

Chicago, Illinois

1608 West Madison

Students for a Democratic Society

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES

August 19, 1968

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

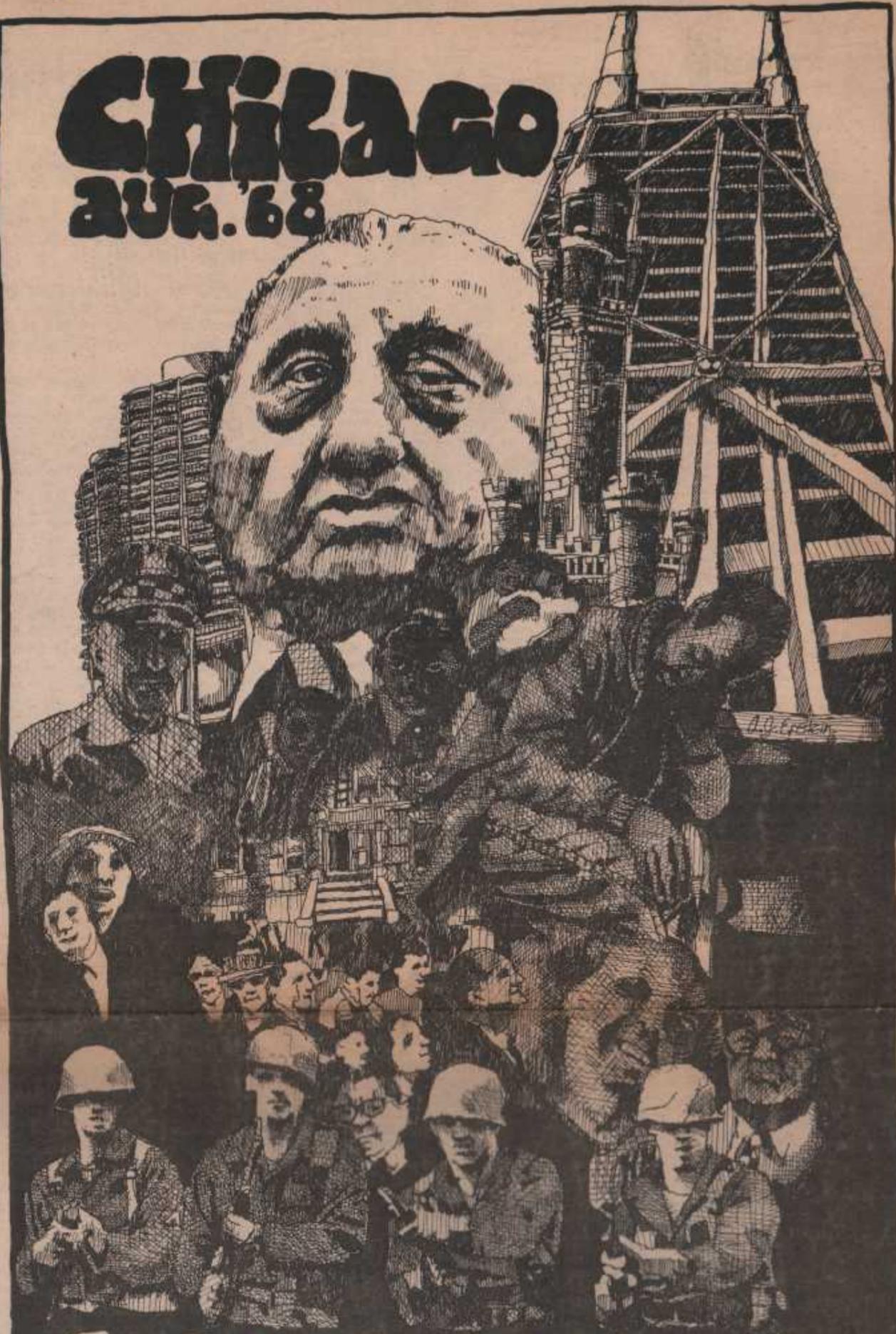
Volume 3, Number 26

THIS AMERICAN CITY, DOING ITS PART IN THE ELECTION OF ITS LEADER, THE LEADER OF ITS PEOPLE, HAS MARKED ITS FIRST CASUALTY. THE HOLIDAY DEATH TOLL FOR CHICAGO'S KINGMAKERS IS ONE AMERICAN. ONE AMERICAN INDIAN, ONE DEAN JOHNSON.

DEAN JOHNSON, 17, FROM SOUTH DAKOTA, WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY TWO CHICAGO YOUTH DIVISION DETECTIVES EARLY THURSDAY MORNING - "AFTER CURFEW."

THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME FOR CHICAGO. OUR STREETS ARE NOT SAFE FOR AMERICANS.

CHICAGO AUG. '68



a CLOSED CONVENTION in a CLOSED CITY S.D.S.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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An Open Letter: Dear McCarthy Supporters



By Carl Oglesby

We recognize in you many of our own aspirations. We think you should recognize in us the best possibility of their attainment.

So this open letter is in part a plea and in part a polemic. Its single theme and main assumption are that each one of you is a hundred times more important than the man to whose cause you have given your capacities for concern, hope, and work. Because we believe this, you give us hope. Because you do not, you make us angry.

We're writing this just before Convention time, on the threshold of what we in SDS think will be the bureaucratic assassination of your fondest and most foolish political dreams.

We know that many of you are wrestling right now with the question of coming or not coming to Chicago for the showdown...or the farce. And we read that the buses are being filled as rapidly as they are chartered.

The decision to come must not have been easy. Had you paid attention to the old pros on your man's campaign team and stayed home, you'd never have been able to shake the doubt that you surrendered something important without putting up a fight. But on the other hand, the post-primary spectacle of Humphrey's inner-sanctum power must have made many of you too cynical to think that anything you could do—anything that ordinary people could ever do—would keep the Machine from choosing the man who had chosen it. And in this case, the potentially bloody business of facing off against Daley's primed and beefed-up cops would look like a rather freaky piece of idleness.

Our idea in SDS is that you should have stayed home. Not because Chicago seems scary, but because back home is where we think your most important political work awaits your skills and commitments. Our idea is that this Convention will amount to a macabre Roman circus best enjoyed from the greatest distance. Not just because we think Humphrey's already bagged it, but also because we wouldn't be in the least surprised, at the critical moment, to find your man holding up the winner's hand. Even more than that, it's because we think that the miracle you're praying for, a McCarthy nomination, wouldn't begin to make nearly the difference for yourselves, the nation, and the world which you believe it would.

