develop radical programs with the guys who are interested and up tight.

At the first meeting, the DRU people should announce their intention to have regular weekly meetings which will present information on different aspects of the Draft, as well as developing the concept of resistance. In addition, the core members of the draft union should start up workshops where guys who have just started coming to the weekly meetings can meet in a smaller group with a couple of trained human-resource people and talk out the dilemma and their particular situations. In the smaller groups, the resource people can begin to get the other guys to take the initiative in dealing with their problem in a larger context. When 8 people come together who all think they have an individual, isolated problem that each has to solve himself, they will begin to see that the only solution lies in people getting together and supporting each other. They will begin to feel that the larger issues raised in the discussions are more fundamental and important than their original problem of how to compromise themselves in any way to stay out of a uniform.

During the early stages of formation, the union will have to do some straight counseling as well as basic political counseling. We have to deal with guys who are in a bind because we didn't reach them with political counseling until it was too late. But even here, counseling should be done in groups, so that the point of common oppression/common solution is clearly made. And, whenever possible, we should try to bring these guys into the political workshops.

As the core group of people begins to expand, some of these people should start on other programs to develop the community participation around the Draft and to further community involvement. First, get the lists of 1-As from the draft board and contact these guys personally. Let them know that there is a group of people at the nearby college or university who are up tight about the Draft and are trying to work on the problem together. Encourage these guys, and their chicks, to come to a DRU meeting. It is then possible for the students to deal in the most concrete human terms with their isolation from other categories in the society. If a bunch of people from the community come to a meeting, students can say: "Look, you guys are being drafted because we have 2-Ss; but in the spring, a lot of us will be in the same boat. Let's get together." In the larger state universities a high percentage of the students will come from the same draft board districts as the young guys in the community. Here the similarity of the dilemma is most obvious. But even where this is not true, students can have many of the draft board processes—such as hearings, physicals, and inductions—transferred to the university area, so that common tactics can be developed.

Our immediate tactic with these guys is to counsel them in ways of delaying their induction as long as possible, so that they can have time to find out more, and to think more about the situation. They should also begin to go to the political counseling workshops. Again, we are primarily concerned with raising the larger issues—the broader perspective. The guys know we can't keep them all out, and they come because they sense too that there is a larger problem which they want to deal with.

As these programs develop and people begin to learn how to talk to each other, various workshops and then the larger group can begin to work out a group strategy for dealing with the guys who are 1-A. Perhaps, as each new bunch of people get reclassified 1-A, a large group of them from each of the local draft boards all go down and file a CO on the same day. With a large number of people participating, this tactic will delay their induction and tie up the state appeal board for quite a while. We also need to work out a new kind of resistance statement, comparable to the old "We Won't Go" statements, which will be a statement of intention to resist the system of oppression. The statement must hit at the most fundamental issues, so that it does not exclude guys who chose the tactic of going into the Army, or young chicks who are grappling with the same conditions. Other tactics like these also should be worked out.

In all cases the tactics should embody our emphasis on group action and the building of a group identity. Obviously a guy who files a CO along with 40 other guys is going to have much less of a chance of getting one than if he had filed individually. But his experience of participating in that group and of including a large number of people besides himself in his perspective is the most important thing.

Increasingly, people should begin to reach out into the community to expand the scope of the draft issue. All kinds of people in the community should be organized into draft groups. These groups should support the actual resisters in a number of ways. Financial and material support is important, especially as the number of full-time organizers increases. But more importantly, people in the community need to support these guys psychologically through personal contact. And these groups must organize in their own work and home areas. They must begin to raise the problem as an important community issue, with notices of meetings posted in local grocery stores, with local clergy giving sermons on the problem, with local teachers raising the issue in all grades at school. Especially when young community guys and chicks become involved in the DRU, we will have a number of ins into the community. We will have won the first battle of legitimacy.

When community groups are formed, they should at some point issue statements of support for draft resisters. These statements should also include a statement of the group's intentions to do its own educational and organizing work in various parts of the community. In this way, we will begin to make visible the similarities between the oppression of the Draft and other mechanisms of oppression in people's lives. People will begin to see the importance and the possibilities of facing up to the issue.

We should try to develop and expand these programs into the summer. There are many ways in which these programs could tie into work that is organized around local Democratic Party exposes, police harassment, and other community issues. Many of the young people who come into the draft program this summer should be encouraged to work full- or part-time on the Draft this summer in the community. Draft offices could be set up throughout neighboring areas, with local people staffing those offices. When the DRU has actions at the induction center, around local boards, or around other conscription and imperialism targets, they could be such that people from all different kinds of community groups could participate in the planning and action. In this way we can begin to break down the categories, and formulate a common analysis which will allow a total assault on the draft system and the larger system of oppression in America.

> "I am 27 years old, am married, have two children, and have sent my draft card to the place where it can do the most good--the office of the National Liberation Front in Prague."

by C. Clark Kissinger

On February 15th of this year the National Security Council, Johnson's war cabinet, decided to abolish graduate-school deferments as well as most categories of occupational deferments and to retain the oldest-first order of call-up. Shock and disbelief were the reaction of draft-resistance and militant student groups; chagrin and annoyance were the reaction of graduate-school deans. What could the Government hope to gain by disrupting the orderly flow of trained intellectual workers into the economy and by afflicting with the Draft that group in the society which most strongly opposes the War?

We should know by now that the Establishment never engages in apparently foolhardy endeavors without good and compelling reasons. The new draft laws reflect a conscious decision to induct into the Armed Forces as soon as possible a large number of college graduates. This move has been necessitated by the simple fact that the American Army, like the French Army before it, has had its officer corps decimated in Vietnam. Casualty figures for 1st and 2nd lieutenants in Vietnam have been appalling. The class policy of the NLF forces toward American officers and the natural proclivities of the Army to have young officers "set an example for the troops" have swiftly reduced the Army's number of active company-grade officers far below authorized strength.

