

# NEW LEFT NOTES

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

JANUARY 15, 1968

## The Political Defense of Resistance

by Robert Pardun

Internal Education Secretary

On January 6, Dr. Spock, Rev. Coffin, Michael Ferber, Mitchell Goodman, and Marcus Raskin were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury in Boston for "conspiracy to counsel young men to violate the draft laws." On January 7, the National Office in consultation with the National Interim Committee sent out a call to chapters to organize support demonstrations on Friday, January 12. The call urged that the target of demonstrations be induction centers and draft boards, the targets which the repression seeks to deny us. The government is attacking anti-draft work; our support work should take the form, on one level, of action around the targets most closely related to that issue. The NO also encouraged chapters to solicit signatures for the "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" which is the call put out by The Resist, the organization of which Spock and the others are members. In response to the attempted repression it is important that The Resist be able to involve more people in support for draft resistance. The Resist has been important in supplying us with financial assistance and contacts on the local level who could be involved in local draft resistance work.

It is important to understand the government's action in order to organize the most effective response. Obviously the government is making a serious move to suppress the draft resistance movement. This is not the first act of government repression. The government understands that the movement is a serious political movement

which offers the possibility for turning anti-war dissent into effective direct action. Why did the government decide to hit five prominent liberals?

First, it is an attempt to divide the draft resistance movement on liberal-radical lines and deprive us of liberal adult support. The Resist group was organized to bring the most committed adults, both liberal and radical, into an organization which would support draft resistance work. By moving against these adult supporters before mounting a full-scale attack on the anti-draft movement at its base, the government is attempting to scare them and thousands of other potential supporters away from resistance work. This maneuver, if successful, would leave those of us who are doing resistance work on the local level more vulnerable to attack and would deprive us of those elements of support and cover which groups like The Resist can provide. Groups like The Resist play an important role in our confrontation with repression. We should not only provide them with as much support as possible in order to prevent their repression, but we should also see the attempted repression as an opportunity for involving them more directly in our resistance work.

This is the first attempt to put us on the defensive at the national level. The government will obviously find us much easier to deal with if we are forced to spend our time building defense committees instead of organizing. There are two ways to avoid the pitfall of getting bogged down

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## REPORTS ON SUPPORT ACTIONS

by Karen Gellen, Chapter Correspondent

At press time, the following reports had been received about actions in response to the SDS call. Further information should be available next week. Since the national press has blacked out all information regarding the demonstrations, local contacts should get reports to the NO as soon as possible.

**BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS:** On Wednesday, two guys refused induction in Boston. One of the two arrived at the induction center handcuffed to his father who refused to have his son serve. A teach-in in support of the indicted men was held Thursday from 4:00 pm until midnight at Harvard and was attended by an overflow crowd. Since the university administration refused to allow the press on campus, the first two hours of the teach-in were moved to a theater off-campus. (The press is contemplating legal action against the university for its restriction of freedom of the press.) On Friday, sound trucks circulated through working class neighborhoods giving out information about draft resistance. Because of the university's harassment of the press, Boston got the only good press coverage in the country.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** Approximately 400 people attended a demonstration Friday at the Justice Department. The crowd responded enthusiastically to a guerrilla theater presentation which was finally stopped by the police. The demonstration was followed by a march to Western High School where leaflets had been distributed the previous day. The response of the high school students was highly sympathetic and 200 attended an anti-draft rally after school. Two-thirds of those present at the demonstration were university students--the first time that D.C. SDSers had participated together in a city-wide action.

**LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA:** A rally attended by about 150 persons initiated Friday's support actions for the national figures plus support for local organizers who have been under heavy police harassment. The rally included guerrilla theater (a mock trial) and speakers in front of the county courthouse. It was followed by a march to the induction center with leafletting and pickets which were then repeated in the downtown area and at the Federal Building.

**SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA:** Action in the Bay area began Thursday evening with a demonstration against Dean Rusk. The crowd of 500 was brutally attacked by the police. Sixty-five demonstrators were arrested, including twelve on charges of "felonious assault with a deadly weapon." (Complete story next week.) Due to the fact that many local organizers were in jail and that Adam Clayton Powell was speaking at the same time to a crowd of 6000, Friday's rally in support of draft resistance at the Federal Building in downtown San Francisco was relatively small. After a picket and songs by John Fromer, a march was led to the draft board where five demonstrators went inside with their draft cards and lodged complaints against the Selective Service System.