We know, of course, that you've heard it all before from SDS, that ratpack of cranky, never-satisfied, know-it-all, self-righteous novice revolutionaries, those super-radicals who yelled and yelled about the wolf at the door and then, when at last a man showed up with a willing disposition and a rifle in his hands, complained that his rifle's bore was too small and its sight too untrue for the job, and that the problem wasn't really the wolf anyway, or even the door that could be threatened by the wolf, but rather the house itself in its entirety. "A wolf's at the door

and you nuts want to start tearing down the house to build a new one—which you don't even have plans for. Smart!"

Who knows? Maybe your man will somehow pull it off and beat Nixon. And stop this war—these wars, rather, a key feature of our country's current and abiding distress being that Vietnam is everywhere. We share your hope that the joke is going to be on us.

And if your man loses, but loses close? We can anticipate the bitterness with which some of you may accuse us of having laid back in the crisis. "We had a chance. Another pair of hands might have saved the game. This so-called New Left which said in the early 1930s: 'After Hitler, us.' Once again," you may say, "the world will have to pay the price of this all-too-unblemished political morality."

Since we won't be able to answer you then—if indeed things do unfold that way—we want to answer you now.

How We Got Where We Are

In the beginning, back in the heroic period of the civil-rights struggles—say from 1960 through 1964—our assumptions were barely "radical" at all. Black people should be free. Nothing extreme about that. It's the cardinal promise of the country's official morality. The Movement's demands could not have been simpler: "Live up to these promises, America." And we assumed that somewhere in its mysterious heart, America really wanted to do that. And that it could.

You know the end of that particular story. Heartbreak and terror.

At best, change went sideways: more laws, more criminals. As often as not, change went backward: more phoniness, more despair.

Being as curious as anybody else, we wondered why nothing our liberal government did ever worked the way our liberal politicians said it would. Why did the Welfare programs only seem to make poverty more humiliating? Why did all these

civil-rights laws leave the black man's desperation unrelieved? Why did the shadow of progressivism only consolidate the substance of reaction? And why did nearly everybody agree that peace was war?

Why were the conventional peacenik marches, orderly to the fault of a yawn, increasingly assaulted in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York by unprovoked police?

Why did the press always cover it up? The growing numbers of public figures who belatedly discovered that the War in Vietnam was a dangerous mistake—why did they continue to support the persistent repetition of the same mistake in Laos, Thailand, the Congo, Guatemala, Bolivia?

Maybe the problem was deeper than we had supposed?

So we studied things again: racism, poverty, the War. We found that our search for convincing explanations drove us to look harder at this American past of ours and to probe more skeptically these democratic institutions which, we had been told, were to facilitate needed change, not obstruct or deny it.

A pattern appeared: the pattern of the International Communist Conspiracy and our valorous national effort to defeat it in behalf of democracy, Shakespeare, miniskirts, Caltex, and so on. Everywhere in the world our Cold War leaders looked they saw conspiracies, agitation, subversion, and insurrection. We followed their trembling fingers, their furious gaze, and ourselves took a long hard look at this nightmare. How could we not? Not only our lives but the powers of increase of the motherland herself were alleged to have been placed in jeopardy by all these colored devils. What did we see?

In the first place, hunger everywhere. In the second, despair everywhere. Then indignity and humiliation. Then dozens and dozens of two-bit dictatorships which our freedom fighters found peculiarly tolerable. And finally we saw—everywhere—the Yankee businessman, attache case in hand, at home it seemed in any of these "Free World" countries from Vorster's South Africa to Stroessner's Paraguay, from Papa Doc Duvalier's Haiti to post-bloodbath Indonesia, up and about, making a buck—a very pretty one, judging from all corporation reports—while for some mysterious reason the economies of all these lucky "host countries" kept lagging farther and farther behind. And behind this ubiquitous businessman, this traveling universal, we saw the smiling face of your AID field rep. Or was he CIA? And behind even him, trying to blend in with the native faces, trying to escape attention in the shadows of certain jungles, the Fort Bragg graduate, the jaunty cutthroat of the Special Forces country-x team.

Vietnam was no "mistake"—not until

the Vietnamese made it one.

Nor was racism, really, until Watts. Or perhaps not even until the killing of King forced them to see that the loving patience for which King stood had long since been killed beneath King's feet—by their own inaction. What has been their response?

There sits the Kerner Commission report on everybody's bookshelves, a best-seller. Damned from the mouths of its own "responsible" elite, white America, befuddled and up-tight enough as it was, is now asked to understand that the main problem here is white racism but that the main solution is the creation of two million new jobs in the next three years. So how will black jobs stop white racism? Won't black preferentialism in fact intensify it? And for that matter how are two million new jobs going to be created when an array of domestic and international pressures on the economy will force unemployment above 5% by the end of the year? And if the problem really is white racism, why is it that the police of all major and most minor American cities—exactly the forces which constitute the most immediate and virulent aspect of white racism—are being allowed to arm themselves Mace over Stoner gun for a counter-insurgency effort worthy of Vietnam?

More important: Why does this Commission, which in other respects seems able to see realities, fail totally to grasp the situation's leading and most obvious features, namely, that white racism's sting is a result of black powerlessness before it, that white racism's only lasting anodyne is therefore black power, and that the core of any realistic program must consequently be black control of black communities, black police responsible to black people, black health facilities, black housing control, black schools teaching what is relevant to black children, black control of the black community's financial base.

But this lapse is not really so mysterious at all. If black people began to govern black communities, maybe white people would begin to get the idea. If that happened, who could predict the fate of the system of centralized top-down control to which all of us are tied in all our institutions? If America began in earnest to practice the democratic act, those who now govern might not be governing much longer. The interest systems which now dictate our social priorities might no longer dictate them. The social and economic regulations which now pre-determine the general cast of American lives might be shortly abandoned—and with them, the miniature elite whose special interests these regulations now serve.

The Movement's collective experience over this decade drove it irresistibly to a conclusion which none of us were happy to accept:

Americans are not a self-governing people, and we never have been.