Like the armies of most modern industrial states, the American Army requires its officers to be college graduates. Only a few years ago, the percentage of college graduates in the monthly draft calls was 4%. Although the percentage of graduates is now higher, the Army must still depend on the Service academies and college ROTC programs for its basic officer cadre. But this supply cannot meet the demands of the Army's rapid expansion and Vietnam casualties. Hence the Army must fall back on its last source—inducing draftees to volunteer for Officer Candidate School (OCS). Needless to say, civilians who are college graduates are not volunteering in droves to join the Army.

The Army's procedure is simple. At some point during basic training after the inductee's classification battery of tests are evaluated, qualified individuals are taken aside and "offered an opportunity to serve their country at a higher level of responsibility". The pitch is simple: 1) "Wouldn't you rather spend your Army time enjoying the privileges and respect of an officer than doing KP as a private?" 2) "Men of your capabilities were cut out to command men, not to be commanded." 3) "The training you receive as an officer in the management of personnel will serve you well in the business world when your hitch is up."

It should further be noted that this program of officer recruitment has every chance of success. When the Army looks at the campus scene, it is not interested in Harvard, Columbia, and Berkeley. It is looking at the millions of students enrolled in small state colleges, Catholic universities, engineering schools, and bush-league liberal arts colleges. Draft tens of thousands of men from these sources, and you have thousands who are ready to become "officers and gentlemen".

This new situation requires new responses from the resistance movement. For the first time the Army's manpower requirements are from that constituency where the anti-war movement has a base. In particular we need 2 things: 1) a generally agreed-upon resistance strategy for seniors and graduate students in the Movement which can be effected and propagated before the end of the school year; and 2) an effective propaganda and organization campaign directed at those who are not prepared to resist and who are going in (combined with a renewed assault on ROTC programs everywhere).

It is this second aspect I especially want to outline. Regardless of how successful resistance becomes, we will be politically irresponsible if we do not have a program directed at those thousands of students who will reluctantly and begrudgingly go into the Army. Toward them our first political responsibility is to struggle against the natural elitism of college graduates and to strike directly at the Army's officer shortage. By June every student in America should know that: 1) 2nd lieutenants are the real cannon fodder of Vietnam; 2) volunteering for OCS extends your term of enlistment by almost 2 years; and 3) the reason you are being drafted is that the Army needs officers. You can strike back by not volunteering for OCS! They can draft you, but they can't make you become an officer!

Our second responsibility is to organize those who are going in for resistance and propaganda in the Army. The obvious time to do this is before they go in and while they are still on the campus. What is called for is a series of working conferences across the country to acquaint prospective "soldiers" with the current realities of Army life and military justice. In particular we must stress the necessity to break through barriers of age, race, education, and class. What a disaster it could become if hundreds of anti-war white students end up in the Army only to form elite cliques in the barracks which don't associate Ghetto kids and "hillbillies".

Finally we need to establish a central office or organ to register, keep in contact with, and service anti-war students in the Army. To be sure the Army will have a complete list, but we won't unless we begin to build the mechanisms now. And all organization that is done now—before induction—falls outside the purview of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

SDS is the logical organization to assume leadership of resistance both within and without the Army. The question is whether we can cut through the log-jam of conflicting rhetorics and crap at the spring NC and get on with business. If we can't, then we don't deserve the leadership. I hope that the projected NC workshop for those planning to go into the Army can begin to deal with some of these issues and lay out a clear campus program for the crucial months of April, May, and June.

Let me end on a strictly personal note. In December I was reclassified 1-A Delinquent under the Hershey memorandum. In February I appeared before my local Board and presented the following statement:

"It is my understanding that the Armed Forces principally require very young men who know little about the war in which they are called to fight, who take orders well, and who don't ask questions. Or as Alexander Hamilton once wrote: 'The nearer the soldiers approach to machines perhaps the better.' It follows that what the Armed Forces don't need are older, experienced anti-war activists. I therefore request that I be classified 4-F...unfit for military service. If the Selective Service System feels that I have violated any section of the Selective Service Act, (its) proper recourse is to report the relevant information to the Attorney General for criminal prosecution.

"I am currently employed doing full-time anti-war work among civilians. If it is your desire, however, that I be transferred to doing anti-war organizing among the troops, I shall cheerfully report for induction. I am very encouraged by the recent rise in desertion rates, even though the government has given as yet little opportunity for those of us in the anti-war movement to work directly with the troops."

After reading this, a somewhat startled Board member asked: "Is this a threat?"

"Yes," I replied.

STUDENTS SUPPORT NEWSPAPER STRIKE

Stephen Lippman
PLP, High School Students
for a Democratic Society

Workers at the Herald Examiner have been on strike since December 15th. They are demanding wages equivalent to what other workers are getting in Long Beach, a pension plan, and a medical plan. The company have arrogantly rejected these demands, saying that they can afford them, but choose not to do so. The real issue in this strike is whether or not trade unions will continue to exist in Los Angeles newspapers.

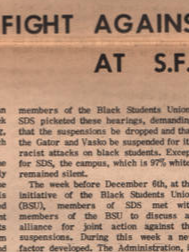
On Friday night, January 26th, at the invitation of a union representative who spoke at UCLA, about 25 members of UCLA SDS, LACC SDS, and High School SDS joined 2,000 workers from many different unions in a massive picket line around the Herald Examiner building in support of the striking typographers, American Newspaper Guildmen, and the rest of the Herald Examiner workers who had been locked out by William Hearst in an attempt to split the workers. SDS carried a large banner which said "UCLA Students for a Democratic Society supports the Herald Examiner strike", and was welcomed into the line with a loud cheer.

Most of the students were not prepared for the militancy of the workers, who were setting off firecrackers, knocking over trash cans, and breaking the large plate-glass windows on the first floor of the building with their picket signs. William Hearst and his scabs imported from all across the country (with wages up to $600 a week) were holed up inside protected by at least 50 Pinkertons and at the peak of the demonstration by 200 LAPD. Despite the LAPD's stationing of at least 1 cop at every window, 90% of them were broken that night. Workers' would obstruct the cops' view with their picket signs as their fellow workers smashed the windows.

