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Chicago, Illinois

1608 West Madison

Students for a Democratic Society

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

September 9, 1968

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

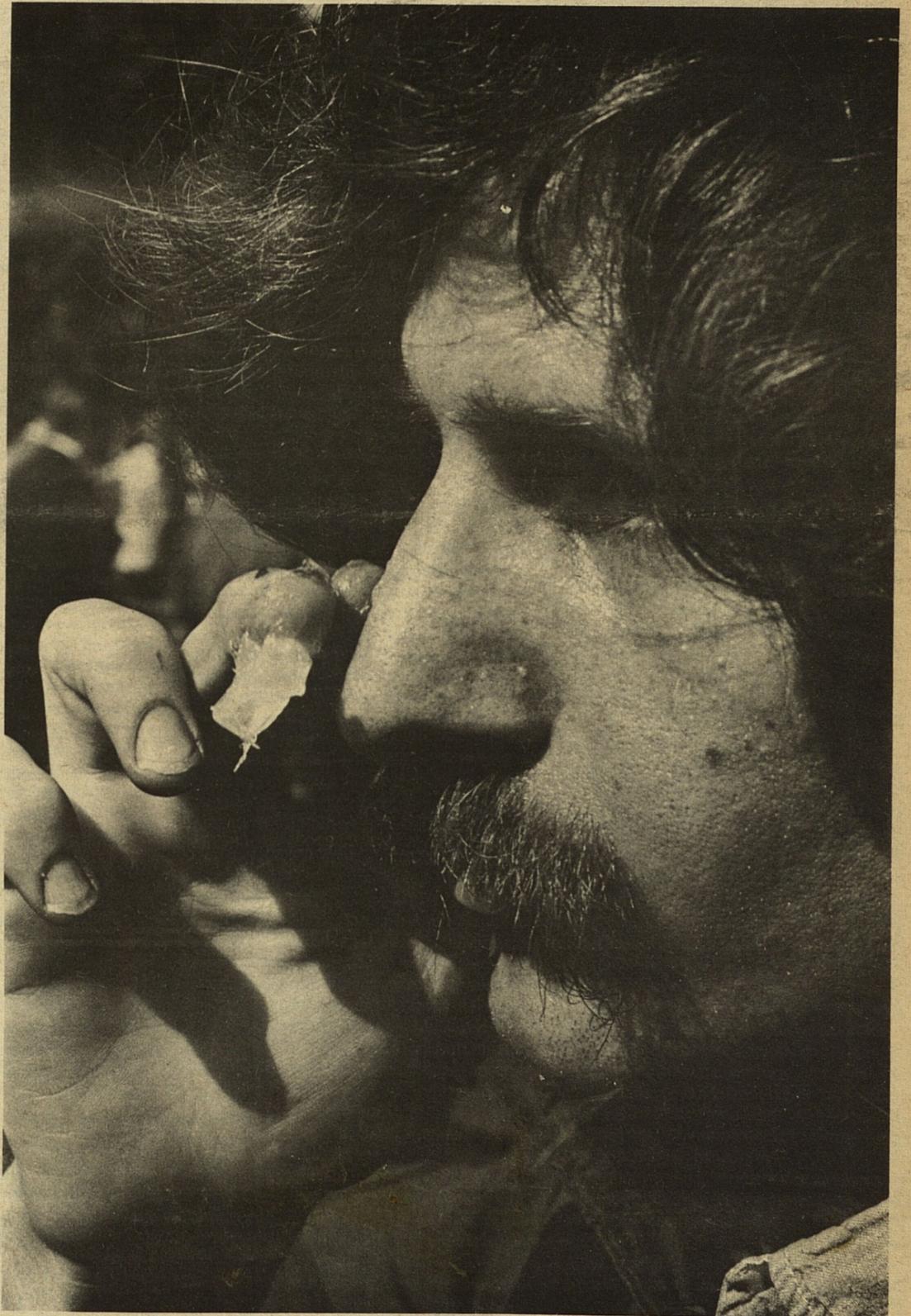
Volume 3, Number 27

Wild in the Streets

by Les Coleman

From the outside, they say, Chicago proved it was a police state. To the people here the political lessons had a far greater range of clarity. Someone wore a sign: "Veteran of Lincoln Park"; others talked about Michigan Avenue, Wells Street, Grant Park, the Hilton. Targets were created by the forces of the situation, they were not dreamed up out of

(continued on Page 6)



NEW LEFT NOTES
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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

WEST POINT DROPOUT

Dear Sirs:

I have just resigned from West Point because nobody there likes me. First I refused to load or fire my rifle; then when I turned it back in to the Army, I put a joint in the firing chamber. They don't know it, but I also took out the operating rod spring lever lock so it won't fire now.

Vietnam is for the Vietnamese. If the Reds want it, let them have it. I'm not going to have any part of it. Therefore, I quit the Army.

I'll be classified I-O, and the Army doesn't really want me, and in the course of talking to my draft counselor, Pat Friel, an SDS member, he suggested that I join. He gave me a booklet of your goals, et cetera, and I found out that you publish NLN, which I've read every now and then, and I like.

So enroll me in your orgy. And enclosed find my \$5 (It's a Czech, but it won't bounce, I assure you—somebody stole his trampoline!), which I had to sell half a lid of hard-earned "Red" to get. That should cover, Pat told me, a one-year subscription to NLN and membership.

(This letter was written on embossed West Point stationery. For obvious reasons we decided to protect the identity of the author.)

CAPITALISM STILL IN CRISIS

Dear Editor:

Carl Oglesby's report on Business International's overtures to SDS (New Left Notes, August 12th, 1968) is interesting and undoubtedly correct in its admonition to "prepare our base" independently, even should we be sought out as a principal of whatever New Coalition may emerge from the remains of the coming Election. However, Oglesby argues only against the desirability of working to build an international New Deal to serve the ruling class. That such a program is possible is taken for granted.

I believe that this assumption is wrong, and that the question involved merits serious consideration from radicals. For without facing the question directly, we have only our instincts to rely on in dealing with whatever attempts at "co-optation" or "utilization" may be forthcoming from corporate liberals. And, especially in the likely confusion following the political conventions, our instincts may not always be so reliable as Oglesby's in his recent article.

The question we must face is just whether a capitalist economy—suitably enriched through technology and controlled by Keynesian techniques—can, in fact, overcome its problems, particularly the problem of (domestic and foreign) under-development. Tacitly assuming the answer is yes, Oglesby finds himself to his dismay in total agreement with his corporate antagonist Mr. X except, alas, on the latter's attitude toward Che. And even here Mr. X does not come off so badly: "Che," he answers, "is surely not the villain most Americans take him to be. It is even fair," he thought, "to see him as a hero in the tradition of Bolivar."

Consistent Radicalism

That revolution can be made unnecessary goes without saying for Oglesby, as for Mr. X. It is just a predilection for it, for Che, that distinguishes the two. But this is hardly a foundation for a consistent radicalism, and is, moreover, the very romanticism and "impracticality" that, according to Oglesby, is the executives' chief complaint against SDS.

To be sure, Oglesby's (and Mr. X's) political economy is not necessarily inconsistent with a posture of

radicalism. One might argue, for example, on ethical grounds: An international Welfare State would leave untouched, among others, the problem of alienation in Marx's sense. But Oglesby does not argue in this way, and it is far from clear that he should. For years we've told ourselves that radical politics stem from more than just a moral distrust with the status quo. Oglesby's discussion of modern capitalism runs counter to this assumption; but on this point, I think, Oglesby is quite wrong.

For the fact is that corporate liberalism has not in any sense "solved" the fundamental economic problems of capitalism. Harry Magdoff's article "Problems of United States Capitalism" (Socialist Register, 1965; reprinted by REP) is, to my knowledge, the most systematic defense of this view. Without repeating Magdoff's evidence in detail (the article is readily available), I will state a few of his conclusions:

First, reasonably full employment has not been attained in the United States in any year since 1953; second, without an enormously irrational military expenditure we might now have from twenty to twenty-four million unemployed; third, the economy is becoming increasingly dependent on injections of credit (a problem that has intensified since the Vietnam War); and finally, despite "prosperity", the economy has so failed its citizens that "fully a third of the young men of military age do not meet required standards of health and education."

