

# WALLACE IN OMAHA

by Tim Andrews  
on-the-scene reporter for Omaha's  
underground newspaper Buffalo Chip

On March 4th, 1968, ex-governor of Alabama George Wallace addressed a delegation of Omaha people to start a petition to place him on the primary ballot for the Presidential election. Two hours before the convention opened, mass demonstrations of marching Negroes and white people converged on the Omaha Civic Auditorium where Mr. Wallace was going to speak. From the campus of Creighton University came about 600 people singing and carrying posters. This particular demonstration was led by concerned priests and local Black Power people.

Once in front of the auditorium, the various marchers merged and walked around in a rough circle singing freedom songs. It was not long before they were joined by several nuns of the Notre Dame order, several more priests, and many more white people. Like the earlier demonstration against Mr. Wallace at the campus of Omaha University that afternoon, this demonstration was peaceful.

After I had interviewed several of the marchers, it was only too apparent that they wanted to show the people of Omaha that they were not at all for this appearance of a white bigot in Omaha, but that the furthest thing from their minds was any use of violence to prevent him from speaking. The average black did not like Wallace, but it was also very clear that the demonstrators had no intention of physically disrupting his speech.

Inside the auditorium where the convention was being held, I interviewed several white people to discover their reasons for being present. A consensus revealed that the majority of them were for Mr. Wallace, and that they thought the colored people and their white supporters were all "plain stupid" for being concerned and demonstrating. As the time drew near for Mr. Wallace to speak and signatures were being taken for the petition, the demonstrators filed into the auditorium and sat on the uppermost seats from the floor where Mr. Wallace was going to speak and where petitions were being filled out. In a short time a small group of black men and a few white supporters managed to get on the main floor, where they came to the front and sat down in the aisle directly in front of the stage, where they started to sing freedom songs.

At one point in the convention, Mr. Wallace's aides tried to remove them from this geocentric location, with the police saying that they were not delegates and had to move. But an organizer from the NAACP ran forward and shouted: "You are delegates to this convention! The police here are not delegates! You are the delegates!" At this the police decided to leave this group there. (It numbered about twenty-nine black and four white people.)

The procedure for getting names on the primary petition was merely to have the individual sign a statement that he was a registered Nebraska voter, and then have the petition taken to a notary public who stamped it, making no attempt to determine whether the individual was indeed a registered Nebraska voter. When this action was protested by an NAACP member, Wallace's men claimed that they did not know anything about it. No attempt was made whatsoever to determine whether the people who were signing these petitions were indeed registered Nebraska voters, or even whether they were old enough to vote.

Black and white together sang freedom songs as time wore on and more signatures were collected. Thus far the demonstrators had made a lot of noise, but there was still no indication of violence. When Mr. Wallace first came to Omaha on March 3rd, there was quite a delegation at the airport of people supporting him and people demonstrating against him. But there was really a festive mood at the airport; the people

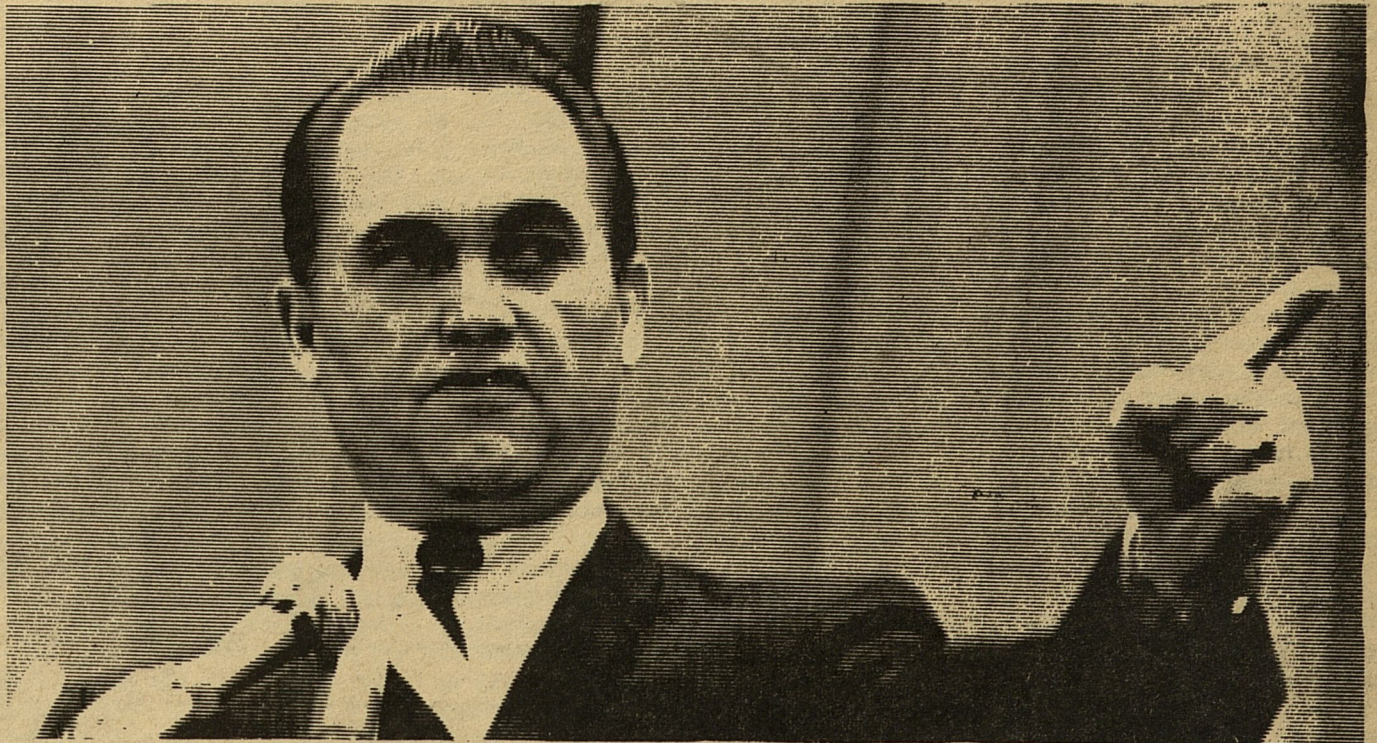


photo don swartz; buffalo chip

Students for a Democratic Society

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## New Left Notes

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Let the People Decide

March 18th, 1968

for Mr. Wallace could not decide whether these black and white people were on their side or not. The signs they carried gave no exact clue as to what the demonstrators thought. "Wallace for President—What a Riot, Hippies for Wallace, We Love Wallace." Black people were asking Mr. Wallace to shake their hands—this was certainly something unexpected. Again when Mr. Wallace arrived at the University of Omaha on March 4th to speak to a political science class, the black demonstrators did not like Mr. Wallace; but again no attempts were made at physically harming the man. This was the same mood as that of the black people on the convention floor, waiting to hear Mr. Wallace speak. They were chanting, they were yelling, they were singing, but they were not attempting or contemplating violence of any sort to physically prevent Mr. Wallace from speaking.

When Mr. Wallace finally arrived on the scene, both black and white demonstrators started to yell and make

noise, but they were not so loud that the listener could not hear Mr. Wallace speak.

At the start of the speech the little group of black people tore small bits of cardboard from their posters and threw them at Mr. Wallace. Perhaps this was most indicative of their peaceful intentions. If they had wanted to hurt the fellow, things could easily have been snuck in that would have caused actual physical harm to the speaker. During the first three minutes of Mr. Wallace's speech there was never any attempt by a demonstrator to physically stop Mr. Wallace from speaking. True, he was heckled; but heckling does not by any stretch of the imagination justify premeditated police violence and aggression.

By this time police reinforcements had been brought to the front of the speaking platform at the bidding of the ex-governor. The police completely surrounded the little group of black people at the front, outnumbering them two to one.

It should be recalled that the rest of the 800 or 900 demonstrators were in the top seats of the arena, far from the main floor where all this was going on.

With the police were three detectives dressed in bulky sweaters and white jeans, with cans of MACE hidden behind their backs. Obviously the completely unarmed black people on the floor had no intention of attacking the police, who were fully armed with large nightsticks. Not only were the demonstrators outnumbered, but they had no weapons to start a fight with even if that had been their intention.

Mr. Wallace stood on the podium and insulted the black people before him by calling them "un-American". (If Rap Brown did this, they would arrest him for inciting a riot.) The police started to inch forward, and the Negroes stood firm. Then all of a sudden one of the detectives grabbed his pressurized can of MACE and shot a wide arc into the colored group. To this instant the black people had made no attempt to either attack the police or physically stop Mr. Wallace from speaking.

The squirt of MACE started an instantaneous chain reaction. All of a sudden the whole police cordon around the black people started to squirt MACE into the small group that had only one thought now—escape! As the black people began to flee, the police followed them, beating them on the back of the head as they went. There was no attempt by any party to stop this wanton beating of the black people. All through it Mr. Wallace stood at the podium with a smile of satisfaction on his face. At no time did he say to the police: "Stop, they just want to leave now."

As the colored people fled by, white people picked up the folding chairs they were sitting on and beat the colored people as they ran by. Here are some eyewitness accounts of the beatings:

"I saw a cop watch two white people as they beat a black man that was trying to crawl away from his attackers. When the white people had finished, the cop ran up and squirted MACE in the black man's face."