And So, Eugene McCarthy

Is McCarthy the pay-off of these years of protest? Does he represent the partial fruition of our efforts to build a movement for changing America?

Or is he only another attempt to emasculate that protest?

Is he what the Movement has been working for? Or against?

How do we fact are we to define McCarthy so that we can at least be sure that we're talking about the same thing?

Perhaps by his record? Surely you're tired by now of listening to the dreary list of his illiberal votes: his assent to the witch-hunt politics of the '50s (as late as 1959 he voted for the Student Loyalty Oath Bill), his vacillation on civil rights (in 1961 he

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new left notes

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SDS Vest-Pocket Guide to the Convention

This is not a strategic map or calendar of Chicago actions. Those are available elsewhere. (you might see the Mobilization calendar as a framework.) Geographical maps can be found in the Guardian and Rat, in subway and "El" stations, and at book stores and gas stations.

All we want to provide here is a sort of pocket guide for SDS people coming in, loosely framing the strategies that are to be developed. As those strategies formulate, they will rest on resourceful and politically-focused utilization of a great many diverse contingencies.

The following are things, contacts, places, and precepts to keep in mind for use.

SDS MOVEMENT CENTERS

(Lists will be available at the Mob Office, at our centers, and in papers)

Church of Three Crosses
(first to be activated)
1900 North Sedgwick

First Congregational Church
40 North Ashland

Coffee House
5912 West Addison

Chapel House (U of C)
5810 South Woodlawn

Circle Campus
Harrison and Halsted

(These function as centralized contact and meeting points for us, and, at least initially, anything which may require centralization will work out of them.)

TELEPHONE CONTACTS:

General: 927-3184 and 973-0759

(These numbers are for any and all information: which Movement centers are for what; transportation, housing, and food information; generally where to go and when to get your question answered. Do not call the National Office; these are the SDS numbers.)

Legal: 641-1470

Medical: 248-3559 or 939-2666
(Barbara Britts)

The National Mobilization: 939-2666

GENERAL:

Hard plans will develop or mobilize out of our Movement centers, which will be in touch with each other. Until then our job is to hang loose and maintain contact and mobility. This means keeping clear of haphazardly provocative situations: Don't practice snake-dancing unless it becomes

specifically strategic. If you and/or the people you're with don't have particular plans underway, concentrate on establishing contacts at the centers and learning your way around. Use maps to figure out car, foot, and public transportation routes between Movement centers, the Loop, et cetera.

The Mobilization "street calendar" shown refers to locations; find out where they are. Work on pooling and co-ordinating the resources of whatever your group may be. Get your identification straight—say you're staying on the fifteenth floor of the Hilton and working for McCarthy, or whatever—and stay away from pigs.

Find out about literature to be circulated, rallies planned, et cetera. We will be putting out a daily wall newspaper which will need networks for material, circulation, et cetera. More information will be available.

The Labor Scene at Convention Time

By Noel Ignatin

With Convention time hard on us, the City administrators are confronted with three Labor disputes which bear on the degree of smoothness with which they hope to carry off their show.

The most widely publicized, and least significant, of these disputes is the long strike of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against Illinois Bell, which is in its fourth month. The central issue in the strike is wages. For a time it appeared that the strike might force some change in Convention plans, since the striking workers are the ones charged with installing the lines for TV coverage at the Amphitheater. The fact that the strike has not affected Convention plans is an illustration of the importance in a workers' movement of the presence or absence of political consciousness as distinguished from immediate monetary interest. The failure of this strike to seriously affect the anti-working class plot called the Democratic Convention also points out once again that while it is certainly correct to speak of the power of the working class to derail capitalist society (a power greater than that of any other social sector), it does not follow that the workers will spontaneously exercise this power in the pursuit of "ordinary", essentially narrow aims, even where it might be advantageous to them to do so.

While it was clear that the greatest weapon of the strikers was their power to cancel the Convention (Illinois Bell revenues have not appreciably fallen during the hundred-and-five-day strike), the IBEW leaders, without vocal rank-and-file opposition, have made it clear from the beginning that they had no desire to harm the Convention and thereby deprive "Chicago" of its "benefits".

This municipal dedication led to the signing of an agreement which is surely unique in the history of Labor in our country: The workers agreed to perform the work, during a strike, for nothing—and hailed it as a victory! The actual terms of the agreement (worked out in sessions with Mayor Daley) provide for a special detachment of electrical workers, assigned by the union (I), to install the necessary equipment for the TV. Since the rest of the workers in their local are still out on strike, the wages (old contract rates) they would receive are being paid instead into the strike fund.

The history of craft unionism records many an instance of one craft union crossing the picket lines of another, but this is the first time to my knowledge that a craft union has broken its own strike, called it a victory, and held a mass rally to acclaim the mayor who negotiated the deal a hero of Labor! Meanwhile, the strike drags on, with increasing numbers of cable cuttings and other acts of sabotage,

the products of a primitive militancy combined with growing desperation.

The second Convention-related dispute is the strike of drivers against the two biggest cab companies, Yellow and Checker. The issues illustrate a higher degree of working-class consciousness than in the Bell strike. At stake here are not only wages, but also the elimination of distinctions in pay rates between full- and part-time drivers. These distinctions (part-time drivers get a lower commission) have been a slick maneuver of the companies and a source of division among union men. In contrast to the IBEW leaders, who crawled on their knees to avoid interfering with the smooth running of the Convention, the cab drivers appear to have set the strike date, August 19th, with a view toward taking advantage of Convention pressure to win their demands.

The third strike likely to be in progress at Convention time is the one which has received the least Convention oriented coverage, but which may turn out to have the greatest impact on the Convention, and which certainly carries the greatest significance for the Labor movement and political relations in the country, whose waves will be felt long after the Democrats have nominated their pig at 48th and Halsted, and the Yuppies have nominated theirs in Lincoln Park.

August 25th is the date that the concerned transit workers have set to walk off the job, bringing to a halt most of the City bus system. This will be the second "unauthorized" walkout in two months by the CTW, who form an opposition caucus within Local 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Workers.

