



Chicago, Illinois

1608 West Madison

Students for a Democratic Society

NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS

September 16, 1968

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Vol. 3, Number 28

U of I: The Real Story

As a result of the last school year's intensive activity, the Black Students' Association at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana received a firm commitment from the School administration. On June 6th, BSA were told they could begin recruiting for a program they called "Project 500".

Specifically, the Project provided for five hundred black students to come to the U of I from ghetto high schools. The Administration also stipulated that there would be financial aid for "500" students, and that they would not have to work in exchange for aid; that they would not have to sign for loans of more than \$470; that they would receive adequate housing; and, especially important, that one-third of the five hundred would be from Champaign's black ghetto, the North End.

Major-media coverage of developments at Southern Illinois suggest that a newly-arrived group of ghetto teenagers tore into the Union Building lounge because they couldn't find anything else to gripe about, having had all their fees, et cetera, paid by a liberal and magnanimous university.

The truth of the matter is that a group of blacks, with the Black Student Association at the core, reacted to a long chain of "promises made, promises broken." They reacted to the false promise of a liberal university.

The history of relations with the black community held an implicit threat to the relevance of the University. "Project 500" was a basically desperate effort to smother this threat, and it didn't work. Because the operating principles of a liberal bureaucracy are, in fact, impotent and irrelevant to people's

needs, that bureaucracy could not act to stifle those needs.

The real issue before the BSA and "500" students was not whether students should have to live in a lounge, but what that stood for: the demonstrated emptiness of a liberal program of accommodation.

When the black student-recruits were ousted from the lounge of the Student Union, they were at the end of two days' effort to straighten out the Administration's fuck-ups.

They had arrived on campus to discover that only forty students instead of the prescribed hundred and eighty were from the North End, and that instead of an upper limit of \$470, some "500" students were being asked to sign for loans of up to \$800, and some of them would have to work in exchange for aid in addition to carrying a heavy load of classes and special tutoring.

Housing was only one of many issues, and only a minor one, though it alone was singled out by the sensational press. It grew, finally gaining primary visibility, because of the Chancellor's refusal to meet with students. Issues of admissions and broken financial commitments were not actionable—the moreso because University Chancellor Peltason would not meet to discuss them.

The BSA, meeting Monday night on the housing issue in the Union's south lounge, were addressed by Dean Millet—one of Peltason's flunkies. He asked the group "Which ones are dissatisfied?" He was told "If one of us is, we all are."

Thus unable to splinter the group, Millet left, saying that nothing could be done immediately. But he left also with a message that the students wanted to hear from Peltason himself by 1 a.m.

What they finally heard from the Chancellor was that the primary concern was to "clear the south lounge before we have another Columbia".

A buildings-and-grounds sound truck moved in with a warning. As students began to move the women out in anticipation of trouble, about a hundred cops—local, State, University—moved to clear the lounge. Though cops were in riot gear with four-foot "batons", arrests were not made peacefully.

Now, in spite of efforts by the press to disguise the issues as a spree of "biting the hand" and in spite of a student-faculty petition to bar "non-students" from the Union Building, "another Columbia" seems likely.

University relations with the North End community have deteriorated even further through all this, as they have with the growing Black Student Association. Response from liberal faculty members so far extends only to a push for charges to be openly dropped. (Expectations are that they will be dropped, but quietly, avoiding public capitulation.)

As for the part of white radicals at Southern Illinois...the road is a long one. Things as they stand now are not good. For example:

At one point on Monday night, six white students, more-or-less radicals at that, were knocked around by twelve of the black students outside the Union. They had assumed a kind of spectator status first inside, where it got a little salty, then outside the Student Union.

The point is that at least as a starter, U of I's white radicals could use a little more militancy (balls), and her blacks a little more radicalism. Before anything is going to move, people have to get together...and BE together.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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Looking toward Boulder

Thoughts on the draft

by Fred Gordon
Internal Education Secretary

(This is the first of a series of articles which aim to give some focus to the discussion at the Boulder NC. The intent is to give some definition to the chief problems that face the Movement and to offer perhaps some fresh thoughts on them that I have picked up in traveling around the country and in letters I've received. It goes without saying that we need more letters, more information, more ideas. Send them.)

The draft has proven to be a difficult issue to organize around. Counseling has turned out to be of limited political value. This is because it is difficult to get across a political analysis to a guy who comes in looking for help with his individual problem. He is often psychologically unreceptive to a political analysis because of a pressing feeling of helplessness and fear. And whatever politics one can get across is hard to follow up. The guy comes in, gets the information he needs, and then generally disappears back into the community. It is hard to find on-going political work around the draft to engage him. Given the fact that it is difficult to get across politics in the counseling situation, it is all too painfully clear to counselors that simply getting individuals out of the draft is of little political value.

For these reasons, in many places people have lost interest in counseling. The Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union continues to do it, but with little enthusiasm, and the same complaints are heard at the Lawyer's Guild in New York. The Boston Draft Resistance Group seems to be the strongest counseling operation still going on, but they describe their political gains chiefly in terms of the fact that the counselors themselves tend to become more political, and counseling has created good relations with the community.

The problem, it seems to me, is not that counseling efforts have atrophied. Perhaps there is little political value in counseling and it should be given up. The problem is that interest in the draft as an issue seems to have died as well. This seems to me to be an error in view of the crisis that faces us after the elections in November.

The New Draft Law

Everyone is aware that a new draft law has been passed. This law states that now all of last year's graduates and first-year graduate students will lose their deferments. Since the policy is still to draft oldest first, this means that almost all of last year's graduates and first-year graduate students will be drafted in the coming year. Occupational deferments are ruled out except in very special cases.

After the initial alarm in the academic community, concern with the new law has died down. The reason for this is that not many students are presently being drafted. Draft calls during the summer have been a small fraction of what they were last year. There seem to be two questions. The first is whether the draft law will actually be implemented. The second is why the draft calls throughout the summer have been so low.

So far as the first question is concerned, it seems clear that the new law is for real: Students will be drafted. The Army has already begun to re-gear its training for college graduates, and graduate schools have adjusted their admissions policies to the new law. We know that universities have already rejected many grad-school applicants simply because they are draft-eligible, and have increased the size of first-year grad classes in expectation that many will be pulled out.

Surely the law can be reversed at the last minute. But that will mean that the Army has gone to all that trouble and that the universities have disrupted people's lives and over-filled their

graduate schools all for nothing.

One hears various explanations of why the new law was passed. The first of these is that the new law is an effort to democratize the draft. In its simple form, it says that the Congress was concerned that the draft was not democratic, that it was granting privilege to students and discriminating against working-class and minority youth. Congress, it is argued, has acted to improve the democracy of the system.

The answer to this argument is simple: Since when did Congress begin altruistically to care about democracy? The US Congress responds to pressure and to political power.

This argument might hold, but those who advance it have yet to show that there was SIGNIFICANT pressure by black, brown, and labor groups to change the law. So far as I know, there

is not for more pencil-pushers.

If these explanations are to be ruled out, then we are left with two alternatives: either the new law was a massive mistake, or else there is a reason for it that we have not yet considered. It is possible that the law is a mistake. But the fact that the law offends voters, costs millions of dollars, and rapes the graduate schools means that if it is a mistake, it is really a big one.