"I saw two plainclothesmen push a

## Women's ... Front

p. 5

## More Mann

p. 6

## Cuba Trip Kidnapping

San Francisco, California, March 12th, 1968 (The Movement Press)—On Friday evening, March 8th, six young journalists and graduate students from the Bay Area were abducted from the Mexico City airport as they were about to check in on a flight to Cuba. They were kept prisoner in their abductors' cars for over 20 hours before they were finally released at the U. S. border.

There are indications that both the U. S. and the Mexican governments were involved in the kidnapping. All of the six had valid passports and tourist visas. No explanation has been given by US or Mexican officials for their forced eviction from the country.

(continued on Page 8)



# LETTERS TO THE LEFT

23 Rue Cambronne  
Paris 15e, France  
March 15th, 1968

To the editor:

Since the devaluation of the pound last November, I have waited to see in New Left Notes some sort of analysis of the significance of the monetary crisis which has been bothering the "experts" of international capitalist economies. Even though my NLN comes a month late, I doubt that February will contain that analysis. Here we are in March, and a new crisis has broken out: the pool of gold has shut down, as have other gold markets, a grand meeting has been called in Washington for tomorrow, the discount rate has risen to its highest point since 1929, and the speculators are speculating. Le Monde of March 16, 1968 comments that these problems are a bit "esoteric" for an American public unable to buy gold privately—save certain millionaires and other groups (Who?)—and that they make little impression on the public, though they are crucial for certain "closed circles". It continues, saying that these problems are usually written off as being the result of "exterior attacks" on the U.S. (by countries such as France). Meanwhile, in the U.S., faith in the dollar, of course, continues unchecked.

I don't propose to give an analysis of the whys and wherefores of a problem which has its immediate roots in July 1963, with Kennedy's measures to tax foreign loans in order to aid the suffering U.S. balance of payments—and which has its theoretical roots in the nature of an international capitalist economy. But I would like to suggest some reasons why an analysis of this problem from the point of view of the U.S. Left is important.

One thing which distinguishes Revolutionaries from liberal reformists is their INTERNATIONALIST outlook. This is only fitting, given that the enemy—capitalism—is by its very nature an international system, a means of production and distribution which, in its own revolutionary youth, revolutionized all previous modes of production. In the U.S. we have never had a meaningful revolutionary movement with international connections and an international point of view. What we have had, especially after World War I, was reformist liberal ISOLATIONISM. And, judging from the viewpoints of many of the erstwhile opponents of the Vietnamese debacle—in the House, the Senate, and the liberal reform movements—we may be witnessing the birth of a new isolationism.

The easiest connection to make between the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the international monetary crisis is the fact that our balance of payments is suffering horrendously under the financial strain of the war. But, when the FNL does finally force us to withdraw our troops, the problem of the dollar isn't going to disappear. The crisis, yes; the problem, no.

What is especially interesting about the financial problem is that it really only affects the "big", the NATO people, and Japan. They are the only ones who

really have something at stake in this little game. And, the antagonism between France and the U.S. (and her sidekick, England) is a direct effect of this monetary problem—and has nothing to do with DeGaulle's speech at Phnom-Penh or his relations with China, Russia, or the Arabs. These latter are only cover-ups. A conflict of interests is growing up between capitalist nations: for now it seems to be France versus the U.S.; but the rest of the Common Market will soon be drawn in—and conflict can already be seen between the U.S. and Japan (over tariffs, among other things). Two examples: DeGaulle's position on the Arab-Israeli war, and the Latin American arms race. DeGaulle's siding with the Arabs (if one can call it that—and I doubt it, though the Arabs think so) gave him a foothold in the mid-East oil race, one which paid for itself a few days after the war with the

from this conflict in order to break out of its isolation and to join (or even lead) the Left Movements in the Western European countries, in the capitalist countries whose present stage of development most closely approximates our own. For, if we could make such a link-up, we would be able to move out of the dilemma of an isolationist foreign policy option which sets romantic hopes in the "someday Revolutions" in the under-developed world, and adopt a position which would put us, in common with a growing European New Left, in a position to talk about making Revolution in our own countries. We could then advance positive programs, goals for a Revolutionary change in the advanced capitalist world.

It is conceivable that around the problems that have been posed by the present monetary crisis, and around those which loom in the immediate future,

March 13th, 1968

Dear Editor:

While I agree with the underlying premise of Spiegel and Jones' article on the Democratic Convention (that is, that the Convention should not be viewed as the central focus of organizing this summer), I differ with some of the other premises permeating the article.

First of all, in regard to violence playing into Johnson's hands, I don't think this is true. Disruption undermines the people in power, and if it goes far enough destroys their power base. Johnson's low point in the polls was reached at the end of last summer; since then he has climbed back up. The clear implication is that the summer riots dealt him the blow. Johnson's chasing after the crime in the streets issue is like the action of a man trying desperately to catch a dog he is quite frightened of. He can't catch it and he can't let it alone. In any case it will not be the New Left who determine the disruptions of this summer, but the blacks in the ghetto. A confrontation at the Democratic Convention will not play into Johnson's hands, because riots, disruption, and mobilization of the National Guard all tend to undermine confidence in and support for the people in power. It might help George Wallace, but he represents a disruptive force himself.

In the matter of McCarthy's candidacy, it seems to me this is as revolutionary as anything being done by the New Left. McCarthy represents a challenge to the accepted system of politics. In a pre-revolutionary situation—and such I think we have in this country—any challenge to the authority represents the crystal around which the revolution might crystallize. McCarthy may not think of himself as such a force, but today things are in the saddle and people such as McCarthy find themselves swept up into a movement quite different from that which they envisioned when they first put a tentative toe in to test things.

McCarthy's candidacy is an issue around which members of the middle class can be organized. He will, of course, be defeated; but the possibility of opposition to the status quo, and even the necessity of resistance when his defeat occurs, will be much more apparent to large numbers of middle-class people. Such experiences are necessary to make people fully aware of the fact that political parties are controlled by minorities, whose control can only be broken by resistance.

What I find most objectionable about the article is a tendency to rely on certain dogmatic organizational purity. We in the New Left do not engage in electoral politics; we leaflet. Well, that's nice, but it is hardly sufficient. No activity should be scorned, no alliance should be cut, because in a pre-revolutionary situation all activities can lead to revolution except those concerned with maintaining doctrinal and organizational purity.

Yours truly,

John M. Lamb  
History Department  
Lewis College  
Lockport, Illinois

Dick Howard

## nac minutiae

members present: Bernie Farber, Clark Kissinger, Earl Silbar, Vicky Smith, Vernon Urban (Hank Williams Chapter)

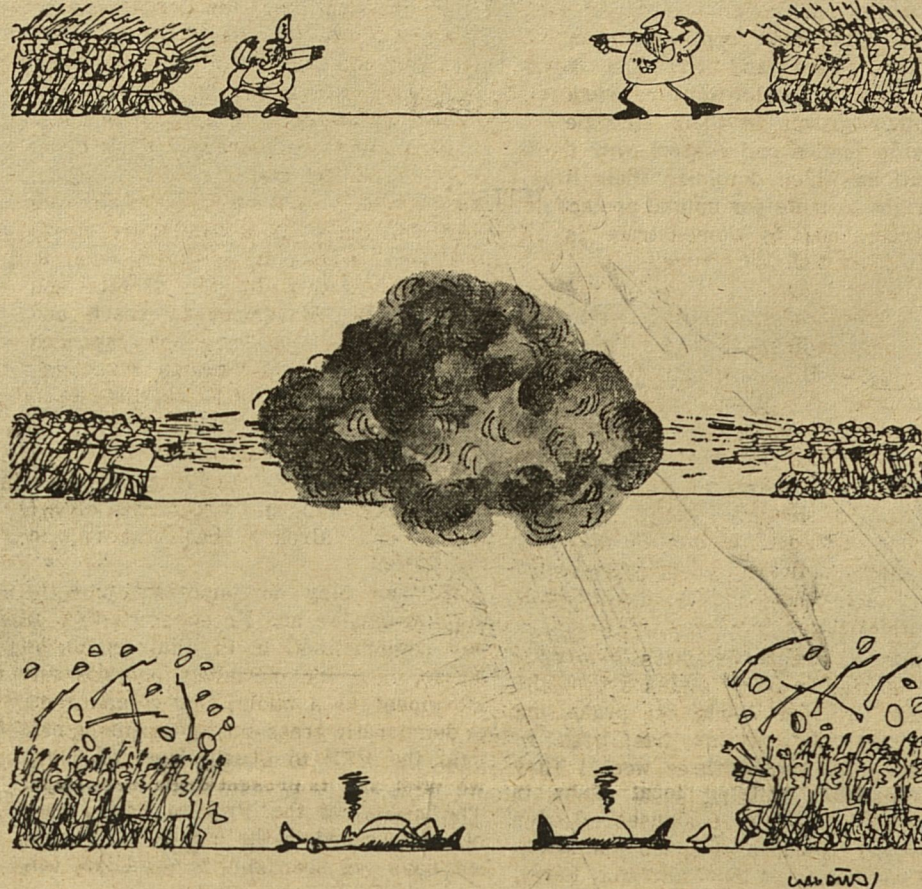
members absent: Karen Gellen, Carol Neiman

others present: Kathy Archibald, Jon Dunn, Tim Morearity, Boe Shomer

1) The NAC voted in favor of the purchase of a new folding machine for the print shop. The machine is new and costs \$2,150 including delivery. The machine has various attachments for special

functions, and, according to Morearity from the print shop, will do what a folder at twice the price will do.