When the cops caught 1 worker and attempted to arrest him, pickets surged into the street, surrounded the cop car, and temporarily forced his release. Later about 200 of us diverted the cops by shouting and shaking our fists at an upstairs window while other pickets picked a heavy metal trash can from a window, taking part of the wall with it. Infuriated and scared, 25 cops charged us, their clubs swinging, and forced us away from the wall. Before that incident there had been some illusions about the role of the cops, but afterward there was almost unanimous hatred of the cops. Many workers also carried signs demanding the ouster of Mayor Yorty, who refused to pass anti-scab legislation.

Unlike some of the so-called "Resistance" we've seen, the workers knew who their enemy was and directed their attacks at Hearst, the scabs, and the cops—not innocent bystanders. And no one meekly submitted to police repression. As 1 worker said, "We ain't no Hippies."

While many of these workers are racist and for the War, there still exists an objective basis for alliance with students. For we both have the same enemy: the businessmen and their cops, who run this country for their own profit. Only by uniting with the workers, who are the vast majority in this country, can we defeat our common enemy.



"The Vietcong was made up mostly of former Vietminh soldiers and their sons."

...That comes from a new pamphlet called "Vietnam" available now from the National Office. The pamphlet is a clear, simple description of the way the Vietnamese people live, and drawn from that description an understanding of their reason for struggling against US imperialism and its front governments and armies.

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Break Out and Do It Now, a reprint of a speech by Mike James

Multiversity, by Carl Davidson (finally reprinted)

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THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AT S.F. STATE

Hari Dillon
SDS, San Francisco State Chapter

To understand what happened at San Francisco State College during the week of December 6th and the weeks following, it is necessary to know the events which led up to the December 6th action.

On November 7th a fight erupted in the office of the campus newspaper, the Daily Gator, between 9 black students and the editor of the paper and its staff. It is still undetermined which group initiated the violence in this particular incident (the case is being heard in civil courts this spring), but the long-term provocation came from the Gator and its editor, Jim Vasko. The Gator has consistently slandered and intimidated the Black Students Union with racist articles and editorials. Most glaring of these intimidations was an article written by Vasko last spring on Muhammad Ali. Another article, written by Vasko the day before the December 6th demonstration, predicted "snipers" and referred to black students as "goons".

A couple of days after the Gator incident, the College administration identified 9 black students from Gator photographs, and President John Summerskill immediately suspended them. This was the first overt act of racism carried out by the Administration. Rather than suspending all those involved in the incident, Summerskill suspended only the black students, the underlying assumption being that black students had perpetrated the violence and would perpetrate more.

About a week after the suspensions, a kangaroo court, made up of faculty members hand-picked by the Administration and members of the Administration itself, met to deliver a verdict corresponding with the sentence which Summerskill had already carried out. The closed-hearing court upheld 4 of the suspensions, placed 2 more students on probation, and dismissed the other 3. The 4 suspended were well-known members of the Black Students Union. SDS picketed these hearings, demanding that the suspensions be dropped and that the Gator and Vasko be suspended for its racist attacks on black students. Except for SDS, the campus, which is 97% white, remained silent.

The week before December 6th, at the initiative of the Black Students Union (BSU), members of SDS met with members of the BSU to discuss an alliance for joint action against the repressions. During this week a new factor developed. The Administration, in a move to keep the campus clean of anything other than the "official Gator press", suspended Open Process, a semi-radical campus newspaper, and 2 members of its staff. The 2 suspended students were Blair Partridge, the editor, and Jeff Poland, author of a poem judged "obscene" by Summerskill. This added the free-speech issue and widened our base of support on campus.

On Friday of that week, SDS, the Open Process staff, and the BSU held a joint rally on the steps of the Administration Building to protest all 6 suspensions. Speakers pointed out that in both cases (the black students and Open Process writers) the sentences had been carried out without due legal process. BSU speakers put the suspension of the black students in the realistic context of the racism and oppression carried out against black people in this country.

At this point President Summerskill appeared on the steps, according to the San Francisco Chronicle, to "charm the demonstrators". What he in fact did was quite calculated and vicious. Agreeing to answer questions from the demanding crowd of 1,000, Summerskill took the microphone and admitted publicly that he had "acted precipitously" in the case of the 2 white students and was lifting their suspensions. Angered shouts of "What about the black students?" and accusations of racism came from the crowd. Summerskill steadfastly refused to even talk about the black students' suspensions. After this announcement—aimed at separating the white students from the small number of black students on campus in order to isolate the BSU and prevent any black-white alliance—Summerskill talked on for an hour or so espousing the tenets of American liberalism and talking of a desire to "work with you for a change".

Although Summerskill had succeeded in pacifying some liberal elements of the crowd, a large number met after the rally to form a coalition to fight the suspensions. The group adopted the name Movement Against Political Suspensions (MAPS) and formulated 5 demands: 1) Drop all 6 suspensions. 2) Reinstate Open Process. 3) Cease political harassment of students, faculty members, and staff members. (3 faculty members had their pay docked for participating in the Oakland demonstrations.) 4) Ban outside cops from campus. 5) Establish student control of student affairs—for example, student publications.

It was decided that if the 5 demands were not met by noon on Wednesday, MAPS and the BSU would carry out a demonstration inside the Administration Building. The BSU had issued a call to off-campus people in the black community.

On Monday MAPS held a rally to gain student support. After the rally, 100 students marched up to Summerskill's office to formally present the 5 demands. Vice-President Don Garrity acknowledged the demands in Summerskill's absence.