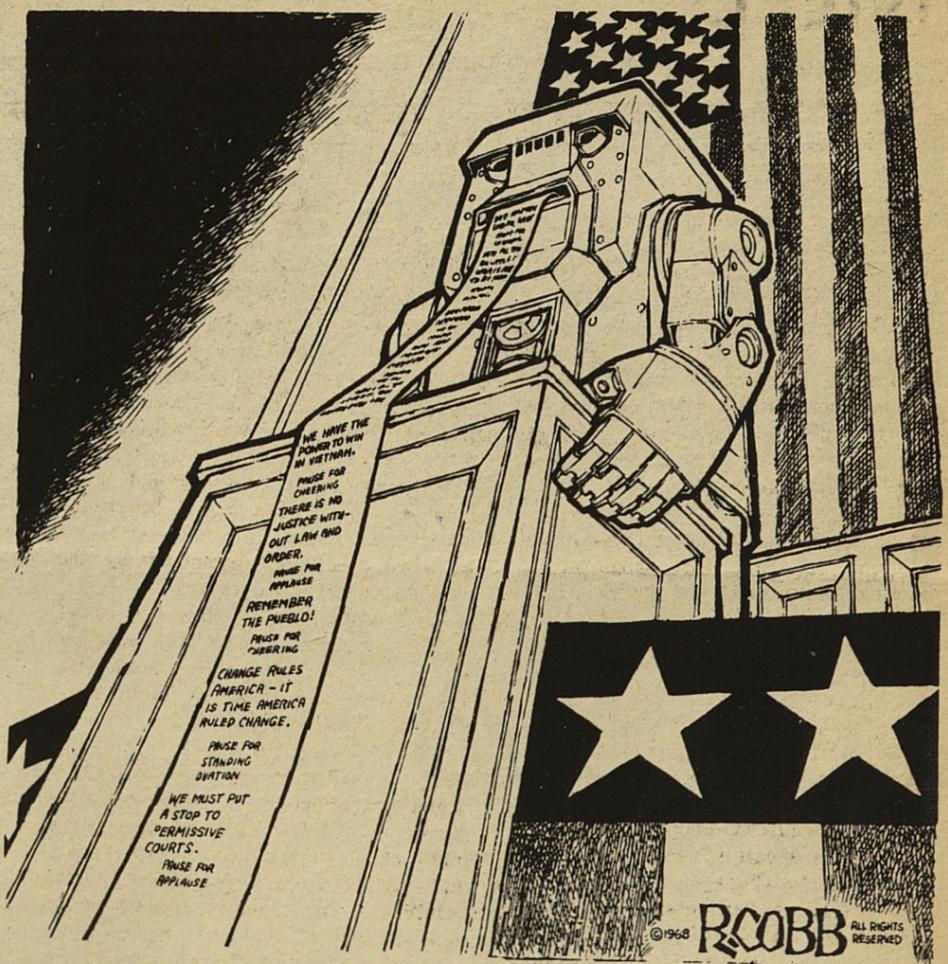
Yet Oglesby assumes that American capitalism has solved its own problems and can safely move on to solve the economic woes of the entire planet. Economic imperialism is becoming unnecessary, he writes.

Glaring Error

The error here becomes even more glaring when we realize, as Magdoff points out, that the sorry performance of American capitalism recounted above occurred at a time of relatively rapid capital accumulation (the beginning of the Cold War) and of a relatively depleted labor force. The prognosis for the future is of course the opposite: a rapid rise in the labor force (50% of all US citizens will be under twenty-five by 1970) accompanied by a slow-down in capital accumulation.

Imperialism is traditionally the way out of this bind, and, accordingly, has become more, not less, important in recent years. Thus, by a conservative estimate, "the size of the foreign market (for domestic and US-owned foreign firms in 1965) is equal to approximately two-fifths the domestic output of farms, factories, and mines" (Harry Magdoff, "Economic Aspects of US Imperialism", Monthly Review, November 1966; also reprinted by REP). The trend is of course increasing, as has been the case since the mid-1950s.

Thus it is highly doubtful that, as Oglesby argues, "the primary pivot of neo-imperialism (sic) is not economic advantage but political necessity"; that



the ghettos, the Third World, and increasingly even the domestic working class are becoming superfluous in a capital-intensive, technocratic economy and can only be turned into happy consumers who won't rock the boat.

Dangerous Consequences

Of course the situation is not now what it was before the First and even the Second World War, and of course radicals especially must be sensitive to the differences. But, as has been observed by Magdoff: "The difficulty with a good deal of the thinking about the new capitalism is that it seems to be influenced not so much by critical study as by an eagerness to discover the 'new' as distinct from the 'old' or by the usefulness of the new ideas in serving particular political goals." Oglesby's account of modern capitalism has both defects, unfortunately, and the consequences could well be dangerous—especially insofar as "the particular political goals" it serves are those of corporate liberalism.

Thus we need not argue against co-operating with liberals by reiterating what everyone in SDS feels in his heart—that we want nothing to do with them. Nor should Mr. X's attitude toward Che be the criterion for rejecting a political alliance with him. Nor do we even need in this case to appeal to the moral bases of our politics or to our visions of a just society. The supposed New Coalition is not just an affront to our sympathies, but a challenge to the political and economic foundations of those sympathies. As radicals, we owe it to ourselves to examine this foundation, and to draw the necessary conclusions.

Andrew Levine
Columbia SDS

STUDENT SUPPORT FOR L.A. STRIKE

Brothers and Sisters:

Jim Fite's article on developments around the Herald-Examiner strike does the impossible: he manages to make the LA Regional Office's position even more obscure than it was previously. Replying to Jim Dann's charge that the Office opposed the demonstration, he murkily notes: "This is not true. The Regional Office maintained a certain political position ..." and then goes on to list the reasons why the Office opposed the demonstration.

"The main center of conflict between the Regional Office and PLP (for PLP read the SDS Labor Committee) involved the question of unconditional support." Not so. Never was it suggested by anyone on the Labor Committee that opposition to racism should be muted at any time. The question was, instead, should the union bureaucracy's racism mean that we no longer support the rank and file in the strike?

At a Regional Council meeting before the meeting discussed in Fite's article, the entire Regional Council voted to continue supporting the strike regardless of the union's official position on racism. That position was insisted upon, not by PLP, but by members of the San Diego Labor project engaged in full-time factory organizing.

The new position adopted at the August 10th meeting is not at all incompatible with the position of the SDS Labor Committee except for the gratuitous (and rather boring by now) assaults on PLP. The reasons given for supporting the strike are rather bizarre (if Hearst were a liberal without a seat on the Board of Regents who was trying to break the union, SDS might, given these reasons, support management), but I attribute that to the natural embarrassment of students who are supporting workers for the first time in their lives, and need some sort of elaborate rationale to justify it.

Jim Prickett
San Diego SDS

MAYOR DALEY IS LIKE HITLER

Dear SDS:

I am enclosing one dollar donation to Students for a Democratic Society. Daley is like Hitler—his Chicago SS and Nazi storm troopers and Gestapo beating up young kids. Hippies. I would love to be a member of SDS. Put me on your mailing list.

Donald

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Elitism

The National Interim Committee's third meeting was held August 30th through September 1st. This report of that meeting will be followed by several articles that will be more specific about the discussions. The meeting began the day after the confrontations in Chicago had ended, and almost everyone who was at the NIC had spent the previous days working in the streets. More than sixty persons from almost every area of the country attended. Many had been in town for the Chicago actions; some came just for the meeting.

NIC members Chip Marshall, Eric Mann, and Morgan Spector were unable to attend, but there were people at the meeting from each of their areas. SDS Inter-organizational Secretary Bernardine Dohrn was in Yugoslavia.