2) The NAC voted to allow the Progressive Labor Party to send a mailing of back issues of Progressive Labor magazine to the SDS membership. The vote was contingent upon the decision of the National Interim Committee, which was also considering the question. (See NIC minutes.) Clark Kissinger cast the single dissenting vote, on the basis that the move was a dubious precedent to set.



Liberation News Service Cartoon by Claudius of Brazil

signing of a large contract between the French-owned oil consortium and the Iranian government. DeGaulle thus bested an International Consortium, largely U.S.-owned. In Latin America, DeGaulle's success has been even more disturbing to the U.S. authorities: sales of "Mirage" jets, of tanks, and of other weapons in what was until now a traditional U.S. fiefdom, just as he did it again in selling jets to Belgium, beating the U.S.'s Northrop Company.

It is clear that capitalist industry, as it gets bigger and bigger, must sooner or later fight across national boundaries. The U.S., with its proposals at the Rio Conference, is trying to "arrange" the international monetary set-up to fit its basic needs. The French, taking a position which will eventually be that of the Common Market as a whole, are opposing it. The question that the U.S. Left should now pose itself is how can it benefit

we could begin to build up a socialist attack on the capitalist system's contradictions. This could be done in concert with the European Left(s)—which as far as I can tell are as out of it as the U.S. New Left, for the most part, on this problem.

We need to become aware of this genre of problem, and to find a way to capitalize on it. For, unlike the U.S. aggression in Vietnam—which can be ended without engendering fundamental social change in the U.S.—the monetary problems engendered by the capitalist system cannot be solved without the death of that system. Some of our tactical effort should be devoted to such considerations.

From our attack (or lack thereof) on such a critical problem, our fundamental weaknesses—if we think of ourselves as a revolutionary movement—shine through. Perhaps the New Left needs a "Foreign Office", with all the trappings. I would be interested to know what people think about this problem.

## new left notes

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# TOWARD A POLITICAL RESISTANCE

a position paper by Joe Grossman, Mike Reuss, Carol Rosenbaum, Miriam Snider, and Jim West (NYU SDS), and Ian McMahan (Brooklyn College SDS)

In the last year or so, the Movement has come from dissent to resistance. We have organized in local communities and on campus, and we have engaged in ever-more-militant demonstrations. Instead of marching around in a circle behind police barricades, we have moved to direct confrontations with the war machine and with the cops.

Clearly, such militant tactics are a great advance over impotent dissent; but everyone now realizes, especially after Whitehall Street, that these tactics, by themselves, are not enough to do the job. In two main respects they simply do not go far enough. First, they do not enable us to confront the real power structure of the US. A cop, after all, is more of a dupe than an enemy; he may well have a brother who was killed in Vietnam. Second, they do very little to help us organize and radicalize presently non-political people; they do little to help us in our task of building a mass radical movement which will express, in a politically meaningful way, opposition to imperialist war, oppression of blacks, and the general dehumanization and exploitation that oppresses us all in capitalist America.

What we need is a new dimension to the Movement, which will enable us to confront the power structure in a political way and which can tie together our various actions and projects in a more effective political context. What is needed is a grassroots, democratically organized and controlled political party which will be a conscious manifestation of the political aims of the Movement and which will be specifically oriented toward the struggle for meaningful political power for the Movement and for the dispossessed of America.

The Movement in California has already won an incredible victory in this direction. Spearheaded by the same activists who organized the Oakland Induction Center confrontation, the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) has organized over 105,000 people across the State into local clubs. Most of these are new people, entering politics for the first time. The local clubs are working actively as a political arm of the Movement, both electorally and in direct action. The recent PFP demonstration against Rusk in San Francisco was met by police clubs. In Oakland the PFP is working closely with the Black Panther Party in a campaign to save Black Panther leader Huey Newton, who is in jail on a murder rap for allegedly shooting a cop.

This is startling enough, but for those of us in SDS there is a more startling aspect to the PFP. The activities, the programs, and the slogans of the party are determined by each local club to meet the specific needs of its constituency. Candidates and platform will be decided on democratically at a Statewide convention. The PFP is unified on the basis of five points adopted a couple of weeks ago.

1) The Peace and Freedom Party is an independent, permanent radical political party, permanently separate and distinct from any other political party. We see the Democratic-Republican party as a part of the system in which the

economic and social interests of a few determine the policies which bear major responsibility for the evils against which we are committed to fight. We are the beginning of a new national radical political movement, in clear opposition to these parties, rather than a mere pressure group upon them.

2) The Peace and Freedom Party stands for immediate unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam and is in opposition to the entire thrust of American foreign and domestic policy, of which the war in Vietnam is one horrifying result and the brutal repression of dissent in this country is another.

3) The Peace and Freedom Party supports the Black Liberation Movement in its struggle for equality and self-determination. We support similar movements among Mexican-Americans, Indians, and other oppressed peoples.

4) The Peace and Freedom Party supports poor people, workers, students, and other groups in their struggle for economic justice and control over those institutions which dominate their lives. The right to unite for mutual protection, to strike, and to demonstrate is an inviolable part of that struggle.

5) The Peace and Freedom Party was formed to unify those movements which are dedicated to the preceding principles and to create for those movements a focus and political expression. We are committed to democratic procedures which enable all members to shape policy and direction. We believe electoral action is valid only in a context which includes political organizing, political education, direct action, and other non-electoral forms of political action.

Peace and Freedom Parties are already being started in other states across the country. In New York, an organizing committee of activists has been in existence for two or three weeks. They plan to start building local clubs in communities and on campuses all over the State, around a program similar to the Five Points of the California Party.

## Sheraton Arrests

by Ellie Brecher and Miles Deutsch  
Oklahoma University SDS

Oklahoma City, March 8th—Twenty-seven anti-draft protesters were arrested here as they picketed a Chamber of Commerce luncheon speech by General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service Director, at the Sheraton Hotel.

The first arrested was Walter Schaeffer, Oklahoma University student, who was charged with a felony—distributing obscene literature. The publication in question was Vietnam GI, a newspaper published by Vietnam vets criticizing American imperialism. The second-page headline, "Fucking Up Quietly", seemed to have aroused the prurient interest of enough cops to spark the arrests. If convicted, Schaeffer faces a maximum sentence of five years.

Shortly after noon, the first of the group arrests took place. Approximately fourteen people were herded into police vans and taken to the Oklahoma City jail. Charges against these people were not

They hope to put the PFP on the ballot in November, but that is almost a side-issue. The success or failure of their effort, in their own terms, will rest on what is left in December, after the election. If they can democratically reach out to and involve the thousands of unorganized and alienated people, whose only activity up to now may have been cussing when they see Superbird on TV, or who have marched with us but haven't seen the point of joining anything, the power structure will be shaken as it never has been to this point.

What does all this mean to us? Is it just another trap or diversion for the Movement? We don't think so. In California the PFP is an active, continuous, integral part of the Movement. It has formed alliances with black militants because they recognize its seriousness; it has attracted anti-war activists because of its militant anti-war stand; it has involved the unorganized because of its commitment to grass-roots democracy and its clear rejection of the status quo. It is by no means merely an electoral arm, although electoral action is a vital part of its activities, adding a new dimension to the confrontation in the streets and enabling the Movement to reach and recruit people who have not responded to our traditional radical organizing tactics. For these reasons the PFP, unlike various "third ticket" ideas, is not a diversion away from the all-important task of community organizing, but a new method of community organizing, whose worth has already been shown in California.

We can play an important part in building Peace and Freedom Parties in our communities. It is vital for us to do so, both for ourselves and for the Movement as a whole. Our commitment to democratic grass-roots organizing can help the PFP to be the sort of party we want and its present organizers want. The appeal of the PFP to those, both on campus and in the community, whom we have not been able to organize, can

give us new, broader constituencies that will, by the very act of breaking with the Establishment to join the PFP, become more receptive to our radical critique of American society.

If we are going to act, the time is now. It is certain that some sort of "peace ticket" will be on the ballot in New York, especially after the steam goes out of McCarthy's campaign. The question is whether that ticket will be an effort of the PFP sort, that will broaden the Movement and be responsive to it; or whether some coalition of organizations, with the old bureaucratic mentality and a lingering fondness for Establishment politics, will pre-empt the field. Our activity, our organizing wherever we are, in the community and on campus, can be decisive, but only if we act soon. If we decide to wait until summer, we may find that a structure already exists in which we and our constituencies can play no role except to pass down decisions and programs made somewhere on a "higher level". That would be a disaster for the Movement.

But if we act now, we can make sure that the structure is democratic, with decisions made from below. We can make the coming PFP in New York, like the California PFP, a genuine arm of the Movement against imperialist war and for black liberation.

(The New York Organizing Committee for the Peace and Freedom Party can be contacted at 682 6th Avenue, New York City.)

## WITH APOLOGIES KENTUCKY

(Note: The article titled "Organize and Resist," Says Southern Caucus" in the March 4th issue of New Left Notes was a mess, for which New Left Notes and Liberation News Service apologize. Here is the story:)

by Mary Britting (The Southern Patriot)  
Liberation News Service

Lexington, Kentucky, February 19th (LNS)—More than 500 people participated in the Kentucky Conference on the War and the Draft to "begin to build a state-wide movement against the War and learn the skills to organize and educate others".