The issues behind the strike are a reflection of a growing pattern of Labor disputes in which the fight of the whole rank and file for union militancy is linked with the fight of black workers to be fairly represented in union decision-making positions. In this case the fight was spearheaded by the black drivers, who make up the overwhelming majority of the CTW and all of its leadership. But the CTW leaders have made it clear that they are fighting for all the transit workers, and a number of white drivers, particularly the younger men, joined in the first strike, which took place on July 1st. As CTW spokesman Waymon Benson put it: "This is one time that

black men are leading white men. They know that what benefits us benefits them. The Union isn't representing them any better than it is representing us."

The conflict, which had been brewing for almost a year, was first brought to a head in July around the issue of pensioners' voting rights in Union elections. A majority of the eight thousand, three hundred and forty active working drivers are black. Yet the votes of thirty-six hundred pensioners, nearly all white, have kept black workers out of union leadership and maintained in office the reactionary white-supremacist administration of James J. Hill and his cronies, a continuation of the McNamara clique that ruled the local for decades. None of the local officials are black, and there are only four black workers on the twenty-six-member executive board. Referring to the pensioners' voting power, Benson declared: "This is at the heart of the problem. As long as this continues, the black man won't have a chance to gain any positions of leadership in the Union for years to come."

The strikers put forward four key demands:

- (1) an end to the system of split shifts, whereby a driver may have to be out as long as thirteen hours to get eight hours pay;
- (2) the elimination of all unsafe and unhealthy facilities on the busses;
- (3) no reprisals against strikers, and full pay for days lost on strike;
- (4) restriction of pensioners' voting to questions of death benefits and pension funds.

The first strike developed a genuine people's flavor from the beginning. Strikers were active in persuading non-strikers to join them. Cops were assigned to ride the busses to "protect" the scabs. A number of arrests were made of strikers who tried to block busses from going out.

Various churches and organizations in the black community moved to support the strike. Big rallies were held, and Reverend Jesse Jackson of SCLC, head of Operation Breadbasket, threatened a City-wide bus boycott if the strike were not settled. The offices of Breadbasket became strike headquarters, and the situation was moving toward becoming another Memphis, with the black community

mobilized behind a Labor dispute.

On July 7th, the strike was temporarily called off after a meeting between strike leaders, the Chicago Transit Authority, and the Mayor, at which the strikers' demands were vaguely conceded. In actuality, no changes took place, and the strike leaders have decided on another walkout.

In the six weeks since the first wildcat, the CTW has expanded its influence and strengthened its organization, and the signs point to a more effective walkout than the first, which reduced bus service about 50%. On the other hand, racial lines have hardened, and the strikers do not appear to have made big gains among the white drivers.

One walkout in another industry (Railway Express, where white drivers were led out in a wildcat by a small core of black drivers) has already been inspired by the transit strike, and the example has reverberated wildly.

Now, picture the implications of the transit strike: black (and some white) workers striking against a municipal monopoly and reactionary union bosses; mass rallies in the black community, and possibly marches; a bus boycott with alternate means of transportation set up under the auspices of SCLC; attempts by strikers to stop busses; police and perhaps soldiers on the busses and in the black community; expressions of support from black caucuses in other industries and possibly from militant rank-and-file whites....All these things could very quickly develop from the August 25th walkout. Does that have any relation to the success of the Democratic Convention? Does it have any implications for the struggle of Labor beyond that point?

The lesson seems clear that the greatest revitalizing force in Labor today is coming from the black liberation struggle, and that a fight for union militancy must involve a fight for union democracy against white supremacy, which has become the chief buttress of both the companies and the reactionary union bosses.

For white radicals, this situation presents both great opportunity and great danger. The danger is that we will fail to recognize the significance of the new development, and attempt to organize white workers apart from the fight for equality. The opportunity is that we will see that the black liberation movement, which has been the main redemptive force in American society for over a decade (one might argue for the last three hundred years), has succeeded in infusing its energy into the Labor movement, and has thus created a force in embryo which, if we understand how to relate to it, can serve as the real base for the transformation of the character of the whole Labor movement in our country, an indispensable prerequisite for making the Revolution.

Note on This Issue

MANY READERS WILL BE AWAY FROM CHICAGO AND THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION. THEY SHOULD READ THIS ISSUE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT'S DESIGNED AT LEAST PARTLY FOR OUR USE IN CHICAGO THIS WEEK.

Shut Down the Universities

by Les Coleman

We ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more!

Make it clear. We are taking our stand against universities. We have talked long enough about getting more of a voice in the university—getting student-faculty-administration groups that discuss admissions, and social regimentation as with dorm rules, and curriculum—and we still have no real power. We talked about student power a lot, the way some of us talked about political power a few years ago: If we could just mobilize our people, we said, inside the liberal elements of the Democratic Party, we could bring the liberals to vocalize our demands and win some gains from the Government, which now serves only the interests of the big corporations and militarists.

We have found out we can't change the political party or the university; we can't get control. (What changes were made at Columbia in response to the vast majority protest of the students who go there?) And if we can't change them, if we can't get any meaningful control, we don't want positions of "power" in them. Why do we want "power" to shoot the gun or ring up the corporate cash register when we don't want the gun shot or the register rung? Forget it!

WE INDICT THE UNIVERSITIES...

We indict the universities—at the courts of human justice, not the courts that have indicted a thousand of our brothers and sisters at Columbia and many others in other cities. We indict them first because they directly participate in research and training for the Military, the Military which is used against movements of exploited people's liberation throughout the world and right here in the black colonies of this country. It may even be used against us—very soon. We have already been maced, and perhaps new kinds of "peace" gas developed right here at the University of Chicago will be used against those concerned people who have come to protest the Democratic Convention. And it is not just a few universities that do this research.

We indict the universities because they function primarily to train young people for technical and managerial jobs in the big corporations. The way we see it, those corporations are the source of poverty and stupid long-hour jobs because of their calculated mis-management of the productive resources of America. Those same corporations are the source of America's holy war against movements of national liberation because they want their foreign-investment empire well protected. Forget it! We don't wanna work on Maggie's Farm no more. Shut it down!

Finally we indict the universities, the community colleges, and the high schools—especially the high schools—for their mis-education and ideological and social imprisonment of our people. We understand that an educational system functions to maintain the values of the society (the values that maintain the society itself). But they are not our values, brothers and sisters. And it's ours against theirs.

WE STAND...

We stand for dignity, self-realization, a real living consciousness of other people's needs of survival and dignity, and a life based on community.

