

EVEN IN PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS . . .



State troopers with shotguns guard the more than 200 young Negroes in a Pine Bluff dance Hall. Guard was also called in.

THE TROOPS ARE HOME

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 12 7

Let the People Decide

April 8th, 1968

BACKGROUND ON MEMPHIS

The Sanitation Strike

Doctor Martin Luther King Junior, assassinated in Memphis, had originally gone to that city to lead a march in support of striking sanitation workers. Violence erupted on Thursday, March 28th, during the march, leaving one black youth dead and the racial tension in Memphis at a feverish pitch. Doctor King canceled his departure and called for a second march to be held Monday, April 18th. Following is an outline of the events in Memphis prior to March 28th—the strike and its impact on the black community.



"I hate war, and if the day comes when my vote must be cast to send your boy to war, that day Lyndon Johnson will leave his seat in Congress and go with him."

-- Lyndon Baines Johnson, (1941)

the city

Approximately 40% of the population of 700,000 is black. There has been increased tension in the City since last summer, when black candidates ran for City Council. Police provocation has increased steadily since then.

the strike

February 12th: The City's 1300 sanitation workers, predominantly black, walked out, demanding 1) higher wages; 2) City recognition of their union, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; and 3) payroll deduction of union dues. During the seven-week strike, the City used non-strikers, new employees, and supervisory personnel as scabs to carry on partial garbage collection.

February 23rd: Non-binding mediation sessions began. From the start the City's lack of intention to deal fairly with the strikers was apparent—at the opening session an attorney for the City expressed his discomfort as a lawyer and "arm of the court" at negotiating about an

"illegal strike". (The claim of illegality was not even based on State law, but on an obiter dictum—note—in a State supreme court decision.)

February 27th: Union representatives walked out after three meetings, charging that the City representatives claimed that they were not authorized to agree on any item, but only to discuss the issues. They further asserted that the City was violating a mediation rule against disclosures of information on the negotiations. The City representatives said that the union team refused to discuss other issues until their union was recognized as sole bargaining agent, clearly underscoring the City's obstinate refusal to acknowledge the rights of workers to organize.

the white community

The racist nature of the City's response to the strike was implicit in all their actions regarding the strike, and the black community responded with growing anger as the weeks passed. For years the City had complacently ignored

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**Exhaustive (!) Report
on the
Lexington N.C.**

pages 3 thru 6

AND WHAT DO WE DO NOW?

*re: action around
recent events*

The killing of Doctor Martin Luther King, Junior and the military occupation of the ghettos require a strong response from the radical community. The following list is a compilation of actions taken in some places around the country and some additional suggestions: we offer them as ways to raise broader issues and interpret the events in the context of our on-going work.

The spontaneous response from the black community in over 80 communities to the assassination of Doctor King was rapid. Our response must be just as rapid; we must organize. In how many cities will we be ready to move during the summer? Actions should be taken now, and plans should be made to facilitate immediate responses to other crises in the months ahead.

suggestions

1) Collect money for the Memphis strikers. (Contact the local SCLC office about where to send funds.)

2) Collect money for local bail funds for the present and future. We can also use such funds at the National Office.

3) Collect medical supplies (and food if needed in your area) and set up methods for channeling those supplies into the ghetto in co-operation with black student groups, local community groups, SNCC, CORE, SCLC, etc.

(The above are particularly good activities for liberals who will be willing to help in this area.)

4) Hold meetings during lunch, education meetings, teach-ins, campus leaflettings (a different leaflet each day)—to explain the rebellions as a response to the militarization of the cities and the inhuman conditions of a racist society. Talk about the potential for genocide and the black community's focus of struggle on survival.

5) Some campuses have reported that our message is highly visible when written on walls and sidewalks—"End Racism", "Get the Troops out of the Cities", etc.

6) Leaflet and agitate around high schools where the issue of rigid authority is easily raised.

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

"LOVE IS BUT A SONG WE SING..."

to: LNS, The Rag, The Movement, and New Left Notes

For those of us who are concerned with the cultural revolution (as well as a political revolution) it is important to understand where "we" (and others) really are at. Let me relate an experience:

As part of the December Stop the Draft Week events around the country, eighty Antioch students sat in and were arrested at the Draft board in the Federal Building in Cincinnati, Ohio. That night the Jefferson Airplane had a concert in Cincinnati. Because the bonds had been tripled I thought that the Airplane (who played with a large peace symbol behind them) might make an appeal for money for the arrested demonstrators. So I decided to go up and ask them to do so before the concert started (as if I should have to ask them to make an announcement!).

About half an hour later I barely heard some unintelligible mumbling, which was the Airplane's unique version of an announcement. I could not understand it, nor could other people in different parts of the auditorium. To top it off, the girl who made the announcement got very hung up on the address, pronouncing the street name 475 different ways, none of which was correct.

So the head of the Cincinnati Resistance went up to the stage and gave the Airplane the correct pronunciation of the address. "That address was...." boomed the mighty Airplane. No one in the audience knew what they were talking about, and they never explained, but zoomed off with another best seller, leaving the protesters in jail, doing "their" thing.

To plead ignorance about being scabs (remember the Levi strike in Blue Ridge, Georgia and the Airplane's Levi commercials on pop stations everywhere) is hardly an excuse. But to blatantly overlook eighty kids in jail, while playing from a stage decorated with a peace symbol to a packed (and payed) audience is unbelievable and unexcusable—if "we" includes the Airplane, which it doesn't, obviously, which is the point of this letter.

Roberta Westbrook
Cincinnati, Ohio

ON WITH HER HEAD!

to the New Left Notes:

Many thanks to Naomi Jaffe and Bernardine Dohrn for their marvelously sane article on women in the March 18th issue. They are right in attacking the Ramparts article, which falls into precisely the trap we are trying to get out of. In talking about the "good looking women on the Far Left", it reminded me of a rather funny, but insidious Saturday Evening Post article that appeared several years ago on the New Left "chicks". (By the way, "chicks" is one of those terms slavishly adopted by white middle-class radical men from the black movement, that drives me up the wall. I actually heard it used by a girl involved in a women's liberation group in reference to herself and her friends, and it had the same effect on me as "nigger", except without the humor that Dick Gregory uses when he applies "nigger" to himself.)

I agree that the reification of women, as well as of men, is the key problem. I don't think, though, that we have to wait around for the end of capitalism to start being human beings. Not that the article implied this, but it didn't stress enough the fact that we cannot accept object status by passing the buck to the "system". It seems to me that in actively working to recreate our society as well as our own lives, women become liberated. This is why some of us have currently formed a women's Draft-resistance group, to organize concretely, and in our own way, around the issue of the Draft. (There are many interesting things that women can do, as women, in this area. I would be glad to communicate with anyone interested in similar activity.)

I also feel, however, that women have allowed themselves to be forced, by pressures of society, into a revolt which often denies the many valid aspects of their womanliness. The argument is so often put in terms of either staying home with the kids or "having a career", that one begins to believe that these are in fact the alternatives. As a mother of a four-month-old child who is also trying to teach, finish a PhD, and organize around Draft-resistance, I would say it's rough but not impossible to do everything (if somewhat inadequately). Of course each person has to make her own choices, but I personally have found that it is a beautiful thing to bear, nurse, and begin to raise a child, and would not like to farm my child out to baby-sitters or day-care centers every day even if I could. I guess I feel that there is something biologically profound about being a woman—quite apart from the capitalist system—that we are different from men, and that that's a thing to be affirmed, not maligned. What one wants to eliminate is the drudgery of housework and of the more grubby parts of child-raising, such as washing mounds of clothes and being cooped up every day with the child, which a well-organized, co-operative, and non-exploitative society could and should eliminate. In short, it's more than a little like Black Power. I'm a woman and glad to be one, but a human being too. Just as the blacks feel that they don't have to be like white America to become human, I don't feel that I need to become like a man. (Or: Let's not throw out the baby with the bath-water.)

Susan Schwartz Jhirad
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ON SOFT FACTS

Route 1, Box 68
Carmel, California 93921

Brothers and Sisters:

Bob Schwartz's article on Dow is typical of a lot that's coming out of SDS these days. Hard documentation, hard facts that beg to be spread around, written on leaflets, acted in theater; but surrounded by a halo of glib analysis, copied from suitably implacable texts, sound and fury signifying next to nothing. I refer to this: "...napalm is a horrible weapon. This is not a political objection to Dow, but an emotional one." It sounds good and Left. It condemns "opportunism" for good measure. And it's badly mistaken.