I think that it is possible to see the new law as, in fact, rational, if we are willing to consider that there are massive changes going on in this country that are moving it rapidly to the right. Business International's urging SDS to disrupt the Democratic Convention, and Time-Life's interest in and favorable reporting of SDS activities suggest that there is a profound split in the ruling class, and that the corporate liberals are losing out to the

Even J. K. Galbraith can see that the modern university is merely a training station for the industrial technostucture. Yet according to the Los Angeles Times (April 8th, 1968), the new law will have the following effects:

(1) Enrollment in US graduate schools will go down an estimated seventy per cent next year.

(2) There will be twenty-five thousand fewer doctorates in 1971, and so a severe shortage in college teachers.

(3) The larger universities estimate that they will lose about a million dollars each per year because of tuition decreases.

(4) Many small universities will collapse.

(5) Law schools, which are least able to replace their law students with women and foreign students, will be emptied.

(6) Many universities which depend



was not very much—and certainly not enough to satisfy these groups at the expense of the middle class.

The second argument says that the manpower supply is growing short and that it is now necessary to draft everyone. That is why students are being drafted. But this argument does not hold water. Manpower pools are four times projected draft calls. The new draft law will mean that sixty per cent of all draftees will be college graduates. In the majority of cases, students are going to be drafted INSTEAD OF non-students, not along with them.

The third argument goes that the Army needs well-educated men. It is said that today's "action Army" has less and less use for the conventional foot-soldier, and has a crying need for technicians and skilled personnel. It is also argued, along the same lines, that the Army is badly in need of officers, particularly second lieutenants (whose life expectancy in Vietnam is about four months). Hence the need for students as officer material.

So far as the first point is concerned, the Pentagon has conceded that it can't use nearly the expected number of skilled people in certain capacities. Even the majority of the science majors will be put into "regular channels", not to mention the humanities and social science majors whose special talents, the Army sadly confesses, it cannot use. Furthermore, the course of the War has shown repeatedly, and the Pentagon has admitted, that the only way to win is on the ground. The need

Right. It is in this political context that this last explanation seems to me to make sense where the others do not.

The answer to the second question has already become apparent to many people. Why are the draft calls so low? This is an election year. The War is unpopular. So Johnson-Humphrey push Hershey to cool it until November. The War still needs men—more now than ever before because the US is losing—and only an idiot could now believe that there is peace in the foreseeable future. So the draft calls are cut until the elections; after November they shoot to the highest figure since World War II.

The New Law: A Mistake?

What is obvious is that there are a lot of strong reasons why the law should not, from the point of view of the ruling class, have been passed. The Pentagon spoke against it (at first). It is outraging the universities. And it goes against the interests of a very strong voter bloc in an election year.

Immediately after the new draft law was passed, the Pentagon came out against drafting college graduates. It claimed they were disciplinary problems. Eighteen-year-olds are more docile and trainable. They have less resentment against the War. This was the Pentagon's initial reaction, and the universities grasped at it in a futile effort to avert the danger of rape.

A second reason why the law should not have been passed is that it will wreak havoc in the universities. We all know why the universities were built

upon first-year and second-year graduate students to carry the bulk of the teaching load will cut back freshman enrollment twenty per cent.

(7) Many research projects, including those financed by the DOD, will be discontinued because of a lack of graduate assistants.

The third reason why the ruling class should not have passed the new law is that it violently offends a very powerful voter bloc, the middle class. They do not like the War in Vietnam to begin with; and when their sons are made to fight it, their opposition can be expected to take on a frenzied tone.

A Possible Explanation

We know that Hershey is not without strong political views about the American "national interest". He has a profound hatred of the "unpatriotic and selfish" individuals who do not want to help build the American empire. Now it appears that Hershey was one of the chief supporters of the new draft laws. In fact, when they came up for review, he said that he would resign if they were changed.

Why would Hershey and the forces that he represents, the forces of the Right, want to draft students? Let us follow through a fantastic and outrageous train of thought and ask ourselves whether it is really so impossible as it at first appears.

The draft will take almost every graduate and first-year grad out of school. Those who are sufficiently unpatriotic will go to Canada or to jail. At some campuses, as many as thirty per cent have said that they would do one or the other of these two things rather than go into the Army. This would be a loss of "national talent", but those who leave are the unpatriotic ones anyway. They are corrupting the present college generation, which is altogether out of hand. What is necessary is to strain out the bad ones and save the rest.

Those who go into the Army will get a two-year course in Americanization. Separated from their radical peers, the confused students will learn to respect authority and to toe the political line even if they may, in the far corners of their minds, have some uneasiness about it.

In the army, there will be a screening process at the beginning of basic training. This screening process will have two purposes. The first, and public, one is that those with special skills will be considered for desk or

(continued on Page 7)

new left notes

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Free Huey!

by Cathy Archibald

(The author is on the staff of the SDS National Office.)

Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, was convicted last week of manslaughter for allegedly shooting an Oakland pig. The conviction carries a possible sentence of two to fifteen years.

The next step in Huey's legal fight comes September 27th, when he is to be sentenced. The Panthers are seeking twenty thousand signatures demanding that Huey receive probation. Reports from California say the prospects for his release are bad. The petition for probation is reproduced on this page. **IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AS MANY SIGNATURES AS POSSIBLE ARE GATHERED AND RETURNED TO THE HUEY NEWTON DEFENSE FUND, BOX 318, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA BY SEPTEMBER 23RD.**

Before his conviction by the jury, Huey sent a message to the Panthers and the black community urging them to cool it. He said that the pigs and the power structure are looking for an opportunity to destroy the Panthers, and that it is important not to choose confrontations on the Man's terms or when he is expecting them.

Police Attacks

The night following Huey's conviction a carload of Oakland cops shot up the Panther office in Oakland. Fortunately, no one was in the office. There were, however, many witnesses to the shooting in the community—so many, indeed, that the local police chief was forced to suspend two Oakland pigs and file criminal charges against them. Last week in New York, where local Panthers were appearing in court for a hearing on bail reduction, a hundred and fifty white off-duty policemen and detectives attacked and beat a small group of Panthers in the hallway of the criminal courthouse. Wearing "Wallace for President" buttons, the pigs attacked the Panthers shouting "White Power".

All this took place while a hearing on bail was in progress and the courtroom itself was filled with off-duty cops. Although they denied any direct part in the attack, a group of New York police—the Law Enforcement Group (LEG)—has been organizing inside the Police Department and distributing a pamphlet which urges "all patrolmen and loyal Americans" to "stand up and be counted in court". Composed principally of young patrolmen, LEG has been demanding removal of civilians from precinct houses, abolishment of the Civilian Review Board, and an end to "coddling criminals" in the courts. Their organizing work is similar to other formal and informal groupings

developing in police departments in most major cities in the country.

Dubbed the "New Right" by the mass media, the police organizations and their natural allies in the Wallace campaign are taking the liberals' "law and order" line seriously. The liberal establishment and the traditional Right have created the monster. The local paramilitary forces, armed and trained for civil war, have taken their role seriously and their program into their own hands.

Meanwhile, the liberal forces in the country are trying to destroy the old political machine and force a "political realignment" to their advantage. On the other hand, they are continuing—and must continue—to feed the monster of the Right which they fear and have helped create.

Now the liberal establishment—the Lindsays—and the old political machine are BOTH "investigating" their own police departments. Their denunciation of "extremists" and their political persecution of the Movement increase. The police intelligence units, the tactical forces, the arming of local police expands. For all sectors of the Establishment the first line of defense (as LBJ called it last year) still remains the police.

The liberals must give at least verbal support to the legal basis for maintaining "law and order": the anti-riot act, stop-and-frisk laws, the strengthening of the McCarran Act, and so on.