They stand for entrepreneurial relationships between people, having an edge on other human beings, stupid individualism, and racism.

We don't stand for imperialist wars. They do.

We stand for building together to free men and women of the chains of necessity—of long and meaningless hours of alienated work.

They stand for using the productive resources of this country to increase the profit and social and economic control of a small class.

They enforce their values through courses in history, social science, government, and literature, and through the loads of stupid social rules that make young men and women feel like foolish kids—controlled and powerless. Are you with them or with us?

They say we have no program. But we do. Everywhere men and women are refusing to live their lives out in the midst and in support of this corruption—blue- and white-collar working people, university students, high-school students, people contained in ghettos. Everywhere we are helping to work out organizations and forms to gain power of the people in their cause: our cause.

Next N.C. Set for Boulder, Colorado

by Mike Klonsky
National Secretary

The date and site for the next National Council (NC) meeting has been chosen. The NC will be held October 12th through 15th at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

This could very well be the most important NC in the history of SDS. There are many immediate programs and resolutions which must be discussed and resolved, ranging from SDS's development of a program for labor organizing to a fall high-school program.

For those not familiar with the structure of National Council meetings, here is a brief run-down:

Anyone can come to an NC, and all SDS members are encouraged to do so. However, voting on program and policy resolutions is restricted to delegates from chapters. Each chapter with five or more national members is entitled to one delegate. If a chapter has more than twenty-five members, it can send additional delegates for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter.

The rest of the Council is composed of the eleven national officers; any elected liaison representatives from associated groups, who are entitled to a consultative vote; any liaison representatives from fraternal groups, who are entitled to a fraternal vote; and national staff members, who do not vote.

If there is no organized chapter in your area, you can get together with five or more members and elect a delegate to the NC. You should send a certification of the meeting with the signatures of the members (at least five) to the National Office prior to the NC.

If delegates are to act responsibly at National Council meetings, they should sit down with their chapter, collective, or affinity group and

At the schools we are rejecting the false privileges—the stupid privileges—they have offered, and we are seeing that our struggle is one with the people of the world. Our struggle of liberation is to become more and more human by fighting with and for the people—for their and our self-determination.

Our tactic must be, therefore, organizing people to shut the schools down, because they are the institutions which aid in the regimentation and oppression of our people. This will take time. The going is slow. But we will break ourselves and others out. We will refuse to be used by the institutions we have indicated. As we break out, we understand that more and more we are simply political prisoners of a small class that have state power and institutional power on their side. As we challenge the bars of education and discipline, they become bars of pigs and guns—at Columbia and many other places. And we know what we have to do. FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS, SHUT THE JAILS DOWN! Join in the youth revolution, the beginning of the end of capitalism and its cultural jails.

Are you with us—or with them?

discuss their positions on the various resolutions. These resolutions should appear in New Left Notes prior to the NC. Also, chapters are encouraged to introduce their own resolutions. There will be many resolutions and proposals carried over from the National Convention in June. The most prominent of these are the proposals on class organizing which are printed in the June 24th (post-Convention) issue of New Left Notes.

NIC MEETING

If we survive the Democratic National Convention, there will be a meeting of the National Interim Committee, the elected officers of SDS who make organizational decisions between National Council meetings.

The meeting, which will be held in Indiana, is scheduled for August 30th through September 1st. The National Interim Committee elected at the June Convention consists of the three National Secretaries—Mike Klonsky, Bernardine Dohrn, and Fred Gordon; and the eight NIC members—Mike James (Chicago), Eric Mann (New England), Chip Marshall (Niagara), Carl Oglesby (Ohio), Jeff Jones (New York City), Mike Spiegel (Washington DC), Morgan Spector (Northern California), and Bartee Halle (Texas Oklahoma).

The NIC meeting is open to other people, both SDS members and resource people. However, if non-NIC members would like to attend, they should notify National Secretary Mike Klonsky in advance because of accommodation limitations. The NIC can meet in closed session to deal with problems of organizational security.

Among the things to be discussed at this up-coming NIC are: the Boulder, Colorado NC—its schedule, resource people, committee reports, et cetera; the fall Columbia University conference on the international student movement; fund-raising; and the Democratic Convention "after the Fall".



GENERAL ITEMS

SDS Constitution (free)

Democracy Is Nothing If It Is Not Dangerous: Carl Oglesby (free)

Radical Education Project Literature List (free)

An Introduction To SDS (free)

STUDENT ISSUES

The New Radicals In The Multiversity: Carl Davidson (15¢)

High School Reform: Toward A Student Movement: Mark Kleiman (10¢)

How Do We Deal With Colleges? Mark Kleiman (5¢)

DOMESTIC ISSUES

Pocket Manual On Draft Resistance: Ken Cloke (40¢)

Our Fight Is Here: Essays On Draft Resistance (25¢)

Hell No! (draft pamphlet: 15¢)

Getting Ready For The Firing Line: JOIN (10¢)

Youth Will Organize For Freedom: Les Coleman (10¢)

The Black Colony In America: Steve Weismann (15¢)

Don't Mourn, Organize! (50¢)

The CIA (10¢)

FOREIGN POLICY

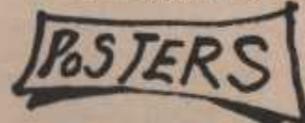
US Imperialism: Gilbert and Loud (15¢)

Who Controls Vietnam? Wilfred Burchett (15¢)

Vietnam: JOIN (10¢)

NLF Program (15¢)

Trapped In A System: Carl Oglesby (10¢)



Malcolm X: He Was Ready; Are You? (50¢)

Che: In Revolution One Wins Or Dies (50¢)

Pigs In The Streets (\$1)



SDS Button (10¢)

SDS Freedom Now, Withdraw Now (25¢)

Resist (15¢)

Noj With My Life, You Don't! (25¢)

Go Michigan, Beat Thailand (25¢)

Tricky Dick Bounces Back



by Hamish Sinclair
SDS National Office

Tricky Dick's smooth trip to the Republican nomination for President was a craft masterpiece. It also bespeaks the times. Nixon comes to national focus as the spokesman for conservative, businesslike America—that section of the ruling bourgeoisie which corporate capitalism has been regimenting, co-ordinating, and trying to conquer for the last eighty years or more.