The Conference was held in the face of attempts by members of the State Legislature to prevent its using the facilities of a State university. University of Kentucky president John W. Oswald quickly went before the legislature to defend First Amendment rights on campus. The legislature dropped its proposed ban in the face of this stand.

The schedule for the day was rigorous, including twelve hours of workshops and plenary sessions. Professor Wendell Berry of the University faculty, a noted Kentucky poet and author, said: "I have found nothing in the Gospel, the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution that justified our supporting puppet tyrants, burning the crops, killing the women and children, and herding the people into concentration camps in Vietnam." Other speakers included University law professor Robert Sedler, Dave Tuck, a Vietnam veteran now working with the Cleveland Draft Resisters, and Joe Mulloy of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and Louisville Peace Council (LPC).

The 530 participants attended four workshop sessions. Two were primarily educational; the third dealt with the Draft. Finally, people met according to their geographical areas to discuss continuing the work of resisting the War after the conference.

The conference was co-sponsored by SCEF, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the LPC, the Peace Action Group in Lexington, The Louisville Defender, Students for Social Action at the University of Louisville, and the University of Kentucky SDS chapter.

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Delegates' names  
in



# LBJ'S "RIOT COMMISSION"

by Raymond Mungo  
Liberation News Service

Washington, D. C., March 1st (LNS)—The final report of Lyndon B. Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, frequently called "the riot commission" because it was created by LBJ himself during last summer's urban insurrections, was released today.

The report is the work of several thousand temporary and permanent government employees at an unestimated cost, covers 1400 pages, stands eight inches tall, and is packed with irony.

The Commission consisted of eleven persons—seven professional politicians, one big-time industry magnate, one labor union president, one (Southern) police chief, and one "civil rights" leader noted for his barbed attacks on black militants. They worked seven months and finished the report four months in advance of LBJ's deadline. Their report is complemented by graphs of "levels of violence" and "levels of negotiations" from twenty-two cities.

Its major points, as summarized by the Commission in a 78-page addendum, tend to be ironic and self-contradictory, simultaneously blaming white racism, federal inaction, press distortions, and police violence for the rebellions, and leaving the solution of the "problem" in the hands of whites, the Federal Government, the press, and the police.

All of its suggestions call for massively increased federal spending on the ghetto. The report concludes:

"This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal...Americans must halt (this) movement."

Some highlights from the report:

—"America will not tolerate coercion and mob rule...violence and destruction must be ended not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people."

—"White racism is the primary cause of the rebellions, but the Commission also condemns "black extremists who have stimulated a mood of violence". On Black Power advocates: "Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity, and separation, is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington."

Yet the solutions to the "white racism" and economic exploitation by whites of the ghetto include "providing tax and other incentives to investment" by businessmen in both urban and rural poverty areas; and submerging the black identity entirely into "our major goal—the creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity."

—"White police are responsible for most of the violence and almost all of the deaths last summer ("...reports of sniping were heavily exaggerated. Often they resulted from firing by police and National Guard forces..."), yet the solution is to "develop plans which will quickly muster maximum police manpower and highly qualified senior commanders at the outbreak of disorders ...provide special training in the prevention of disorders, and prepare police for riot control and for operation in units, with adequate command and control and field communication for proper discipline."

The Commission seeks as well to "eliminate abrasive practices" by police and "condemns moves to equip police departments with mass destruction weapons, such as automatic rifles, machine guns, and tanks." Its goal is to "eliminate the belief of many Negro citizens in the existence of a dual standard of law enforcement", while simultaneously it notes that court procedures in the ghetto are irregular and unjust.

—"Deaths caused by police and National Guard are not ascribed to racism in these police, but to "lack of training and experience".

—"The typical rioter was an urban born teenager or young adult, a life-long resident of the city, better educated and more politically aware than his neighbors, but either unemployed or underemployed." The solutions include

"better education" and "the creation of 2,000,000 new jobs over the next three years".

—"The urban disorders were not caused by...any organized plan or conspiracy." But "black extremists" have "stimulated a mood of violence".

—"TV and radio and newspapers "tried on the whole to give a balanced, factual account of the disorders". But Detroit newspaper reports of damage from \$200 million to \$500 million have proven false to an extreme degree—there is no evidence of Detroit damage in excess of \$45 million.

—"The primary problem is the degradation, lack of self-pride, and poverty that ghetto inhabitants feel, but the solution is "overhauling the welfare

system...and serious consideration of a national system of income supplementation."

The Commission members were Otto Kerner, governor of Illinois, chairman; John V. Lindsay, mayor of New York City, vice-chairman; Fred R. Harris, senator of Oklahoma; Edward W. Brooke, senator of Massachusetts; James C. Corman, Congressman of California; William M. McCulloch, Congressman of Ohio; Charles B. Thornton of Litton Industries, Incorporated; Roy Wilkins of NAACP; I. W. Abel of the United Steel Workers; Katherine G. Peden, former commissioner of commerce, Kentucky; and Herbert Jenkins, Atlanta police chief.

## 6 DEMONSTRATORS FAIL TO TAKE FT. MC LELLAN

(from AACD, Oneonta, Alabama)

On Sunday, March 3rd, at Fort McClellan, Alabama, six young Southerners confronted the combined forces of the City of Anniston, the State of Alabama, and the U.S. Government over the issue of chemical warfare. The question of who won is debatable. The occasion was a demonstration against the Army Chemical Warfare School, which is located at Fort McClellan.

The demonstration was announced early enough to give the authorities several weeks for preparation, and they used the time well. Most of the high schools and colleges in the area promised severe reprisals against any students or faculty members who participated. The police leaked word that all demonstrators would be arrested and given stiff sentences. Word was spread that the commandant of the fort had promised to have anyone who tried to block his gate shot down. This campaign of threats succeeded in instilling a "discretion is the better part of valor" attitude in most of the would-be demonstrators.

At eleven o'clock Sunday morning, when the car carrying the demonstration's organizers left Birmingham, it was followed by two representatives of military intelligence. A few miles outside Birmingham an unmarked police car with two Anniston detectives joined the procession. When the demonstrators arrived at the Fort there were seven cars and two motorcycles following them.

After finding a parking place among the host of marked and unmarked cars which had already arrived, the demonstrators unpacked their placards and marched across the road to the Fort's main gate. In front of the gate they found about twenty-five newsmen and about fifty Anniston policemen, state troopers, MPs, Federal marshalls, FBI agents, and others, but no other demonstrators. A television cameraman filmed the scene from a distance. Armed soldiers could occasionally be seen among the trees atop a small hill to their left. Behind the hill to their right were two armored personnel carriers loaded with combat troops, one tank, and barbed-wire barricades ready for instant erection. Back at the Anniston police station, fifty more policemen remained on alert to

move in if needed. A U.S. commissioner waited inside the Fort to hold immediate arraignment if anyone was arrested.

Chief Montgomery of the Anniston Police Department was in charge of the operations outside the Fort. He conferred with the demonstrators and explained that they would be arrested if they attacked the Fort. The six demonstrators then discussed the situation among themselves and decided not to attack the Fort. Instead, they talked about chemical warfare and war in general to the newsmen, policemen, and soldiers. Occasionally they marched from one side of the gate to the other, interrupting traffic.

After three hours of this sort of thing, Chief Montgomery and several of the newsmen were complaining of being cold and hungry. In the interest of making friends for the peace movement, the demonstrators decided to call a one-hour lunch break. Everyone was grateful and left immediately in search of a warm restaurant. Two Anniston detectives gave the demonstrators police escort on a 70-mile-per-hour trip to a pizza parlor in a nearby town. When they found the pizza parlor closed, the detectives recommended a restaurant a few miles outside the town and invited the demonstrators to ride with them in the police car. Climbing over a shotgun, two billy clubs, and several tear gas canisters, the demonstrators made themselves comfortable and rode with the detectives to the second restaurant.

During the meal the demonstrators and detectives discussed the War and the current political situation. When they had been driven back to their own car, the demonstrators asked the detectives to radio the chief and find out the situation back at the Fort. All of the law-enforcement personnel were back in their positions, and no other pickets had arrived. The demonstrators decided to go home and leave the authorities wondering what was happening. They were escorted to the county line by the friendly detectives.

The demonstrators estimate that their expenses, including advertising, food, and gasoline—were less than \$20. The lowest estimate of the cost to city, state, and federal authorities for the defense of the Fort is over \$8,000.

The Firing Line, the JOIN Community Union newspaper in Chicago, is in urgent need of two people experienced in layout and composition. The Firing Line is an eight-to-twelve-page tabloid-size newspaper published twice monthly.

We have no money for salaries. All we have to offer in return for your labor is love and appreciation, plus the insight to be gained by working, living, and learning in a poor and working-class neighborhood.

All replies should be sent to:

Peggy Terry, Editor  
The Firing Line  
4431 North Clifton  
Chicago, Illinois 60640

Selective Service Chief Hershey, asked if a declaration of war would ease his task of inducting youth, said:

"We get along very nicely conducting war without it; we don't even have to have enemies—we kill our friends."