CHICAGO

Everyone was somewhat critical of the NIC's earlier decision regarding the demonstrations. Some felt that the NIC should have encouraged a full mobilization of SDS people, rather than just issuing a call for those interested in coming to Chicago as organizers. Others felt we had missed important organizing possibilities within the situation as it existed. Most discussion was around this latter point: People re-evaluated the decision to concentrate on McCarthy kids and the failure to anticipate the militancy of the young people attracted (but not organized) by the Yippies. There was criticism of our failure not to become more active in public leadership roles, which left most of the leadership in the hands of the Mobilization and the Yippies.

Those who came in from around the country indicated that Chicago will definitely become a new point of reference (like Columbia or Stop the Draft Week) for the Movement. With the exception of discussion around the need for a together organization to deal with repression, questions of strategy for specific follow-up were left to future articles in New Left Notes and the NC. We can anticipate more mass-arrest situations; more conspiracy and related charges will be brought against Movement people.

FIFTH PARTY TICKET: CLEAVER AND OGLESBY

The NIC spent most of two days reconsidering the question of whether Carl Oglesby should run for Vice-president, on a Peace and Freedom Party slate, with Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. A previous NIC had decided in a very long and involved discussion (See New Left Notes, July 29th, 1968) that Carl, as an officer of SDS and an individual associated publicly with the organization, should not be a candidate. But a special request that the NIC reconsider was made by the Cornell Chapter, by members of the California Peace and Freedom Party, and by Cleaver.

After hours of discussion, the NIC re-affirmed the previous decision. However, at Cleaver's request, SDS representatives (Nick Gruenberg, Mike James, and Mike Klonsky) were sent to meet with Cleaver Tuesday, September 3rd.

OCT 12th - BOULDER NC

Several hours were spent discussing the next NC. Given Chicago, J. Edgar, fall '68, the Black Panther Party, Paris, and the fact that the last scheduled NC was not held, it was agreed that this fall's NC is of critical importance. The amount of resolutions and other business appears to make educational workshops impossible; but a Labor workshop may be organized by the Internal Education Secretary.

New models for the NC were considered. We agreed that we can and must have more productive discussions than were held in East Lansing. One suggestion that could eliminate "excess" or paper resolutions was that instead of a high-school organizing resolution, for example, people who have been working with high-school communities would report; and instead of a resolution on our relation to the media, there would be reports and discussions on how this problem is handled in different areas.

The next NIC (open) meeting is set for October 15th in Boulder. Please communicate your ideas on the NC to either NIC members or the National Office.

CUBA SI, YANKEE NO

The discussion on internationalism began with a report from Ken Cloke on his trip to Japan (article to follow) and another by Sigrid Fronius from West Berlin SDS, who spoke about her organization. The rest of the time was spent on a discussion of the Cuba trips as they relate to the development of an international consciousness within SDS.

Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the NC. The large trip (thirty-three people) left for Cuba Monday, August 26th, after a three-day training conference.

The NIC felt that the Cuba trips should continue, but that they are valuable to us at this point only when the people who go are as prepared as possible, making them able to learn information that will be of value to our development. Small groups (no more than ten to a group) with comprehensive training in Spanish and study of the Cuban Revolution will be more effective than large groups.

A theoretical piece on ways SDS must develop international consciousness—as well as several informational articles—should appear in New Left Notes between now and the NC.

MOVEMENT MEDIA

Todd Gitlin and Thorne Dryer reported on plans underway for a media conference to be called by people like those with The Guardian, Liberation

News Service (New York), the Newsreel, and The Rat sometime this fall. New Left Notes people will definitely be included, as will SDS members who are interested in a media conference. The NIC also decided to formally call a meeting sometime in the future of all people in underground media who want to discuss and develop effective co-ordination with SDS organizationally. It was felt that contacts were very good at this point, but that they could definitely be advanced to a much more effective level.

ELITISM AND MANIPULATION

An objection was raised to the way several SDS organizers, including several who worked in the NO, had operated during the days prior to the confrontations in Chicago. These people had been discussing actions which they did not wish to discuss in a larger group. Others in the NO and several other Chicago people felt this behavior violated the spirit of the NIC decision on concentrating our organizing on McCarthy kids. The NIC generally felt that these discussions did not violate

its decision (especially since the NIC felt that its earlier decision had been wrong in focus). This started a discussion that included criticisms and defenses of "cadre and collective" styles of operation and also dealt with editorial policies of New Left Notes and questions of elitism in the SDS organization. These questions will also be treated in articles in the next few New Left Notes.

The general feeling was that this NIC meeting was not as rewarding as the previous one, and there was particular frustration over the development of a fall program for SDS. Since it is not the responsibility of the NIC to make programmatic decisions, only general discussion was held on this topic. Many individuals (NIC and non-NIC) at the meeting talked about their ideas concerning universities, the Elections, and other focal points of SDS chapter activity this fall. A discussion of the Czechoslovakia situation was scheduled, but there wasn't time. Articles and discussions on the Czech question should be sent to New Left Notes.

Wall Newspaper Hits the Streets



On the two center-fold pages of this issue are two sides of the SDS wall-newspaper "Handwriting on the Wall". It came out daily, a single two-sided sheet, for four days during the Chicago actions. It was both distributed as a handout and stuck up (with staple-gun or wallpaper paste) on walls and trees.

It worked very well in Chicago, and so did the "Barricade" in Berkeley a month or so ago. It is a vehicle more or less new to us, but there are a number of reasons why we should use it more and develop it.

Communication in any kind of prolonged crisis becomes a real challenge; Establishment media become unreliable and/or inaccessible; and our own media don't as a rule operate at high-enough capacity. Weekly

newspapers are far too slow, and leaflets, aside from being too small, appear in confusing variety and quantity. High visibility, frequency, simplicity of production, and flexibility—and, sometimes, anonymity of distribution—are essential.

Wall-newspapers provide all this. They're actually oversize agit-prop leaflets—poster/newspapers.

They can be produced by the editorial/production staffs of on-going papers, or by an ad hoc group. Layout and production are simple—one or two sides only, large size.

One of the best things about a wall-newspaper is that it can appear when it's needed, disappear when it's not, and move when it has to. Here are the closing paragraphs of the "Farewell Message" in the last-for-now issue of "Handwriting".

So HANDWRITING ON THE WALL stops for now at Number Four. It can start whenever we have the streets again—wherever it is, for as long as it is.

It can be anywhere, anyone can do it. Its face should show on every wall of every street the people move on. It doesn't need a big organization for strength, just people in the streets.

It's the talking people can't do when they're running. Name the names, get the ways and places straight. Bust the Man's rumors, and paper the town with it.

WARNING:

SDS's Semi-Annual Purge Is Coming!

EVERYONE WHO IS CHANGING ADDRESS THIS MONTH MUST NOTIFY THE NATIONAL OFFICE NOW—FAILURE TO NOTIFY US OF (1) YOUR OLD ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE, and (2) YOUR NEW ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE WILL FORCE US TO TERMINATE YOUR SUBSCRIPTION. BE SURE TO INCLUDE BOTH OLD & NEW ZIP CODES

NAME: _____

OLD: _____ STREET ADD. _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP! _____

NEW: _____ STREET ADD. _____

(DORM # IF ANY) _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP! _____

DATE EFFECTIVE: _____

SPREAD THE WORD: DO IT NOW!

HANDWRITING

SDS

DEAN JOHNSON: THE COPS DREW FIRST

Dean Johnson was shot and killed by Chicago cops early Thursday morning. The headline was 'BOY FIRED FIRST' but that's not the truth of the matter. Even if Dean Johnson did have a gun, even if he did fire it before he was shot, the gun was pulled on Dean Johnson a long time ago. And Chicago cops have been drawing on us for a long time. The facts are not just that this boy drew and fired, ran, stopped, and was then killed by John Manley and Fred Szewdo. The fact is that Dean Johnson was guilty, condemned and hunted before he even met the two 'youth division'

cops on North Avenue. This city was stacked against any other Dean Johnson, against us in Chicago now.

(1) He was an American Indian. That's not a good thing to be in America, especially in Chicago.

(2) He was 17. That meant he was under Chicago's curfew persecution--just because he was 17.