Nixon speaks for that group. It's the same group that bounced back in 1935 to renounce and reform the most

progressive parts of the New Deal legislation. Now they have bounced back again to play the return bout against eight years of liberalism under Kennedy and Johnson in the Sixties.

Last time we saw the public face of Nixon he was losing to Jack Kennedy. That was eight years ago, in 1960. At that time there had developed an alliance between the Kennedy liberals and the corporate liberals. The alliance was after two basic things: It wanted a foreign policy more flexible than the anti-communist one of the Fifties; and it wanted a Congress that would go along with that.

This set the Democrats off on the

most spectacular and expensive electoral campaign since the New Deal. For six years the Federal Democrats have poured money into the rural and urban ghettos of the South and the North. The intention was to cut off the local courthouses and reactionary Nineteenth Century politicians from their base by tying their constituencies directly to the Federal Government with poverty programs, job programs, and Welfare programs. Of course in the South, where the most entrenched reactionaries wield the most power at the national level, the Feds organized and paid for voting registration campaigns.

But the Federal programs have failed in that time to crush, replace, or neutralize the powerfully-entrenched local courthouse reactionaries. They have failed too, except in a few places, to flush out the local liberals and get them elected into office.

On the contrary, the Right Wing courthouses and city machines have mounted a massive campaign against the liberal threat to their bailiwicks. In fact at state level the Right has spent the last two years consolidating its victories over the liberals. They have won their battles for state control of poverty programs, job programs, education programs, et cetera.... And in places where liberals did come to power in the atmosphere of liberal Federal support there is now organized reaction against them. Gary and Cleveland have black mayors with this problem, and Lindsay in New York is not immune. In Maryland, Spiro Agnew didn't wait

to be surrounded by the Right. He joined them. Agnew was never much of a liberal to start with. He was elected governor in '66 to defeat a regular Democrat white-backlash candidate. Came the death of King and the Baltimore Rebellion, and Agnew called the Guard and left the liberals. Then he left the Rockefeller camp, and now he is Nixon's VP.

Agnew is symbolic of the current political struggle among the American elite. He would like to be a liberal—even tried to be. But with the failure of the reform deals he played with—manipulation of taxes, open-housing laws, and cozy relations with the Toms in the black community—when the shit hit the fan in the ghetto Agnew was out for law and order like the rest of them. Get the militants, kill the looters, and protect property. In Vietnam they call it search and destroy. It follows where pacification has failed.

Agnew is the liberal who moved to the Right in the face of the contradictions that liberalism left on his doorstep. The Southerners, led by arch-segregationist Strom Thurmond, picked this VP for Nixon. It's the team the conservatives support to get the liberals. It's the team that will shift gears and move from the successful defense of the courthouse to the national attack on the White House.

The machinery about to grind noisily into high gear in Chicago must meet that attack—either with a better strategy to the same end or a better one to offset Nixon's new strength in reaction.

HAYDEN: THE LEFT IS TAKING ROOT

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and assume that that experience of working for McCarthy is the basic experience that will make them more radical if they are going to become more radical. They're in the best position to understand and interpret it, rather than we, because they've been through it. Just as I went through believing in the Peace Corps early in 1960. I know that feeling of progressively finding out that something is just the opposite of what you thought it was. We think that a lot of McCarthy people will feel that way whether or not McCarthy gets the nomination. Only the threat of massive demonstrations and civil disorder and the alienation of youth turns out to be McCarthy's strong drawing card. He can put the country together, he can heal the breaches, one thing about the whole organization. I would say that now and then we read something in NLN or we hear an SDS person give what we think is a rather mechanical conception of how SDS can win the McCarthy people over to radicalism after they're frustrated at the Convention.

We think that we have to take a very careful approach to this, because it's true that many McCarthy people are ambiguous. They aren't certain whether they should go into Draft resistance. Many of them participated in the Columbia strike. They aren't sure which way they are going politically. In that sense they are right. But they feel proud to some extent of what they've accomplished. They feel that they have accomplished this under severe criticism which often seems to be purist or dogmatic from the Left, from SDS people on campus or from other people, and they are defensive about it. They also feel, in some cases, that the Left has not been helpful to them at all, but has instead regarded them as the main enemy. So they can be quite easily turned off by the Left, just as a lot of those who formed the

original New Left in 1959 and 1960 were turned off by the different Marxist groups that tried to approach us and organize us into their camp. In other words, we have to respect the genuine experiences of the McCarthy students

NLN: You have spoken to me about a new organization outside of SDS that would be viable for organizing people outside of the student movement. What ideas do you have on this subject? Do you see any kind of organization coming out of the Convention?

TOM: Almost every radical in the country today is more and more concerned about that question, which shows that there has been a natural growth of a base for a more organized Left in the last year.

I don't think anything organizational along those lines will come out of this action in Chicago. This action in Chicago will be a unifying experience which will create a certain climate that will help to define what the Left is in this country. In order to organize itself, the Left will have to organize consciously, not indirectly or through something like the Mobilization. It has to be done decisively, step by step, piece by piece.

There are certain conditions that are favorable. One is that the anti-war movement has created a large climate in the middle class of concern about foreign policy and domestic policy—a whole community of people who question the whole structure of American society. Among the radicals—the people who have become radicals around the issue of Vietnam—they are of course more interested in keeping alive the issues of anti-imperialism and politics that also begin to hit at the domestic structure of capitalism and racism. If and when the War comes to an end, in the next year or two, very likely this anti-war movement will become organized into a more general Left organization.

As more and more people graduate from SDS and other student Left organizations over the years, they either settle down with a lot of uncertainty in one of the professions, or they drift about looking for a new political home. Some of them have even drifted back into SDS, which is supposed to be a student organization. But they are so desperate for some political linkage that they go back into SDS. I think that's good; it makes SDS more of a general umbrella organization for all the valid revolutionary activity that's going on in the country. But eventually it will become more than the machinery of SDS can bear, especially if SDS wants to concentrate on youth and on the campuses.

This will create a need around the country for better hook-ups for people outside the campus. The problem is how you do it. Some people are in favor of a natural or organic growth from the regions and the local up to the national, culminating in some sort of coming together in a couple of years. I think that's happening. I think the Left is taking root. A lot of local experimental projects are happening. A lot of what we previously divided into political and hippie culture is breaking down and coming together. Political communities are growing around campuses and in urban areas. We have an informal network of travel and communication around the country that is helping to bring things together. But I don't think they come together naturally. I think you have to be decisive and conscious about the kind of Left force you want to create so you can shape these natural forces.