In the political sphere, the old machine, the traditional Right, rides naturally on the crest of "law and order". But the liberals, desperately seeking a new base which will return them to power, must also continue the cry. They are caught on the horns of the dilemma which Humphrey's speech-writers expressed clearly: "We believe it is not a choice between revolution and a police state."

Questions for Us

The Left knows that is the choice. On the agenda of questions which the Movement as a whole and SDS organizationally must begin to answer this year are the following: How do we analyze the polarization of forces in the country, the increase of "legal" repression of the Movement, the emerging potential mass base for fascism? Further, how do we develop a program for our own self-defense which neither falls into the liberal trap of seeking our "civil liberties" nor turns our organizational energies totally to our own defense? This key discussion must go on now within the context of our continuing militancy and search for ideological clarity. We must develop programmatic answers which will unite our emerging theory with practice.

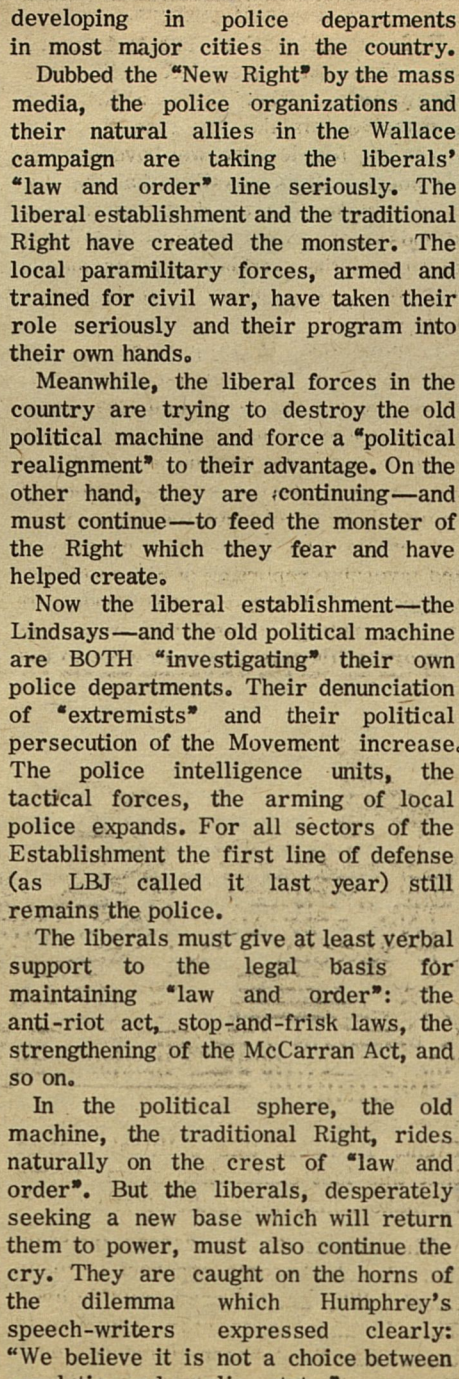
PETITION FOR PROBATION

To the Honorable Friedman, Judge, Superior Court, Alameda County:

We, the undersigned, believe Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party, and candidate for the United States Congress, Peace and Freedom Party, to be an honest, dedicated, loyal, and selfless human being who has devoted and is devoting his life and his talents to the liberation of black people. We recognize that Huey P. Newton is deeply needed in the community and deserves to be free to continue his important work. He is highly respected by the people of the community, both black and white, who feel that the profound and unique contribution to black liberation Huey Newton can make would be a powerful asset to the community. We feel that the community would suffer a tremendous and irreparable loss if Huey P. Newton is sentenced to serve years in jail when he could be using his talents to serve the people in the community. Therefore we implore the court to grant Huey P. Newton probation.

(PLEASE WRITE CLEARLY)

NAME ADDRESS CITY



FREE HUEY NEWTON!

(This is an excerpt from a letter recently received from Jeff Segal. Jeff is a former SDS national officer presently imprisoned for draft resistance.)

Heard today that Huey was found guilty. It's an angry hard feeling to know about that and realize what he and the other brothers out there are going through. Being here, I somehow feel very close to him and just wish I could take his hand and say comrade to him. It's hard to take, that, being in here, but I suppose less hard than if I was outside, since I wouldn't be able to do anything here or out there. But it just adds to that growing hate I have for the pigs and those who own the pigs. I'll try to write a letter out there for Huey, but if you are in touch with the SF folks in the next few days convey our concern and feelings.

* * * NOTICE * * *

The article "Why Oglesby Won't Run" in last week's New Left Notes was written by Mike Klonsky, SDS National Secretary.

STUDIES ON THE LEFT

Back issues (50¢/copy) are available from New York Regional SDS, 131 Prince Street, New York 10012; available are Vol. I, #3; II, #1, 2, 3; III, #1, 2, 3, 4; IV, #1, 2, 3, 4; V, #1, 2, 3; VI, #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; VII, #1, 2.


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 This is Tomi. She is 17 years old. She is our new membership & subscription secretary. Her job is turning her youthful radiance to anguished decrepitude. Will Tomi grow old (shudder) before her time? Send your address change now and save her from becoming a jaded Stalinist at 17....

Respect for lawlessness

by Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers
Lower East Side, New York

Chicago is over—and the words begin to flow. Already SDS has been condemned, lampooned, or congratulated for whatever its role was in confronting the Democratic Convention. In order to correctly evaluate SDS's response to that week it is first necessary to understand Chicago's relationship to, and meaning for, the struggle toward revolution in this country.

THE FUTURE OF OUR STRUGGLE IS THE FUTURE OF CRIME IN THE STREETS...

Chicago represents a beginning of the major transitional stage in our development. We are now entering a complicated climate of interaction between old and new forces, and between old and new means of expressing those forces. Both the form and the content of struggle begin to undergo complex and thorough changes. In this coming stage "uneven development" will become even more apparent. Vanguard will appear unexpectedly among traditional energies, and those energies will be either accelerated or amputated. It is now clear that "consciousness" exists on all levels of this disintegrating society, and that the quality of that consciousness will be determined by the vehemence and inspiration with which it is exercised. **IT IS NO LONGER ENOUGH TO RAISE CONSCIOUSNESS. THAT CONSCIOUSNESS MUST BE EXPRESSED.**

So, the streets of Chicago provided a spectrum view of the Movement as it exists today. Mass demonstrations became springboards for mass actions. Small groups acted within the situation to discover the limits of that confrontation. Those who need to

understand their discontent interacted with those who need to act theirs out. Some participants confronted issues... while others recognized that the entire monolith of American state power is the ONLY issue. In the streets of Chicago, in this entire range of expression we find all the seeds of transition, and it is this transitional character which governs the emerging history of this next, pre-revolutionary stage.

One of the primary facets of the Chicago experience was the erosion of the traditional concept of leadership. There were two kinds of leaders in Chicago: titular heads of the Movement, and functional agents of action. Leaders recognized and defined as such by the Man, who stood before the crowd and announced the reasons for the Chicago event, proved to have no real function within the political-cultural upheaval taking place on the streets. They represented only a tactical danger to themselves and those around them, and an irrelevance to the mass action. The concept of centralized, personal leadership has begun to be transcended by the organic and spontaneous needs of the street.

On the street, in the action, certain individuals and groups do provide impetus and direction for the moment and for the situation. These agents are the catalysts of inspired tactics whose actions coincide with the mood of the crowd and with the requirements of the objective conditions. It is the added tactical advantage of these functional leaders that they can emerge from the crowd quickly and effectively, and that they can disappear back into their "constituency" just as easily.