Separating "politics" from "emotion", the tough from the tender, is, of course, easier said than done. Read the rest of Schwartz's article and you see it ends: "The slogan 'making money burning babies' has a long history for Dow Chemical." He doesn't elude the emotional. In fact the virtue of his article is that it strengthens the emotional response by giving the enemy a history, a continuity. One's emotions then have more weight and meaning because they are at once historical: napalm for Dow becomes more than a slip. But the emotions now extended to the entire history of Dow are no less emotional.

What has given power to the New Left's assault on plastic education and the society of deadened sensibilities has been precisely our refusal to dissociate emotion and reason. We insist that emotion validates rationality, that it is not a mere subject of study, but a reason for study; not a footnote to politics, but a reason for politics. Then we try to make analyses through which emotion can work. Though the liberation of our selves does not end with our hurt feelings, it certainly begins with a willingness, a pressure, to admit we feel pain, then to act on it.

This has been the best thrust in the student movement. Let's not separate ourselves from it with false calls to "politics"—when "politics" means sectarianism, and when our best contribution has been to inform and focus the emotional energy of a generation.

Love,

Todd Gitlin

MIFFED

Editor, New Left Notes:

Greg Calvert rightly warns of the baits and traps of a liberal recovery, if and when we get out of Vietnam. But I am miffed by his phrase "population-dispersal programs to move insurgent black populations out of their strategic inner-city locations" There are no such liberal programs. All liberal programs for the inner city are in the manner of Keyserling-Rustin's freedom budget or Kennedy's "co-operation with private enterprise" to "develop" Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The present inner-city densities are a means of oppression and are entirely the result of an enclosure policy by plantation owners, food corporations, suburban developers, and the car-oil-highway complex, aided by Federal subsidies. More important, excessive urbanization is world-wide, including most of the so-called Third World; the only exceptions are tiny spots like Tanzania and Cuba which have embarked on rural reconstruction, and Scandinavia, which has persisted for a century in a sane urban-rural balance. Excessive urbanization throughout the world is the result of the wrong use of modern technology and the consequent inflation; and these flow from the political, economic, and cultural imperialism of both the capitalist and communist Great Powers.

The few of us who have pushed for rural reconstruction, the recovery of depopulated areas, and community development have done so in the interests of decency and freedom. Such a policy can be based on Black Power, or Appalachian Power, or Puerto Rican Power—in these communities there is a strong disposition to leave the cities, for they are humanly unviable. A good program in this direction is being worked on by Brooklyn CORE. I trust the New Left does not mean to condemn people to misery just to recruit cadres; such a strategy leads to nothing but fascism

and the manipulation of Roman mobs. In this kind of issue, under any social system whatever, there are problems of ecology, social costs, and economic costs that cannot be solved by ideological cliches.

In NLN we lately heard of "bourgeois civil liberties"; I hope we are not now going to hear of bourgeois clean air and water, bourgeois adequate space, bourgeois mental health, and so forth.

Yours,

Paul Goodman
402 West 20th Street
New York, New York

DIVERSIONARY

TACTICS

All over the US this summer, the police along with state National Guardsmen and the Army will conduct a war of near-genocide against black people fighting a colonial regime. White radicals must face the problem of diverting these killers from the ghetto area.

The classic guerrilla technique of forcing the adversary to split his forces among fixed and scattered bases applies here. A supporting action could start the morning after a black revolt. Small bands of demonstrators would start out for targets pre-selected by each group. (In the phone book under Government, US we find many interesting locations such as Selective Service boards, military recruiting stations, Federal courthouses, and so on.) Since the target selection will not be made by a large, centralized organization, this will preclude police agents' tipping off their masters as to what will be hit. The time for these actions will also be set up in this way.

When the demonstrators reach a point some blocks away from their target, a scout will check the number of police present, if any. If there are too many for an effective action, they will wait and/or leave for another location. If the police reduce their unit or order it to leave the area, the guerrillas will strike on their own level of militancy. (They might or might not plan to commit CD.) The cops may decide to stay at this vigil all day, in which case they would not know either before or after if anybody had planned to come at all. Thus, even a phantom threat can tie down forces and keep them from the ghetto area. In addition, infiltration attempts could be made so that investigations of all entering the area would have to be made, disrupting the normal operation of the target.

In order to keep a large force of police immobile, a picket line at a large target could be set up by any peace group. An induction center could draw a thousand cops or even Guardsmen to guard it.

Blocking the authorities directly, as has been suggested, for support of black rebellions would not stop them for long. It could result in serious injury to us and might constitute a Federal offense by that time. The type of indirect action proposed can do the job.

Henry A. Felisone
Civil Disobedience Committee
Workshop in Non-violence
5 Beekman Street (tenth floor)
New York, New York 10038

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Davidson, Inter-organizational Secretary; Robert Pardun, Internal Education Secretary; Mike Spiegel, National Secretary.
National Office: 1608 West Madison Street, Room 206, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (phone 312-666-3874)
New York City: 50 East 11th Street, New York, New York 10003 (phone 212-674-8310)
Niagara Regional Co-ordinating Committee: 1504 East Genesee Street, Syracuse, New York 13210 (phone 315-478-8239)
Southern California: Post Office Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90072
New England: 102 Columbia Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
Washington, DC: 3 Thomas Circle Northwest, Washington, DC

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let the people decide

April 8th, 1968

10 DAYS SPEAKERS

Chapters and other local groups that need speakers for THE TEN DAYS should arrange for them immediately by phone, not letter, to the National Office, and should plan to provide transportation.

Phone: 312-666-3874

MINUTES of the NATIONAL COUNCIL

MARCH 28 THRU MARCH 31 LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

Motions Passed

Passed: "The SDS membership list will not be given out by the NAC or the NIC, but will be given out only by a National Council or National Convention. The NAC shall continue to have the power to give out the chapter contact list."

Passed: "SDS, recognizing the need to bring an anti-imperialist perspective to anti-war work in Europe, supports the International Days of Desertion sponsored by the International Union of Students and German SDS. SDS will continue its own work on the Draft and desertion and supports efforts by groups abroad against American imperialism."

Passed: "A member of the National Office staff shall be mandated as co-ordinator of the various Draft programs. This is not to be in a top-down directive type of work, but is to facilitate communication and working together. Chapters as well are mandated to be part of this communication and co-ordination."

A Saturday afternoon motion to let Carl Oglesby and Greg Calvert speak for 15 minutes before discussion returned to the Committee of the Whole was passed (38 to 34).

Passed: The National Office staff shall find some place for the National Convention sometime between June 10th and June 20th.

1) 102 official delegates attended.
The approximate total attendance was 400.

Elections

NAC nominations and elections:

Jon Dunn, 71 votes
Boe Shomer, 72 votes
Northwestern Chapter, 61 votes
Loyola Chapter, 61 votes
Hank Williams Chapter, 75 votes
Clark Kissinger, 62 votes
Alan Sacks 57 votes
Earl Silbar (first alternate)
Roosevelt Chapter (second alternate)
Circle Campus (third alternate)

REAC elections

Alan Camplejohn, 51 votes
Joe Horton, 54 votes
Pat Sturgis, 67 votes
Tim McCarthy, 52 votes
Chicago Chapter, 50 votes
Ed Jennings (first alternate), 32 votes

Money

Money collection: Approximately \$200 was collected during the plenary.

Other pledges and payments:

Columbia University has pledged \$300 in one month.
Haverford/Bryn Mawr has pledged \$75 in three weeks.
The University of Iowa has pledged \$100. Madison "will pay up for last year".
Brooklyn has pledged \$50.
Cornell has pledged \$301.
Washington University has pledged \$100.
Boston University has pledged \$50.
Austin has paid \$50.
The University of Maine has pledged 100 pounds of potatoes.
Aunt Molly Jackson has paid \$25.
\$20 has been paid for the Austin SDS singing of "Ugly Baby Nugent".
The University of Illinois has pledged \$100.
The NO staff (Carl) has paid \$1.
\$25 has been collected for the singing of WOBs anthem.

The editor apologizes for a picture-less and story-less account of this National Council meeting, and for the things—like Up Against the Wall Motherfucker—thereby missed.

New Chapters

University High School, Los Angeles
Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa
Aunt Molly Jackson, Louisville, Kentucky

Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois
California State at Los Angeles
CAW Magazine
Colonel Rex Applegate Memorial Chapter/Kill Or Be Killed, San Francisco, California

Danville Junior College, Danville, Illinois
Defiance College, Defiance, Ohio
Fordham University, Bronx, New York
Frank Rizzo Memorial Chapter, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Free Territory of America, Havana, Cuba

Haverford/Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Louisiana State University, New Orleans
Owasso, Michigan High School
St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri

Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York
Tulane University, New Orleans
Up Against The Wall Motherfucker, New York, New York

Counter-Convention Conference

Following is a speech given by Mike Spiegel at the recent meeting outside Chicago of groups discussing plans for summer counter-convention activity.