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## Resistance and Repression

by John Fuerst

Wisconsin Region

He and four others face up to five years in the federal penitentiary and \$10,000 in fines because the Justice Department has decided to prosecute them for carrying out a political program of draft resistance, a program which is carried out in hundreds of communities throughout America by thousands of Americans ranging from students to housewives, from young workers to lawyers, from black high school students to white high school teachers. To defend Spock's right of free speech is to defend our program of opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Let us look at their crimes more closely. The grand jury indictment cites them with "aiding and abetting resistance to the Selective Service System." Those are harsh terms for accusing one man of urging other, younger men to carry out in practice their moral opposition to a war of aggression. They are being accused of "counselling Selective Service registrants to surrender their classification and registration certificates." Harsh words again for advising young men that symbolic acts of protest are morally necessary when confronted with a war of genocide. Finally, they are being tried for "interrupting the induction process at draft centers throughout the country." Clearly a fair charge—but fair only if the movement against the war in Vietnam is expected to separate its goals from its actions, fair only if people are opposed to the sending of young Americans to kill and be killed without trying to halt the process.

The indictment of Benjamin Spock, Marcus Raskin, William Coffin, Mitchell Goodman, and Michael Ferber will not of itself cripple a mass anti-war movement. Though the five indicted men have taken on roles of leadership in the movement, the movement will go on whether or not they are in jail. The government is not using the indictments for a direct attack on us but is rather beginning a more sophisticated approach which may soon find us isolated and unprepared when the full attack comes. Let's examine that sophistication.

The indictment first of all is a trial balloon for the government, a test of the anti-war movement's strength and militancy. The indicted men are well known and well respected: it is clear that they will be defended from many corners and for many reasons. Yet it is unclear whether that defense will also be a defense of the program they supported; and if the defense of the men is separated from an active defense of draft resistance as such, then the government will know that the way is open for an attack on the resistance movement itself. The government is trying to take away the "respectable" defenders of the radical draft resisters before the draft resisters have built their own base. The answer is not to show how respectable those defenders are but rather to show how strong the draft resistance movement can become.

But as well as testing the strength and depth of the anti-war movement, the indictment is also being used to set the political boundaries of that

movement. The government intends the indictment of Spock and the others as a message to all those who oppose the Vietnam war, a message which tells the anti-war activists what forms of dissent the government will accept and which sets down the bounds for future protests. Johnson has always said he welcomes dissent; now he is simply adding that the dissent must not lead to action, that opposition to the war must not become action to prevent the carrying out of the war. And to make this message unmistakable, the government has picked for prosecution five men who have just taken the first steps over the boundary, who have just begun to resist. The only response can be to organize more people to take that first step into resistance.

Resistance is not a slogan which was born, fully formed, from the head of an SDS organizer. Draft resistance is not a program which the movement stumbled upon during the course of a march on Washington. Both are products of our past experiences and neither can be destroyed without destroying our hopes of a future.

Our experiences speak in plain terms. The marches on Washington, the New York and San Francisco mobilizations, the neighborhood peace vigils, the early campus demonstrations showed that a movement against the war existed and that the movement was a large and ever growing force. But the demonstrations stopped at a crucial point, at the point when

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# U.S. VIETNAM STR

by Cathy Wilkerson  
Washington, D.C. Region

One point has become increasingly clear to everyone who has talked with the Vietnamese: no one can win the war in Vietnam except the Vietnamese, and they have won the war in many ways already. The guerrillas of Vietnam are mostly men and women and children who live and work in an agricultural milieu. South Vietnam especially is a basically agricultural country. It is also a country which is accustomed to armed struggle, and a people who have learned how to integrate armed struggle and political work with continued production so that they are able and prepared to continue fighting until the last foreign invader has left.

The war is based on a long national experience of outside invasion, accompanied by racist attitudes and exploitative goals. It is a popular war, the army a people's army. The struggle above all is one which is fueled by a highly self-conscious nationalist spirit.

From these conditions grow the realities of the war in Vietnam. We must know of these realities because they have become part of our own experience; most importantly because they indicate the concrete form of the contradictions inherent in the culture and politics of impowered America.

## WAR WITHOUT FRONTIERS

The Front considers a territory liberated when the Saigon administration is no longer able to exercise any power over the population of an area; instead the population operates with the principles articulated by the Front. It elects by universal suffrage a village council, it elects representatives to the various district and regional governing bodies — for instance the Federation of Workers, Union of Students, Federation of Women, Agricultural Committees and the like. In addition, land reform is carried out and the peasants finally obtain the freedom to till their own land.