Here a noteworthy fact should be brought out: in view of all the lip service liberals give to "sitting down and working things out", Summerskill, rather than offering to meet with MAPS and the BSU to discuss the demands, spent the 2 days before the demonstration planning tactics with the San Francisco cops.

continued page 7

Big Time Murder In Your Hometown

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21st (Liberation News Service)—Following contracts issued by the Pentagon to American firms. Contracts are issued from various divisions of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

—BETHLEHEM, Pennsylvania, Bethlehem Steel Corporation, $4,000,000 for tube forgings for 175-mm guns (M113). (DA-AF07-68-C-0153)

—INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana, General Motors Corporation, $2,634,948 for rebuilding and retrofitting transmissions for M48 and M103 tanks. (DA-20-113-AMC-12010)

—WEST COVINA, California, Honeywell Incorporated, $4,373,590 for anti-submarine warfare training devices. (N61339-68-C-0086)

—BROOKLYN, New York, American Machine and Foundry Company, $9,921,576 for metal parts for 750-pound bombs. (DA-AA09-68-C-0161)

—COLUMBUS, Ohio, $1,060,000 to Battelle Memorial Institute for operation of the Defense Metals Information Center during Fiscal Year 1968. (AF-F33615-68-C-1925)

—SAINT PAUL, Minnesota, Sperry Rand Corporation, $5,500,000 for avionics computers (N-00019-68-C-0255)

—WICHITA, Kansas, Beech Aircraft Corporation, $3,258,000 modification to a contract for modification of U-21A aircraft. (DA-AJ-01-67-C-0794)

—ANDOVER, Massachusetts, Raytheon Company, $9,124,215 for line items of HAWK Missile System Ground Support Equipment. (DA-AH-01-68-C-0073)

BATTLE AT S.F. STATE CONT.

Wednesday morning, when we arrived on campus, we found that Summerskill had locked the doors to the Administration Building and sent home all employees except administrators. The Gator came out with an article by Jim Vasko designed to create racist fear and hysteria on campus. He predicted "snipers" and called black people from the community "goons". MAPS had said there would be no violence unless the Administration initiated it.

It was decided to go ahead with the planned demonstration. A rally was started in the Commons and moved to the steps of the Administration Building. The crowd grew to over a thousand—some supporters, some just spectators. Summerskill was locked in his office with the head of the San Francisco riot squad. Newsmen had also been let into the building. The campus was crawling with plain-clothes cops with walkie-talkies, keeping in touch with Summerskill and Police Chief Cahill downtown.

About 12:30 the plate-glass door was broken and about 300 students and 3 faculty members went inside. About 1 p.m. groups of students left the building to interrupt classes and explain what was happening and why, and to urge fellow students to join the demonstration. A few minor scuffles broke out, directed mainly against plain-clothes cops and newsmen, whose pictures are used to identify people after demonstrations. At 2 p.m., the Administration officially closed down the school. Summerskill and Chief Cahill decided it was tactically wiser not to call for uniformed police.

Thursday and Friday MAPS held teach-in rallies to explain the reasons behind what happened Wednesday. A mass meeting was called for Sunday night to decide whether MAPS would take action again. The BSU had stated they would take direct action the following Wednesday if the suspensions of the 4 black students had not been lifted.

2 important questions came to light at this meeting. First was the question of whether to act or not. Some students put forth the argument that we should not take action because we lacked a mass base of support on campus and were alienated from those we were trying to organize.

SDS argued against this position. Realizing that building a base is primary, we realized also that in certain situations a movement, no matter what its size and strength, has to take a stand whether the objective conditions are favorable or not. We saw that the situation had polarized to the point that we had to take a clear stand against racism and in support of black people in their struggle for liberation, even if that meant isolating ourselves temporarily from our fellow students. After long and thorough discussion, the group decided by majority vote to take direct action. The action was to be a non-disruptive sit-in in the Administration Building.

The second major problem revealed a real weakness in MAPS: white chauvinism. White chauvinism was manifested in many different and subtle ways during the MAPS-BSU alliance. 1 example of this attitude is that MAPS didn't really view the fight against racism as primarily their fight, but as the fight of black people in which white people should play a secondary, supportive role. MAPS, in fact, was formed only after the suspension of the 2 white students, and the first action on Wednesday was planned to coincide with the actions of the BSU. Based on this growing awareness that white people should take the initiative in the struggle against racism, MAPS decided to take action on Tuesday, a day ahead of the scheduled BSU plans.

White chauvinism was not eliminated that night. Throughout the meeting people continued to talk of the need to support "our black brothers" in a patronizing manner. The disciple-like way in which BSU leaders were referred to amounted to a kind of reverse chauvinism. However the problem was brought into the open, and people could begin to struggle individually and collectively against the effects a thoroughly racist society has on everyone in it.

The sit-in was carried out the following Tuesday with about 100 persons sitting-in in the Administration Building. Christmas vacation brought about a 3-week standstill on the campus.

Analysis

San Francisco State has a reputation as the most liberal campus in the nation and John Summerskill as the most liberal college president. We would not argue with this reputation. It is well-founded. The question which we ask and which over the past 2 months we have seen answered is: What is liberalism and what role does it play in contemporary America?

Defining liberal racism: Basically, anytime someone opposes the liberation struggle of black people, he's taking a position in defense of racism, regardless of the subjective rationalization. The most prominent reason put forth for being against the black struggle on campus involved the question of violence. The real question here is not whether one favors violence, but rather what are the means by which a people—in this case black people—can achieve liberation. The South Vietnamese went through a period of passive resistance before they took up armed struggle. Black people in this country went through the lesson of the civil-rights movement. In both cases it was learned that pacifism played into the hands of the ruling strata of the United States, because pacifism meant not fighting for real change.

There is a fundamental difference between the violence of black people or the Vietnamese and the violence of the US Government against them. The former are struggling to overthrow and liberate themselves from an economic and political system which depends on the systematic oppression and exploitation of people all over the world and on the super-exploitation of black people here at home. The armed force of the US Government is used for the defense and expansion of that system.

We support the right of the subjugated to use whatever means necessary to rebel against their oppressor, whether that rebellion occurs in the ghettos of North America, in the hamlets of Southeast Asia, or on this campus. The college community cannot and should not remain unaffected by this world-wide liberation movement.

Another question which became pre-eminent and which brought to light the undercurrent of racism was the BSU's call to off-campus people in the black community. This presence of off-campus people was given by some as a reason for being against the demonstrations. 2 points should be made here. First, as stated before, no matter what the subjective reason, objectively the position being taken is one in defense of racism. But more revealing is the reason for which the call had to be made. The black students could not rely on a 97% white student body to act against racism and in defense of the rights of black people. This is partially what we mean when we use the term liberal racism. White liberal students who would not tolerate a segregated lunch counter in Alabama not only did not act against, but in fact defended the overtly racist policies of a liberal administration. White students should have protested en masse last spring when Vasko began his racist intimidations. They should have demanded that Vasko and the Gator be suspended until its racist content was stopped. Because black students saw clearly both last spring and this fall that they could not rely on a liberal student body to carry on a fight against racism, they had no alternative to calling for help from the black community.