The Wall Street Journal  
March 15th, 1968

## SPECIAL REPORT ON THE NIC

The first order of business was a request for the membership mailing list which had been deferred to the NIC from the NAC. The Progressive Labor Party (PL) had requested at a NAC meeting that it be given the membership list in order to make a single mailing of the last 2 issues of PL Magazine to the SDS membership. The decision of the NIC was that we would permit this mailing, providing that either PL would transport the magazines to our office, where we would mail them out, or the mailing would take place from New York City (where the magazines are now) under the explicit direction of Steve Halliwell, NIC member in NYC. It was also decided that a nominal fee of \$15 per thousand—the normal fee for mailing lists—would be charged. In addition, it was decided that a resolution should be introduced at the NC which would set an explicit policy for all future handling of the membership and contact lists.

According to its mandate from the Blooming National Council meeting in December, the NIC named the spring program for April 20th through 30th "The 10 Days". Many local areas have already developed their own name for the program, and many of them incorporate the words "10 Days". It was felt that we could make posters for national distribution which had "The 10 Days" on them, and that they would be easily adaptable to local areas.

A report was made on the proceedings of the situation with the Internal Revenue Service. So far, we have paid almost \$2,000. A more complete report will appear in NLN in the near future.

There was discussion of summer contingencies for the office.

We are still looking for a place to hold the Summer Convention. It was suggested that the Convention be held sometime during the period of June 10th through 20th. People should consider dates in order to come up with a specific mandate at the Lexington NC.

There was some discussion of our response to repression, and how to develop a strategy for defense which would incorporate a basically offensive point of view. NIC members were urged to attend a meeting in New York with Arthur Kinoy, where the famous constitutional lawyer would present his perspective on a Movement strategy for dealing with repression and creating legal offensives to our advantage.

There was a discussion of the Democratic National Convention plans. There will be a meeting in Chicago March 23rd and 24th, by invitation, which is planned to be very large and to issue a call of some sort concerning action and program related to the Convention. The meeting was called by a committee which grew out of the National Mobilization. National SDS was asked to send six delegates to that meeting. The NIC decided that six people should be chosen out of those conveniently present in Chicago at that time. The decision was that those six people should attend in order to present different perspectives on that action and the program leading up to it, but that under no circumstances were they to vote on the final endorsement of the call. The NIC also requested that one of the six make explicit to the people printing up the call that SDS's name should not appear on it anywhere. It is our understanding that there will be raised at that conference the prospects for other summer programs which are more oriented toward grass-roots organizing, and consequently the NIC felt that it would be valuable to be present. Finally, since National SDS was asked to send

(continued on Page 8)



# THE LOOK IS YOU...

by Naomi Jaffe and Bernardine Dohrn  
February 1968

Two tits and no head—as the representation, in glossy color, of the Women's Liberation Movement—is an apt example of Ramparts' success in making a commodity out of politics.

Over the past few months, small groups have been coming together in various cities to meet around the realization that as women radicals we are not radical women—that we are unfree within the Movement and in personal relationships, as in the society at large. We realize that women are organized into the Movement by men and continue to relate to it through men. We find that the difficulty women have in taking initiative and in acting and speaking in a political context is the consequence of internalizing the view that men define reality and women are defined in terms of men. We are coming together not in a defensive posture to rage at our exploited status vis a vis men, but rather in the process of developing our own autonomy, to expose the nature of American society in which all people are reified (manipulated as objects). We insist on a recognition of the organic connection of the unfreedom of all groups in society.

The consciousness that our underdeveloped abilities are not just personal failings but are deeply rooted in this society is an exhilarating and expressive breakthrough. There is the terror of giving up the roles through which we know how to obtain a certain measure of power and security. But again and again there is the rejoicing in the unexplored possibilities of becoming vital potent human beings.

By refusing to be kept separate from other women by feelings of dislike, jealousy, and competitiveness, we have begun to discuss and research ourselves in our context—to demystify the myth of women by analyzing the forces which have shaped us.

Women suffer only a particular form of the general social oppression, so our struggles to understand and break through society's repressive definitions of us are struggles which have to attack the foundations of that society—its power to define people according to the needs of an economy based on domination.

The dynamic of that economy is a changing technology, which creates an ever-greater scale of production. Lack of social control over this increasing production (the planned use of the productive forces for and by the people of the society) means that the goal of productivity is profit, and profit can only be sustained if markets can be found (or created) to absorb an increasing volume of goods.

This is the dynamic of imperialism—the relentless search for new markets which drains the resources of the Third World and cripples its independent economic development. It is also the dynamic of the domestic imperialism of consumption: the creation of internal markets through a process which defines persons as consumers and cripples their development as free human beings.

Women are the consummate products of that process. We are at the same time the beneficiaries and the victims of the productivity made possible by advanced technology. The innovations that offer us immediate freedom also force us into the service of an overall system of domination and repression. The more we realize ourselves through consumption the greater the power of commodities to define and delimit us. "Women must be liberated to desire new products." (market research executive)

The same new things that allow us to express our new sense of freedom and naturalness and movement—swinging, body-revealing clothing, fun-gimmicky accessories—are also used to force us to be the consumers of the endless flow of products necessary for the perpetuation of a repressive society. Mini-skirts and costume-clothes and high boots and

transparent makeup are fun and expressive and pretty; at the same time they are self-expression through things—through acquiring rather than becoming—and it is the expression of all human needs through commodities which sustains an economy that has to produce and sell more and more goods in order to survive.

"But the real point about that swinging 16-to-24 group is not their spending power, but the fact that they have become market leaders. They have created a climate that has enabled fashion to catch on as a new force in the market, driving apparel expenditures higher and higher." (Fortune, October 1967)

The same rise in productivity that requires more consumption of more goods also creates more leisure time—so leisure time becomes consumption time, and consumption becomes increasingly a major sphere of life activity. A culture of consumption is created through the mass media, supported by the \$16 billion-a-year advertising industry, to channel all potential human development into commodity form.

"Deeply set in human nature is the need to have a meaningful place in a group that strives for meaningful social goals. Whenever this is lacking, the individual becomes restless. Which explains why, as we talk to people across the nation, over and over again, we hear questions like these: 'What does it all mean?' 'Where am I going?' 'Why don't things seem more worthwhile when we all work so hard and have so darn many

status as "independent women" is the source of our exploitation, forcing us into work and leisure roles which reinforce an illusory image of freedom and creativity. The work-role demands of status and travel open new areas for the creation of commodity "needs", and professional women as consumers are used to create styles and tastes for the larger population.

So our passive roles as producers and consumers reinforce each other, and in turn are reinforced by and perpetuate our passive social-sexual roles. These roles are based on receptivity—being through acquiring objects, rather than becoming through projecting oneself onto the world to change it (active mastery of the world). Real control over one's life is not the same as the illusion deliberately created by commodity culture through a choice of commodities. "Choosing oneself" in commodity form is a choice pre-defined by a repressive system.

The passive-receptive woman role, a product of the structure and development of American society, increasingly defines the culture of that society. Men, too, do not control their environment or project themselves onto it to change it (potency). Although active mastery is still considered a male mode, it is increasingly irrelevant to a society based on the compulsive consumption of commodities. "What is self but a permanent mode of selection?" (advertising executive)

The relationships of a market economy



The RAMPARTS cover

## ...TWO TITS, NO HEAD

things to play with?' The question is: Can your product fill this gap?" (from an advertising agency report)

The increased economic importance of consumption is reflected most deeply in the role of women, who are said to make 75% of all family consumption decisions and at whom 75% of all advertising is directed. This consumption culture shapes us as women and as people into an essentially passive mode of being, which in turn enables us to be exploited in the productive sphere in meaningless, low-paying clerical jobs. Women are culturally manipulated to see our work roles as being of secondary importance (since we are defined primarily by our sexual roles); we therefore serve as a reserve army of labor for the lowest-status white-collar jobs, drawn into the labor force when needed, and told to find fulfillment at home when employment is slack.

Or, as in the case of professional and semi-professional women, our very

are reflected and reinforced in the dynamic and the forms of human relationships. The real needs of people are translated into a currency of possession, exclusivity, and investment—a language of commodities in which people are the goods. Both men and women are manipulated into functioning within these categories; it is the uniquely visible condition of women as primarily sexual creatures—as decorative, tempting (passive-aggressive), pleasure-giving objects—which exposes the broader framework of social coercion.

Psychology, as a social institution, works in the service of this pacification of human needs and desires. Its categories begin with a historically-bound notion of the restrictive implications of female biology. ("Anatomy is destiny."—Freud) Concepts of women as mutilated men, penis envy, and the electra complex (a mechanical inversion of the oedipal situation) exemplify a society which produces people who are taught to

experience themselves as objects. These definitions allow only the possibilities of a passive mode—at best, the liberalism of a "creative" resignation to fulfillment through realizing our femininity. (feminine equals intuitive—unobtrusive—servile—non-castrating—warm—sensitive—cuddly—supportive—rhythmic—good-smelling—sensuous—satisfying—creative, and so forth)

In our social-sexual roles, again, the innovations that offer us immediate freedom also force us into the service of an overall system of domination and repression. Technological emancipation from enslavement to our bodies (for example, The Pill as the Great Liberator) is offered to women as the realization of freedom now. "...almost every aspect of the New Girl's personality reflects her final freedom from the sexual status that was the fate of women in the past." (Playboy, January 1968)

But this greatly expanded area of permissive erotic gratification and personal control occurs inside the context of greater social control and dehumanization. The desublimation is repressive. The liberating potential of expressed sexuality is channeled into mutually exploitative relationships in which people are objects, and into the market economy in which sexuality is a cornerstone. Liberalized sex begins to define the shape and texture of leisure time—in a commodity framework. Again, we are beneficiaries and victims. Thus, a more sexually active role for women actually reinforces a broader passive mode of consumption.