If a landlord has supported the Front and continues to remain in the area after it has been liberated he is usually allowed to maintain his status as a landlord, but the rent rates are dropped from an average of 60% or more to 15% of the total crops.

In some instances an administrative outpost of the Saigon government remains in the area, with the explicit permission of the Front. But, these outposts have no control over the population, and it is the CONTROL/SUPPORT OF THE POPU-

TOR IN THE WAR, NOT CONTROL OF THE LAND. In many instances those manning the posts must ask permission from the local population to go out beyond

the boundaries of the post to get water. The control of a few hundred square yards by Saigon is obviously meaningless in this case. Yet, the U.S. continues to list many of the areas like this as being under U.S. control, merely because of the presence of the post.

Another example of the new terms of power in the war is seen in the tremendous emphasis the U.S. has given to air power and especially to air mobility. Because most of the terrain of the South is inaccessible to American infantry, the U.S. military must rely heavily on airborne troop movements. Yet, because of the superior tactical position of the native guerrilla-peasants of each area, this superior technological and military power often backfires. The following frequent incident is instructive:

## UNCLE SAM FORCED TO SHOW TRUE COLORS

In many of the hilly and mountainous areas of South Vietnam the trees grow very high and are dense near the top. If the U.S. wants to move troops into a wooded area, its helicopters must search for one of the small open clearings which occur naturally throughout the jungle. Because of the height of the trees, the copters must go almost straight down, let out the troops and then proceed straight back up again. After a day's action, such as the hundreds of day-long search and destroy forays of Operation Junction City, the copters return to the clearing to pick up the troops. Frequently a number of the helicopters are shot down by peasants hidden in the area. When this happens the U.S. soldiers are forced to turn against each other in a life and death battle to get a place on the remaining helicopters. (To remain in the jungle without major artillery support is almost certain death.) Soldiers who do not get on the plane seek to hold on to various outside parts of the copter in an attempt to be transported in some way from the jungle. Local peasants have repeatedly reported seeing the stragglers shot at and often killed by rifle shots coming from within the copter. The total absence of a human content in American imperialist policy is realized and exemplified in its most concrete form — the military situation constructed by U.S. generals has forced the morale of the troops to such a primitive level that their primary concern is their own individual survival, in many cases at the expense of anyone around. The factor of morale is critical in a war of national liberation.

## MORALE:

### THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN GUERRILLA WARFARE

The question of morale is so important because it speaks to the potential EFFECTIVENESS of both manpower and military might. The global observation about the war is that the most sophisticated and wealthy military nation in the world cannot even maintain a stalemate with a small agricultural nation which has been at war for twenty years. The power of the military is flailing its arms and legs, but only infrequently does it come into contact with its "enemy." Because there are as many forces driving U.S. military power away from the enemy as there are driving it towards the enemy. Most of the positive forces lie with the policy makers of U.S. imperialism; most of the negative forces are realized in the troops who must actually do the fighting.

The helicopter instance is instructive once more...Copters are often shot down right after they have deposited the troops. When the men who have just been dropped down in the jungle see their only means of escape eliminated, and can anticipate the chaos after the troop action is completed, they are already so demoralized that their effectiveness in the field is severely hampered. We can understand how difficult it is to fight, to risk your life, for a government which might, in the form of a superior officer, shoot you in the back in ten hours. A fighting force which is psychologically on the defensive cannot fight effectively against a force which is psychologically on the offensive. And every single Vietnamese guerrilla or community person who supports the Front has consciously made the decision to go on the offensive. Each of them has himself, or among his family and friends suffered very deeply at the hands of foreign imperialists; each has experienced the deep anger which becomes determination, each has understood the vision of an independent country which sustains the struggle.

## FAILURE OF U.S. STRATEGY

South Vietnam has a dry season from October until March, and then a rainy season the rest of the year. Since the U.S. formally moved regular troops into Vietnam in 1965 there have been three dry seasons. The rainy season has always presented the best military conditions for the NLF, since traditional military vehicles and equipment have great difficulty maneuvering through the mud and cloudy skies. The dry season has been the time for stronger U.S. initiatives.

During the course of the 1965-66 dry season, the U.S. was on the offensive in all four of the military zones into which South Vietnam is divided by the Pentagon. Part of that offensive entailed the now renowned strategic hamlet scheme. The U.S. attempted to CONTROL the population by determining and controlling the physical environment and the communications patterns. In fact this meant the totalitarian manipulation of large groups of the population through the techniques of intimidation and torture. Many university research projects on subjects such as "The effect of cultural modernization on attitudes" contributed to the theory of this kind of "psychological warfare" or sophisticated counter insurgency techniques. The U.S. army is still attempting similar techniques in Southeast Asian areas like Thailand and parts of Laos.