Some self-criticism must be made here. During the emotional heat of the sharp struggle on our campus, we failed to make a distinction between the racism of the students and faculty and the racism of the Administration. Although the overt manifestations may be similar, there is a fundamental difference in reasons and causes between the racist policies of the Administration and the individual racism of the white students.

Racism is an integral part and an inevitable product of the present economic and political system. The Administration, as a representative of the ruling strata of this country, has a vested interest in maintaining that system, which includes racism. Moreover the power elite uses racism to divide movements which threaten its power. A classic example of this is the way the State government and the huge landowners pitted white workers against black and Mexican-American workers to prevent the organization of farm labor in California for over 60 years. An example closer to home was the lifting of the suspensions of the white students by Summerskill to isolate the black students, thus playing on the racism of a white student body.

We must continue to expose racism wherever it exists and challenge it head-on. This includes white chauvinism inside the Movement. But we must have a perspective of convincing the people that the racism in themselves and in this society is against the interest of humanity. We must win them to fight their own racism and to join us in the fight to change a society which perpetuates and uses racism.

Lessons on liberalism: In fighting the racist policies of the Summerskill administration, we learned a great deal about liberals and the role they play. It became clear that there are not fundamental political differences between the liberal position and the Right Wing. The differences are over strategy, not goals. Summerskill illustrated this point. By not calling the cops, he forced the Right Wing to attack him, which frightened the campus community into supporting Summerskill. In the final analysis, the Right-wing leaders such as Reagan, Rafferty, Unruh, and the Board of Trustees realized Summerskill had a better strategy for defense of the status quo and reversed their initial criticism to praise. The Right-wing scare was used to rally support for the liberal position. The same thing happened in 1964 when the Rightist Goldwater frightened the American public who is now carrying out the same policies Goldwater would have undertaken. This is important because it is liberalism, not the Right, which is the prevalent ideology in this country and the main obstacle to social change. Liberalism is a deceptive diversionary strategy used to co-opt many honest individuals and groups into supporting the status quo.

We also found dangers in fighting the issues on liberal tenets such as due process. Although due process was clearly violated, there were 2 weaknesses in making this the primary emphasis. 1 is that it tended to obscure the real problem, which is racism. Secondly, the Administration will follow due process only as long as it yields results which coincide with the policies which the Administration plans to carry out. This was illustrated by the trial of John Gerassi, a professor who participated in the demonstrations. He was tried by a committee appointed by the Academic Senate. This faculty committee voted 3 to 1 in favor of his retention, and Summerskill fired him anyway.

Another example of liberals not following their tenets when it would be inconvenient to do so was the refusal of the Academic Senate to grant amnesty to the 4 black students on the basis of double jeopardy. The Senate used the excuse of having a pre-set meeting agenda. But when Summerskill came under attack from the Right, the AFT, the Senate, and the general faculty side-stepped all agendas to begin planning support action for Summerskill.

Self-criticism: We have already mentioned what we feel are the 2 most important weaknesses of MAPS: the failure to make a distinction between the racism of the Administration and the racism of students and faculty members; and white chauvinism. MAPS was also weak in getting out good leaflets during the height of the struggle. Because it was a coalition, it was difficult for different groups and individuals to come together on political positions. SDS should have helped to overcome this by playing more of a leadership role.

Another criticism, which can also be made of the Movement as a whole, is the tendency to underestimate the prevalence of racism, including white chauvinism among radicals.

Racism came through strong, not only in the reaction of the college community but in the liberal press throughout the nation. The San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner almost paled Vasko in their reports of "roving gangs of Negro thugs". The Nation and New Republic ran articles on how MAPS and the BSU had "wrecked" the campus by taking a stand against racism.

We have to avoid falling victim to the liberal myth that racism is something which was largely eliminated back in the civil-rights movement.

There is now 1 new development in the situation at San Francisco State. 2 days after he was vindicated by the "task force" which was investigating him, as if to shatter any last illusions we may have about where he stands, Summerskill signed and had the San Francisco police issue 12 warrants for arrest. The charges were 2 misdemeanors. The list of 12 people—a selective political one drawn up by the Administration—comprised the better-known campus radicals, 3 opposition members of the student government, and 1 faculty member.

When we found out about the warrants, the week before finals, we held rallies and received more student support than we expected. It was decided that the 12 people would stay on campus to force the cops to come get us where we had support. We slept over 1 night with student supporters staying with us. Summerskill, who worked closely with Chief Cahill, had obviously made it clear he did not want us arrested on campus. Both he and the cops prefer pre-dawn raids on peiple's homes. As of this writing 7 of the 11 students have been picked up.

When Summerskill issued the warrants he told us about maintaining "peace" on campus. We pointed out that there had not been peace on the campus before December 6th, and there could not be real peace now until the conditions which caused the unrest, both on the campus and in the country as a whole, were changed.

" There are a dozen

pamphlets waiting for the ...

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PARDUN IN TEXAS

(Brother Robert gave this speech at the Malcolm X Memorial meeting held in Houston, Texas by Houston SNCC on Wednesday, February 21st. Marianne Vizzard, an SDS Southwestern traveler, also spoke. The meeting signals the good working relationship that SDS and black militant groups are developing in many local areas as SDS takes the view that Pardun clearly articulates in his speech: our struggle is also against a racist, imperialist system.)

I want to begin by saying that this is a very important meeting. Here and in other parts of the country black and white radicals are coming together to talk about the Movement and where we are going and what we are going to do. It's important to see that this meeting is different from similar meetings in the early '60s. Those early meetings were between black and white radicals to talk about black liberation, to talk about what to do to further the civil rights movement, to talk about how to integrate restaurants.