I would like to speak today about some principles which I think are pretty well known, but which I think should be re-stated at this historical juncture. At this meeting, where we are supposed to consider a political strategy toward the current situation in America, it is important to first consider the basis of a strategy.

At this point I should also make clear that I do not speak for SDS organizationally but only as an individual. I believe the basis for the request was an article which appeared in New Left Notes by Jeff Jones and myself—an article which expresses our individual opinions only.

There was a time when we on the Left had to say the things which McCarthy and Kennedy are now saying, in order to raise the issues which we felt could best lead to our political analysis. They were "issues which affected people's lives", and our job was to give those issues radical content. That is still our job, but now we find someone else, someone definitely not a radical, raising the issues. It is no longer either necessary or desirable for the radical Left to take an approach to issues which in any way obfuscates the basic underlying premises of that approach. We have the opportunity

and the obligation to take clear and visible positions based openly on our basic political beliefs.

What I am saying is that any group which comes together on the Left must make a clear stand on certain principled issues which are the root problems in this society. They are, I believe: 1) racism and the preparation for genocide which is taking place; 2) the exploitative and manipulative nature of this imperialist society; and 3) the existence of a ruling class which operates to achieve its own ends and to sustain imperialism and racism, and uses the methods of exploitation and manipulation to do so.

I think that any issue is co-optable—only our basic analysis and a strategy which deals with the nature of power and attempts to change its location are non-co-optable. Kennedy and McCarthy have co-opted the issue of the War—though that does not mean they can find a solution to imperialism. They are going to make subtle attempts to co-opt the issue of the Draft—but it is inconceivable that they could end it or direct manpower channeling to ends other than those of the maintenance of an imperialist society. One proposal for an action in Chicago

during the time of the Democratic Convention is to have Welfare mothers' order big meals at fancy restaurants and plunk down a quarter in payment for the meal—being prepared to go to jail for that. It is not too difficult to imagine Bobby standing before the American people at that Convention to point out the tragedy of Welfare recipients in this society—a tragedy which he could blame on the War—that the "American way of life" is being threatened; if the Wall Street Journal can say it, so can he.

This is not to say that he can provide the solution to those issues, issues which at their root must deal with power in this society—but co-opt them he can. An example—the issue at its root during the civil-rights movement was racism. The civil-rights movement was co-opted to a large extent by the Federal Government with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill. The problem was not solved, but the issue was co-opted. To co-opt an issue is to bring that issue within the realm of problem-solving by the State, which poses as the voice of the people, so that it is no longer an issue around which the people may struggle. To co-opt an issue is not to solve it; the solution lies in a struggle with the co-opter.

So, what is our non-co-optable analysis of the issue before the American people today concerning the changing political situation on the national level. Our analysis is that there is no basic change in that political situation.

Kennedy and McCarthy? We know that

the electoral process and the major parties function as arms of the ruling class—the class which is institutionally responsible for the basic ills of this society. Consequently, no candidate out of those parties can solve the basic, root problems of America, the solutions to which are founded on an opposition to the power of that ruling class. Kennedy and McCarthy only seek more subtle forms of achieving the same goals as Johnson and Nixon.

In seeking a long-range strategy for a movement to radically change America, we must attempt to understand the basic dynamics which move this society through history. We often speak loosely of imperialism. Although no one can deny that an understanding of its characteristics is important, we must be able to place it within a historical dynamic. Presumably we know that imperialism did not just sprout up out of nowhere, but was an inevitable product of that vigorous, expanding, free-enterprise capitalism of America. And if capitalism has produced imperialism, how does that reflect back on the internal nature of our society? We know that it is being forced to militarize, and that more regimentation is becoming necessary in all of its aspects—but what does this indicate? I believe that in a world system in which the US plays the dominant imperialist role, the defense of that imperialism forces this society toward fascism. Fascism at home

(continued on Page 6)

RESOLUTIONS

COLLECTIVE (NO. 1) AGAINST THE DRAFT

Why organize against the Draft?

The Draft is the most direct way that we are affected by the United States' foreign imperialist wars. It is also used to feed the National Guard and Army that will be used more and more to attack black Americans (Watts, Detroit), to suppress labor (almost in New York's garbage strike), and to suppress anti-war struggles (Oakland, Washington). Many people would like to avoid becoming involved in these "issues". How many students do we know who "want to do their own thing" and not have to think about Vietnam, Watts, and the like. But the Draft, at least temporarily, won't let them. Uncle Sam needs them! And plans to get them—at least some of them. There's the potential draftee, his family, and his friends, who are all very much concerned. Hence the importance of anti-Draft organizing.

But we can't just organize straight anti-Draft. We must use this intermediary struggle to raise basic questions about the Capitalist system. We must broaden the Movement and make it basically anti-imperialist. Anti-Draft organizing must become multi-issue. What does that mean?

Our analysis must:

- (1) tie the Draft into the uses of the Draft: for imperialism, for Vietnam, for Watts, and for Berkeley and Oakland (We can show why the US must suppress people internationally and domestically—must exploit people in imperialism's constant search for higher profits.);
- (2) expose the Draft as racist and class-prejudiced (We should also show how exemption channels people into certain "essential" occupations as much as does being drafted.).

three pitfalls we should avoid

1) Counseling Uber Alles: Basically, this approach has anti-Draft organizers primarily trying to stretch the law to get individuals out. Each member of the anti-Draft organizing group becomes a "counselor". Politics are supposed to be brought into the counseling session. In practice this has proven difficult, especially as most people are brought in under the feeling of getting out of it themselves through the tricks of the counselor.

In our opinion an over-emphasis on counseling has led to a number of mistakes. Over-emphasis leads to an individualistic outlook rather than an attempt to organize collective political resistance to the Draft. This limits the number of those involved for any length of time and also lowers the political denominator to the lowest level. Furthermore, the concept of anti-Draft counseling can easily become a primarily service-oriented approach and hence easily be co-opted by student government, the NSA, or even some college administrations. In addition, counseling can perpetuate the illusion in many students' minds that they will still be able to avoid the Draft.

This is not to say that no counseling should go on. It should, but as a secondary aspect.

2) Another pitfall we must avoid is a movement to keep special graduate and under-graduate student deferments. In this struggle 2-S should be exposed for what it is:

- a) an attempt to split students from both black and white workers so that they won't join together in a fight around common interests;
 - b) an attempt to fulfill certain manpower needs in certain essential occupations.
- Cases of those who resist 2-S should be widely publicized on campus, in the community, in New Left Notes, and so on. Those who hand in their Draft cards might be more politically relevant if they gave up their 2-Ss instead. This is particularly important if we hope to go to

high schools and communities to organize against the Draft.

3) RFK and McCarthy "question" the Draft. They aim to co-opt the growing anti-war and anti-Draft sentiment and put it within the safe bounds of the two-party system. Students, many frustrated by the failure of certain types of demonstrations, are flocking to them. We must offer both clear alternative projects and a radical critique of the role of liberalism in maintaining and expanding this system.

We must aim at winning over the young RFK and McCarthy supporters. They are not the enemy! This is a very important group to aim at in our base-building work.

Throughout our anti-Draft work, our primary emphasis should be on collective political resistance. For that collective political struggle to be a powerful and meaningful force in organizing, we must adopt a perspective that is locally centered but national in scope, and that encompasses a number of levels of struggle: inside and outside the Army, agitational and independent electoral, on campuses, in high schools, and in communities and factories.

The anti-Draft movement must become part of the anti-imperialist movement. It should fight imperialism at all levels. The central point must be a continuous struggle against the Draft and imperialism! In the process we should expose the role of the university, the army, the courts, the laws, and the uses of the Draft system. We can show all the inter-relationships of the State—political, military, and economic.

At all levels and in all areas of anti-Draft work, we should make constant efforts to co-ordinate programs between high schools and colleges, between local SDS chapters and regional groups, between different local chapters, and between all these groups and a nation-wide anti-war Serviceman's network.