In this next stage of struggle (that transitional stage being worked out in the streets) these functional leaders will prove to be the only effective

means of maintaining tactical and political coherence and of escalating expression.

Chicago was the overall range of life-styles present on the streets and in the action. This variety of personnel was inescapable to all participants, and inexplicable to many—Bikers and Priests, SDS and NBC, Delegates and Yippies, McCarthy Kids and Motherfuckers, et cetera. All kinds of people from all kinds of places and backgrounds, fighting together for all kinds of reasons: the creation of the STREET LEFT.

While this fact of Chicago may upset some analyses, it had better not prevent the acceptance of this new phenomenon by all concerned. Three things determine and unify this new "Army": Youth, Disaffection, and the Need for Action; and these three characteristics will continue to define those who join and participate in the on-going struggle.

In response to this phenomenon we begin to hear about "cross-class" consciousness, and Chicago will be used to back this up. But this is a mistake in terminology, and it could well lead to a deeper error in understanding. "Cross-class" approaches emphasize the roots of those who come together for the purposes of confrontation and expression. "Cross-class" runs the risk of continuing to focus on different elements in different ways, whereas what is most important is the unity which transcends those differences.

A new class, not an amalgam of classes, is being forged in the streets and in the struggle. It is true that this new class contains many disparate elements of our social structure, but it is that very social structure



which is being called into question by our confrontation with it. It is precisely the cross-class nature of our society that is disintegrating and that we must destroy. We must recognize that what is coming into being is not a coalition of different class elements, but a new class with those needs which must destroy the existing system of social repression and political oppression in order to survive.

This new class began to be violently visible on the streets of Chicago, but it has been forming just below the surface of our society for a long time. For the drop-out and for the working-class youth alike, this society now represents something he is outside of. Blacks have always been excluded as much as possible from this society, and now white youth are being forced to reject the sickness and emptiness of

Struggle demands mass legal

by Mark Simons

(The author is a Chicago law student presently working as executive secretary of the Chicago Legal Defense Committee.)

At a Lincoln Park rally held close to 11 one night during the Convention, the brothers and sisters chanted 6-4-1-1-4-7-0—for the uninitiated, the phone number of the Chicago Legal Defense Committee. The question facing many of us now is whether that chant was simply noise, or whether we are finally able to see the parallel between the streets and the courts and ready to carry our struggle into the latter forum.

To many of us, there is a fine line drawn between the pre-arrest and the post-arrest situation. Three thousand of us can face six thousand guardsmen with their bayonets drawn and insist that the streets are ours; but as soon as we emerge from the lock-up, our bail bond just paid, we too often shrug off any further fight because "they have us under their power". A unified defense is rejected as many scramble for the fastest path to the lightest sentence.

There seem to be two basic assumptions underlying such a surrender. First that we can't win, and second that even if we could it wouldn't be worth the fight. The Chicago Legal Defense Committee (CLDC) and the Defendants Committee are presently working together to disprove both.

Taking the second situation first: There are few places where the court system—its personnel and its policies—so perfectly reflect the entrenched powers as in Chicago. The Blakey Report, an account prepared for the Kerner Commission by a Notre Dame law professor and not-surprisingly suppressed, details the ties that most of the local judges have to banks, local industry, real estate, and the Mafia. The control is not even subtle.

Daley's lieutenants hover around the courtroom whenever a political case comes up. As Abbie Hoffman told Lynch (the trial judge who decided that Daley would be reasonable in turning down the requests for parade and park permits), the judicial system is as bankrupt as the political system. In fact Abbie could have pointed out that it's the same damn system.

So, the second assumption can be easily rejected by showing that the fight in the courtroom is merely a continuation of the battle in the street. If such a battle was worth beginning, surely it must be worth continuing.

That answer is a little too rhetorical for most, however. Perhaps the struggle's worth can best be seen by demonstrating the victories that can be won by undertaking it.

Before that, one necessary given: no individual was arrested during the Convention for breaking the law. In fact, individuals per se were not arrested at all. As a mass of people protesting imperialism and racism we took to the streets, and as that mass we were confronted, beaten, and arrested by our political opponents. To break up our group now and plead as individuals before Daley's judges would be to destroy our strength—to play the game by the other side's rules.

Now for the victories. Let's assume that a hundred people eventually co-operate in the mass defense (not a dream, since over six hundred were arrested), and that they each demand a jury trial. There will be triumphs at two levels.

First, victories at the propagandizing level. At each trial there will be twelve jurors drawn from most areas of American life who are legally bound to listen to and watch every piece of evidence introduced. Twelve people who must pay attention to the movies of the kids being beaten in the streets, to the



--photo by ann douglass/Ins

Guarding the Hilton



Bobby Seale speaks at Lincoln Park.

--photo by fred mason/lms

American life/death. It is the concrete fact of being OUTSIDE, whether through exclusion or rejection, that defines the new class. Being outside is the unifying characteristic of all those opposing America now, and being outside creates the needs that will motivate our struggle until it has destroyed all that we are outside of. A proletariat of Outsiders can be the only source of that class need which will make the Revolution. This class and this need already exist in embryo: GROW, BABY, GROW.

A NEW MANIFESTO: THERE ARE NO LIMITS TO OUR LAWLESSNESS

Concerning SDS, Chicago, and the future—SDS approached the Chicago

al defense

words of the defendant and his witnesses as they explain why they came to Chicago to confront their country's ruling party, and to the summation of the lawyer as he frames the political arguments in the constitutional terms that will appeal to these twelve peers.

One other courtroom activity should not be forgotten. Whenever possible large numbers of co-defendants and their friends should appear at the court in a show of support for their brother on trial. The psychological impact of our unity must not be diminished. This propagandizing inside the courtroom will not overshadow the work outside. A unified defendants group that runs a speakers bureau and writes articles for community and underground press can effectively use its collective experience as an organizing tool. Street demonstrations on behalf of those being tried bring the Movement full circle in its demand to be heard. Split up as a hundred individuals, the defendants cannot possibly do this.

Second, victories at the confrontation level: For too long the courtroom has been rejected as a favorable battleground. Actually, a unified defense can make it an ideal area. A hundred jury cases would tie up the Chicago courts for months. Cops, the primary prosecution witnesses, would spend their time in the courts, not out busting the heads of our brothers and sisters. Many defendants would get off completely as the courts dismiss cases in a vain attempt to handle the situation. Another face-down—this time they back off. When the next confrontation occurs, Daley, his cops, and his judges know that a mass arrest means a mass defense. The weapon designed by the system to crush us, mass arrests, will have been twisted and used against those who wield it. The system will be turned against itself.

event as an uncertain external cadre. In retrospect that was about all that was possible. No one was certain and no one should have been, because Chicago was a crisis that was new and could only be responded to. (Soon we will be creating our own crises.) During the event itself, SDS operated as an internal cadre, doing what it knew best how to do (disseminating educational material), and learning new functions (street response). Both of these roles were viable and both were more or less determined by the objective conditions. But just as the events of that week signified transition for the Movement, so they demonstrated the need for transition in SDS's emphasis. The reality of the street moved rapidly from raising consciousness to expressing that consciousness. SDS operated in a limited fashion on both of these levels, but it was in the arena of expression/action that it was most relevant. (This arena included "Handwriting on the Wall".)

SDS must now accept the conditions of this period of transition and move accordingly, from education to action. Within this stage of transition neither of these functions will exclude the other—but the emphasis must clearly be placed on the street rather than the pamphlet. Regional considerations of "uneven development" will determine, to a large extent, the rate at which this shift takes place, but the motion must begin everywhere. In order to remain viable both as an organization and as an inspiration, SDS must immediately adjust to the lessons of Chicago, Columbia, and Berkeley. SDS must begin to provide functional leadership and must now understand the emergence of the new class unity among Outsiders.