We all know the history of black and white relations during the last few years. That history has had very deep effects on both movements, and those effects have been good. The last few years have seen the development of what can be called a youth movement in this country. White youth throughout this country is beginning to move. Exploitation and racism no longer make any sense to a growing number of young people.

When white people left the black movement they began to develop their own definition of their identity. In the struggles against the Vietnam War, the Draft, the university, and exploitation in the white ghettos we began to understand what this society is all about. For many that process was very hard. It is hard for a white American to stand against the assumptions of white America. The idea that this is the best of all possible worlds for white people is taught you every day of your lives by the schools and the mass media. It was hard to understand that this society exploits and regiments and destroys white people as well as black people—that it separates them from their brothers and keeps them from understanding what is happening to them. But we learned.

We learned that the same exploitive system which controls the ghetto controls the university. We learned that those men who use the schools to regiment and supply people for their use also profit from the War and demand that we give our lives to crush the Vietnamese people for them. And we learned that we could begin to understand what that enemy is about and that we could name it and that we could fight it. That enemy's name is racism and imperialism, and we have learned that collectively we can stand against that enemy and say—NO!

I was reading a National Guard handbook the other night which defines a resistance movement as a popular movement against legally constituted authority designed to withdraw the people's support from that authority. It goes on to say that if a resistance movement is not stopped it can lead to insurrection which has popular support among the people. We are building a resistance movement in this country. We are involving an ever increasing number of people in struggles which show them that the major institutions of this country —the Police, the universities, the Army, the Government, and the economic base that they serve—are their enemies and must be fought. The people of this country are beginning to see that racism and imperialism are not in their best interest. They are beginning to see that the Police and the Draft and the Army are the ways the rulers keep people in their place, and people are beginning to withdraw their support. The biggest anti-draft movement in American history is going on—and those in power fear us for it.

People are dropping out of the universities; the white as well as the black ghettos are beginning to move. High school students are beginning to organize all over the country. A resistance movement is being built, and those in power are beginning to move also—against us.

But the rulers don't understand what we want. In Johnson's State of the Union Message we were told that this country has more color TVs than any other country in the world. And because he can't understand why we don't want them his response is to make the National Guard into a national riot squad. He doesn't understand that we can't be bought with color TVs because we are demanding what the master can never give or even understand—we demand freedom. Freedom from the masters who define a world of color TVs and riot control instead of human dignity.

And it is because they can't give what we demand that we are being repressed now. They have begun to understand that we are their enemy, that for us to have our freedom means that they will have to give up their control, their "American way of life".

The Man is doing what we could not do for ourselves. He has made meetings like this possible. He has forced the black movement and the white movement together because we all face a common enemy which is determined to destroy us. We must find ways of fighting that enemy together. We cannot allow ourselves to be frightened away. We cannot allow ourselves to go on the defensive and spend all our time and manpower in the courts. We must continue on the offensive reaching out to more and more people building a movement which will be the basis for the struggle for a new society free from racism and exploitation. That struggle will not be easy. Many of us will go to jail; others will be killed. But that struggle must continue because we cannot be free until imperialism based as it is on racism and exploitation is destroyed. And we will be free because we will fight for our freedom together—as brothers.

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PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Hatti Heiman

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 8th (Liberation News Service)—In contained but impelling rhetoric, the Reverend Martin Luther King Junior has reaffirmed the commitment of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to militant non-violent means of direct protest.

King and SCLC hope to channel the poor into a collective mobilizing force. Their spring tactics, beginning with the Washington Poor People's Congress in April, are designed to educate the more affluent American public to the enormity of the economic problem. Once so aware, the logic goes, the "haves" of this nation will pressure Congress into meeting the minimal demands of the poor.

As outlined by Doctor King for the press, the group hope that Congress will meet the following demands: full right and availability of employment for each individual; free choice of neighborhood for residence; a guaranteed minimal income for those ineligible for occupation; appropriations for slum clearance projects; low-income housing units to be accomplished by the residents of the area themselves; and repeal of the amendment to the Social Security Act which limits the number of children or dependents eligible for Federal aid.

The Washington Poor People's Congress may be used to set a pattern for national protest. 3,000 poor people will form the initial cadre of squatters congregating in the Washington area. Other groups will serve in support roles. Disruptive forms of protest and civil disobedience will be introduced only if the public demonstrates only minor concern for the cause of the Poor People's Congress.

While Doctor King met with Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), there was no public indication of a SNCC position on King's plans. Likewise, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League are so far uninvolved.

SHOOTING IN HOUSTON

On the evening of March 5th, 3 shotgun blasts ripped through 2 rooms of the family home of Daniel J. Schacht, an SDS war protester, in the latest of a series of threats and violence attributed to the local Ku Klux Klan aimed at Houston's anti-war movement. Luckily, no one at the home was hurt. A $1,000 reward is being offered by Ezra L. Schacht for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those who shotgunned his home.

The first confrontation with the Right began over a year ago, when members of the Houston Committee to End the War engaged in speech-making and leafleting in downtown Houston were assaulted by members of the local United Klans of America. Since then, members of the HCEW and the local SDS have reported numerous threatening phone calls, letters, and even Christmas cards from the Ku Klux Klan to the local authorities with no results. At least 5 cases of damage by firearms to the homes and businesses of HCEW and SDS members have not led to a single arrest. Yet the names and whereabouts of local Klan members are known by the FBI and the Criminal Intelligence Division of the Houston Police Department, according to several reliable sources.

Most likely, this recent attack was triggered by the arrest, trial, and conviction of Jarrett Smith, Jr. and Daniel J. Schacht for the unlawful wearing of parts of the uniform of the US Army during a skit performed in front of the local induction center in co-ordination with the December 4th, 1967 Stop the Draft Week. The Bong the Cong Repertoire Theatre, a local SDS endeavor, enacted the brutal slaying of a Vietnamese peasant for the benefit of the few inductees who might be confused by the Army PR image. This is a simple case of costly harassment intended to stifle anti-war dissent. A pre-trial motion to quash the indictment, emphasizing the constitutional right of free expression and the discriminatory application of the law, was rejected by Federal Judge James T. Noel.