We believe that a responsible treatment of the Draft issue necessitates community action on the Draft. We want to inject the Draft as a crucial issue among those sectors of the community which are oppressed. The questions we raise on the Draft should raise questions about other aspects of life. Because we are powerless in a closed system of government and industry, we must begin to build an alternate base of power and legitimacy which can confront those who use power for their own interests. Finally, if we do our political work correctly around the Draft, we should have a great influence on those young men who are forced to go into the Service, as well as those who don't go. While we realize that one important and legitimate alternative to the Draft is not to go at all, we know that for many this choice does not seem practical and that resistance within the Service can be as important as resistance outside the Service.

program and timetable for spring

Organize campus anti-Draft groups reaching out to all students with their message of collective and anti-imperialist opposition. We can demand nationally: US get out of Vietnam now; no Draft for Vietnam or any imperialist war. Forums, debates, dorm and fraternity meetings, literature and counseling tables, widely-circulated petitions, and so forth should be used to aggressively go out to students, not just wait for them to come to us. We can really use this as a project to build a large base for SDS. Originality with theater and like devices should be encouraged.

Local Draft boards can be used as important targets. We can get lists of 1-As from them and follow up with calls or visits. We should find out who is on the boards, publicize that, and act on it. Demands can be made on local Boards to stop drafting.

We should point out to people that this

demand cannot really be too successful as long as imperialism needs a Draft. Community, college, and high school can unite around common Boards. This can also tie into high school organizing, and focus on local Draft boards as well as campus Draft offices. (Try setting up regular SDS tables inside the offices for counseling—intensive day-to-day work.)

We will encourage those we reach to resist the System with a collective strategy. In our organizing work, we should attempt to make clear that we are interested in a basic change in the society, and therefore we are interested in helping individuals stay out of the Service only within that context. Our collective strategy must embody that concept. In this way, anti-Draft organizing must lead into and be part of organizing around other issues, such as elections, ghetto riots, the cops, racism, women's liberation, and labor struggles. The centers should encourage the link-up of work and issues among different insurgent constituencies.

program and timetable for summer

If the War continues (which now looks likely), the Draft will have its real impact among students late this summer and into the fall. By the end of spring we should have a network of anti-Draft groups. We can then go into the communities and factories (via work-in projects). We must present a clear class position there and show how the War and the Draft are in the interest of only the Capitalist class and that patriotism and loyalty to American and Vietnamese people—the whole working class and intellectuals—demands opposition to the War and the Draft. We can't be "Draft dodgers", but must be class-conscious anti-imperialists. Then we have the opportunity of winning the support and respect of the people.

We also believe that anti-Draft work should be tied to multi-issues. People organized around the Draft can and should be brought into other struggles and projects. We do not hold that anti-Draft work is the only key work we should do this summer. It is important. But struggles around elections (in which Vietnam will be key), support of black rebellions, and becoming involved in work-in projects will be crucial. Our anti-Draft work must tie into them.

going in and working with those already in

Thousands of students and workers whom we will be working with will be going into the Service. It is vital for the Left in this country to be working with them. We don't mean that people should enlist—we can do better organizing outside. But when faced with Canada (which we should clearly discourage in all our anti-Draft work—we must stay here and fight), or jail, or going in, many of us should go in. We don't want to get into an argument about whether everyone should refuse to go or everyone should go in. Both add to the struggle, as long as the politics are part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

As outsiders we cannot offer an absolute program for organizers in the Service—nor would we try, for there is great fear among men in the Service of being manipulated by outside political groups.

constituency

There are strong divisions along class lines within the Service. The large majority of men are working-class, and strong antagonisms toward middle-class student types frequently emerge.

Soldiers are not the enemy! They are people, many of whom enlisted or were drafted unwillingly. The dominant theme of life in the Service is personal survival—keeping one's head above the shit, and getting out alive. There are no "rights" in the Service. It is every man for himself battling an arbitrary system.

program

As a student organization, SDS can devise programs oriented toward students. But when we work with other constituencies we must keep in mind that programs will emerge from the people, and that we must not try to develop or "push" a total program. There is, however, work we can do in support of and in conjunction with organizing within the Service which is already going on. There are two areas in which we may work:

- 1) service for people we are counseling who choose to enter the Military:
 - a) Provide survival information. (For example, advise them not to enter OCS.)
 - b) Plug them into existing support networks, on and off the base, where possible.
 - c) Set up a system for keeping in touch with guys who go in.
- 2) supportive work to be done by those outside:
 - a) Provide aid and morale-building programs for organizers inside.
 - b) Put people in touch with one another.
 - c) Leaflet transportation centers; provide "survival kits" for newly-inducted men; seek out and talk with servicemen in bus stations and airports; talk with guys in local Reserve and Guard units.
 - d) Students can work in base towns during the summer, with existing groups, or they can form new support groups.

implementation

- 1) Chapters and individuals should take the responsibility of finding out about activity in their areas and should send this information to the National Office so that it can be widely circulated. They should report regularly on any work with which they are involved or which they initiate.
 - 2) The National Office is mandated to produce a pamphlet on "Survival in the Military" and other relevant literature on organizing support activities. Newspapers and literature already in use by existing groups should also be publicized and made widely available.
 - 3) The National Office should disseminate to chapters and projects information about work that is going on in and around the Military.
- To be successful, this has to be done as a national project.

High School Caucus

(passed as amended)

proposal

We propose that in areas where Vietnam work-ins will be conducted this summer, SDS actively encourage the participation of high school students.

This is, we feel, an absolute necessity for the building of a high school movement in this country, for the following reasons.

- 1) Due to class barriers in most high schools, middle-class students are isolated from their working-class brothers and sisters. The contacts and friendships gained during the summer will provide a basis for solid anti-imperialist organizing during the school year and will further extend the base of any such movement.
- 2) The work-ins will also provide high school students with an opportunity to talk to working-class high school students about the black rebellions, the War, and the Draft. (Our line on the War is that the US should get out of Vietnam, now!) This will serve the purpose of enabling high school students to oppose and combat the lies that pass for education in the high schools. This will also serve to combat racist ideas which will be pushed by the Power Structure in a big way this summer to isolate black struggles.
- 3) The students involved will gain an increased understanding of how the majority of the people are oppressed by imperialism and will learn why students must unite with workers to defeat our common enemy.

PASSED

implementation

1) SDS shall encourage high school students to get jobs this summer where large numbers of working-class high school students will be working.

2) The SDS National High School Co-ordinating Committee shall distribute a mailing to all high school contacts publicizing the work-ins, with the SDS New England Student Union being responsible for the writing and printing of the pamphlets.

3) The SDS National High School Newsletter shall devote a major portion of its space to publicizing the work-ins and the exchange of experiences among the participants.

4) Stephen Lippman (Los Angeles high school organizer, SDS, and PL) and Stuart Rose (Newton High School, Massachusetts) and Alan Sacks (SDS National Office) shall be responsible for the production and distribution of pamphlets produced in Sections 2 and 3.

5) The work-ins shall conduct on a local level discussions, classes, forums, and the like during the summer to broaden the base of the work-ins among high school students.

amendments

1) The Educational Secretary and the REAC shall supervise and approve the production of all literature referred to in the proposal.

2) Lippman, Rose, and Sacks shall select someone as a non-voting member to be on REAC.

RADICAL NUMEROLOGY

(passed as is) COLUMBIA SDS

It is apparent that SDS has finally achieved a coherent political ideology. This world view typically is expressed through the use of a finite number of expressive phrases. These phrases, then, have a clear common meaning which need no longer encumber our speech. Therefore in order to facilitate communication and debate, we propose that the NO direct the entire SDS membership to memorize the following list of phrases along with their respective numbers. These numbers, then, instead of the now obsolete phrases, shall be used in all radical rhetorical work.

- 1) anti-imperialist struggle
- 2) Third World struggle
- 3) black people's struggle
- 4) bourgeois
- 5) post-scarcity society
- 6) manipulation
- 7) constituency
- 8) a) base building b) nitty-gritty, hard-core, back-breaking, back to earth
- 9) revolutionary movement
- 10) long-range perspective
- 11) life style
- 12) class consciousness
- 13) red-baiting
- 14) deobfuscation
- 15) desanctification
- 16) a) ruling class b) splits in the
- 17) reformist
- 18) programmatic
- 19) resistance
- 20) a) liberation b) women's
- 21) racist
- 22) exploitation
- 23) hegemonic
- 24) radical alternative
- 25) direct action
- 26) escalation of the struggle
- 27) local issue
- 28) implementation
- 29) up against the wall motherfucker
- 30) major confrontation
- 31) thrust
- 32) spinoff
- 33) get our shit together
- 34) come down hard on it
- 35) a) submergence of contradictions
- b) maturation of
- 36) direct involvement
- 37) obscurantist muddle-headedness

RACISM

(passed as amended)

We recognize the coming of a more advanced stage of genocide this summer. Genocide is legalized mass murder. Genocide is the military oppression of a people in their own home. There is no other way to interpret the mobilization and militarization of local police, state police, and National Guardsmen in and around the black ghettos of the whole country. We feel that we have to respond to the black struggle for survival because it is a struggle against imperialism and against a racist culture which we also are fighting. Because of the nature of that cultural struggle the black movement cannot be bought off or isolated from its base by the myriad of government and corporate-ghetto economic programs. It is an irreversible struggle.