However, by the time of the 1966-67 dry season, the U.S. was only on the military offensive in one of the four zones. In the other three, U.S. forces were having so much trouble holding their positions that they were unable to mount any major offensives. The strategic hamlet system had broken down as more and more of the local population had turned against the Saigon government and asserted local control.



By this dry season, which is into its third month, the U.S. is no longer able to mount any offensives on the ground. Instead, the Front has taken the military offensives in all four zones.

## THE CRUMBLING OF THE LIE

As the war continues, more and more troops understand these facts of the war, and U.S. propaganda efforts lose their credibility. Over the last three years, there have been increasing reports of troop revolts, especially among infantry soldiers. The most frequent form of revolt is group refusal to go on a particular mission. Frequently, the suicidal direction of the mission is known to the troops from previous experience.

But as the threat of the revolts gets greater, the brutality of the U.S. military response also increases. There have been verified reports that the "leaders" of some of these revolts have been taken up in planes and pushed out — with no parachute — before the eyes of their fellow soldiers. The fight for survival is not only on against the "enemy" but equally against one's "leaders."

The crumbling of troop morale is also apparent in the increasing incidence of deserters. Certain sectors of Saigon are heavily populated with U.S. troops who live with Vietnamese families. Although they have left the U.S. army, they keep in contact with their friends who are still in. In this way they receive PX supplies of food and clothing and other necessities.

A number of deserters have also taken shelter in the contested zones in the provinces. They do not, however, go into the liberated zones to live with the civilian population there because the high intensity of bombing over liberated zones makes it extremely dangerous. In contested zones, there is more ground action in relation to air action, and it is easier to avoid ground troop movements.

We see from these indications that even though only a small part of troop discontent is expressed through actual desertion, there is developing a guerrilla mentality among the American troops for the support of those who have deserted. The presence of this mentality is likely to increase the rate of desertions while also recruiting more to support those who have left.

It is also true that there are periodic operations to seek out these deserters, which of course meet with some success. We have no sure reports of the kind of treatment received by these troops once they are caught, but severe as it must be, new troops continue to desert.

From all these indications it seems clear that the U.S. cannot continue with its current strategy of "localized war." There have been many Pentagon suggestions of a new strategy. However, the span of alternatives has narrowed. There is little way the U.S. can expand the war without involving the USSR or China. The recent expansion into Cambodia has brought this specter closer.

The only other direction in which they can intensify their military efforts is the development of new kinds of weapons, such as the high intensity heat bombs

## new left notes

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### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Davidson, Inter-organizational secretary, Robert Pardun, Internal Education secretary, Mike Spiegel, National secretary.  
National Office: 1608 W. Madison St., Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312/666-3874)  
New York City: 41 Union Square West, Rm. 436, NYC, NY 10003 (212/675-2626)  
Niagara Regional Coordinating Comm: 1504 E. Genesee St., Syracuse, NY 13210  
Southern California: PO Box 85396, Los Angeles, Calif. 90072  
New England: 102 Columbia St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139  
Washington, D.C.: 1779 Lanier Pl., N.W., Washington, D.C.

# Statement from the Southern Caucus to the N.C.

NOTE: The following resolution is the product of the Southern caucus of SDS, a new creature in the world, one which we hope will be a permanent entity. We present our perspective not to antagonize our Northern and Western brothers and sisters, but to bring them to a broader understanding of our special circumstances, needs, and attitudes. We especially hope to show how Southern regionalism can help us in building the Southern arm of a national movement to end the control Yankee imperialists have over the lives of all of us, wherever we live.

## STATEMENT: PREAMBLE

The differences between the South, North and West begin with the fact that the South has been, and today is a greatly agricultural region, while other sectors are built around farming, coastal shipping and manufacturing. Where the South has industrialized, it has done so by and large at the pleasure of, and for the benefit of, Northern financial interests. The South should be prosperous, should draw a fortune from its natural resources. There is iron in Birmingham. There is coal in Kentucky. But the mines are owned in the North. The pines of Alabama and Louisiana are owned in New York. Texas has its oil, but its major companies—those which control politics in Texas—are Northern owned. Capital investment does not serve our communities; it serves Northern bankers. Capitalism everywhere oppresses the majority, but this is doubly true in the South, which has been and is the first colony of Yankee imperialism. The words Yankee Imperialism have meaning everywhere, but they have a double meaning for us.