(3) He was in Old Town. Young people--especially from outside the city (he was from South Dakota) are drawn to this plastic bad dream of the West Village, and are picked off like flies by a saturation of undercover

vice & youth division cops. Their one place to go is a fake, and they get busted for curfew, possession, disorderly, vagrancy, missing persons--anything.

Dean Johnson's killing was one of hundreds in this city--thousands in our country. They are Indians, Whites, Puerto Ricans, Blacks. Anybody who gets pushed around long enough to want to fight back can get to where Dean Johnson was at.

People say it was stupid for him to fire at the cop. Maybe it was, stupid--but courageous. A lot of us aren't as stupid. We aren't as courageous, either.



About self-defense....

Got to be cool, fast, and see exactly what the situation is at every moment. No bullshit. This is a tight game.

Some talk you might have heard around:

(1) Japanese Zenkagouren do snake-dance very effectively. Thousands move together as one after MANY MONTHS OF PRAC TICE. Special situation in Japan: wear armor, mace not used, no guns around. Our snake-dance is nothing. Maybe some day it'll be something: discipline and movement together is in right direction. Right now: dangerous illusion.

(2) Self-defense/karate is body discipline and skill of many years practice. Everybody should begin now: hardening body, moving fast, thinking that way. BUT: what you can learn in a week is nothing, gives false confidence, maybe makes you fight when you should slip away. Dig: the man you're going up against is armed, stupid, scared. If you only got your hands and feet, you got to get the drop on him another way.

What's possible:

(1) In parks, ain't no place to go. Can't fight battles on a grassy plain. No ammunition (unless you carry it in), no cover, no way to disappear. Where are you going to go if the shit comes down? Figure it out now. Why fight in the park? What about the streets?

(2) Everytime we're in a crowd, they're all around us. Maybe they'll let you out. Maybe not. Choices are all up to the man--no odds in that. Everytime you're in a group/crowd, make sure you don't get surrounded. In the park they can move quick with cars on three sides.

(3) But small groups can move fast too. Two to fifteen people--NEVER GO ALONE, NEVER LEAVE SOMEONE WHO'S BEEN SPOTTED ALONE. The more the groups have thought about moving/what they might do/where they can go, the more they can move and act. Maps. Walking around your area of the city, thinking about sanctuaries, thinking about disappearing and coming out again. No bullshit. People know about Chicago pigs, people know about scared National Guard and regular army mobilized against their will. The man has guns. We don't have our guns with us. The man's got speed and communications and gas and numbers. That's where it's at. Fight comes after you dig that and work it through. THE STREETS BELONG TO SMALL GROUPS OF PEOPLE. Be cool. You go to jail now and you won't be out for 5 days at least. Jail's no badge of honor, just a bad trip. Keep going.

BARBED WIRE MIND

America has turned its Convention City into an armed camp against her own people. The "democratic process" is dead. Tanks are rolling through Czechoslovakia; they are rolling through Chicago too.

Thursday evening, a 17 year-old American Indian boy was murdered by the pigs. Traffic court has been suspended for the duration of the Convention, so that the political arrests can be handled. Cook County Jail is being turned into a prison camp. We are separated from the election process by barbed wire and National Guard.

We, the youth of America, in the tens of thousands, come here in our justified anger and are met at gunpoint. The pigs on the streets are talking about power, finally, because we've forced them to make that clear. Chicago has made that come down, and if we are "outside" here, it is because we have always been outside.

It is no accident that we have been excluded from playing a role in this election. We are excluded because we object to the war in Vietnam; a war in which our brothers die while the oil and construction companies, the military and napalm industries are getting rich.

We are excluded because we know that Nixon's and Humphrey's and even McCarthy's talk of "law and order" is a thin veil for genocide in the black community and suppression of dissent throughout the country.

We are excluded because we can not be against the Vietnamese' struggle for liberation, while we are struggling for our own.

We are excluded because we have refused to be good Germans; we face the pigs now because we have refused to let ourselves be used, and a society that can not use its youth must imprison it.

SDS has fought the use of the university as a research and training ground for U.S. militarism around the world and in the black community here. And we have learned that universities and high schools not only train people to make the war-machine and the money-machine function,

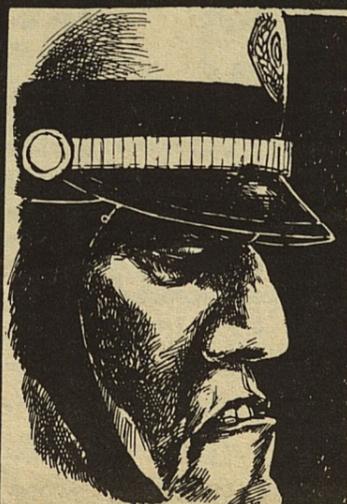
they regiment its youth to carry on its ends. In some places -- like Columbia -- we have fought the universities to a standstill. We will struggle to make more Columbias.

They imprisoned us at Columbia, and they will imprison us in Chicago. Thousands and thousands of other young people are joining us as they find the blue and white collar jobs they are offered stupid, lifeless and with no human future. What prisons will they construct to contain and regiment the thousands of steelworkers and autoworkers who are being laid off this year because profit was more important than humanity? There are more people than pigs; they will have to build prisons to hold us all.

We are youth and we want to be free. In our music, our ideas, our violence, and our love, we refuse to be regimented into their deadly games. We are not interested in becoming capitalists who control and exploit people's lives. We don't wanna live on Maggie's farm no more. America is our country, and we will not give it up without a fight.

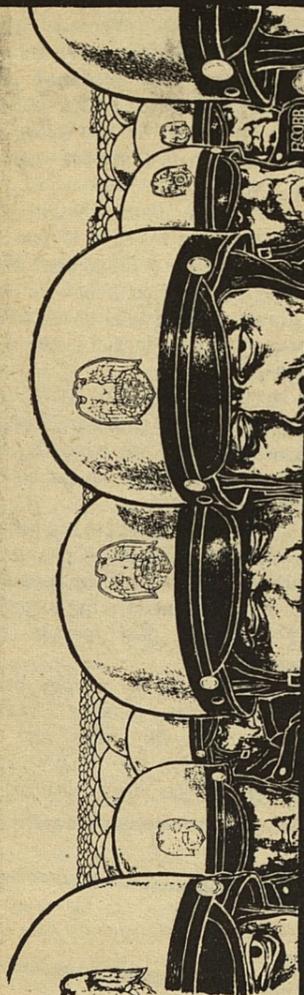
JOIN US

Come to the SDS Movement Center at 1900 north Sedgewick where we are struggling to be free, to be human.



HOW TO WALLPAPER THIS TOWN

Stick this thing up all over town. That way a LOT of people will read it. Put up two copies--one for each side. Use condensed milk--lots, front and back, or use wallpaper paste (powdered). Carry it mixed, in plastic bags, with sponges for spreading.



It is an honor and a privilege to live now, to be one of those who accepts the responsibility to kill the ideology of death and nurture the ideology of Life. Yes, it is supremely difficult, but what of value is not?

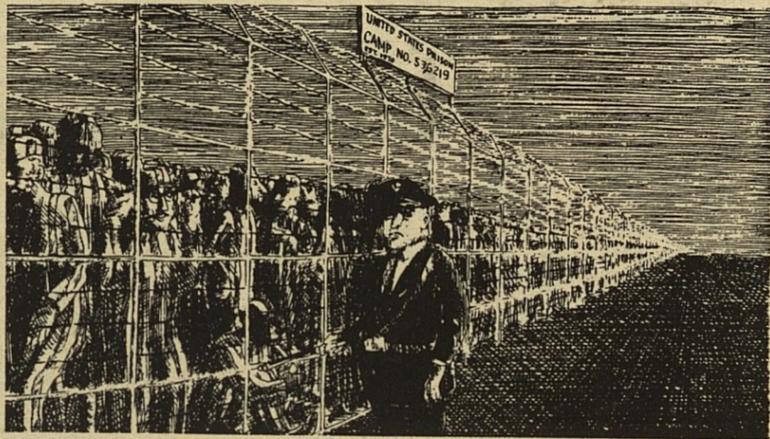
Julius Lester

ON THE WALL

#4

"Left of
McCarthy":

Peace
and
Quiet
Party



This End of the Stick

Under a lousy system, only wiping it out can leave any hope for a beautiful tomorrow. Then people like the youth in Chicago of necessity become revolutionaries. That means they know tinkering with parts of the system won't change it. That's why those of us who have been in the streets for the past five days didn't give a flying fuck whether McCarthy would win or lose; and now that he's lost, still don't. Only the youth of America and the Vietnamese will stop the war in Vietnam; and only the youth and the black people of America will create the new life. This, not a liberal Senator's political career, is our struggle.