On the other hand we recognize the enormous problems that have been raised by the emergence of black nationalism within the Movement. The challenge of Black Power was that we must learn to fight our own battles if we are to build the white revolutionary youth movement which is so necessary. Therefore we must clearly define and understand our connection to the black movement.

As a matter of principle, we see the struggle against racism as a struggle against a ruling-class ideology. That ideology is the same one which made for a strong class feeling against white poor and working-class people. It is the ideology which makes people identify with a ruling class that maintains a system and culture against the human interests of the people.

Further we see a necessary connection between US imperialism and fascism. The survival needs of imperialism make inevitable the development of a military state and a society streamlined to meet the needs of militarization. We believe that lulls in that fascist tendency are temporary. We also believe that race is a central part of fascism. It is by racism that fascists recruit men and women for a system that exploits their labor and makes their lives stupid and meaningless. Imperialism cannot survive without genocide, because there are movements of liberation which rise up against imperialist exploitation.

Therefore we have a special responsibility to fight racism among our own white population. In the context of that struggle against racism in the white population, we will be able to aid the struggle for black survival and for black liberation in every way we can.

Finally we recognize that racism insinuates itself into both our personal and our political attitudes. We are determined to fight it in our personal lives as we fight all the aspects of a racist culture that the system attempts to inject into us. We must also be clear in our political attitudes. There are some who will say that the struggle for black liberation is bringing on fascism, or that it is moving too fast for the rest of the potentially revolutionary population. They will argue in subtle ways that we should slacken in our fight against racism or in our open support of black struggles and strong opposition to genocide. But if we understand that fascism is a product of capitalism, then we cannot "blame" the development of fascism on the black struggle for survival. Instead we must see our job as one of moving the white population into a position of rebellion which joins the black struggle for liberation to make the American revolution.

objectives.

1) We must give visibility to the black struggle for liberation. The State will suppress that struggle by attempting to isolate and smother it. We must make known both the existence and revolutionary principles of that struggle and our identification with it.

2) We must make the State pay as high a price as possible for genocide. Part of this price is the presence of a white

constituency in the coming rebellions. Therefore we must expose the development of legalized mass murder and suppression to the white population in all areas of our organizing.

3) We must institute programs of internal education on racism, the history of black people in this country, and the history of the black liberation movement.

4) We must not allow ourselves to be split with the liberation struggles either by the complications of black cultural self-determination or by the machinations and racist culture of the ruling class.

5) In the context of our on-going work and struggles we should give physical and financial aid to those black people now the object of State repression.

program and implementation

1) The NO is mandated to collect and distribute materials that will be relevant to study-group and educational programs on racism, the history of black people, and the history and principles of the black liberation movement.

2) The summer program on the Draft (and other kinds of work) should involve as much as possible concrete organizing and educational programs against racism. The NO is mandated to collect and distribute ideas and materials relevant to such programs.

3) We should be able to respond quickly and publicly to instances of attack on black people. Chapters should develop communication and propaganda teams to get this information out. The NO is mandated to get out materials on such cases so that chapters can move quickly to agitate on the campus (for example through demonstrations, leaflets, and teach-ins).

4) We should support groups such as the NCU working in working-class areas fighting racism as part of their program.

5) Chapters and the NO are encouraged to develop and circulate programs for fighting racism (for example university complicity, local militarization of police, and the like).

GRAPE STRIKE

(PAT CANAVAN, SDS, ED LUCAS, MIT SDS, ALAN SPECTOR, NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL ORGANIZER)

(passed as amended)

One thousand members of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee are in the eighth month of a bitter strike against the Giumarra Vineyards Corporation of California.

The spring NC supports the farmworkers in their strike.

We urge that:

1) SDS chapters in Boston, New York, Chicago, and California contact the farmworkers who are in their cities.

2) SDS chapters all over the country should publicize the boycott of California grapes and put pressure on their universities and local chain stores to sign agreements not to buy California grapes (except Di Giorgio's "Hi-Color", a union grape.)

3) SDS chapters should raise funds for strike relief.

4) SDS chapters should write letters saying that no SDS member will buy California scab grapes. This will continue until Giumarra signs a contract. Copies of support letters should be sent to:

Joseph Giumarra
Giumarra Vineyards Corporation
Edison Highway
Edison, California

and:

UFWOC
Box 130
Delano, California

amendment

One National Staff member should be assigned to work on this program. Wine Group for Freedom Affiliate of Up Against the Wall Motherfucker suggest that SDS drink more wine and do less talking.

SUMMER DRAFT ALLIANCE

(passed as amended)

What should an alliance do?

1) Recruit men now hard-pressed by the Draft to organize against it this summer through:

a) the senior and first-year graduate programs on college campuses;

b) students on summer break, high school students, and youth not now in school who are ready to move around the Draft;

c) regional meetings on the Draft and the War to recruit for summer organizing and as a method of organizing in themselves;

d) Vietnam commencement programs;

e) orientation institutes in June to train organizers for anti-Draft work which reaches out into communities with a variety of programs.

2) Begin to mobilize already-existing DRUs to reach out into communities during the summer, and to help set up new local offices to do work: saturation leafletting and poster campaigning with meetings following, researching Draft boards, 1-A programming, going into shops to organize workers around the Draft, and so forth.

3) Set up a central office which would have the following functions:

a) servicing new and old projects as a central clearing house;

b) more specifically, providing internal education materials, newsletters, posters, suggested programs and techniques, and personnel;

c) operating as a legal clearing house for cases around the major legal suit (if that resolution is passed) and other individual cases throughout the country;

d) for the senior and grad program, establishing a clearly needed central clearing house in order to exchange summer addresses of students who are reached during the school year and whom we should follow up on during the summer.

implementation

The National Council of SDS mandates the National Officers to seek out the possibility of creating a summer alliance to pursue the objectives stated above. Organizations which should be contacted to participate in such a summer alliance are: SNCC, SSOC, SCEF, Resistance, Resist, and various non-nationally-aligned local groups.

amendment

The criteria for SDS's working in this alliance shall be set by the anti-Draft programs passed at this NC.

ANTI-DRAFT

LEGAL ACTION

(passed as is)

Although SDS affirms its belief that the State and its legal apparatus are methods of control over this society, rather than the voices of the people and justice, we believe that there are opportunities to use some legal mechanisms to our advantage. Such a possibility exists in relationship to anti-Draft legal action.

SDS, through this National Council, approves the use of an offensive legal action designed to:

1) create a national visibility for the Draft-resistance movement;

2) provide a mechanism, despite its limited nature, to give the Draft-resistance movement a collective sense of resistance;

3) hopefully provide another means of delay for those who face induction.

The passage of this resolution in no way implies that we either believe that this

(continued on Page 7)

Spiegel Speech

(continued from Page 3)

is the inevitable result of a dominant, but threatened, imperialism.

People are making much of splits in the ruling class these days, and since I think much will be said about that here in discussing this year's electoral situation, let me make a couple of points. People outline those splits, lining up the candidates on one side or the other. They are either representatives of the "California-Texas nexus"—of military production, oil, and the other interests which depend on the more adventurous methods of imperialistic preservation; or the Eastern financial Yankees who desire stability for investment—who see Johnson as shortening the life of American capitalism by a generation.

The military-industrial complex may develop more slowly under a candidate representing the Eastern interests; a lull may take place in the approach of fascism; but by the nature of the dynamics at work it will not be voluntarily stopped or reversed. It is necessary to the maintenance of an imperialism which is threatened both here (right now primarily through the black liberation struggle, and potentially through the Draft-resistance movement) and abroad. A conflict between the military complex and those who would like to see "imperialism as usual" is a natural development, and should not be taken to signify the possibility of any real change in basic imperialist aims.

The forces of "imperialism as usual" wish to rely upon manipulation, co-optation, and division of the enemy as tools to achieve their ends, but they cannot go on doing that forever. They must eventually lose in a struggle with the more hard-nosed forces who understand that military might is going to have to be the final recourse in order to maintain dominance. It seems to me that an underlying premise, and certainly a cause, of the New Left has been that such continuing domination was not possible—that eventually people rebel. As that happens the only tool left is to use superior military might to attempt to maintain dominance. Certainly the US has been successful in manipulating so well that it needn't use military force except in a few cases—but that cannot last. If all this is true, the military complex must continue to grow, and the militarization of our society must increase.