A word about Southern history. For there's more that's Southern than our economic status quo. (Some areas of the Midwest, for example, share in our lack of local capital, etc.) The South has a distinct history, one of malice, error, and brutality, but one of justice and courage as well. Our present circumstances stem in part from an earlier era in American history when the South needed free trade, while Northern manufacturers wanted tariffs, when Southerners were harnessed by the patent system, to the pleasure of Northern industrialists, when Union Civil War veterans were given pensions paid for

partly by the taxes of former Southern conscripts who got nothing.

The vilest institution the American continent has yet seen is slavery. The South was the seat of it, and the Abolitionists were unquestionably right in demanding its destruction. But not all the Abolitionists were Yankees! John Henry Helper, a white farmer from North Carolina, author of "The Impending Crisis of the South..." was among their number, as were most oppressed whites. Nat Turner and Frederick Douglass were sons of the South, and ought to be honored as that. The North could not have won the Civil War without the non-cooperation and outright rebellion of our people, black and white. We who are going to talk about Northern abuse must be understood: we are not singing "Save your Confederate money, boys, the South's gonna rise again"—although we hope that it does arise, this time in defense of its real interests. But we cannot defend the exploitation of our people by Northern (or any) capitalists, as we can neither live with or defend the idea that the South is an ignorant, lazy, backward region unfit for human life. Because we must organize native Southerners, we must combat Northern domination of our people, and of our movement. In a word, we must oppose Yankee chauvinism, we must present ourselves as Southern patriots.

Because the South has been treated colonially, because it has many times been unfairly ridiculed, our people live out each day with an anti-Northern (anti-imperialist?) attitude, that pervades everything from children's jokes to adult sexual behavior. This is the mind of the South: That we're tired of seeing our people, when they go North, "Desouthernizing" the speech and habits so that they won't be earmarked as "hillbillies" and barred by that from good jobs; that we don't like the films New York finances and California produces about the glories of mint juleps and Georgian columns; that we're "turned off" when our Northern brothers in the movement react with patronizing amusement when they encounter our different ways, thinking we're cute, non-cerebral, and unsophisticated. The defensiveness of the attitude of our whole people against Northern domination demands that we talk to them about how we are not as they think, arms of Northern culture,

but as ordinary Southern people with an interest in our special welfare as a region.

The hard economic facts are that the fascists who are our politicians and our cops suppress workers who want to organize mines, mills, and plantations, and by doing so play the role of Batistas, Trujillos, Samozas and other guardians of the Yankee dollar. Those who, like Wallace, play upon our regionalism, in fact represent Northern bosses, not Southern self-rule or Southern advancement. Our Northern movement brothers talk about "deobfuscation". We ask them, then, to expose Wallace as a pretender, a fakir, and to realize that the Southern regional consciousness is a tool that we must use against the Wallaces of this world.

But let us speak more about our economic reality. In many Southern states Northern investments are subsidized with local tax money, raised from the poor and middle class. This impoverishes areas in the long run, and also forces the middle class into the anti-tax right wing, which sees these taxes as a result of increased welfare needs, not Yankee exemption.

Look at Lowndes County, Alabama, where Jonathan Daniels and Viola Liuzzo were murdered. Lowndes has also one of the most destructive and fruitless school systems in the nation, partly because it has no money. There, Northern-owned paper mills pay no taxes to the county or state because Wallace has invited them in, tax-free. Yet the people of Lowndes are taxed to support training programs, run by the state, to train workers for Hammermill and Marathon. Some locales have even built factories and warehouse buildings for Northern industry, which uses them rent-free. The money to erect these temples to Yankee domination is borrowed from Northern banks, and paid for by city sales taxes in some places. People whom taxes bite resent these developments,

## RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

is available in the form of a brochure for distribution. Bulk orders can be obtained from the National Office for 1¢ per copy. Send orders to SDS, 1608 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60612.

# RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

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it became necessary to define and confront the institutions of power which carry out the American aggression in Vietnam—the point when it became necessary to start building a movement which could take over those institutions. The mass demonstrations enabled us to show our strength, but did not give us forms to use the strength. Nor did the mass demonstrations enable us to make the connections between the sometimes unspoken personal needs for liberation which gave the spirit to the anti-war movement and the actual political demands which the movement presented.