Last night we made it to the Drake Hotel to watch a meeting called to form A New Party. A New Party dedicated to liberal values and liberal change: read lots of words and a little tinkering. It consisted of those people 'to the left of McCarthy', but still working within his campaign. They wanted to talk about forming a party to run "responsible" men on an independent slate. They didn't mention responsible to whom! The platform: immediate end to the war in Vietnam, eradication of urban slums, a change in political values. Nice words, small smokey room, same old faces. The slogan of the New Party is going to be "For Peace & Urban Progress" The Peace and Quiet Party. Just what we need this fall to keep the kids off the streets.

There will be young people, mostly students, who will get involved with this kind of game. But they shouldn't. The lessons of Chicago musn't be forgotten when we go back home. By now we know that this Racist Pig Power structure is run by Powerful Racist Pigs. They control the country from the top.

There is no instant formula for turning it upsidedown. Young people and black people in this country have to build another structure, from the democratic power of all the people on the bottom.

When we've built that, we'll take this country away from those mother-fuckers who run it and make it a place for human beings to live. If we spend our time playing games within the system, we won't be building that.

Yeah, we did all right this week. We did it in the streets. The delegates can cry and march now, they can even put up bail to get us out of the pig pen, but we understand that they are crying because they lost. King Richard the pig Daley and Hump the Hun won, and we won. There is one organization on one end of the pig's stick and another one on the other end of the stick. King Richard and the Hun have a base in money, big business, the vote getting machine, and the local urban military. They have the democratic party machinery.

We have a base in the millions of young people who have no place and want no place in plastic poverty pig America. Young people who understand that high school is a kind of prison to keep them from tearing the monster's insides apart. Young guys and chicks who don't plan on punching into the mills and factories and shitwork offices the country has to offer. Students who see the "student life" they are supposed to become as stupid and detached. All those young people who are cut out and cutting out and are on the streets: not only in Chicago but in every city in the country. In Chicago we got out together on the streets instead of hanging around the shadows, the stairsteps and the street corners. That is a base for a new revolutionary organization. It's a base that crying delegates, fourth, fifth, or sixth party candidates can't have: because they are not on the streets. And it is a base that has growing support--maybe only the support neutrality--from millions of older Americans who are fed up with the lives they have had to live and pass on to their children, who are desperate at the coming of overt fascism in America.

So we got a base. And the pigs got a base. So what are we going to make of ourselves?

First of all we know that nobody can tell us what we are going to make of ourselves. We learned that in Chicago. No old timers or old timers' lackeys could direct marches, set up marches or tell marchers what to do. That was an old form where we marched along at the mercy of the police trying to make the pigs in power change their lives. This time our people moved all over the city directed by a common energy. We found our own organizational forms, our own lines of march. And because we moved close to the streets the young people of

Chicago--black, brown and white--joined us. We found our own turf was with our own people. In Chicago we were finding who our own people were and where our own turf was.

And we know we don't want anyone to tell us about realism. Realism is the base we have in the energy of the people who are hanging around Maggie's farm waiting to cut out. No Nixon, Humphrey, or Wallace can have those people. Face it, our people are fighting the chains of property and of being used as property. No one can buy their labor or their good times, no one can sell them to someone else for money. We don't recognize money, because we don't recognize the leadership of the class of moneymakers and pigs who deal it out to us in return for plastic slavery. Face it: Our people don't dig capitalism, don't dig capitalists. Call us communists if you want to. Call us revolutionary communists--you better. But you better call us the people, because that's who we are.

Now we are learning how to organize. We're going wild in the streets--wild with no guns and with all those armed pigs running around. Around twelve and one at night, roaming around in small groups, we learned about the blocks, the people on the blocks we could trust, the places we could get into, stay and go out again to take care of business. When we go back to other cities we are going on to learn about the blocks, we are going to make them safe for people.

Factories and neighborhoods are blocks. We are going to make them safe for people. But we are going to go on taking the streets, because that is the way we get to the people on the blocks. Only we are going to take the streets because that is the way to make friends on the block. That's what we learned in Chicago: When we had something to offer the CTA drivers--energy in the streets, when people opened up their houses to us, when young people all over Chicago joined up with us.

Chicago is all over. Two, three...many Chicago's as the brothers and sisters say. We boycotted the convention--by every means possible. Maybe the next move is to boycott the elections--by any means necessary. But no one is going to call that shot except the organization that operates in the streets, the organization at the other end of the stick.

Report from Chicago

(continued from Page 1)

research manuals. Not this time.

Estimates of how many would come to confront the Democratic Convention dropped from a quarter of a million to the ten or fifteen thousand who finally showed up: McCarthy supporters, McGovern supporters, Yippies, hippies, and youth revolutionaries all together. Six months of hard propaganda about the Chicago police state scared most folks off; lack of political content in the Mobilization's call and strategy sent others away; and the rest came expecting to find trouble of one sort or another awaiting them. But not many expected the reality until it had already happened.

The first action came Saturday afternoon in Lincoln Park, where three thousand early arrivers were gathered, waiting for the Yippie rock concert to start. When the pigs wouldn't let the sound truck into the Park, Yippies, McCarthy supporters, local gang kids, and SDS folks—all together in the Park—filled up the truck and surrounded it. After a quick confrontation, an outnumbered police squadron decided to let the truck go inside. Then someone was busted twenty-five yards away. As he cried for help, he and the pigs were surrounded by the crowd. The pigs broke through, without having to crack heads, but were encircled again. This continued until the pigs reached their reinforcements, a long tight line of Chicago's Finest, and the next three hours were a stand-off. The tone was set—defend, learn to operate.

In the next few days and nights the situation escalated. Each night the Park was cleared around 11. Each night more force was used: from clubs to tear gas to shotguns, and finally to a few bursts of M-16s. Each night when the Park was cleared—or just before in expectation—several thousand young people moved from the Park into the streets and toward the Loop, Chicago's downtown area. At first they were simply contained, marching in large groups until the march was dissipated. Then they were attacked. Instinctively the crowd broke into smaller and more mobile groups, finding different routes into the center of town and down in front of the hotels where the delegates were staying.

In the daytime more open marches were held. One was held to free Tom Hayden, who had been arrested at Lincoln Park on a fake charge. The march went downtown past the main police station and into Grant Park. In the Park, a statue of some old flag-waving American patriot on a horse was mounted by youths carrying the Vietnamese flag. The police threw most of the standard-bearers down, but one managed to climb high enough up on the statue to give them a hard time. The crowd gathered, shouting "pig, pig", but were broken up by three-wheeler motorcycles charging through the Park. The last man was pulled down, his shoulder was broken, and he was carried off to jail.

Growing Militancy

Each night the militancy grew in the parks and through the streets. In the parks barricades were erected, and a police car was stoned before tear gas forced retreat. In the streets the object became to survive and still stay on the streets. Everywhere squads of pigs roamed looking for young people in the streets. People slowly began to fight back—with stones, bottles, or anything else that was handy—and to figure out ways to be more mobile and to escape quickly.

On Wednesday the Mobilization had called for a peaceful rally in Grant Park, and then announced that a non-violent march was going to be held to the Amphitheater, where the Convention was being held. SDS urged on that day, as it had throughout the week, that people stay in small groups, stay mobile, and not get caught in demonstrations at the mercy of the police; the pigs were not merciful. Some people left the Park to take care of business in the Loop, but several thousand stayed. The Park was

surrounded, the bridges leading to the city blocked. Troops were moving in with thousands and thousands of pigs in military formations. The crowd were divided, and, confronting the lines of troops, were halted. March leaders negotiated and tension rose as our people eyed the operations of the pigs and the lines of the troops. Police announced by loudspeaker that those staying would be subject to arrest. Slaughter seemed in the making.