Most importantly, SDS must recognize that the American Revolution will be a Social Revolution—the synthesis of political and cultural upheaval. IT HAS ALREADY BEGUN.

"The aim of the SDS attack is to smash first our educational structure, then our economic system, then, finally, our government itself."—J. Edgar Hoover

MADISON, WISCONSIN: A freshman orientation meeting spontaneously erupted into an anti-ROTC demonstration with more than three hundred freshmen taking part.

The WDRU and SDS, which are now merged into one organization, held guerrilla theatre actions at the orientation meeting. Individual freshmen then got up and attacked ROTC. Then another freshman suggested that "we put talk into practice".

From there, the students marched out, demanding an end to compulsory ROTC by Monday, September 16th.

The Administration at first responded by offering exemptions to any students who requested it in writing. The students met and rejected this attempt at co-optation, calling for a boycott of ROTC by all students.

According to SDS organizer John Fuerst, the merger of SDS with WDRU is an attempt to build a mass organization on the Madison campus, and the freshman action is merely an "indication of things to come".

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA: A powerful dynamite bomb exploded on the doorstep of a Naval ROTC training building on the University of California campus and heavily damaged the one-story building.

The explosion, which shook up two hundred alumni who were meeting in a nearby gymnasium, blew a two-foot hole in the reinforced concrete porch, demolished the heavy front doors, tore up furniture, and shattered most of the windows in the building.

The building was unoccupied at the time. The same building has been fire-bombed twice previously. Campus cops said that the bomb was carried in a black satchel and planted on the front porch of a Callaghan Hall by a young man whom they chased through traffic but could not catch.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY: A meeting of the faculty, held to decide whether or not Columbia rebels should be reinstated in the University was attended by some three hundred uninvited students.

The faculty decision was a compromise which would re-admit some students, but not Mark Rudd and twenty-nine others who are charged with more serious offenses.

The students demanded that all suspended activists be reinstated. They also demonstrated against the appointment of temporary President Andrew Cordier, former head of the Columbia School of International Affairs who has been active in the Government's counter-insurgency programs in the Congo.

The demonstrations led to scuffles with campus cops.

OCT. 11-15 BOULDER, COLORADO
 SDS national council *PLAN TO COME!*

delegate info

housing info

1. Each chapter is entitled to one (1) delegate for every 25 national members, or fraction thereof.

2. Send delegates names to the N.O.

If you want housing, send your name to:

SDS
 University Memorial Center
 Boulder, Colorado

DO IT NOW!

Czech crisis: spirit of defiance

(Richard Kremn visited Czechoslovakia during April and May of this year. This article is based on his observations then, a few months before the Soviet invasion. It was written from notes on a conversation with Kremn, which we hope were more or less accurately presented. It does not deal with the governmental politics of the situation. Neither SDS nor anyone else gains much from hearing a "position" on acts of bourgeois diplomatic manipulation—and both now-visible sides of the Czech "dispute" are that.)

Being in Czechoslovakia at that time was a tremendously exciting thing for anyone. There was an incredible spirit of Liberation.

Especially among students—young people generally—there was a spirit of defying anything laid down by authority—the Government, the Party, schools, parents.

The atmosphere of questioning was everywhere. The previous September kids had been passive, quiet. Now

EVERYTHING was subject to challenge, and question—in school and at home, with regard to dress, curriculum, mores—virtually everything.

People were interested in preserving Socialism—in making it more meaningful, more democratic. There was a concomitant desire to be rid of the last vestiges of capitalism—things like extensive black-market dealings, tips necessary to get various services. The feeling was that the needs prompting and feeding these things had to be eliminated. There was a feeling, as in German SDS's "council" democracy, for a participatory system. They were generally opposed to the Yugoslav form of total worker control—feeling that the need for central distribution and supply, et cetera, precluded complete control at all production levels. Much could be done, however, to extend control of people over the institutions they participate in; workers should be able to form their own unions where they work, should be able to have greater influence on the activities of the councils of the Planning

Ministries.

They don't want to lose the Socialist benefits they now enjoy—the almost total job security and the "cradle to grave" social benefits—but they feel there's nothing wrong with borrowing some social concepts from bourgeois capitalism. They feel, in fact, that things like free speech, free press, and "due process" can only be real in a context of Socialism.

In April and May, when all this was blossoming, people would say Anything, anytime, anywhere. People constantly argued in the streets. There were frequent demonstrations, but one hardly ever saw police at the demonstrations—with the exception of an Arab anti-Israeli demonstration. (Czechs resent the Soviet-inspired preferential treatment of Arabs there, and are generally pro-Israeli.) In fact, police generally were seldom seen during this period of Czech "Freedom High" reforms.

The move to Socialist free speech and free press was accompanied by a desire for a kind of "due process".

Young Czechs wanted to incorporate in the Socialist state some way to avoid bureaucratic trampling. They not only wanted elections within the Party—but in fact talked of the possibility of there being more than one party. The "People's Party", a Catholic organization, and the "Club of Committed Non-Party Members" were both on their way to becoming real political parties.

The indications now are that it's all over—some Czechs visiting here think, in fact, that their country now faces a surge of Stalinism. There was, though, so much hope and promise then....

Some wonder, on the other hand, if the hopes of so many young people there and in the West were really well-founded. The feeling is that, under Dubcek, Czechoslovakia might have become a Belgium or Holland. Instead of becoming a truly progressive Socialist nation, Czechoslovakia might end up in another five years indistinguishable from the advanced progressive bureaucracies in the West—another bulwark of liberalism.



Japanese left

(continued from Page 8)

study. The Bund defines itself somewhere in between these groups on this question.

Both Chukaku and Kakumaru Zengakuren believe that there are two parts to a strategy of world revolution: anti-imperialism, and anti-Stalinism. Anti-imperialist Zengakuren, on the other hand, feels that anti-Stalinism is not a strategy, but only a tactic. The difference is that while Anti-imperialist Zengakuren supports the NLF and the North Vietnamese, and has a kind of hesitant admiration for some aspects of the Cultural Revolution in China, Chukaku and Kakumaru condemn all of these, particularly the Chinese Revolution. While supporting the "struggle of the Vietnamese people", both groups are highly critical of the NLF, although not usually publicly.

The Bund, and with it Anti-imperialist Zengakuren, believes that there are three main thrusts of development to a world revolutionary movement—the War in Vietnam; struggles against alliances of imperialist countries to carry out counter-revolution in the Third World (such as the Japan-US Security Treaty, CAS, et cetera); and revolutionary movements within the advanced capitalist countries of which they consider the US, Japan, Germany, and France to be most important.

The Bund's united Marxist-Leninist faction, which was formed in 1965 after the JCP rejected its previous Maoist posture, feels, with Lin Piao, that "the peasantry of the world are surrounding the cities of the world", and therefore the really crucial struggles are occurring in the under-developed countries.

Of the other groups which are part of Anti-imperialist Zengakuren, one of the largest is the Kaiho or Liberation faction of the League of Socialist Youth (LSY-KF). The "liberation" or "emancipation" faction is characterized by many as "Luxembourgist", by others

as "anti-industrial rationalizationist". The latter term is used often in their political vocabulary, and has no direct translatable counterpart in English. It broadly refers to mechanization and automation, together with the social and cultural implications of "so-called technological progress". The liberation faction's program includes, but is not limited to, opposition to alienation, computers, and all techniques by which exploitation is made more efficient.