The peace candidates, the neighborhood anti-war committees, the local projects of Vietnam Summer, and the referendums all showed that the anti-war movement could root itself in the very basis of American social life. We proved that our sentiments belonged not only to a fringe group of articulate intellectuals but could be found—and organized—in every American community. We proved our seriousness and we demonstrated the fact that all sorts of Americans would join us. But we were still not able to build a form of political activity which enabled our new found constituencies to see that in their hands and minds they held the potential for building a future free from Vietnam wars. We could still only tell people to vote for a candidate we knew could not win, and if he won

could not end the war, or to organize their neighbors into committees which would then organize more neighbors, or to plan a referendum which would not be listened to even if a majority voted for immediate withdrawal.

It is out of these failures that the resistance movement developed. Its first expression was on the campus, for we began to see that the American university was both an institution of political power and an institution of personal repression. As we began to unravel the myriad connections between our universities and the war in Vietnam we began to see that to fight on the campus for an end to university connections with the war was the best way students could work against the war in general. And we soon discovered that the university was not only complicit with the Vietnam war in particular but that the general character of the university was a product of the need to carry out such wars. And we realized that among the political and social tasks of the university was the production of well trained and well tooled graduates, able to apply their particular skill to a general social task which could be controlled from above. The resistance movement on campuses has meant that the personal problems which confront students because of the social use they are put to become political problems of the first order and that these political problems confront the essence of American domestic and foreign policies. A stu-

dent can only resist the forces which seek to produce him in their image by building a movement against the same institutions of power that carry out wars in Vietnam.

And for the last year, the draft resistance movement has served the same function for the anti-war movement. The draft has been seen not only as an institution which has the power to control an entire generation and send some of it off to war, others of it into college, and still others into defense industries or farming jobs. And draft resistance has become a way of organizing people around their most immediate and personal troubles in a manner which directly relates those troubles to the harsh political power of a repressively run society. The draft resistance movement enables thousands of Americans, for the first time in their lives, to take a political step which both comes out of their personal lives and has a direct effect back on those lives. The government sees as clearly as we do that inside the draft resistance movement it is possible to build a direct politics which has the ability to go beyond the careful and well defined boundaries of ineffectual dissent and show Americans that they do have a potential for power.

Dissent can be tolerated until people begin to see that they can act on their dissent. The draft resistance movement provides a way for such action. The Spock indictment is a desperate attempt of the government to stop such a potentially powerful movement from developing.



that are able to reach even the deepest tunnels and shelters and immediately bake all within them. In this way, with continued defense budget increases providing for weapons, the U.S. could in fact completely destroy the entire country. However there are also certain restraints, such as world opinion, that could serve to curtail this sort of expansion.

One aspect of the recent efforts at repression at home is possibly the desire to intimidate dissent to the extent that the American public will be able to swallow another major escalation. We must keep all these things in mind in our attempts to anticipate the course of the war and the broader expansion of U.S. imperialism.

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in liberal defense work. First, we should initiate the defense work ourselves on a radical political basis. And, secondly, we must realize that our best defense is a strong base of active resistance which means involving more people in real organizing work.

This case can be seen as a trial balloon. If the government can move against The Resist people without meeting any opposition, they will feel free to move against those of us working at the base. In this sense, any action which we carry out to defend the Resist people helps to head off an immediate attack on us. This case will test just how much the anti-war movement really has its shit together. In the face of repression, will the disparate political elements of the movement stand together to fight the enemy, or will internal political differences work to the advantage of the government. Our effort should be to unite the various elements around the work of the radical political program of resistance which is really at stake. This can be an opportunity of reaching thousands of new people in the anti-war movement with our political program and our political perspective.

The brochure, "Resistance and Repression," which was prepared by John Fuerst, our regional organizer in Wisconsin, should be used as a means of reaching more people from a radical perspective. It is being supplied to chapters and regional organizers for this purpose. Bulk orders are available for mass distribution. It can be used for initiating discussions, rallies, teach-ins with a variety of constituencies.

Distribution of the Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority for signatures should be the first step in building groups of local people to be involved directly in local resistance organizing. We can help people turn their dissent into real political work at the local level.

Two old Wobbly slogans come to mind in the face of repression: "AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL," and, "DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE!" The government has made a serious move against us. We can turn that move to our own advantage if we use the repression to unify and build the resistance movement rather than allowing them to divide and isolate us.

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## SOUTHERN CAUCUS

and say that if that's the New South, to hell with it. But if we can turn regional identity towards its proper course, we have a weapon. We can say, the big people downtown and the Yankees brought this on; let's take what belongs to us, the people the 'city fathers' and the Yankees have never cared about. Southern pride can be switched from Wallace's hands to ours, and used as an appeal for change.