Listening to police-band radios, some of the brothers and sisters heard that the pigs were afraid of people seeping gradually into the Loop. They intended to contain folks at the bridges, where some confrontations were occurring. There was some random head-cracking, and a few lay unconscious and bleeding in the grass. People who had been demonstrating in front of the Hilton moved in from the other side of the bridges, and chants began. Then the Guardsmen put on their gas masks; the shots of the tear-gas cannisters



cracked out; and the non-violent demonstration was over. Gas—a strong gas that hurt and made you sick—filled the Park and drifted in over the bridges, penetrating about four blocks into the heart of town. Chicago citizens and wandering delegates put their handkerchiefs to their faces and whispered to each other that downtown Chicago had been gassed by the cops. The Park crowd began running from

the gas and tried to escape to the north and south of the police and troop lines. Many were arrested, many more were beaten. Once through the lines, some began a not-so-non-violent march south to the Amphitheater; their march was later busted up. Other people roamed the downtown area, congregating again in front of the Hilton, where hundreds more were beaten and arrested. More and more people began to fight back, throwing stones, fighting the cops, even charging the lines. On the North Side, the cop cars were kept out of Lincoln Park with stones and bottles until the police moved in with busloads of men, gas, and automatic weapons.

Did the McCarthy supporters cross over during the week? A lot of them did. The common answer they gave SDS folks was: "We'll join you on Thursday, after the nomination." The real Joe College types, the ones who had bought the student life and the great American belief hook, line, and sinker, probably never joined us in the streets. But thousands of young people—people we wrongly called "McCarthy kids"—joined us right from the first, in the parks and in the streets.

On Thursday McCarthy addressed a rally in Grant Park. His supporters stayed with him, idolized him; but it was clear to many that he had nothing to offer. He talked about supporting anti-war candidates for Congress, but he made no mention of taking a stand outside the system which had beaten him hands down. He was still inside, but the people he was talking to had been outside for a week.

Thursday evening there were more attempts to march on the Amphitheater, more demonstrations at the Hilton. Gas, clubs, and troops were the answer. The press had gotten over the beatings they suffered on the streets the first few days, and reporters lapsed back into the troublemaker theory of the street confrontations.

Looking Back at Chicago

As we wander around the city now, when the people have left, everyone wants to talk. Young guys all over the city—black, brown, and white; students and non-students; middle class and working class—support what our people did. For a while the youth of the city were united in the fight against the cops, and the older population were partly neutralized by the clear vision of fascism shown daily by the Chicago police.

The country's vision of Chicago and the police state of coming years may pass, but those who were in Chicago will keep their vision longer. Chicago was just a preview. An urban chaos, regimented by a military police force. Literally thousands of young people—those who couldn't get jobs, those who didn't want them, those who were kicking the myths and the habits of the educational system—were all roaming the streets. They had to fight the cops to have a space to live in, they wanted to fight them to live in some kind of self-respect.

As the months go on, everyone will try to evaluate and criticize the role that SDS played through the week. We learned at least one thing: leadership could be given only by a group that could defend its people and could operate on the streets, in defiance instead of at the mercy of a repressive state. We were not yet that organization, or even the biggest part of it.

Inside Disruption

by Kit Bakke

(The author had press credentials for the Convention from a Washington state newspaper.)

What went on inside Chicago's Amphitheater last week was a somewhat dimmed but still recognizable reflection of activities along Michigan Avenue and in Grant and Lincoln Parks.

The battle lines were drawn with the Secret Service, Chicago Police, and Humphrey-Daley forces on one side, and the California, Colorado, New York, Oregon, and Wisconsin delegations on the other side. The fights were not always verbal—the police invaded the Convention floor twice, roughing up and removing delegates. (They handcuffed the chairman of the New Hampshire delegation for trying to use his Dartmouth identification card instead of his floor pass to get onto the floor.)

The militancy of these dissident delegations was something relatively foreign to the mainstream of American politics. The Democratic Convention is at the heart of the political Establishment, and yet there we saw tactics of disruption, tactics of the Left being used by the politicians of the Establishment.

American Politics

American politics is described by members of the Establishment most commonly in three terms: compromise, majority rule, and freedom of speech.

School children learn, and politicians believe, that the American political system approaches perfection because of its process of give and take. Everyone gets part of what he wants, and no one gets nothing. Therefore, there haven't been any American revolutions—no one is dissatisfied enough. Such is the theory.

Second, politicians believe that in America the majority rules. The minority is allowed to fight (legally) prior to the decision, but afterward it is expected to accept the decision of the majority as irreversible except through given procedural channels.

The militant delegations at the Convention broke both these precepts.

WERE YOU IN CHICAGO?

The Chicago Legal Defense Committee is preparing the defense in hundreds of political cases arising from the Convention. The Committee is preparing a legal-political offensive against government-sponsored repression. Testimony is needed about any cases of police or other official brutality or misconduct either experienced or witnessed. Please send as detailed a description as possible, signed and notarized, to the Chicago Legal Defense Committee, 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

N.O. News

The Neighborhood

by Mike Klonsky
SDS National Secretary

In the evening sometimes, we sit on the steps in front of the NO and talk and fool around with the neighborhood kids. We pick up some gossip and a lot of important news from the local community.

Last night there were about six of us sitting on the front step down by the restaurant. One of the kids from all-black Brown Elementary School in the West Side ghetto told us about his teacher, Mr. Young, who lives in the community. Mr. Young was out after school, taking pictures of some workmen tearing down a building, when two cops jumped him for no apparent reason and beat the hell out of him.

Today in the Chicago papers, the story was run in the back of the sports section, telling how Mr. Young was sitting in his car adjusting the light meter for his camera when a plainclothes detective, Anthony DeSeno, approached his car and demanded:

"What are you doing here and what's that in your hand?"

Young told him: "I'm not doing anything, and if you don't know what a light meter is I'm not going to explain it to you."

Young said the cop told him he was illegally parked in a crosswalk and ordered him from his car.

"When I got out," Young reported, "he hit me in the jaw and drew his pistol as the other policeman came up behind me and pinned my arms."

"DeSeno told me not to get smart or he would blow my head off. I thought he meant it and I managed to break the hold of the other policeman and get him in between us."

The second cop was identified as J. A. Manno.

The teacher said he and the two policemen confronted each other for a few seconds before DeSeno struck him with the pistol and other cops arrived.

Young was charged with battery, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, and parking in a crosswalk. I asked the kids if they knew Young, and they said

that they did and that he was "a pretty good cat". We started to get into a thing about why cops liked to beat people's heads in the ghetto. (It was previously suggested to me by a fourteen-year-old that "Afro-Americans and hippies should get together and kick hell out of the cops.")

A minute later a pig pulled up in his car and shined his spotlight on us.

"All right, everybody take off!" the white pig yelled from his car. The kids and one of the older guys from the bar turned around and gave the pig a bad look. The pig yelled again: "Yeah, I know, you found a real live hippie. There aren't too many of them left after last week, and if you don't move you'll end up the same way."

Everyone turned and walked away slowly, not wanting to get busted, except for the older guy from the bar, who just stared at the pigs and didn't move. I got up and went back into the NO.

The neighborhood around the NO has changed since the Convention. Young guys drive past, guys who used to give us bad looks when we walked around the ghetto. They roll down their windows and put up a closed fist, smile, and yell "Peace!" But "Peace" means something different now.



Little John, shown here with Jean Genet, is one of the kids from Madison Street who came with us to Grant Park.

Huey Convicted

As New Left Notes went to press we learned that his jury declared Huey Newton guilty of voluntary manslaughter in the October 28th shooting of Oakland police officer John Frey. Newton, the Black Panther Minister of Defense, was declared not guilty on a second charge of assaulting a police officer. The voluntary manslaughter charge carries with it prison terms of from two to fifteen years. Sentencing is set for September 27th in the Alameda County Courthouse, where the trial had been conducted since the middle of July. Defense Attorney Charles Garry reportedly will ask for an arrest of judgment and a re-trial at a hearing September 12th.