The liberation faction is strongest at the University in Fukuoka, where a US Phantom jet made the dual mistake of crashing not only into a university, but also into the very building where a new computer was to be housed. The students immediately threw up barricades around the building and refused to allow the government to remove the plane until all US planes were removed, and unless the computer also was removed.

The Internationalist Faction of the League of Socialist Youth, also within Anti-imperialist Zengakuren, is a Trotskyist group which split from the general Fourth International organization in 1961 over its failure to stress anti-imperialism.

Other Japanese Left organizations include the Socialist Workers League (SWL), which is not formally a part of Anti-imperialist Zengakuren (because it is not a student organization), but is close to it. SWL argues strongly for structural reform of the universities, factories, and other social institutions.

The most vital Left workers and students organizations on a grass-roots level are the Anti-war Youth Committees, which grew out of battles with the police at Haneda and at Sasebo against the USS Enterprise. The Committees, which exist all over Japan, are primarily composed of young workers, with a sprinkling of students and others. They appear to be neutral ground for all of the factions, and permit the Japanese Left's concept of student-worker alliance to be tested in practice.

While there are numerous other organizations, factions, and Left groups which might be dealt with, these are, I think, the most relevant groups from our standpoint. All of these groups requested the co-operation of SDS and the Left in the US generally in opposing the Japan-US Security Treaty, up for renewal in 1970, and our opposition to continued American military presence in Okinawa, in addition to the usual requests for literature, cultural exchanges, and more SDS visitors to Japan.

Specific Requests

Anti-imperialist Zengakuren however made several specific requests for SDS action, which it prefaced by saying that it (particularly the Bund) saw SDS as taking a leading role in the organization of world revolution. Because of the world-wide character of US imperialism SDS in the US is placed in the position of being one of the few groups capable of co-ordinating protest on a world scale. They feel SDS has been remiss in this regard, and no explanations of mine concerning certain small internal problems which cramped our world style were of any avail. I think that they are right, however, and that SDS must begin to take a more aggressive role in world struggle, and in the formation and development of international organizations. The specific requests were as follows:

(1) that we dedicate the week of October 21st through 26th as the week of international actions for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, and to fight against the Japan-US Security Treaty and NATO;

(2) that we organize a movement to overthrow US military rule in Okinawa, and to remove US military bases on the island;

(3) that we organize direct actions to oppose the visit of Prime Minister Sato to the US in January or June of 1969;

(4) that we fight against ASPAC (Asian and Pacific Council), whose purpose is to exploit other Southeast Asian people and organize around US military strength, much like the OAS, and that we join with German SDS

in opposing NATO in September 1969;

(5) that we organize all forms of struggle to prevent the re-adoption of the Japan-US Security Treaty in 1970;

(6) that we attempt to unite armed struggles in all of Latin and North America and Asia (which they refer to as the Pacific Area) against imperialism and in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in each of these countries, including the struggle against the OAS;

(7) that we join with others and re-build a militant international New Left student organization to supplant the International Union of Students, which follows peaceful co-existence lines, beginning this year;

(8) that we prepare a second meeting together in 1969, preferably called by SDS, to discuss these and other questions;

(9) that SDS encourage the struggle against all US bases in other countries (Magdoff in the June 1968 issue of Monthly Review lists sixty-four countries.) and all mutual defense treaties with national bourgeoisies of all other countries.

While we must consider each of these suggestions for action from our Japanese brothers and sisters from the standpoint of our own movement and our own course of development, it is obvious to me that we have much to learn from each other and that there is considerable room for co-operation between our movements. While Japanese society and Left politics seem to manifest the same unresolved contradictions, and while ancient styles and modernity appear simultaneously together in the same organization, and there are many differences between our movements, the inexorable fact of world history is that we are being moved closer together as imperialists around the world group together in joint defense. If we wish to bring Chase Manhattan Bank or Dow Chemical or Coca Cola to their knees and stop their exploitation, we can do so only by organizing international struggle. We have to recognize that America cannot merely be transformed at home, since it does not exist only within the boundaries of the US. The only way to destroy international exploitation is through world revolution.

by Patrick Sturgis
editor, new left notes

New Left Notes is on the threshold of a new era. Beginning soon, the role of editor or someone else in non-residence will be added to the list of functions for the NLN staff. That is, the editor or somebody else from New Left Notes will be on the road a little.

Everyone, including the editor and other NO staff members, has important criticisms of New Left Notes—of its definition, its way of meeting that definition, its style, and so forth. Discussions with local organizers, past editors, and all kinds of other readers suggest that NLN's difficulties are related to the too-distant connections with its base of readers. The NO and NLN staff concept of who reads the paper, how much, and what for is rooted largely either in conjecture or in what amounts to a very limited sampling of local situations. Dependence on our individual backgrounds does not suffice as a "sense of the membership"—not to mention that they become very quickly out-of-date.

The idea of a traveling NLN staff is not new. For over a year there has been periodic discussion of trying this means of remedying NLN's distance from local conditions in SDS. It hasn't been until recently, however, that the situation in the NO made it possible.

The week-to-week demands of

getting the paper out, which have in the past fallen pretty much to the editor alone, are now faced more collectively. This has in itself made for improvements in the paper. But it opens things up for even more.

The need for increased chapter/NLN contact shows itself on both sides. Not only does NLN fail in many cases to project nationally a clear picture of local work, but also it is often true that the paper is put to far too little local use. In many situations, the only people who ever see NLN—or any lit out of the NO—are a few "chapter contacts" who get it in the mail and file it away. This does nothing for the sense of isolation and manipulation among chapter members.

These trips, then, will try to break down some of the rigidity of both local and national structures. It can't be a mammoth program—only one or two people can be away at one time. Chapters should initiate arrangements through the NO. They should also do something about raising funds if they want someone to come. It'll be much easier to raise the bread locally in small amounts than for NLN to try to raise it all.

The first trip has been set up—for the Washington DC-Maryland area. The next one(s) probably will have to come after the Boulder NC, toward the end of October. Get in touch, with comments and suggestions.

The draft

(continued from Page 2)

lab jobs. Some undoubtedly will serve their time in university laboratories or in military research institutes. The humanities and social science people are not so valuable to the national interest, and they tend to be the radical ones. So they will go to the field.

The second and unstated purpose of the screening process will be political. Among the scientists and engineers, some have politically unsound ideas. These are not to be trusted with responsible positions. So these men, although specially qualified, are to go into the field with the rest. Those who toe the political line will be given desk jobs. (It's an easy way to make patriots.)

Now perhaps these speculations on why the law was passed do not reflect the complete picture, and maybe there is some other explanation which is stronger. But if the explanation presented here is supportable, as it seems to be, then a crisis of enormous proportions is being forced on us before we can begin to act effectively.

How Do We Respond?

Very little thought has gone into how to respond to the draft when the calls skyrocket, as seems likely, after the elections. And few people have taken seriously the implications of the likelihood that the draft will take mostly graduates. So far, I have heard two concrete suggestions of what to do in

November should the likely come about.

The first plan is that we all go into the Army; that we organize people not to go to Canada and not to go to jail, but to go in, and to organize like mad.

The second plan is that we all stay out, that we turn the universities into sanctuaries, organize our fellow students to defend them, and wait there until they try to get us. This second course would mean that in the next two and a half months we would have to begin, on a national scale, to organize real solidarity against the draft and on the part of all college students so that the universities would be defensible.