The judge's charge to the jury, 2 of whom wore military-issue raincoats to the courtroom, to consider a rigorous definition of "production" as an extravaganza (a la Cecil B. Demille?) put nails in the coffin.

The trial featured testimony by FBI agent Edward G. Stork and Lieutenant Colonel McKee, commanding officer of the induction installation, who asserted that he wasn't an expert on the uniform since he wasn't "in the procurement end of things". Bodies, yes; uniforms, no. Each witness for the prosecution carefully refrained from characterizing the actions of the defendants as a skit or theatrical production, for fear that any such admission would favor the interpretation of a complementary US Code giving blanket authority to wear the uniform "in a theatrical or motion picture production, if there is no intent to discredit the Armed Forces". The defense testimony, however, clearly indicated that the skit was written, planned, and rehearsed, and props were procured, for a "theatrical production". This led the Government attorneys to questioning the intent of the defendants.

The Government objected to the introduction of memorable passages from No Time for Sergeants, The Caine Mutiny Court Martial, and Dr. Strangelove, all unprosecuted views of the military from burlesque to black humor. The Government also objected to the presentation of documentation of US atrocities against civilians, statements of fact. The judge sustained both objections.

The 2 1/2-day trial culminated in a crescendo of surreality, veritable theatre of the absurd, in the final summation by US Assistant Attorney Moose Hartman, who told the defendants that "if you don't like it here, there are boats leaving every day." Also: "If you came to my home, you wouldn't be able to walk into court," implying that he would kill or maim a civilian. It should be clear that his remarks represent the same type of terrorism used by the Klan.

In talks with the probation officer, the defendants found that his primary interests were their political beliefs and associations. He questioned them about their further intentions to work and demonstrate against the War. From these conversations, Schacht surmised that the probation officer's recommendations to the judge would be harsh.

For an encore, Jarrett and Schacht returned to be sentenced on February 29th. Jarrett was fined $250 and given a 6-month probated sentence (disregarding assembly), on the condition that he not associate with SDS or the University of Houston Student Humanist Association for 3 years. Judge Noel cautioned Jarrett not to smoke marijuana, since "he had reason to believe" Jarrett had done so, implying that one has to be on "dope" to oppose the War. Maybe that's why there's talk of sending narcotics agents to Vietnam to deal with the increasing use of pot by GIs.

With short jabs, his pencil making holes in a paper scrap, his eyebrows bristling, the judge told of Schacht's conceiving and carrying out the portrayal of American servicemen killing a pregnant woman. Since Schacht showed no grief or remorse in expressing his belief, he was given the maximum penalty of 6 months and a $250 fine.

The defendants are appealing the case with the assistance of the Texas Civil Liberties Union. Contributions to cover the cost of defense can be sent to Daniel J. Schacht and Jarrett Smith, Jr., 1620 West Main, Houston, Texas 77006.

ATTACK---

Since Rap became chairman of SNCC in May 1967, he has been subjected to 1 long series of harassments and intimidations by the Federal Government. Acting principally through the intricate (and difficult to explain to the folks) machinery of the courts, they have tried to imprison Rap on a series of charges with bonds totaling a quarter of a million dollars. There is a new and qualitative change in Federal court actions. It is clear that the Man has decided to jail militant black leaders before next summer. This has been made known to the courts, and the courts are responding.

Note: The charges in Rap's case (and so many others across the country) are so obviously untenable even in our courts that they aren't even worrying any more about the frame-ups themselves. Bail is being used instead, way before any of this comes to trial.

July 4th, 1967: Rap is charged with "inciting to riot and arson" in Cambridge, Maryland. A nationwide manhunt is ordered by the FBI.

July 26th, 1967: Rap is arrested at Alexandria, Virginia airport, where he was preparing to fly to New York and surrender himself under a pre-arranged agreement with the FBI. Federal authorities claim that Rap was fleeing to escape prosecution by the government of Maryland. This charge is dropped 6 hours later so Virginia authorities can "re-arrest" Rap on the steps of the Federal courthouse in Alexandria on charges of being a fugitive from Maryland. Bail: $10,000.

August 1st, 1967: Rap is charged by the city of Dayton, Ohio with "advocating criminal syndicalism".

August 16th through 18th: Rap makes a round trip from New York to New Orleans to prepare to speak at a rally in his home town, Baton Rouge, on August 20th.

August 19th, 1967: Rap is arrested in New York and charged with carrying a weapon across state lines while under indictment for some other case. (Note: This charge has to our knowledge never been upheld on appeal.) Bond: $25,000, later reduced to $15,000.

September 13th, 1967: Rap returns to Alexandria for hearing on extradition to Maryland. He is re-arrested and placed in jail. 2 different Federal judges refuse to even set bail for him.

September 18th, 1967: Bond is set at $10,000. In addition, Rap's travel is restricted solely to the southern district of New York "except when traveling for the purposes of trial or in preparation for defense". Rap becomes a political prisoner. The judge states from the bench: Rap "is not going anywhere to make speeches because he is going to have to stay in Mr. Kunstler's (Rap's attorney's) district, except when going to and from trial and going to the defense of these matters."

January 11th, 1968: Rap visits the Cuban mission to the UN and is shoved by American cops while leaving the Cuban building. A short time later, Rap, along with the First Secretary of the Cuban Mission, is blocked from leaving the Mission by a Yankee policeman who brandishes his billy club and tells Rap: "You're going nowhere."

February 18th and 19th: Rap flies to San Francisco and Los Angeles to consult with 2 of his attorneys about a Supreme Court appeal of his travel restrictions. While there he speaks publicly.

February 20th: Rap is arrested in New York, charged with violating his travel restrictions.

February 21st: During the hearing in New Orleans Federal court on the new charge, the Government interrupts to say it is filing ADDITIONAL charges against Rap. According to an FBI agent, Rap has threatened his life during court recess. This is not true, and there are 10 witnesses to the fact that Rap said: "You're a Tom, and I hope your children grow up to be better men." RAP IS NOW HELD ON THESE 2 CHARGES, WITH BOND TOTALING $100,000.