A few years ago, white Southern civil rights workers astounded the cops and their "cracker" cellmates (and converted a few of them) by talking about exactly this. But then we did not live or work with whites. Now that we do, the opportunity arises and must be taken. Our people, bigoted as some may be, often are well aware of the true condition of the South, and act in terms of it. Some who migrated to Detroit made that apparent this summer, and some in Chicago are doing that now. So tell it like it is, our people often even know more of the truth than the Yankee publicists, who tell us that the North always acts from a standpoint of virtue.

And Southern consciousness is not irrelevant in the North. Hundreds of thousands of poor black and white Southerners have fled their homeland hoping for a better life in the North just as refugees from another colony, Puerto Rico, have gone to the East Coast. Without Yankee Imperialism, there would be no West Side Chicago ghetto, no Uptown, no Spanish Harlem in New York. Because the JOIN people live on Southern soil, they have faced the same problems that confront us as Southern organizers, namely Yankee chauvinism in the movement. And this is where we touch the nitty-gritty for SDS.

We, as Southern Patriots, came to this conference to talk about relating to a national movement, and to help build one. NC speakers have emphasized the massive "new militancy" actions—endeavors impossible and inadvisable in the South. Conference workshops have tended to become appraisals of these actions, in terms of their effects in New York and California. We have talked about how exhilarated we felt "confronting the warmakers" or "liberating" a few blocks of Oakland, but not how we are going to substitute real strength for illusory power by organizing those many realists who want to know what we can do for their everyday lives. Of the general topics, only the discussions of draft resistance have honestly fallen beyond this criticism.

Greg Calvert talked about symbols for this conference. We'd like to do that. The symbol to move from "protest to resistance" has been the clenched fist. In the last six months, the clenched fist has become symbolic of the movement of "new militancy" in the North and West, raised at us and others in isolated areas, saying, "We're where it's at, baby, you'd better applaud—and imitate."

People in the South are thoroughly pragmatic, and prone to violence. But we can win no sympathy for those who storm the Pentagon, or kick cab drivers, or wear shields and helmets to demonstrations (like spacemen). Our people may be violent—but not until the situation forces it. SDS, we're afraid, is creating confrontations for internal reasons, not to win mass support. Furthermore, we cannot talk about "Shaking the Empire" in the South. People won't listen to that. It's unreal. We might jiggle the empire, and Southern whites know that, but "Ten Days to Jiggle the Empire" is a useless slogan. If we told them we'd set off ten days to begin organizing the movement, they'd listen to that.

But let's get back to the symbolism of that fist. THERE CAN BE NO CLENCHED FIST UNLESS THE FINGERS CLOSE TOGETHER. One of its five fingers is the South. We think those fingers can be closed at once—during the ten-day campaign—and can strike at common obstacles, besides draft work and organizing within the army.

Because of this nature of the movement among white radicals in the South,

we feel that the following points should be brought to the attention of the National Council.

1. Our style of organizing is multi-issue.

2. Our constituencies are based on broad-issue alliances, between the campus and the community.

3. We see the movement towards revolution not just as resistance and confrontation of the power structure but more basically the building now of programs like community unions.

4. We work under the analysis that the best way to create radicals who can work in a community after they are out of school is to work as students in programs with existing radical and even reforming community organizations and organizers.

5. We work not under the myth that a revolution can be built by each person and chapter doing their own thing, but by seeing what has to be done and getting and assigning people to do it, and by really coordinating actions and programs to complement, not damage each other.

6. We feel that our style of multi-issue organizing and alliances between campus and community is the reality of the national rhetoric, and this style must be made flesh in the national spring and summer programs.

### THERE ARE SEVERAL COMMON GOALS:

The ghettos will explode again this summer. We must do something to counteract backlash. We can talk to people on our campuses and in our communities about who their real enemies are. Yankee Imperialism must be a target, allowing for double-meaning in the South.

Believe it or not, when the ballots are counted, Geo. Wallace's popularity everywhere will astound all the liberals who forecast the outcome. Southern regionalism can be revolutionary. We must tell people, by word and by deed, that Wallace represents neither the "little man", nor the South, as he claims.

And we can make a real effort to build the National Community Union into a force that can effectively compete with the Klan, the Wallaceites, and our own prejudice against Southern white workers. The Project needs more than well-wishers with other "bags" to punch; it needs people willing to work.

And we can reorganize and reorient a lot of our structure and thinking so that a national movement can be built. We want people to quit boycotting the N.O. financially. The N.O. needs \$18,000 to buy a new press. Let's get it on. We don't see why we don't take a collection here for their sake.