If women are made into objects, the object-relationships between men and women make human communication and community impossible for both; if women are defined by their sexual roles, they are only a paradigm case of the reified role structures that stifle the creative spontaneity of men and women alike.

A strategy for the liberation of women, then, does not demand equal jobs (exploitation), but meaningful creative activity for all; not a larger share of power but the abolition of commodity tyranny; not equally reified sexual roles but an end to sexual objectification and exploitation; not equal aggressive leadership in the Movement, but the initiation of a new style of non-dominating leadership.

Our strategy will focus on the unique quality of our exploitation as women, primarily in our vanguard economic role as consumers. Women Power is the power to destroy a destructive system by refusing to play the part(s) assigned to us by it—by refusing to accept its definition of us as passive consumers, and by actively subverting the institutions which create and enforce that definition.

A Revolutionary, Post-scarcity,  
Anarchist Magazine

Issue No. 1

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by Robert Keller

ECOLOGY AND REVOLUTIONARY

THOUGHT by Lewis Herber

DESIRE AND NEED

by Murray Bookchin

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# MORE MANN

*A continuation of Eric Mann's APPRAISAL & PERSPECTIVES; NLN March 4. This section takes up some general stylistic and political weaknesses of SDS. The final section, on a strategy of resistance, will appear soon.*

Style, semantics, and political isolation

A dominant mood in SDS is one of revolutionary posturing co-existing with tremendous insecurity about playing such a role. Style is not trivial—it affects and reflects our politics. For example, it is one thing to say that SDS should work with other groups in national anti-war coalitions and win them over to our political analysis and programs. It is quite another to say that if such groups don't accept our ideas we should try to "contain their politics under the hegemony of our own perspective" (Calvert and Davidson: "10 Days to Shake the Empire", New Left Notes, December 4th, 1967). Ironically, in an article urging SDS to drop its sectarianism and enter into coalitions with other anti-war groups, the major communicative effect of such a sentence is to scare the shit out of any groups that will be working with us. One does not announce intentions of containing the politics of other groups under SDS "hegemony" and expect those groups to eagerly await our participation in a coalition.

Similarly, it is one thing to advise student radicals to go into cities, develop political and social communities that will protect them from co-optation and intimidation, and actively challenge the society in their job situation and in their neighborhood; and it is quite another to urge students to become "urban guerrillas". The worst result of this kind of talk isn't that it alienates people, but rather that people don't take it seriously. Mobilization groups aren't really scared by the article, because they know that, despite its "hard" rhetoric, SDS leadership, when it chooses to get involved, is usually both programmatically creative and politically honest. Even the most dedicated SDS people who have been off campus for less than a month must laugh among themselves at the inappropriateness of the phrase "urban guerrilla" to describe the role they must play. A committed radical, sure. But an urban guerrilla?

The tendency to not take our own words seriously is most apparent in the whole "revolution-repression" syndrome. In a society that has made great strides in immunizing people from the influence of words, SDS is making its own contribution to that development. As a radical organizer I take words very seriously, because if I am convinced by a political argument it automatically has implications for my work.

One of the most casually used words in SDS is "revolution". There is much to be said about the possibilities for an armed revolution in this country—clearly too much to be seriously dealt with in this article. But let me posit an impressionistic rather than empirical analysis of where the country is at.

I recently left Newark after spending two and a half years organizing in a black ghetto for the Newark Community Union Project. Although no expert on ghettos, black people, or riots, I am amazed at the unreality with which many SDS people talk about the Newark riot and the "black revolution". A few statements on the present political situation in Newark might be useful:

1) Although most of the black people thought the riots were a good thing, the current feeling among both many black militant leaders and most community people is that the brutal reprisals of the National Guard, state police, and local police have minimized grass-roots belief in armed force as a successful political tactic.

2) The black militants are very confused about what direction their movement should pursue now.

3) The black bourgeoisie is very electorally oriented, and a great deal of the energy in the black community—

some of which will filter down into the ghetto—will be directed toward the election of a Negro mayor in 1970 a la Stokes.

4) Despite its bungling, the poverty program has been more successful than not in co-opting and distracting many of the best grass-roots leaders through minimal reform measures that are not part of a broader radical program.

5) Despite occasional references to the War, almost no serious anti-war work—specifically in terms of draft resistance—is being done in the black community.

6) The next few years will see active efforts, backed with a lot of money, by corporate interests such as Prudential Insurance to get more directly involved in the politics of the black community, and will produce some strange alliances between black militants and corporate executives.

Despite these statements, there is considerable potential for radical organizing in the black ghettos in Newark, but right now very little of it is being done. The only point I am trying to make is that the ghetto in Newark is clearly not even politically radical—let alone revolutionary—and I believe that an examination of the American working class would produce the same conclusion. Faced with these observations, I'm hardly discouraged, but I react to loose talk about revolution with a certain degree of amusement, and a greater degree of pain.

Most people, even those people who participate in a revolution, have no vested interest in revolution as a process. They

**« One of the most casually used words in S.D.S. is 'Revolution' . »**

see revolution as a frightening, brutal solution to their problems—problems that they have come to believe can't be solved without armed struggle. The frequent and facile use of the word "revolution" reflects the fact that few of us have any idea of how a revolution in America would come about, and more importantly, don't really believe we'll ever have to participate in one. Thus the word "revolution" isn't very threatening, because it has no real implications for our personal actions.

A discussion of the possibilities of an armed revolution in this country would be a welcome contribution to a program of internal education. Pamphlets and papers discussing the military and political prerequisites to building a revolutionary movement would be of great value. But a clear distinction should be made between "revolution" as a possible tactic that a radical movement may have to employ someday, and "revolution" as an integral part of SDS's present program, identity, and rhetoric. Without belaboring the point, a personal example may be useful:

After a series of discussions with several members of the National Interim Committee this fall, I found myself accepting certain ideas with which I wasn't really comfortable, but which seemed to make sense within the confines of SDS circles. I went back to Newark to test the reactions of some Movement people there to the possibilities of SDS organizers coming in to organize in white working-class neighborhoods. The first person I spoke to was one of the leading black radicals in the city, a person who had become extremely well-known after the riot by publicly urging black people to arm themselves. Using some of my new SDS rhetoric on him, I said: "We're trying to organize

some white working-class people so that next time the shooting starts there'll be some white people fighting with you." Instead of receiving the enthusiastic response I had expected, I was surprised to hear: "Man, what the fuck are you talking about? We don't want to shoot it out. If there's another riot it'll be a bloodbath for our people. We need guns to protect ourselves. We may even have to use a little sabotage in the right places. But we're interested in building political power. Guns just aren't where it's at."

I was embarrassed, and angry at myself. I realized that, although their intentions were good, the SDS people I had spoken to didn't really understand what was happening in the ghetto. But my uneasiness about being "outflanked on the left" had made their arguments emotionally convincing. The incident made me realize the difficulties of a student movement trying to develop without a lot of close contact with fellow radicals who are organizing in ghettos, in shops, in middle-class communities, in electoral situations, and in poor white neighborhoods.

The contradictions of being radical and middle-class at the same time in America have often produced a stereotyped Movement person whose inner contradictions have moved him to bend his perceptions in the directions of his desires, to waste valuable energy attacking "enemies" within the Movement that should be used for organizing work, to simultaneously worship and manipulate oppressed groups such as black people and workers, and to frequently use political argument as a mask for his personal concerns. Although hardly immune from these problems, SDS has been able to minimize them. Right now political conditions on the campuses are very favorable to greatly increasing the size and political impact of our organization. In the context of this

student grievances. Similarly, there will be increasing opportunities for SDS people to serve on student-faculty committees set up to study and recommend solutions for particular problems. Standing on the outside, putting out literature saying the committees are designed to mislead the students and avoid dealing with the real issues is not enough. Nor is our job to sit on such committees and try to obstruct their functioning. Instead, we should clearly publicize the political program that SDS plans to fight for on such a committee, and work to develop support for that position on the campus.

In some situations, by taking the programmatic initiative and developing alliances with liberal student-government types and liberal faculty members, we can win our demands. Winning political victories by aggressively pushing a clear political program and developing constituency support for it helps to build a radical movement. If we aren't satisfied with the recommendations of the committee—which will more often than not be the case—we can go back to the "streets" with the possibility of greater student support.

The theory isn't very unique. It is based on the assumption that many students want to give existing institutions "a chance to prove themselves", and are put off by radicals who reject them out of hand. Radicals who expect to build a political movement on the assumption that the response of corporate-liberal university administrators will be blanket opposition to student demands will often find themselves in the embarrassing position of predicting administration intransigence and letting the liberals get credit for ultimate concessions that the radicals were instrumental in eliciting.

Confrontation and negotiation will be the dominant political style in the immediate future, and there is a great need to develop regional meetings, specific case histories of chapter confrontations with university authorities, and detailed articles in New Left Notes to discuss the problems and techniques of maintaining and even increasing student support while the drawn-out parliamentary in-fighting takes place. Whenever possible, we should advance our own institutional suggestions for dealing with the issues we raise—for example public hearings in front of the student body rather than committee meetings which, even if they're open to the students, won't attract much attention since outsiders can't participate.