TODAY: Rap Brown is imprisoned in New Orleans. Will our silence insure that Rap and the black people of this country are imprisoned and killed? Or will our voices and actions make it crystal-clear in every part of this country that we are supporting our black brothers in every way possible?

US $$ in S AFRICA

Why not check out the following sampling of American investments in South Africa and put it to good use. When the spring wave of recruiters hit the campus, don't forget these corporations and the many others you can check up on; let's not forget our colleges' connections with these corporations and with South Africa.

March 21st is the anniversary of the Sharpville Massacre. Young people in this country haven't forgotten; we have come to understand US imperialism. We will continue to expose and fight it. US involvement in South Africa can well be an important target.

US Investment in South Africa

The following figures do not include many cases in which equipment (especially military supplies) is brought in through third parties. New legislation was passed last year in South Africa to further insure secrecy for buyers and sellers. Even their published figures say a lot. (R equals rand; 1 rand equals 10 shillings.)

—In 1965 the US share of all trade with South Africa was 18.8%. Today it is larger.

—Imports from the US rose from R81.7 million in the first quarter of 1966 to R112.3 million in the same period of 1967. Exports to America in the first quarter rose from R31.3 million to R35.6 million.

—Total exports to the US in 1966 were valued at R158.4 million, or R38 million more than the year before.

The principle that considerations of economics transcend antipathy to apartheid has proved to be widely acceptable. For notwithstanding their abundant UN support for resolutions condemning apartheid, many governments encourage trade with and investment in South Africa. As a result, South Africa's foreign trade is booming and foreign investment is breaking records. In addition, the South African government has been taking precautionary measures to shield its trading partners from adverse publicity.

Stockpiling

With an eye to the future, South Africa is ceaselessly engaged in preparations to withstand siege or sanctions. Most of these preparations are kept strictly secret, but it is well known in business circles that they've been stockpiling strategic materials for more than a year. For example, oil....

—In February 1967, the American-owned Caltex Company opened a new refinery at Milnerton, Cape Town, to process 30,000 barrels of crude oil a day.

—The Esso Petroleum Company has started building its second automated oil terminal, also in Cape Town, and 2 additional depots. Cost: R700,000.

All of the following have expanded or initiated business with South Africa last year.

—A leading New York stockbroker, Mr. Walter Hirschorn, who specializes in the shares of the Engelhard-controlled American (South African Investment Corporation, said: "South Africa is one of the safest places in the world in which to invest." (Johannesburg Sunday Times, May 21st, 1967) After meetings at the US Department of Commerce, he came to the conclusion that South Africa will continue to enjoy growing private investment from America. The Commerce Department, he said, has a "businesslike approach". (Sunday Times, June 4th, 1967)

—During a visit to South Africa in March 1967, Henry Ford II said he would countermand the ban imposed by Fords of Canada on the export of Ford trucks to South Africa (which are used for military purposes).

—America's second largest producer of paper products, Crown-Zellerbach, has joined with Anglo-American Corporation in the latter's paper-mill plant in Natal. Crown-Zellerbach already has other paper interests in South Africa in association with Crown Carlton Paper Mills.

—The Oshkosh Motor Truck Corporation of America is establishing a plant outside of Cape Town.

—American Motors will assemble its Rambler car engine in its plant at Rosslyn.

—Chrysler Corporation expects to begin production in its new plant near Pretoria this spring.

—The American Cable and Radio Corporation is linked with the South African Industrial Development Corporation to provide and maintain extensive cable communications systems. They have 3 members of the board of directors.

—The General Signal Corporation of New York has formed a South African subsidiary for manufacture and marketing of railway and road traffic-control equipment and telemetry systems.

—The Toledo Scale Corporation of Ohio has concluded an R3 million franchise deal for marketing its electronic weighing equipment.

—Borg Warner, US motor components manufacturer, has a new plant in South Africa.

—The World Bank has extended a $20 million loan to South Africa. They informed the UN that they'll take no notice of US resolutions calling on the Bank to withhold economic assistance from South Africa.

—TRW is the parent company of Thompson-Ramco, which opened a new piston plant in South Africa.

—American DuPont provided technical advice and materials for a plastics (Teflon) plant in Transvaal.

—Western International Hotels of America will manage and operate a new hotel in Johannesburg, the Carlton. It will be the largest hotel in South Africa.

—General Motors is manufacturing new components for passenger cars, previously imported from America.

—The US Army has ordered about R900,000 worth of electronic equipment—for artillery and engineering survey and military map-making—with the South African subsidiary of the British Plessy Company.

Following are excerpts from two letters that Ray wrote from jail last summer and this winter.

"I am a political prisoner, jailed for my belief that black people must be free. The Government has taken a position true to its fascist nature. Those whom it cannot convert, it must silence."

...." "In the course of any movement that seeks to promote change... individuals because of their beliefs are unjustly made to suffer. For blacks, the historical alternatives for political dissent in America have been death, exile, or imprisonment. I am being held a political prisoner. However, my conviction that we rebuild Detroit nor will it save America from its due fate. For as America has bestowed upon me in my 23 years her extreme disfavor, she has also through her inhumanity, racism, oppression and exploitation of both black and white, domestic and foreign, made herself an enemy of mankind. I am told that people across the country have recognized my imprisonment to be a sounding board which may in some way reveal their own fate. If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny. To all those who favor freedom I say thank you for your contributions toward that end. To all the black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines, I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for our freedom is yet to come."

Rap Brown

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SPRING N.C.

The Spring National Council meeting will be held in Lexington, Kentucky on the University of Kentucky campus. It will start the evening of Thursday, March 28th, and will run through Sunday, March 31st. Housing requests should be sent to Frances Frampton, 203 State Street, Lexington, Kentucky by March 18th.

Chapters should also send the names of their delegates to the National Council meeting to the National Council Office by March 18th, so that we may verify credentials beforehand.

Proposed structure for the National Council meetings: Thursday evening: a panel presentation by people who have just returned from Cuba. Friday morning and afternoon: workshops on spring and summer program and on organizing problems. Friday evening: National Council plenary. Saturday morning and afternoon: resolution workshops. Saturday evening and all day Sunday: National Council plenary.