Now one concept is a sort of mass-based political party with emphasis outside electoral politics. I think this will become a possibility in the future, but only when there is a greater sharing of perspective at local levels. I think there are too many factional quarrels, too many ideological

questions that have yet to be unraveled. Such a party would bog down or be taken over from within at local levels by disciplined Left organizations. It would be tied up immediately in internal political quarrels. It wouldn't be either revolutionary or based on consensus, nor would it be efficient.

The other alternative is, of course, a disciplined cadre organization which has the advantage of avoiding all these factional hang-ups on the local level and being definitely revolutionary, but has the obvious disadvantage of running exactly against the ethics of the Movement. There is a feeling that we've had enough of disciplined elite groups because they necessarily fall into a kind of manipulative politics, having one line for themselves and one line for whatever organization they're participating in. The only thing that would convince the Movement of the need for such an organization would be an increased repression by the ruling class.

The only possibility I see, even with all its problems, would be a very loose organization of organizers with no internal discipline, which would create a way to bring together all the active white revolutionaries periodically on a minimal basis of finding out what's going on in various regions and parts of the Movement, so that there would be a little more communication than there presently is. It would bring together the people who continue to see a revolutionary role for themselves—primarily white people who have been through SDS or are in SDS—into a little sounder network. These are people who are seriously trying to grapple with the problem of how to build a revolutionary movement, and for whom SDS is too much of a student organization. This could even be a deliberate extension of itself by SDS. And all I'm talking about is a little more deliberate extension of what is happening naturally anyway.

Why Not McCarthy?

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voted against withholding Federal aid from segregated schools, his occasional anti-Labor stands (against extension of minimum-wage coverage in 1960, against the rail workers in 1963), and maybe most galling of all, the tardiness of his opposition to the War (he voted for every war appropriation bill, for the Tonkin Gulf resolution, and against the 1966 amendment which would have exempted non-volunteering draftees from service in Vietnam). He has consistently opposed the admission of China to the UN, and clings to the view that there is nothing structurally wrong with our foreign policy: "We still have the fleet," he said last November, "we still have Japan, we still have a position in South Korea, we have built up a strong base in Thailand...." And in April, asked if we needed to take a new approach to international affairs, he answered "No. We do in Vietnam, in Southeast Asia. But not in Korea, not in Japan, not in India, not the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

But you have heard this.

You are doubtless a little worried about the suggestion of hypocrisy in his dissent. He sought to provide an alternative, he said when he announced his candidacy last November, to those who "become cynical and make threats of support for third parties or fourth parties or other irregular political movements." As if so explicit a subordination of content to form were anything but the essence of cynicism.

Anything have often been informed, moreover, that his chances of victory are galactically remote. You knew this, after all, from the start.

So add it up.

His record: to be charitable, call it ambiguous.

His present policies: to give the benefit of the doubt, say that they do not quite hit the nail on the head.

His real power: to be optimistic, assume that it is still in the process of formation.

What is the sum?

McCarthy-In-Practice

A definition of McCarthy-in-practice: the probably unproductive compromise of policies which are ambiguous, if not dubious, to begin with.

Which is merely one way of putting what most of you already claim to know.

Then why do you continue to support him?

We think there are reasons. One has to do with an illusion. Another with a reality. And another with a failure of nerve.

You visualize McCarthy as a man in the process of change. You imply that he should no more be judged by what he used to be than, for example, SDS itself.

In a time like this, that is no ground for fantasy. Above all, we need clarity now, not subtle evocations of mood. And in the measure that McCarthy has been clear, his case against the War remains explicitly a traditional case for anti-Communist containment.

It was only his dedication to the containment policy which led him to challenge the Administration in the first place. He saw the truth to which political vanity had blinded Johnson, namely, that it was not possible to impose upon the Vietnamese a government of French colonial officers, and that the desperate attempt to do so was creating the gravest crisis of the Cold War period: it was cracking the Atlantic Alliance. Not alone in this awareness, he was also not the first to voice it. We do not say that his decision to oppose Johnson openly was easy. Within its own framework, it was perhaps even courageous. But this courage is that of the timid among the craven, the diffident among the abject, the whisperer among the silent. There are other standards of courage in a world

which remembers Che Guevara, meets again every day the ordinary Vietnamese peasant, and knows Fanny Lou Hamer. Compared to what we need, in any case, his distinction is a small excursion from an abysmal norm.

We think you project onto the future McCarthy the virtues which you know he must come to possess. The current moral and physical turmoil certainly seems to beg for heroes. McCarthy is honest. He has candor and integrity and intelligence enough to distinguish victory from defeat. With a desperation which we can easily understand, you treat him as if he were already the man he has not yet even promised to become. This is illusionism.

The Reality: It is just that Left politics in America is hard. There is not much room for movement in that direction. Not much is possible. Play to secure the marginal victory and avoid the central defeat.

So it comes down to the famous bird in hand.

If it does nothing else, the McCarthy campaign represents itself implicitly as the Leftmost ideological position at which political realism still endures. Above all, you have told us, this is no time for utopia, romance, or extremist provocations. The very power of the case the New Left made for stopping the War, in fact, is a conclusive argument for an expedient politics. So McCarthy won't join the Vietcong. At least he'll bring off the capitulation without totally freaking everybody out.

Don't demand the final salvation of the whole world tomorrow.

Demand, instead, the end of the War today.

Don't demand socialism tomorrow.

Demand, instead, that capitalism, starting today, begin creating for itself a more human heart.

Don't demand for tomorrow that real democracy establish itself in our society.

Demand, instead, that the old elites at once start behaving better.

Very tempting, this realism of ideals, and we ourselves will cheerfully confess a preference for effectiveness over uselessness.

But this practicality—with respect to exactly what policies does it commend itself to us? How desirable in themselves are these policies? And how exclusively are they the property of McCarthy?