Total Resistance should include raising structural and content criticisms of every course we attend. We should occasionally interrupt lectures to question specific statements by faculty members, and ask for opportunities for alternative positions to be advanced. This approach helps make students aware that a professor is not an objective purveyor of "knowledge", but, like us, is a person who, given a variety of conflicting sources and contradictory factual information, will make his decisions about which sources he trusts on the basis of his values, and will select the most "important" facts on the basis of his analysis.

On many campuses the distinctions among members of the social science faculty take place between the extremes of "moderate conservatism" and "elitist liberalism", distinctions so small that many students are thoroughly unaware that such a thing as a teacher's "politics" even exists. We should challenge well regarded liberal faculty members to debates with radical students, radical faculty members if available, or speakers from outside the campus. Whenever possible, students should debate faculty members, because besides challenging the professor's politics they also, by their very presence, challenge the idea of "professor" as it is presently defined by the university system.

Distribution of some of the Radical Education Project literature that offers a radical critique of some well-read



# Response to N.C.U.

by Michael Klonsky (Silverlake Project)

The formation of NCU at Bloomington and the response that it got from SDS members came as no surprise to me. There is something happening in the Movement in this country which the NC merely reflected. Although the JOIN people may have brought that something to the surface for closer analysis, the idea of the "new" community organizing has been bantered about the student movement for months.

Of course, many students were graduating or dropping out of school and the student movement. Of course we had to provide viable alternatives for these people. Much more important, however, was the fact that everything we read and heard seemed to indicate that conditions in America were rapidly changing and that because of the War, ghetto massacres, unemployment, and taxes, the white working class was about to go through some important changes. What those changes were might very well depend upon the influence of radicals in the factory or in the neighborhood. The objective conditions seemed to say to all of us: "Now is the time to move." The working class in America must be touched by something other than the George Wallaces and the George Meanys.

So when Peggy Terry got up before a house full of student radicals who had been beaten down for years with the heavy tonnage of intellectual bullshit and Student Power lies, and "told it like it was", SDS responded as if a 10-ton block of stone had been lifted from its shoulders. Speaking of the SDS "10 Days", she said: "...it has no meaning for the millions of our people who, due to the nature of our economic system, live out their whole lives one short step ahead of the wolf."

For days they wandered from workshop to workshop, swimming in images of Peggy's beautiful dignity. Students from Antioch and Ann Arbor walked around talking like hillbillies. Veterans of five NCs would preface their statements with: "Well I don't reckon I know too much about all this here pah-le-menry pro-cee-ja, but..."

We have all come home now and the time has come for some "down-home" political analysis and criticism. We must organize in the community, but we must be good. A national community union must have a national program which breaks the bounds of regional chauvinism, or it is not a serious threat to the powers that be. Our base is so small that all working people must be considered potential allies. Everyone is saying that we must consider carefully which communities we move into, but nobody is saying what the basis for our choices should be. The truth of the matter is that no one really knows. You can sit down with a map and search the country for the ideal community to organize in, but that is not being real. White America has been victimized by racism, the Draft, and the police. Their schools are prisons and jobs are lousy. This is what we know.

If any such priorities are to be set up, they should focus on sections which are victimized to a greater extent than others. The important thing at this stage, however, is to get moving. We are late going into the community; too late, in fact, to speak of "liberated zones" or "pockets of resistance". The base we are able to build now among the working poor is going to have to relate to whatever bases already exist for survival in the face of mounting repression.

This brings me to the Silverlake Project. We aren't calling the project a "community union". A union connotes a certain relationship with the power structure which we don't wish to enter into as a basis for organizing. It is a relationship in which individuals organize into groups in order to request certain things from those in power. While a union could and would be organized within the project to gain certain short-range objectives needed for survival, like lower food prices and rents, the union cannot provide the structure

or the foundation for a revolutionary movement. The organized community must relate to a larger movement, a larger struggle. Unions tend to isolate; and as Watts showed us in 1965, to be isolated is to be vulnerable. To organize along the lines of a national union with locals and union leaders means not learning from history.

Los Angeles is different from Chicago and all other cities. It is giant-size. You don't speak of "block organizing" when each block is a half-mile long. In Silverlake there is a large percentage of poor people, a large Mexican-American population, many young people, hippies and homosexuals as well as just plain working folk. In other words, the area is culturally integrated.

There are two community high schools in Silverlake. Marshall High is a middle-class jail that has a good SDS chapter. Actions have taken place around the school which have involved parents as well as students in confrontations and arrests. Belmont is the other local high school. It is mostly black and Mexican-American, and is untouched by any serious organizing efforts. There is a community college, Los Angeles City College, with an overwhelmingly poor

student body. It is clear that community schools are an integral part of any community-organizing project. Where is the NCU program for community schools? Community control can be a radical issue if the struggle is carried on around specific demands related to more general issues like the War and racism being drummed into kids' heads. The prisonlike atmosphere can be attacked without being co-opted. Community control, like the Draft and police brutality, cannot be co-opted or turned into a reformist program because the schools must meet the needs of the state, which must meet the needs of the corporations. Social control is essential for the survival of capitalism. Therefore community control becomes a revolutionary program when fought for properly. Community control does not mean electing community people to the board of education and letting it go at that. It does mean that the community, once organized, exerts its power and makes decisions and is prepared to back those decisions up. Teacher-organizers within the schools become interpreters to the people as well as to the students in their classrooms. They also organize teacher support.

The Draft as a meaningful, radical

## more mann

(continued from Page 6)

liberal "classics" would be valuable, as would the development of similar literature by chapter people. We should also consider standing up at the first meeting of every course we attend and raising a series of specific changes we would like implemented—such as revising the reading list to include several books that effectively raise a radical analysis of the subject matter, and specific procedural changes such as abandoning the lectures and dividing up into self-study groups.

The recent pot-bust at Stoneybrook College highlights another issue we should really pick up on. Education, agitation, and working for legislation to legalize marijuana should be seriously considered. Taking the initiative on the drug issue is important because:

1) Raising a sensitive issue that many students think about but few are willing to raise publicly, we can, through being the first to say that the Emperor is wearing no clothes, expose the cultural hypocrisy of university life.

2) We can make our concern for political organization clear to many apolitical, disaffected students by showing that even "dropping out" isn't allowed in a society moving toward totalitarianism.

3) We can take the initiative in relating our political analysis to one of the central problems that students face—that is, because they take drugs they are considered criminal by their society, and are always vulnerable to arrest for an act which they find personally satisfying and which isn't harmful to others. A program of political education that points out that Johnson is able to authorize war crimes without fear of prosecution and corporate crooks like Zeckendorf can misappropriate millions but aren't subject to criminal prosecution because of corporate immunity—while students can be hauled off in the middle of the night for smoking grass—can vitally relate our analysis to students' real problems.

4) By taking the offensive on the drug issue we can best protect our own people—politically at least—if they are caught with the stuff. Although very few of our people are "dealing", many of us smoke grass. The legal problems of possession are often not too serious—often students get suspended sentences for a first offense—but the political implications, even among supposedly hip college students, of SDS people getting busted for possession when the chapter has not broken through the "silence

barrier" on drugs, could involve the isolation of SDS from part of its constituency. It also might find the chapter in the position of spuriously raising the issue of a "political frame-up" in cases in which the bust clearly was not aimed specifically at political types. Our charges of political harassment, which may be increasingly true in the near future, will be more sympathetically received on the campus if SDS has made its position clear before an incident takes place.

5) A program of education on drugs other than marijuana may lead to conclusions that will convince many of us not to risk using them. Many students who have used a variety of drugs have expressed doubts about their value when compared to the possible immediate bad effects, and have also raised questions about the more permanent dangers that some drugs may produce. The problem, however, is that this country is so fucking dishonest that most of us—with good reason—don't trust the motives of the doctors and scientists who proclaim that their recent lab tests showed that of seventeen male mice which smoked a "joint" a day, eleven had their genitals fall off within a week. We are so used to the political uses of "science" in this country that, although we have our own personal doubts about some drugs, we won't trust the findings of the large universities and institutes. A possible solution would be to develop contacts with doctors and scientists who are known to be radical—not because they signed an anti-war ad, but because they are radical in their professional lives as well—and try to get some organization of professionals that will speak at open hearings and teach-ins that we organize on the issue of drugs.

The campus psychological clinic is another vulnerable target that we should attack. The primary purpose of such clinics is to iron out the contradictions that the university produces in the minds of its students. A radical approach to psychiatry would begin with the premise that these contradictions are healthy, and would try to help students liberate themselves from the insecurity, sexual guilt, materialism, and ego hang-ups that are fostered by growing up in capitalist society, and are exacerbated in institutions like the university. The campus psychological clinic usually has a political

(continued on Page 8)

issue in the working-class community hasn't been emphasized by NCU, although in the NCU issue of The Firing Line Dave Pucket lays it out pretty well when he says: "We feel that we are doing our community a service if we can help our people see that it is more important to stay home and fight for families' welfare than it is to fight in Vietnam."

What must be developed now is a program which keeps community people out of the Army fighting at home, a program which can take people through political changes when their hassle with the Draft hits them at first like some new personal hang-up. In communities engulfed by racism, the Draft can provide a handle by which an organizer can begin to break barriers down. I am a firm believer in the principle that racism can be destroyed only through common struggle. Through community draft counseling and organizing, that struggle can at least begin to be defined.