It is clear that in order to turn the university into a sanctuary (or a fort), it would be necessary to try to make alliances with other social groups—such as workers, blacks, and clergymen. Is all of this—the solidification of the campus and the securing of meaningful alliances with other groups—possible in the two and a half months that are left to us? We know that such solidarity and alliances are not easy to bring about, but also that the situation is extraordinary. Chicago showed the mood of the nation's youth.

In any event, we must reach a clearer understanding of the actual political context in which we find ourselves. We must discover who was behind this law, exactly what the political reasons for it were, and whether it is certain to be implemented. People are poking around in Washington and going through Congressional records, but we need more ideas, more research, and more proposals for how we should respond. Send them!

NSA

student power on the Make

by Juan Gonzales

(The author was a member of the Columbia Strike Committee; he is now working with SDS in Washington DC.)

This was to be a report on its Congress. But there is something else, overlapping perhaps, coincident. The NSA Congress in Manhattan, Kansas, overlapped the Democratic Congress in Chicago, but did not coincide; and that is important. McCarthy was invited to keynote in Manhattan. He refused; but it was still a McCarthy Congress. There were eight hundred students. There were pro-Wallace men, and Nixonites, and lots of Kennedy types. But the national office staff—fifty strong—were mostly Gene's. The national office in Washington was one of the focal points of the Committee for a Democratic Alternative. And the national office planned the Congress, totally. Members even planned the protests that took place. At the end, there was time for those die-hard McCarthy supporters who had survived the ten days of bullshit to get to Chicago and participate in the Daley-Davis thing. And now McCarthy is dead. But he isn't. And that's what this article is about—

"NSA and Students in Politics"

They're a barometer, that NSA office and those college presidents, not so much of the student movement as of how the Man deals with students now and later. NSA's the Man's agent. And they don't know it. Many honestly don't know, or they're sure they can dupe him. And the money rolls in by the hundreds of thousands, from the Government—all branches—foundations, student government dues, outright profits. And where does it go? We know all the old stuff, but some are new, and campus organizers of SDS should note:

Campus - Community Organizers: A small group, so far, about thirty, scattered in cities throughout the country: Full-time organizers, VISTA volunteers: picked, trained, and placed by NSA; salaries paid by Sam the Man. Their job—the NSA philosophy: "Do your own thing."—organizing anything from tutorial projects, to welfare

mothers, to educational reform or student power. NSA has also trained another thirty VISTAs, forty per cent black, who were placed as an organizing team in Memphis, Tennessee. Though not actually NSA-picked, this area-wide organizing approach is the direction in which the national office people are thinking. They look to the Urban Coalition and foundations for funding, mostly for white-racism projects. (The Left wing of NSA has recently discovered the PAR (People Against Racism—Detroit) analysis of racism.)

Black Caucus: Ford Foundation money for a national black staff (some of whom are eager-beaver Black Capitalism pushers, most of whom are middle-class blacks pushing NSA-type activities like Charter Flights to Africa, not Europe): Their secret plan, to use NSA to set up a Black NSA by next year. But politics? —"Do your own thing."

Corporate Recruiting

Reconn: A recruiting agency for American big business: Corporations like Dow and Hammermill offered a contract to NSA whereby the student group would help recruit on campuses through its mailings. (That is, as college placement offices are having tough times opening their doors these days without fifty shaggy heads sitting in front of them, the companies are turning to the student government national office for help. And the national office people delude themselves into thinking that they'll eliminate the bad companies like Dow from the list and leave only the good!) The NSA Congress passed the contract. Could mean \$100,000 next year alone. A possible issue: organizing against student government involvement with the War.

Dual Corporation: NSA has been split into two monsters—the services organization and the political organization. Essentially, the split allows it to do political lobbying while maintaining non-profit, non-political status (same officers, same personnel). The liberal's dream: Take money from the Government with one hand to fight it with the other.

EDIN: Large Ford Foundation grant in educational reform (Start your own experimental college and forget the world.): Some of the work in ed reform is fine in a vacuum, but mistakes

educational revolution for power or basic change.

This is the surface—revolting, but somehow not surprising. But there's more. Something harder to prove or to measure in importance, just as the importance and permanence of the McCarthy phenomenon of students becoming involved in non-campus issues is still unmeasurable. Local organizing—that's the move. Oglesby warned us against taking his own article on Business International too seriously. But if we accept his conclusions—that business is concerned with the Right-wing move (Wallace seems to be a growing brush-fire.), that it sees the need for benevolent, socially progressive capitalism (Midas Muffler Company funding Alinsky's school for organizers).

If we accept these conclusions, then we begin to get a sense of where those McCarthy kids who by and large were not radicalized by Chicago—people are not radicalized by clubs, but by partaking in a process the end product of which may be clubbing for political reasons) will be in the coming months, or where the Man will try to draw them. The New Republic (September 7th issue) speaks their program more eloquently than I:

"The accent of the new politics in the next one or two years will be local organization, but its general aim is nothing less than, as Senator McGovern said last Thursday, 'to redeem and reconstruct the Democratic Party'."

Meanwhile, Allard Lowenstein is on the trail across the country raising money for local campaigns. (Do you hear him, BI?)

Meanwhile, Back at NSA

(1) \$10,000 has been given to the national office to run an anti-war, anti-Humphrey drive between now and November, in one state, most probably the crucial California. (A Humphrey defeat is a must for those liberal forces who wish to capture the party machinery for their new politics: Ten thousand are crumbs, but more may come, and besides, this is only keeping the kids in practice and in the fold.)

(2) Liberal forces in the Department of Labor tentatively offered NSA money to begin experimenting with building grass-roots volunteer programs to

provide resources and manpower to help poverty programs on the local level—a "friends of the poverty program" organization.

(3) Most important, at least for campus organizers, NSA officers are examining and tentatively planning a one-day nation-wide student strike/teach-in/moratorium, depending on the individual militancy of local student governments. The strike, to occur around election time, will protest generally against student powerlessness in the universities, in the political process, and with regard to Vietnam—a "do your own thing" strike. Campus radicals should prepare to deal with this, if the plans are finalized and set in motion.

Local and campus organizing—NSA has caught the bug. No more student government in a vacuum, they cry—organize, organize! In summary, NSA-run demonstrations will increase over student-power issues on campus, while off-campus and during the summers young politicians and the McCarthy masses will be fighting, if the plans go well, for control of local Democratic machinery, under the leadership of Lowensteins, McGovern, Cranstons, Morses, and McCarthys—heavily funded, I suspect, by the more enlightened, far-sighted, and wealthy capitalists.

Learn to Communicate

Our response? Separately in communities and campuses, nationally in this headaching newsprint—continued study and analysis of their "movement" to their followers; continued work on the politicization of Yuppies, hippies, drop-outs, high-school students—those who have escaped co-optation or have not yet reached it; continued presence in the streets and in seized buildings where there is no co-optation. Maintain separate our developing analyses and program for combating this singular form of capitalism with no malice, no venom toward the new-politics masses. Above all learn to communicate so much of that badly written, non-home-grown Leftist literature in modern Americana.

Visual aids, brothers, not German texts. There are many visual aids, some legal.

Japan and the Japanese left

by Ken Cloke

(Ken Cloke, former Executive Secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, is now working as an SDS organizer in the Los Angeles Region. He represented SDS at the August 3rd International Conference held in Japan.)

There are few countries in the world whose popular image in the United States is so distorted from reality as to create a mythology concerning its people and its ways of life which has almost no foundation in fact. Even the Left understands little of what motivates Japanese activism, or where the chief differences between the US and Japanese movements lie.