Another hassle. The Port Huron Statement is outdated. There has been talk of a new draft, which is to be done, and sent to the chapters for discussion—and that chapters have teach-ins around it. This gives us a chance to talk about Yankee Imperialism in reference to a term explained on paper. New people want a manifesto, and have none. If the statement could come out during the Ten-Days Movement, we could talk it up—and sell it at special advantage during all the demonstrations, etc. If it is to come out, we want to include a statement on Yankee Imperialism—written Southern Style. NEXT WEEK: the implementation section of the statement and resolution as passed by the N.C.

### REPORT FROM VIETNAM

Vivian Rothstein visited North Vietnam September 29-October 1, 1967, and attended the conference in Czechoslovakia with representatives from the NLF and DRV. She would like speaking engagements and needs transportation costs plus a fee. (Her debt from the trip is \$1300.) Her talk would include: bombing patterns in the North, women's role in Vietnam, decentralization of society in the North, and the position of the NLF in S. Vietnam. She also has a recent film of bombing in the North made in July by a Japanese peace group. For further information: Vivian Rothstein, 1104 So. 7th Ave., Maywood, Illinois, 60153. (344-6496).

DETROIT, MICHIGAN: Action is being postponed until Wednesday, January 17, when there will be a city-wide rally with Dr. Spock as the keynote speaker.

NEW YORK: SDS actions were limited to local campuses. Sunday a mass meeting at Town Hall is planned by The Resist, The Resistance, and Support and Action.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: Thursday a rally sponsored by SDS, CADRE, and SNCC was attended by 125 people at the Epiphany Church. Speakers included Staughton Lynd, Robert Brown of SNCC, and Dan Stern of CADRE. A noon rally Friday at the Federal Building was followed by a march of 120 people to the Chicago induction center.

### FURTHER SUPPORT ACTIONS PLANNED

The arraignment of the five indicted men will take place in Boston on January 29 at 11:00 a.m. at the court house. Boston area SDS and Draft Resistance Unions are planning another major demonstration at that time.

Dr. Spock will speak at a major support rally in Chicago on January 27. The rally will be co-sponsored by SDS and other peace and draft resistance g

### STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR HUEY NEWTON

Whereas the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense has taken seriously and has faithfully executed the responsibility to defend the Black citizens of its community against the violence of the racist power structure of Northern California.

Whereas the Black Panther Party and in particular its Minister of Defense, Huey Newton, have been the object of constant harassment and threats on their lives by the Oakland cops because they have stood up and fought for the rights of their people.

Be it resolved that the NC of SDS make a public statement of support for Huey Newton, who has been put on trial for murder by that racist power structure in Oakland.

Be it further resolved that SDS chapters be encouraged to demonstrate in support of Huey Newton when he comes to trial.

Be it further resolved that the Huey Newton case be publicized in New Left Notes.

PASSED

In the January-February Issue of

### RADICAL AMERICA

a journal of U.S. radicalism  
produced by sds people

The Hazard, Ky. project and the development of the New Left /'. A strategy for radical rent-strike organizing'/. The nature of Debsian Socialism: James Weinstein & Paul Buhle on The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925 /'. Intellectuals in the 1930's: reviews of Josephson's Infidel in the Temple and Cowley's Think Back on Them

50¢ or \$2 / year for SDS National Members (\$3 / year for others) to Brother Buhle, 1237 Spaight, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Bulk rates for chapters.

NEW LEFT NOTES  
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### NAC MINUTES

January 11, 1968

Members present: Earl Silbar, Bernie Farber, Clark Kissinger, Karen Gellen, Carol Neiman, Mike Spiegel.  
Members absent: John Rossen, Hank Williams Chapter, Bob Pardun, Carl Davidson  
Others present: Boe Shomer, Alan Sachs, Bruce Pohlman

1. The New England Free Press, a newsletter put out by sds people, will be sent the national chapter contact list free of charge, as requested.

2. Greg Calvert was hired by the NAC to serve as national office coordinator of the upcoming spring program. Bernie Farber abstained, Earl Silbar objected

for the following reason: "I voted against the hiring of Greg Calvert for sds' spring program coordinator because his actions at the December NC were politically irresponsible. He is a national political officer (NIC member) and the co-author of the "Ten Days to Shake the Empire" proposal for sds' political direction and spring actions. Yet during Saturday's workshop on national spring programs he never once took the floor to defend or explain this major resistance proposal. Since the educational conference and NC were focused around this proposal (See 3 NLN issues preceding Dec. conference) and since the co-author (Carl Davidson) was out of the country on sds business, for Greg Calvert not to explain and/or defend his politics was a serious case of political irresponsibility."