The Draft can also be used to define the community geographically. For a community consciousness would tell people that "Silverlake people" just don't get drafted because the Draft isn't in the best interests of "our people". Aside from saying this, organizers must make it real, must deliver. We've kept most of our full-time SDS people out. Community people who see their fight here in America likewise must be kept out. Physicals can be failed, either legally or with the help of community doctor organizers for full-time people. We must not lose organizers or potential organizers to the Draft. An organizer is the most valuable thing in the whole community. Counseling must be readily available to working young men. They must know where to go, or even better, have it brought to them.

The whole mentality behind community organizing at this point in history deals with the concept of a community of defense. Self-defense lies in the community's best interests. This is why the Draft can be made real. This brings up the issue of the police. We have already seen that where there is community organizing, there is the Man. Cops just don't like the idea of an organized community. Perhaps this is simply paranoia. Perhaps it is the very real knowledge that an organized community is a threat to the power and interests in the community which the cop is there to protect. A program around the cops simply implies that those who feel part of the community, as it is defined by organization, know how to defend themselves.

Defense means a legal-defense fund with bail and lawyers so arrested people won't have to spend weeks in jail without bail or plead "nolo" to the lowest charge. Defense means armed self-defense when necessary. It means a community-alert patrol which patrols its own community and protects it from police abuse. Defense means a communications network which makes a successful police invasion for harassment purposes impossible. When someone is shaken down or harassed by cops on a community street-corner the neighborhood immediately turns out as it would for the draft induction of one of its people.

This brings me to the point I mentioned earlier about the SDS people who leave the campus. What do they do? The NCU must provide ways to bring our people "home". A community program needs lawyers for its draft cases, doctors for its sick, broke organizers and draft clients who need case histories, social workers who can provide necessary information and statistics and also organize other social workers and technically-trained people for various needs, such as running presses, taking pictures, and fixing cars.

I think we've got to break out of the bag of debate between Movement intellectuals about which is better, organizing or mobilizing, and develop a program which will make community and working-class organizing a reality.



# More Mann

(continued from Page 7)

"line" that starts with the assumption that the university is a basically benevolent institution and concludes that students who can't "adapt" themselves to it are maladjusted. Attuned to student suspicion, the clinic gives lip service to the imperfections of university life, but then embarks on a program of "therapy" that encourages the patient to better "cope" with his surroundings. When I was at Cornell, four years ago, it was a frequent practice for girls to take rooms in the dormitory—because they were compelled to—but actually live at their boy friends' apartments. (By this time I wonder if anyone is living in the dorms at all.) Although coming on very libertarian, many of us who were "living in sin", although generally happy, were having some lingering feelings of guilt. (This was most pronounced with the girls who had to overcome both the traditional double-standard and the lying to their parents about where they were living.) One girl decided to speak to a psychologist about her guilt feelings. When she told the shrink she had been living with her boy friend for several months, the shrink replied: "How long have you had these tendencies toward promiscuity?" The official line on sex was: "Don't!"—and the official line for students who were miserable was: "Don't quit. You need that piece of paper." I read the other day that the clinic had maintained its fine tradition by recommending the expulsion of a black girl for "psychiatric reasons" because she wasn't able to get along in the dormitories. Apparently she was having delusions that many of the white girls in the dormitories were condescending and/or hostile toward her. It's possible that the girl is crazy, but if you want to see the biggest "crazy" of them all you should meet the head of the psychiatric clinic.

It might be valuable for an SDS chapter to find some young radical shrinks who would volunteer some time (that's a good test of whether a shrink is radical) and set up its own clinic. Such a clinic would make it clear that psychiatry is not a value-free process. Just as the campus clinic is geared to resolve students' contradictions in the direction of conformity to the aims of the university, the SDS clinic would try to help students resolve their problems in the direction of gaining confidence that their problems are not indications of their personal inadequacy, but rather are signs of their resistance to being dehumanized, liberating them from a materialism that includes perceiving grades as an index of people's "value"; overcoming seeing lovers as possessions whose purpose is to enhance one's "image"; and eliminating a constant need for ego satisfaction that is subtly injected into one's politics. The fruits of a radical clinic would include a greater number of happy people, a greater number of

effective radicals (there is a high correlation between the two), and a greater understanding of our politics by many students who learn about our alternative.

Since we are not in power, we often assume an aggressive, hostile style in many of our actions. While this is necessary at times, it often creates the impression that radicals are humorless, even insensitive people. Our close friends, most of whom are politically active themselves, don't share this characterization; but many students come to believe that anger is the only defining quality of radicalism. It is important for us to develop parallel institutions—not as a means of avoiding dealing with the powerful institutions of society, but to give our constituency a tangible idea of the different human values we hold as radicals. In this way we can best explain that our aggressiveness and anger are caused by a hatred of capitalism, precisely because capitalism thwarts the realization of those values. SDS guerrilla theaters; coffee houses that serve good, cheap food and provide a hospitable meeting place; co-operative stores; laundries; and film centers can attract students who may not be ready to join or demonstrate or even attend our meetings.

Clearly, parallel institutions are not the solution to changing the institutions of corporate America by circumventing them. The major changes will have to take place by political organizing within and against those institutions. But parallel institutions can help build a radical movement—both by providing tangible examples of our politics and by pointing out the limitations of trying to build human institutions within a capitalist society.

A program of Permanent Resistance involves developing a radical movement that is deeply rooted in its constituency—rather than an unhealthy self-imposed graft on the student body. In this sense it is an attempt to develop an approach to politics that draws on the experience of the Chinese and Vietnamese guerrilla movements—not by mimicking their vocabulary and tactics—but by trying to understand the organic nature of their politics. A program of Permanent Resistance can't afford to abandon issues like dormitory hours as "reformist", when to hundreds of thousands of women students the issue is of great personal importance. We can't afford to develop a vocabulary that makes it difficult to communicate with our constituency—a vocabulary which implicitly says "stay out" to the uninitiated. Although necessarily critical of institutions such as fraternities and ROTC, we can't afford to write off large constituencies such as "fraternity men" and "ROTC types" if we are serious about becoming a majority movement on the campus.

# omaha

(continued from Page 1)

14-year-old boy between two folding chairs and beat him with blackjacks. When his face was covered with blood, they stood back and shot MACE into his eyes."

"They shot MACE on my girl friend. When she tried to get up they pushed her down again and shot more MACE at her."

There were many more accounts given to me, but due to mechanical difficulty my tape recorder stopped recording and this was all I picked up. But all of these accounts indicate only one thing: that as soon as the first MACE was shot the black people had only one desire: to get the hell out of there—fast.

One might have been able to claim that the black people started the whole thing (as the local news media said) if even one colored man had attempted to fight back; but not one did. It is true

that the black people heckled Mr. Wallace and sang freedom songs, but this does not justify police beating fleeing people who want to leave the scene of violence and who have done nothing against the laws of this nation.

Men and women were wantonly and indiscriminately beaten with oversize nightsticks, shot with MACE, and kicked and beaten with steel folding chairs by white people for no other reason than the racial hatred that was and still is perpetuated by Mr. Wallace. There can be no doubt that this whole incident is a disgrace not only to Omaha, but to the nation.

After the black people had fled outside, they asked to go to the first-aid dispensary to be treated for their numerous wounds. But entrance to the arena was refused, so that first aid could not be administered to the bleeding black people. At this pieces of pavement

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## SPECIAL REPORT

(continued from Page 4)

a delegation, the NIC decided to recommend to the committee planning the meeting that a delegation from Chicago-area SDS also be invited. (That was agreed to by the Convention planning committee.)

Much of the NIC meeting was taken up with a general political discussion of the state of the organization. Reports were given which covered much of the geographical territory of the country. The discussion centered on suggestions of programmatic work for the rest of the spring and for the summer. It was specifically related to models of draft-resistance work, the potential for developing programs which could put people to work this summer around the electoral shit which will be in the air, and possible programs around the cops. A general theme running through much of the conversation was how to

programmatically involve people in a radical understanding of and response to racism and the likelihood of large police riots this summer. No concrete programmatic results were arrived at, although several NIC members felt moved to get down to writing articles for NLN on these subjects.

NIC members present for the meeting in Chicago were Mike Spiegel, Robert Pardun, Mike James, and Greg Calvert (all from Chicago); Jeff Segal (from the San Francisco Bay Area); Steve Halliwell (from New York City); Cathy Wilkerson (from Washington, D.C.); and John Fuerst (from the Wisconsin Region). Others present at the meetings were Vernon Urban and Tom Mosher (from the NCU); many of the National Office staff people; Bruce Pohlman (the Midwest Regional high school co-ordinator); and some members of the Progressive Labor Party.

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were torn up; several cars had their windshields bashed in; and many windows were broken at the auditorium. But the wounded black crowd soon left and returned to the ghetto.

The colored people that stayed outside were interviewed, and indicated that their expectations that the white community would help them were completely shattered. Before they had hoped that by peaceful demonstration something could be accomplished; now they knew that this would be impossible. The only course left to them was a full-scale race riot, which they promised for this summer in Omaha.

Obviously this is exactly what Mr. Wallace wants—to stir up enough hatred so that peaceful negotiations are impossible, and violence is the only thing the Negro has left. Then he will get the white-backlash vote.