This is partially because the contradictions of advanced monopoly capitalism are so exaggerated in Japan as to give the illusion of two countries existing side by side. Japan has the third largest industrial capacity of the capitalist countries and yet ranks twentieth in standard of living—a gap so great as to be surpassed only by the Union of South Africa. Japan's phenomenal growth, on the index of industrial production from 149 in 1960 to 325 in 1965, and increasing each year, is singular in Asia.

At the same time, Marx's description of Japan "with its purely feudal organization of landed property and its developed small peasant economy" is still accurate. More than half of the arable land is cultivated with rice, and really beautiful country with mountains which match water-color paintings most of us are familiar with is seen side by side with the most modern factories and the most wretched dwellings. Sewage runs openly in gutters beside the streets; streams are so polluted they resemble junkyards more than water; hospitals are incredibly unsanitary; the real wage of the Japanese worker hardly covers his basic cost of living; industrial accidents are quite common; and the position of women in the society is barely better than that of a household serf.

Paul Baran, in *The Political Economy of Growth*, examines in greater depth the question of Japan's development into an advanced capitalist country, and agrees generally with Lenin's analysis that "by their looting of Asian countries the Europeans managed to harden one of them—Japan—for great military exploits that assured it of an independent national development."

Japanese economic development today is in the hands of a very few industrialists. One of the purposes of the American occupation of Japan under General MacArthur was to reduce Japan's standard of living, and to break up over a thousand of the giant firms which so effectively mobilized an entire population during World War Two. But, as Jon Halliday points out in his article on Japanese capitalism in the July 1967 issue of *New Left Review*, this figure "was progressively reduced until there were only nineteen firms on the list—

and when nine of these had been dealt with the board set up by SCAP (composed of five prominent US businessmen) decided enough had been done." Halliday mentions several reasons for this shift in policy, including a rapid rise in strength of the trade movement, which the US had at first encouraged, and a recognition that a strong capitalist Japan would be more useful to the US in Asia than a weak one.

Even the purge of fascist political leaders was done in the same hypocritical way. Within a relatively short period of time, the mechanism of the purge, supported initially by Japanese Leftists, was turned against them and used to strengthen an already heavy bureaucracy.

The Japanese still have an unusual duality of feeling for US citizens and US culture. Even though Japan has never been colonized, the American occupation produced many of the same results that formal colonization might have, including the development of reactionary nationalism as a major political force. Much of the surprising level of anti-imperialist consciousness in Japan can be directly attributed to anti-Americanism, and fails, for the most part, to direct its energies against a nascent Japanese imperialism which has the US treaty-bound to protect it.

Complex Politics

Japan represents some of the most refined aspects of the political policy of corporate liberalism, or progressive corporate management, at the same time as it ruthlessly exploits the Japanese working class, yet few of the Left organizations are as concerned over these domestic problems as they are over a visit of a US battleship to one of their ports. The political explanation for this state of affairs is complex, but necessary to understand in order to comprehend our differences and similarities. In making this analysis it makes sense to begin with the Japan Communist Party (JCP).

The JCP is probably the strongest and best organized of all the Left groups in Japan. Following the Second World War, it co-operated at first with the Occupation, having fought against Japanese imperialists. The Party went underground with the beginning of the Korean War, and stayed underground until 1955.

But 1958 and 1959 were the important years of policy formation and political splits. The national convention which adopted a Party program calling for a "two-stage" revolution was held in July 1958. The analysis behind the program held that US imperialism was the number one enemy, since it dominated Japanese monopoly capitalism—the second major enemy. Thus, the revolution must first proceed against the US, allying with nationalist elements, and then attack the Japanese ruling class.



The several Zengakurens demonstrated against the USS Enterprise. Note the police helmets and shields. Note the Zengakuren helmets. Be prepared.

In 1961 the JCP adopted a Maoist political line, but it was not until 1964 that a formal split occurred between Maoists, Togliattists, and those who were pro-Soviet, with the Maoist faction in control of the Party. Later, the JCP adopted a more pro-Soviet stance, actually closer to the semi-independent position of the North Korean Party, and forced the Maoists out. The Togliattist and Maoist factions then split into four different groups each.

The JCP now has over two hundred and thirty thousand members. Its major organizational strength is among the working class, especially among the temporary and non-union workers. Its student organization is the Minsei Zengakuren, which also has a large membership, but is less activist than the other three Zengakurens.

(Zengakuren, in English, means Federation of All-Japan Student Autonomies.)

Four Zengakurens

There is not, contrary to the belief of most Americans, merely one Zengakuren which holds snake-dance street demonstrations with helmets and sticks and battles Japanese cops. At least four organizations claim the name Zengakuren. Each has not only a different style of politics and a different world outlook, but different colored helmets and flags as well. The four Zengakurens are Minsei, Chukaku, Kakamaru, and Han-Tei or Anti-imperialist Zengakuren.

As recently as July there were only three, with Han-Tei and Chukaku as part of the same Sampa, or Three-faction-alliance Zengakuren.

Not only are the Zengakuren split into many sections, but several of the sections themselves are split into numerous factions, which, in turn, have sub-factions. While first impressions indicate a meaningless morass of bickering and factional pettiness, the differences, in most cases, turn out to be quite important. All the groups have concrete positions on a number of

questions of tactics and strategy which differentiate them clearly from all the others. The only factor which is constantly in flux, and changes sometimes from week to week and sometimes from day to day, is who they are willing to work with.

Han-Tei or Anti-imperialist Zengakuren is composed of four groups. One of its special characteristics—particularly of its largest faction, the "Bund", is its insistence on attacking both Japanese imperialism and American imperialism. Most of the other groups believe in the "two stages" theory which neglects Japanese imperialism in the face of American imperialism.

Anti-imperialist Zengakuren is also the only group which supports the National Liberation Front, except for Minsei Zengakuren. The others support the "people of South Vietnam". It also supports the Cuban Revolution emphatically and calls for the liberation of the people of Okinawa, as opposed to merely calling for the return of Okinawa to Japan and the kicking of the US off the island.

The center of Anti-imperialist Zengakuren, and its primary source of cohesion, is the "Bund" and its student organization, the Socialist Student League, which has a united Marxist-Leninist (Maoist) faction. The Bund identifies itself primarily, on a world scale, with US and German SDS, with the Cubans, and with the NLF. Since the coalition of groups making up Anti-imperialist Zengakuren includes one of four Maoist groups; one of four Trotskyist groups; and a Togliattist, early-Marx group called "anti-industrial rationalizationists", the Bund spends considerable energy holding the coalition together. Following the recent break-up of Sampa Zengakuren, each group was antagonistic to all the others.

Splits and Factions

The Bund was first formed in 1959, when it split from the Japan Communist Party over its failure to put forth a revolutionary line against the Japanese ruling class based on the "two stages" theory. The Bund was joined for awhile with the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRC), which split from the JCP primarily over the right to read and discuss works by Trotsky. The Bund split from this group in 1959 over strategic problems in the fight against the Japan-US Security Treaty. The JRC then split, first in 1960, into a Fourth International or explicitly Trotskyist faction, leaving the Marxist Student League (MSL). The MSL then, in 1963, split into two factions which later formed two of the present Zengakurens—Chukaku, or center faction, and Kakamaru, or revolutionary Marxist faction. The cause of the split was Chukaku's emphasis on the primacy of action, as opposed to Kakamaru's highly ideological orientation. Chukaku believes in the importance of engaging in struggles with the police, et cetera, as a way of raising consciousness, whereas Kakamaru insists on the importance of cadre training through



Japanese students in the streets.

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