Here at home, militant blacks and Draft resisters and organizers will bear the brunt of repression by that militarism as their struggles directly confront the power of the ruling class and its operative mechanism, the State. Both of these struggles have the seeds, necessary but not sufficient, of a direct confrontation with State power—the non-co-optable issue. Those struggles are not the only potentially revolutionary ones, but at this time they are the most hopeful. That is to say, they carry the greatest possibilities now of increasing consciousness—of understanding the nature of the real enemy. "State power": an old phrase, but a clear statement of the enemy nonetheless. If used correctly, both struggles must eventually engage the State politically at some level, because they can build a consciousness that the State is the mechanism of repressive force, that it is through the State that the ruling class exercises its power.

At this time when a movement for a

real change in America feels threatened by Kennedy and McCarthy, and when within our own movement the social democrats feel the need to preserve the Movement by moving closer to those forces within the ruling class which seem to present a "solution to the Left", we must build a truly radical force on the principles which have hopefully always underlain our development. The social democrats, it seems to me, base themselves on the ideological premise that liberalism is still viable and desirable—it just seems to have lost something along the way through the influence of evil men and plain stupidity. A truly radical force should not aim at "influencing the political knights" (as one paper here speaks of); we must present an independent radical force based on and clearly projecting our analysis.

This implies two things. First, we cannot sacrifice that political basis of our work to the goal of a falsely constituted "broad-based" movement. We must build our movement on radical premises, not social democratic ones. Sometimes it seems to me that people imply that "broad-based" means mobilizing people around superficial elements of their dissatisfaction with this society without ever speaking of the root nature of those problems (Kennedy?). If that is not implied pardon me, but we must make every effort to remain explicit about what our rhetoric embodies. Second, we certainly wish to see the end of the Vietnam War; no one could deny the desirability of that goal. But we must understand that those conditions will be forced to an end by those in power in order to preserve their power. Were Kennedy to somehow end the War in Vietnam, he would be doing so with the idea in mind that that was the best way to maintain imperialism throughout the rest of the world, not that it was the first step in dismantling imperialism (although a victory by the NLF may be that). Our job in the face of such a move aimed at strengthening imperialism is to project our analysis in order to build a movement of real opposition to imperialism, racism, and oppression.

Therefore, it seems to me that any program coming out of the Left must include three thrusts. First, opposition to militarism and imperialism which is programmatically carried in the Draft-resistance movement. Second, we must not permit ourselves to be split from our brothers and sisters in the black struggle. We must speak of the institutional nature of racism, and tie it to all thrusts of our programmatic organizing. We must be ready to interpret the rebellions not as lawlessness in the streets, but as a result of a society which creates social conditions which are inhuman for a large and distinct part of the population, and which is unable to create change in the best interests of the people. This is a society, consequently, which is preparing for genocide. Finally, we must explain the electoral process and the two major parties as arms of the ruling class, and put forward the position that consequently there is no solution to the basic problems of this society which issues from those parties.

(Editor's note: The remainder of this speech dealt with possible action around the Democratic Convention, basically following the arguments outlined in the article "Don't Take Your Guns to Town" (New Left Notes, March 4th, 1968).

Anti-Draft Organizing

(DENA CLAMAGE AND JOHN FUERST) (passed as is)

proposal

We view Draft resistance as a necessary part of any organizing strategy. Yet the tensions which the Draft creates must be quickly linked to the other natural concerns of the constituency being organized. If not, anti-Draft organizing may become circular, incapable of moving people to a broader level of ideology or program.

Among high school students, the Draft as an issue serves to deepen and direct the already-organized anti-authoritarian movements.

In the colleges and universities where we are organizing movements against university complicity and for a redefinition of the politics of the university, Draft resistance takes those movements beyond strictly university-oriented concerns.

In the middle-class liberal constituency, anti-Draft organizing takes people beyond an abstract, moral opposition to the War in Vietnam and into an understanding based on realistic self-interest. The fight becomes a struggle for their lives and the lives of their children.

For both college and middle-class community constituencies, people learn through the anti-Draft struggle that their concrete self-interest ties them to, rather

TABLED RESOLUTIONS

Electoral Politics

We cannot issue an encyclical on electoral politics pro and con any more than we can take a position on mini-skirts—a process of a society resolving political issues cannot be attacked outside of the context of the political development that it serves. THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IS NOT BY ITS "NATURE" BOURGEOIS. Nor can we make surreal commitments of our energies to organized groups involved in electoral politics—local conditions must prevail.

Our priority is our on-going work in the development of constituencies around the radical cutting edge in this society—the Draft, the police, racism, the educational system. In some situations an anti-Draft program may draw upon the resources of people also committed in electoral campaigns. In order to talk to people in some communities, the pretext of an electoral campaign may prove useful.

implementation

There will be resources needed: We need literature on the economic system that Kennedy protects and seeks to expand. We need research on the ways in which the liberal elements of our ruling elites are mobilizing in order to put Kennedy and a more rational empire across to the American people (KNOW YOUR ENEMY). We need information exchange on how to tactically deal with the Kennedy and McCarthy people in order to best raise radical issues. The existing literature and news facilities of the National Office will have to assume that burden and are hereby mandated to begin their work.

Southern Caucus

The Southern Caucus agrees with the ideas expressed in the "Don't Take Your Guns to Town" article in the March 4th, 1968 New Left Notes, and opposes any sort of national mobilization at the Democratic National Convention because we believe, in the spirit of the Southern Caucus Resolution, that no action should take place in Chicago without the full support of Chicago radicals, and that no action of one group of SDS people should impair the effectiveness of actions of SDS people in other areas.

We are particularly concerned that it will be impossible to inject a radical content into a massive action around the Democratic National Convention. In spite of any efforts that SDS might make to explain its participation, it will be interpreted nationally as an appeal to the Democratic Party for progressive measures.

In doing so it confuses the point that it is our responsibility to make—namely that both parties and all their candidates function to preserve the interests of American corporate capitalism, that they are tools of the ruling class, and that they therefore cannot be looked to for solutions to the problems that capitalism creates.

In confusing this central issue, a massive Chicago action this summer would play into the hands of social democratic and reformist forces in this country.

We are greatly concerned that a massive Chicago action would draw Movement energies away from our job of organizing

than separates them from, other constituencies, fighting the same enemies in their own self-interest.

Among the poor, anti-Draft organizing is one way of gaining entry into the community. Also, it extends organizing around other community issues by enabling us to inject anti-imperialism and anti-racism into those struggles.

Finally, in the near future, the Draft

at home, and severely damage local organizing going on in Chicago. We therefore support the position paper entitled "Election Year Campaign", submitted by Bob Pardun, Shari Whitehead, Marilyn Buck, and Jeff Segal, as an alternative program to a massive action in Chicago this summer.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

Proposed Alternative

1) Events of the last year—particularly since the Tet Offensive—have exposed the failure of America's imperialist designs in Southeast Asia. SDS recognizes in the Kennedy and McCarthy candidacies an implicit acknowledgment of that defeat. SDS sees in their campaign an important phase of the termination of this particular instance of American imperialism. However, we condemn their candidacies on the following grounds:

a) They involve no repudiation of American imperialist designs in other times, in other places, and by other means.

b) The disengagement, moreover, is explicitly justified by Kennedy and McCarthy as a means of consolidating America's imperial positions elsewhere, most notably in Latin America and the black communities.

c) In failing to confront and denounce the implicit racism of American foreign policy, they disclaim a genocide merely on grounds of its impracticality.

We recognize that their rhetoric demonstrates the lack of significant difference between the most vocally racist and imperialist elements and the leading liberal voices.

2) Political involvement is better than blind submission; we consequently welcome the activities of young people who are actively campaigning for Kennedy and McCarthy. We recognize that their motivations are humane and idealistic, their main goal being to end a slaughter whose high visibility has caused them great moral suffering. White students who went South in 1964 idealistically soon became disillusioned about the possibility of changing America's basic problems through moral commitment alone; in similar fashion, we believe the Kennedy and McCarthy workers will soon become disillusioned and feel betrayed by men whose rhetoric is belied by their political functions.

3) We recognize the importance of responding to those people now enraptured by Kennedy and McCarthy in a straightforward manner if they are soon to join our ranks in the struggle for honest and fundamental political change. We therefore will continue to organize around the Draft, the universities, the high schools, the police, and the disintegration of the old culture and generation of the new.

program and implementation

Program is defined by conditions. Since we condemn Kennedy and McCarthy and are sympathetic to the moral base of their young supporters (who are repeating our histories in another context; since we seek to destroy the institutions of exploitation and death that Kennedy represents and manages and at the same time reach people who look to him right now, we must remain as flexible and spontaneous as we have been in the past.

may enable us to tie together our work in these constituencies.

implementation

Do it!