Columbia Calls Assembly

This letter of invitation has been sent to over twenty groups in various advanced and highly-industrialized countries; so far, it has received enthusiastic replies from many of the groups. The letter itself, though, only hints at the two substantive questions such an assembly raises: the necessity for calling it, and the questions to be discussed.

At Columbia, the longer the Strike went on, the more we felt the necessity for some kind of critical gauge for our own actions; in declaring the Strike Committee (representing some seven thousand people), holding "liberated" classes, staging confrontations, and establishing the "Liberation School", we constantly felt the need to be in greater contact with movements engaged in similar actions. Such movements certainly existed, yet it was practically impossible to get any news, for example from France on the way their "open" assemblies ran, or any detailed report on the different "Critical Universities" being set up in Germany.

The questions that will be discussed are precisely those which arise out of that stage of struggle: How politically efficacious are exemplary minority acts? What are the best ways in which the different movements have made connections with the traditional working class? What issues have they found most successful to organize different

constituencies around--if there are any such issues at all?

Dear Comrades:

The scope and nature of the insurrectionary actions taken throughout the highly-industrialized countries this past year have initiated a new phase of revolutionary struggle. It is now clear that the existence of anti-imperialist fronts within the imperialist nations is no longer sufficient for revolutionary struggle. The insurrection at Columbia University, the Easter Actions in Germany, and the May Revolution in France all point, with varying degrees of intensity, toward the formation of social anti-capitalist forces within each country.

The new level of action demands a co-ordinated attempt among members of the Movement in different countries to define more clearly the nature and importance of these actions and the problems facing the revolutionary movements in these countries. We think that, at this stage of historical and political development, a dialogue leading to the creation of a coherent revolutionary theory is necessary if we wish to insure the growth of an international Movement. We are therefore calling for an International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements which will address itself to two main themes: the stage of class struggle in the individual countries and the potential of new revolutionary agents, and the prospects and possible forms of an international revolutionary Movement.

For too long, the United States Movement has isolated itself from the Movement in Europe. The Assembly will meet at Columbia from the 17th through the 25th of September. It will largely take the form of open, mass meetings, thus allowing the presentation of an internationalist perspective to North American radical youth.

As far as possible, we would like a large representation from the invited groups. Particular individuals may have trouble entering the United States; for such people we can get invitations to make public appearances, which may facilitate their entry. We would also like each group to send us any literature which it thinks is important for understanding its Movement, and which it wants printed for distribution at the conference.

All correspondence and any specific questions should be sent to:

Columbia Strike
Co-ordinating Committee
Post Office Box 238
Cathedral Station
219 West 104th Street
New York, New York 10025
United States of America
Co-sponsors:
Columbia Strike
Co-ordinating Committee;
Students for a Democratic Society

WANTED: Reporters for the Washington Free Press, interested in muck-raking and generally telling it like it should be told, and willing to WORK. Odd hours, very poor pay. Contact Washington Free Press, 3 Thomas Circle, Washington DC 20005.

Repression Hits Hard in Texas

A plan by Governor Connally of Texas to destroy the Movement there has been put into effect in the last few weeks.

Organizers in Austin, Dallas, Houston, and Killeen have been put in jail on various charges stemming from drug plants and demonstrations. The jailings have been blacked out of the press nation-wide.

Lee Otis Johnson, head of Houston SNCC, has been sentenced to thirty years on a trumped-up narcotics charge. His wife, Helen, is now on trial,

charged with assault, and may receive a life sentence.

Johnson has been harassed heavily around the TSU Five case which grew out of the student rebellion at Texas Southern University in March 1967. The TSU Five are being tried on murder charges in October.

Johnson's association with SNCC was brought up during his brief trial. The prosecution produced one witness against him before he was sentenced. The penalty for possession and sale of marijuana can be anywhere from five

years to life. The prosecution asked for a twenty-year sentence in Johnson's case, but the judge sentenced him to thirty years. No bond was set.

Ernie McMillan, SNCC Field Secretary, and Mathew Johnson, his aide, were tried and sentenced within a week. They received sentences of ten years each for "destroying private property" during a shop-in at the OK market in Dallas. The demonstrators demanded black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas.

At Killeen, a Summer of Support coffee house, The Oleo Strut, was busted after weeks of continuous harassment. Fifteen people were arrested on dope charges after a successful plant by narcotics officers. Josh Gould, head of the project, is being held on \$50,000 bond.

According to New York Regional SDS, thirty-five other Texas Movement people were arrested August 31st on various charges. They are being processed rapidly by Texas courts and were scheduled for trial September 2nd. Each of them has been charged with trespassing and could receive up to ten years in prison. None of the Texas victims of repression has had a real legal defense, and all have been forced to use public defenders because of lack of funds.

William Kunstler, a New York attorney, has agreed to act as full-time legal co-ordinator for the Texas cases. He will help recruit volunteer lawyers for the accused. Bail and legal aid can be sent to Austin SNCC, 1311 Rosewood Avenue, Austin, Texas. Support rallies in New York are being planned by SDS.

THE ROOTS OF BLACK LIBERATION

G. Rawick: THE SLAVE'S OWN CULTURE

J. R. Hooker: THE BLACK PRESS AND AFRICA

C. L. R. James: BLACK INTELLECTUALS

PLUS: interview with editor of Detroit INNER-CITY VOICE
Black poetry by Sonia Sanchez, David Henderson, and Etheridge Knight
"New Perspectives on US Radicalism" by Paul Buhle

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Why Oglesby Won't Run

The emergence of the Black Panther Party on the American political scene has been a catalyst for the white radical movement. It has caused us to re-define ourselves in terms other than "the movement in the white community". It has also made us deal seriously with the question of coalitions and alliances. What is the basis for coalitions? What's wrong with previous attempts at coalitions between blacks and whites, such as the civil-rights movement and the Peace and Freedom Party?

These are some of the questions which the last NIC wrestled with for nearly a day. The discussion came up around the question of Carl Oglesby's running as Vice-presidential candidate with Eldridge Cleaver on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Although the last NIC turned thumbs down on the question a month ago, the California Peace and Freedom Party decided to nominate Oglesby anyway, hoping that the NIC would somehow reconsider its prior decision, which it did.

The previous NIC decision took nearly eight hours to reach. It came out of deep discussion and much argument concerning the best way to build functional coalitions with black radicals (see "White Mother Country Radicals", by Bernardine Dohrn, in the July 29th, 1968 issue of New Left Notes). This NIC meeting went through pretty much the same discussion, with some of the same and many new people. The reason why I mention this is that it's important to understand that the decision not to run Carl was not a hard-line thing. There were many good reasons presented, in my opinion, in favor of Carl's running.

The NIC discussion centered for a time on the internal struggle operating within the black movement at present. There has been much public expression of this internal struggle. The struggle has taken not only political or ideological forms, but also personal forms. At the risk of over-simplifying, I will describe the ideological battle as that between the forces advocating a solution to the black liberation struggle within capitalism, and those which are anti-capitalist.

SNCC and Panthers

There are some personal conflicts between the leadership of SNCC and the leadership of the Panthers that are presently transcending ideological differences. In fact in some cases, these personal fights are between the leaders of both organizations who are closest to each other politically.

In many areas of the country SDS has some sort of working relation to SNCC, while in other areas SDS people work in relation to the Black Panthers. Many NIC participants felt there is a danger in entering on one side of that internal fight at this time. Others expressed the need for any functional coalitions or alliances made with either SNCC or the Panthers to be made locally by local organizers rather than by national officers.

The problem of top-down coalitions provided the basis of a critique of the Peace and Freedom Party. It was felt by some that the coalition between the Peace and Freedom Party and the Panthers was simply a paper coalition with no substance.

The Peace and Freedom Party coalition with the Black Panther Party revolves almost exclusively around electoral politics, and most of the NIC participants agreed that this was not the best basis for black-white coalition.

Previously we had decided to support the Cleaver campaign by publicizing the Huey Newton trial and having Cleaver speak on campuses where SDS chapters exist, and by having Oglesby speak with Cleaver to young white audiences. We felt we could do this best by not running an SDS person on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, but instead having him speak as an officer of SDS with the main intention of building SDS and not the Peace and

Freedom Party.

As I said before, there were some good reasons in favor of Oglesby's candidacy. Some people felt that Cleaver would be attracting audiences of young white people who were potential SDSers—that a vacuum exists between the organizational needs the Peace and Freedom Party is most capable of meeting and those SDS is most capable of meeting. Others felt that the Peace and Freedom Party had no basis for existing after the November elections because of its heavy emphasis on electoral work, and that Carl could present an on-going program of campus organizing, draft resistance, community organizing, and high-school work that could carry people past November. However if Oglesby spoke with Cleaver not as a candidate, but as a member of a "revolutionary cabinet" or a group of support speakers, he could also present SDS program and politics.

It should also be understood that we are not out to undercut or destroy the Peace and Freedom Party. The question of our relationship to third and fourth parties is scheduled to be discussed at the October NC. The lack of any position on this question at the

last NC should be seen as one of the factors which made a clearly-defined NIC decision very difficult.

At a meeting in San Francisco, Mike James and I explained the NIC decision to Cleaver and discussed our ideas on coalitions and alliances. Cleaver seemed to feel that all the fuss being made over a Vice-presidential candidate was "nit-picking", and was much more anxious to talk about other avenues of coalition work like defense of the Movement, which has been suggested by the NIC as a meaningful area for common struggle. We also expressed our feelings about the irrelevance of electoral politics, and Cleaver agreed—saying, however, that we should use the electoral arena when and where it could benefit us organizationally.

Jack Weinberg of the Peace and Freedom Party asked if Peggy Terry of JOIN would run if Oglesby wouldn't. It seems that the California Peace and Freedom Party nominated Peggy as a second choice if Oglesby wouldn't run. Peggy had agreed to run a campaign in the Midwest which would focus on poor whites and young working-class people. It was agreed that her name

would go on the ballot in California as well.

In conclusion let me say that while there may have been some reasons for Oglesby to run as Vice-presidential candidate with Cleaver on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, there were other reasons that were felt to have more weight. The internal struggle within the black movement, the political problems of running as a Peace and Freedom Party candidate, and the need to build functional coalitions at the local level that reach beyond strictly electoral issues were the main factors in the decision.

This decision, however, demands of us a program of action around the Elections. Chicago has shown us that young people in this country are not necessarily caught up in the bullshit that is the American electoral process, that young people are willing and able to "vote with their feet" in the streets of America. This is where the potential for real functional relationships will be built. This is where the makings of an insurgent cross-strata youth movement lie. This is the one place where both black and white radicals are being forced to take their case.

The Case of 2 News Services

New Left Notes has been subscribing to Liberation News Service ever since LNS began. Now there are two LNSes. The context of that fact is long and complex, with a number of politically important facets.

First, historically: LNS headquarters was moved in July from Washington DC to New York City. This was done because the situation with Marshall Bloom—a co-founder of LNS—running the head office had in time proved itself completely unworkable. The basic problem was Marshall's megalomania. Ray Mungo, a co-founder of LNS and a close friend of Marshall, spent long hours in exasperated description of Marshall's "compulsive" insistence that he make all major decisions. The move was finally made after months of discussion between the New York Bureau of LNS, Marshall, and Ray Mungo.

The new office/staff in New York went through kaleidoscopic changes for a while, involving all kinds of factional shifts, legal and other subterfuge, incredible meetings, and so on. The outcome of those changes was a quick, well-placed kick in the balls from Marshall Bloom. With some now-reluctant assistance he funneled \$11,000 or so off the receipts from

the LNS/Newsreel benefit "Magical Mystery Tour", using \$5,000 as the down payment on a Massachusetts farm.

He and his staff set up at the "Montague (Massachusetts) Bureau" with the press, addressograph, and other equipment lifted from the office in New York. That office had been neatly and completely cleaned out. Being the first overt move of Bloom's junta, this took the New York staff completely by surprise, though they discovered very soon that it was only the final twist: that Bloom—with Mungo, Steve Diamond, Harvey Wasserman, and a few others—had done a lot of careful juggling of corporate papers, bank accounts, and postal arrangements.

Having made this discovery, and unwilling on political principle to call the Man, the remaining New York staff, with comrades from the Columbia Liberation School, Rat, Newsreel, and a visiting rock group, drove en caravan to Montague, Massachusetts. Their intention was to retrieve the press and any other accessible equipment. But after holding Bloom's people at the farm for six hours, all they finally got was a lot of repentance from Steve Diamond (including the signing over

of a \$6,000 check from the benefit, though it was signed into an account since frozen by Marshall's legal maneuvers); a number of LNS documents; some desks and so forth from the New York office; and a lot of drivel from Marshall. This developed into his bringing charges of kidnapping (a capital crime in Massachusetts) against thirteen LNS people.

The history of the "Case of Two News Services", of which the above is only a synopsis, revolves around a few central issues. The first and most obvious is the one of calling the Man. This is probably the first time that Movement people have been charged with capital crimes by "brothers" in the Movement. Even after all this, New York LNS people do not plan to bring (legally well-founded) embezzlement charges against Bloom and Company. Corporate and criminal laws are the kind of bullshit to be used as cover and pressure on the Man, not as weapons against each other.

SDS Conspiracy?

The other questions are a little more far-reaching. They have to do with (1) control and (2) SDS-baiting. One of the main focuses of Marshall's attack was on what he called an attempted SDS "take-over" or "conspiracy". A charge like that is not very realistic. SDS is overall very loose and heterogeneous. Few people are actually full-time or exclusively "SDS people". They are people under a wide political umbrella involved in an immense range of activities. That members of SDS see their work in radical news media as a political obligation does not indicate an SDS conspiracy against LNS, but indicates a MOVEMENT conspiracy against straight media—and even at that, it's a loose definition of conspiracy. Marshall's concern over infiltration represents, in the last analysis, a self-deluding focus on the political content of the challenge to his megalomania. Even more than the well-established practice of Red-baiting SDS-baiting functions as a cover-up. Generally—and specifically with LNS—one cornerstone of Marshall Bloom's arguments has been that because he started LNS, he should maintain control over it. That's hardly a revolutionary precept. Should SDS remain under the control of the Social Democrats who started it?

When an idea becomes an institution, control flows to its participants. Claims to exclusive personal control have no place in Movement institutions. The power of enforcement by alien police power only compounds the counter-revolutionary character of a move like Marshall Bloom's division of Liberation News Service.

OINK! OINK! OINK!

During the next week the eyes of the nation and the world will be on our city and our Department.

We of the Department face an imposing challenge. Our skills, our dedication and our professionalism will be tested.

We approach this challenge confident that we have the finest police organization in existence. We have been tested on many occasions and have met these tests with distinction. This time we will do even better.

Within the next few days thousands of delegates, newsmen and visitors, will assemble here. Our responsibility is to assure them a safe and pleasant stay. We know what a magnificent city we have, what great people live here and what capable police officers we have. Largely by our conduct, these facts can be relayed to the rest of the world through the news media. To a substantial degree it will be by our actions that the rest of the world will judge Chicago and to some degree our nation itself.

During these days, more than ever, we should strive to reflect credit to our city, our Department and ourselves. We must be conscious of our appearance. We must be examples of courtesy. And we must act with efficiency and assurance.

Above all we must be confident—confident about ourselves and about our leadership. We have been provided with the most modern equipment. We have had the finest training. And we operate with a select membership.

Day by day, year by year, this Department has moved forward. All of us have shared in this progress. Now we face a test which will show the world our quality.

We must continue to be constantly mindful of the welfare of others, never act officiously, and never permit personal feelings, prejudices, or animosities to influence our decisions or our actions.

I have every confidence that all members of the Department will reflect credit on the City of Chicago in the highest traditions of the Chicago Police Department.

James B. Conlisk Jr.
Superintendent of Police