(Note: New Left Notes and national meetings will be used to share ideas on tactics and experiences from working in the above constituencies.)

we read the news today, oh boy

a review of recent publications of interest
by Carl Davidson

1) Military Review (April 1968, Book Department, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 66027, subscriptions \$4 for one year); Fortune (April 1968, 540 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611, subscriptions \$14 for one year); and The Wall Street Journal (March 27th, 1968, 711 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois 60606, subscriptions \$8 for three months): The problem with the mass media is expressed in their own terminology; they are directed at the masses. As a result, one can read all the regular papers every day, absorbing mounds of data, and still remain relatively in the dark in understanding what's going on in the world. To break out of this syndrome, self-respecting radicals should make every effort to regularly read the publications mentioned above, in addition to the Left press. The ruling class in this country, which we should remember is made up of individual men and women, needs an "elite" medium through which its members can communicate with each other. A case in point is the three articles on the current Vietnam crisis in these issues: "Hanoi, Fly in the Analyst's Ointment" (WSJ), "Psychological Warfare: Key to Success in Vietnam" (MR), and "An Alternative Strategy for Vietnam" (Fortune) are crucial documents for fully appreciating the substance of the "negotiated settlement" and "de-escalation" rhetoric of the McKennedy corporate liberals. The programs of our "peace" candidates are found to be quite compatible with the alternative tactics for an imperialist victory in Vietnam called for in these articles.

2) The Guardian (March 9th through 30th, 1968, 197 East Fourth Street, New York, New York 10009, subscriptions \$7 for one year, \$3.50 for one year for students, \$1 for a ten-week trial): Thus far, Roger Countill has produced a series of four articles for the Guardian entitled "Defending the Empire". Each contains a wealth of information, not only making the case for the university's integration with imperialism, but also describing the actual parameters of US policy toward the Third World. One need only examine some of the titles of the Government research projects and conferences which are discussed:

- "An Analysis of the Motivational Factors Which Support Counter-insurgency (COIN) Military Operations"
- "Working with Peoples in the Developing Areas: One Task of the American Soldier Overseas"
- "Social Factors Relevant to Military Civic Action Doctrine"
- "US Army Inter-cultural Communication Guide for Brazil"
- "Internal Defense Against Insurgency: Six Cases (Malaya, Philippines, Cuba, Venezuela, Algeria, South Vietnam)"
- "Strategic and Tactical Factors Underlying Military COIN Operations (57 cases in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East)"
- "The Utility of Horse Cavalry and Pack Animals in COIN Operations in Latin America"
- "Survey of Elite Studies"
- "Research Strategies in Studying Changing Military Roles"
- "Changing Roles of the Military in Latin America"
- "Studies in Military Sociology"
- "Public Order and the Military in Africa: East African Examples"
- "Analysis of Differential Determinants of Military Intervention in Revolutions"
- "Political Functions of Military Elites: North Africa and the Middle East"
- "Military Planning and Some Implications of National Development"
- "Resettlement and Food Control in Malaya, 1948 to 1960"
- "Helicopter Operations in the French-Algerian War"
- "Pacification in Algeria, 1956 to 1958"
- "Guerrilla Warfare and Air Power in Algeria, 1954 to 1960"
- "COIN in Manchuria: The Japanese Experience, 1931 to 1940"
- "The Employment of Air Power in the Greek Guerrilla War, 1947 to 1949"
- "Peak Organized Strength of Guerrilla and Government Forces in Algeria, Nagaland, Ireland, Inochina, South Vietnam, Malaya, the Philippines, and Greece"
- "Selected Bibliography on Urban Insurgency and Urban Unrest in Latin American and Other Areas"
- "Urban Insurgency Studies"

Most major universities are deeply involved in this kind of work. There are thousands of little Eichmanns running around loose on our campuses, all engaged in "value-free", "objective", and "neutral" research, of course. They may soon have to shift their academic interests from the Third World to something termed "Campus COIN". If so, the liberal debates on academic freedom should be somewhat interesting.

3) San Francisco Express-Times (March 14th, 1968, 15 Lafayette Street, San Francisco, California 94103, subscriptions \$6 for one year): Recent issues, including this one, have given extensive coverage to the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area. "Huey from Jail" is a complete transcript of the press conference which Huey Newton, leader of the BPP, held in jail on March 7th. Together with the "Black Panther Platform" and a "Black Panther Statement" in the same edition, the lengthy and detailed statement by Huey serves as an excellent exposition of the analysis, strategy, and values of the black liberation struggle.

View from the N.O.

The National Office is right at the edge of one of the riot areas—right where all traffic into the area is being stopped by National Guard emplacements. All work here has been done under the watchful eye of anywhere from six to thirty or forty armed Guardsmen, plus city cops. We have to show them IDs to go in and out.



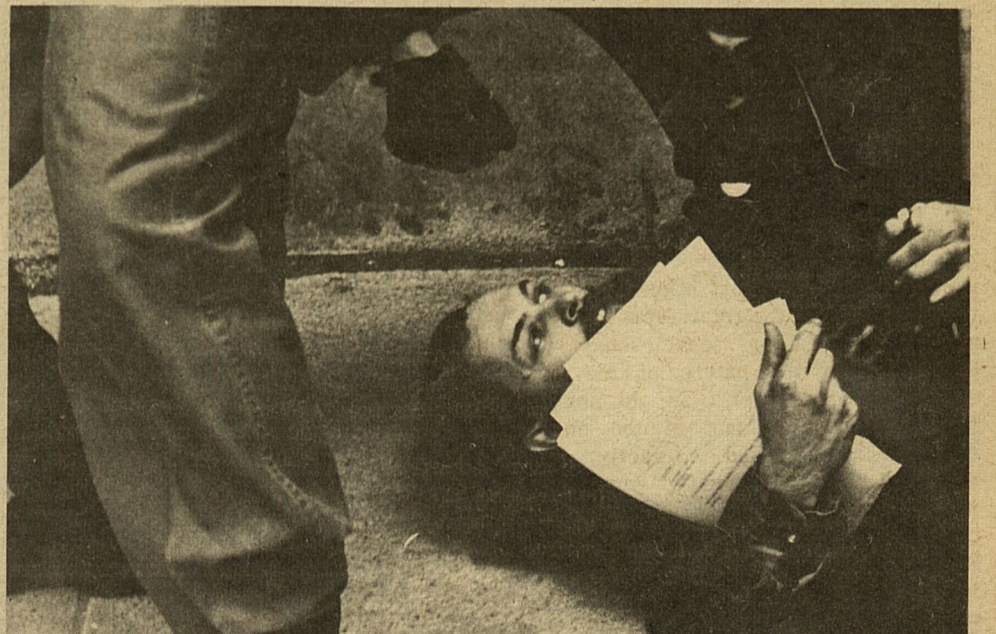
Saturday, April 6th

After a memorial rally for Martin Luther King Junior at Chicago's Civic Center Picasso statue, 200 or so people, almost all white, marched to the National Guard Armory.

The Guard had been mobilized to suppress rioting in various parts of the city, and the demonstrators were leafletting the troops to protest this.

Courteous, helpful police protecting the marchers carefully led them into the arms of riot-armed police squads and bayonet-wielding Guardsmen.

At least twenty were arrested, two bayoneted, and many clubbed or tear-gassed.



photos by chicago film co-op and nina boal

Anti-Draft Legal Action Resolution

(continued from Page 5)

case will in fact win in the courts of law and thus open the possibility for selective objection to serving in the Armed Forces; or that legal mechanisms can actually be a means for effective social change in this country.

summary of the case

The case is an injunction brought simultaneously in each of the ten Federal districts that will be brought at one time by large numbers of SSS registrants.

Cause of action: first, that we have the right under the First Amendment to refuse to be drafted into the Armed

Forces for moral and political reasons; that is, those who conscientiously refuse to fight on the side of the oppressor in this war have the right to do so; and second, that no men should be drafted because the War in Vietnam is an illegal war, an undeclared war.

possible delaying effect on induction

Those party to the suit who may receive reclassification notices or induction orders while it is in the courts can bring actions to prevent the SSS from implementing reclassification or induction until after the suit has been

decided. Because the suit would be brought in early summer and the Supreme Court is not in session again until the fall, the probability of three-to-four-month delays is good.

effect on plaintiffs' current draft status

Those who currently hold COs or other deferments (hardship, and so forth) and wish to retain them will be able to do so. However, the bulk of those likely to file will, obviously, be facing induction. They can use other delaying tactics, such as appealing 1-A classifications and filing for CO status.

note from attorneys

This action is a tool, not a program; it will not be brought outside of the context of a mass political program of Draft-resistance work. Further, it is imperative that everyone understand fully that no guarantee of winning the suit should ever be offered. Finally, this action seen as one tool, not as a program, will be effective in direct proportion to the numbers who join and the quality of political work done on the Draft.

how do we organize ?

(continued from Page 1)

7) Work in the neighborhoods:

a) Draw up a petition of condemnation against military occupation of ghettos, etc. for middle-class neighborhoods. Distribute educational leaflets at shopping centers, churches, etc.

b) Working-class neighborhoods: Leaflet, referendum/poll, rap with guys on the block, in bars, etc.... "It isn't in our interest to fight black people. They are trying to put us into that military machine to fight for the slumlords, the boss, etc." Talk about the cops as a common enemy.

8) Leaflet army bases: They may be called to a "Chicago or Washington". What would they be going there to fight for? Why do it? Who are the people they are defending, etc.? It would probably

be a good thing to draw up a leaflet for any National Guard armories. If there are Guard or Federal troops in the streets or an alert in your area, people should draw up leaflets aimed at them and go out to rap with them. They are scared, tired, and pissed off at what they have to do—they'll listen and rap. Any diversionary action which people can organize, such as demonstrations in the business district, will draw cops and Guardsmen off the ghetto.

9) Make demands on the university administrations:

a) Demand official statements about King, the local situation, genocide.

b) Demand statements on the Draft and its use to get troops for use in America and abroad.

c) Hit counter-insurgency research targets on the campus.

d) Raise the issue of university exploitation of the ghettos—university expansion into ghetto areas, property holdings, investments, etc.

e) Support labor demands—at Duke they demanded a minimum wage of \$1.60 for non-academic employees (largely black)—at Michigan State the demand was made that the University not contract with discriminating firms (construction, catering, etc.).

f) Demand black history courses and study of the black liberation struggle.

g) Demand that university facilities be opened to the community and serve blacks and whites in poor and working-class communities.

h) Link the present situation with past demands.

10) Some communities have helped to prevent police occupation by stationing observers in local police precincts, demonstrating at city hall, and organizing other activities to make visible demands that the cops stay out of the ghettos.

11) Build for action later in the week, perhaps Thursday or Friday. Leafletting and demonstrating at military recruitment centers, Draft boards, and induction centers. Leaflets for and at these demonstrations should point out the connection we feel between the militarization of this society to protect the empire and the militarization against the ghetto we have seen in the last week. We have a chance to give a political interpretation to the rebellions which white people who oppose the Draft, the War, and the effects of militarization can accept and feel identification with.

It is our job to make public that interpretation. If and where the troops are still in the ghetto, this is the best and most honest way we can create a diversion.

12) The crises of this week and the ones to come in the months ahead give added emphasis to the need for city-wide or area-wide communications. Those areas which moved most effectively this week were usually ones with this co-ordination already established in their on-going political work. Regular discussion and co-operation between black and white groups, among various community and campus groups, etc., is one facet; telephone chains, propaganda units, teams to collect information in the city with virtual press blackouts, agitation and mobilization squads, mechanisms for collecting bail money, distributing food and medical supplies, etc., are other parts of the networks needed everywhere. Where these kinds of networks exist and are initiated by radicals (white and black) ahead of time we can move quickly and push our politics in every type of work.

It might be a good idea to keep this list of suggestions. If it isn't possible to use some of them at this time, we should keep them in mind for later—the summer hasn't even begun.

PLEASE SEND REPORTS OF ACTIVITIES IN YOUR AREA SO WE CAN GET THEM OUT.

in the struggle,

the NO

MEMPHIS STRIKE

(continued from Page 1)

demands from the black community while publicly priding itself on its lack of open conflict. Even after the violence of March 28th and the unnecessary calling up of 4,000 National Guardsmen, prominent members of the white community expected that the "Memphis plantation" could survive. (The following quotations are from the New York Times of Sunday, March 31st.)

—Thomas W. Faires, president of the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce: "It's not bad at all. If the Negro ministers would tend to their ministering instead of trying to stir things up, we wouldn't have had this trouble. You can't take these people and make the kind of citizens out of them you'd like."

—George M. Houston, president of Future Memphis, Incorporated: "I think we'll come out of this mess with an improved image because of the careful handling of it by our law enforcement officials."

—Wayne Pyett, executive vice-president of the National Bank of Commerce: "I think everything will be just fine, and the more people who say it will, the quicker things will straighten out." black unrest

Discontent with the handling of the strike by the City brought the anger of the black community to the surface. Complaints that were long-standing were now widely discussed and articulated by black leaders and the black community in Memphis.

—police brutality (For example, NAACP complaints filed with the Justice Department were never resolved.)

—discriminatory hiring, low pay, high unemployment

—few blacks employed by City and County governments

—lack of new housing even in many areas marked for urban renewal

—general sense of lack of respect by the white community expressed in signs declaring "I am a man" worn in recent demonstrations

While it is obvious that settlement of the strike will not even require recognition of the severe economic deprivation and racial oppression of the Memphis black community, the sanitation workers and their families are in an especially desperate financial state. It is important for the morale of these men who are struggling to win the basic right to their own union that we support them. Students can express their solidarity with the black people of Memphis by raising funds to aid the strikers, and by publicizing their fight with leaflets and demonstrations on campuses. Pressure could be put on local papers to expand coverage of the struggle of the black community in Memphis and of the racist tactics of the City administration and the white business community, if necessary by demonstrating at the offices of papers with imbalanced or inadequate news coverage.

In explaining recent events it is important to have concrete information for people and to relate that information to your area. An important part of the story is the Memphis strike. Get the word out!

NEW MONETARY CRISIS

Many Chicago people have been arrested in the last few days here—and many more will be; we are planning further demonstrations, leaflettings, boycotts, etc.

Bonds have recently been raised from a normal \$25 to a minimum of \$100. To keep people out and active we need ready bond money. Please send checks, and/or phone numbers (Chicago-area people) to the National Office, SDS, 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612.

Bond will be needed in all of the 81 cities hit by uprisings in the last few days, and people should set up pools wherever they are and can.

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
RETURN REQUESTED

Second class postage
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Illinois

Jim Jacobs
426 E. Kingsley
Ann Arbor Mich. 48104

TALES OF THE GHETTO by Youngblood

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1. a southern mother
spilled
large tears
on the face
of
her
police bullet riddled
son. | 3. i
saw
the
blood on
the snow
and
i
won't
forget. | 5. picasso
stands in
chicago
but
the
ghetto is
an
ugly
place. |
| 2. "i like candy"
but
i
can't have
any
unless i eat
it fast
'cause
rats can
smell
real
well. | 4. even with its
filth
and
death
i've seen
i
love
you
chalked on
a ghetto
wall. | 6. i've
been given
the
freedom
to die
for
my country
in vietnam
and protect
the
owners of this ghetto. |

LEAFLETTING THE TROOPS

This leaflet was prepared by the Chicago Vietnam GI Committee. It's being printed as the latest in the New Left Prize Leaflet Series.

The material is good, but references to Chicago and to the leafleters being veterans (assuming this will not be the usual case) will have to be altered.

GIs:

We know that whether you like it or not, you have to be here. Things were bad when we were in Vietnam, but we're damn glad none of us had to pull this kind of duty. None of us ever went into the Service expecting to kill our own people. We hope things come out OK for you, but remember this: A slumlord's property isn't worth shooting a guy for! A handful of cheap clothes from the window of some gyp-joint isn't worth tear-gassing a teenager for.

The same guy you shoot at in Chicago may be next to you in Vietnam in six months. The trouble is that America is willing to spend \$40 billion a year to send us to risk our necks in Vietnam, but won't do anything to give these people a decent life. That's why riots keep coming, and sending GIs in to do the dirty work won't solve a damn thing. So keep cool, don't bust your ass for nothing, and good luck!

CHICAGO VIETNAM GI COMMITTEE

NIAGARA REGIONAL CONFERENCE

April 12th, 13th, and 14th

AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY
Ithaca, New York

Discussion of: Summer Programs
Regional Structure
Campus Organizing

Contact: Chip Marshall, 606-277-1914

BOWLING GREEN UNIVERSITY will host a regional conference on RADICALISM May 3rd, 4th, and 5th. The conference will be open to chapters in Northern Ohio, Southern Michigan, and Eastern Indiana.

Contact: David Pearce
430 Darrow
Bowling Green University
Bowling Green, Ohio 43402