McCarthy has already persuaded us that his overriding objective is the defense of the same American Empire which we find flatly unsupportable. That he should see the cessation of large-scale military action against Vietnam as the pre-condition of revamped containment/imperialism—we find this not at all hard to understand. This is also why the big corporations have turned against the War. They, too, want to find new security for those key positions in Europe and Latin America which the Vietnam "diversion" has left exposed. They, too, are passionately concerned about the international equilibrium of the dollar, and they understand that a sharp de-escalation of the War is a basic current requirement for the health of the North Atlantic economic system.

McCarthy (and Rockefeller), among all the candidates, possibly understood this best, maybe even first. That may be commendable. The point, however, is that in one way or another the futility of the War has become clear even to Nixon. Any President must contrive to abandon the War. The Vietnamese have so decreed.

McCarthy's campaign is important. It is one manifestation of the breakdown of the political coalitions put together in the 1930s. At least indirectly, it expresses the emergence of a newly politicized and activist "grass roots" constituency, that of the post-war generations. It imperfectly embodies

the new spirit of participant democracy.

But practicality? Realism? Granted the sincerity of his occasional New Left-sounding flourishes, McCarthy's "practicality" amounts in the end to the adulteration of the necessary critique of the War, the obscuring of its sources in the system of American expansionism. It amounts to a moderating of already timid proposals which therefore lose whatever character they might have had: better negotiations maybe, inviting the NLF into a coalition whose other elements are precisely the forces the NLF has been struggling to expel and which have precious little constituency other than the US State Department, and on all other problems of foreign policy the retention and even reinforcing of the Truman-to-Johnson containment line.

No question: Such a policy is "practical", "possible", and "realistic". We've had it for years.

And we haven't even raised yet the

"WE THINK YOU ARE AFRAID OF YOUR OWN POLITICS AND THAT YOU ARE EMPLOYING THE MCCARTHY CAMPAIGN AS A MEANS OF MAKING YOUR DISSENT LOOK RESPECTABLE AND LEGITIMATE."

most obvious question: Since so many of you argue that we New Leftists should have compromised a bit for the sake of this "realistic alternative", we wonder why so few of you have argued that McCarthy can win?

The Failure of Nerve: Almost every young supporter of McCarthy we talk with is well to the Left of his champion. Many express the same dissatisfactions with his policies that we have expressed. Almost nobody thinks there is more than a 100-to-1 chance of his winning. The bird in the hand which was supposed to justify all sorts of tactical compromises turns out on inspection to be only a possible bird in the hand.

Then why all the excitement about "really making a difference"?

We have to say this bluntly:

We think you are afraid of your own politics, and that you are employing the McCarthy campaign as a means of making your dissent look respectable and "legitimate".

Fear of honest thought and its political imperatives; of effecting a clean break with the powerful institutions which have squandered so many lives; of abandoning the security of the system whose outrages you attack; of becoming your own "base of legitimacy": Is McCarthy a reprieve?

So What Do We Want You To Do?

Above all, to understand your own importance.

Not to borrow others' causes for fear of the difficulty of your own.

To grasp the fact that the authenticity which you find in McCarthy is there only because you have put it there; that his special virtues are merely small versions of your common possibilities.

Honesty? Yes. You are more honest.

Rebelliousness? Yes. Your rebellion is better, even if it has not yet discovered its proper gait and idiom. You dance better. You write better poems.

The only really interesting practicality of his campaign, in fact, is that it has your support. He needs you. The institutions which have mis-educated, mis-employed, mis-ruled your lives need you.

You don't need them.

This battle, after all, is one that we

have begun: the young ones began it, not the old ones. Only the young ones will be loyal to it. The old ones remember too many defeats and erroneous victories. It is our generation's fight. For obvious reasons, its imagery condenses around Vietnam, the American ghettos, the inflicted poverty of the Third World. But its underlying content goes beyond them.

We think that the present stakes are immense. What we think is happening, in all this confusing and frightening disorder, is the unfolding of a new stage of human history, the writing by a new generation of a new human agenda—old in its essential hopes, new in the possibility of their realization.

A birth is trying to take place. Certain high-class killers in league with certain clowns are trying to hold the baby back, while a few political priests suggest politely that the birth of a little finger might be permissible. In behalf of everything old, used up,

and dying—in other words, in behalf of their own privilege—they fight against everything new. So many undertakers in the delivery room.

The point is not to make deals with them there, but to get them out.

"That cannot happen."

Perhaps that is true. But since it must happen, it will, and whether it can or not makes no difference.

Like most of us, you are mostly of the middle and upper-middle classes. We have not been hungry, cold, or afraid. We have grown up with the Cold War, which made anxiety an ordinary state, and the Machine, a presence in our lives at once abstract and immediate, and which made habit of miracle.

Our task is first to clarify the main issues of the world we must live in.

Revolutionary communism? That is the primary form taken on by the struggles of the forcibly dispossessed to re-possess themselves of their identity and destiny. American power has no business opposing those struggles. Americans indeed must learn to rejoice in the human bravery that brings them into being. For when those who are now oppressed are not oppressed, then the masters will also be liberated from their permanently desperate vigils.

The militant nationalism of American blacks? Far from being a threat to us, this anger enriches us and we welcome it. There is no man, no law, no government that can substitute for this creative movement of the people.

The defense of property rights? Americans have already been de-propertyed by the very system whose demand for property worship is most feverish. Our task is not to lament this event but to move forward through it. We do not deny that once upon a time property rights constituted the base of the development of social wealth. Men paid a high price in suffering for the political guarantee of these rights to a privileged elite. There is no longer the remotest need for either that suffering, that guarantee, or that elite. Current and future wealth is wholly socialized in every respect but that of ownership. The completion of its socialization is the only way

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SDS Draft Organizing

by Michael Klonsky
SDS National Secretary

Lyndon Johnson has admitted the bankruptcy of the Paris Peace negotiations. He said last week that he will go no further in "the search for peace". SDS has been maintaining all along that the so-called negotiations were nothing more than a time-buying device for the Administration and the ruling elite of this country.

Another shuck being used as a time-buying device has been the reduced draft quotas for the summer months. With the new draft law going into effect, graduate students are going to be drafted in great quantity for the first time. Already, grad students are being turned away from the universities because it is known that they will be called up in the fall despite the pacification program of low summer quotas.

The time to organize for the big confrontation with the Selective Service System is now. We must not be fooled by the promises and diversions of the Johnson Administration.

THE DRAFT AND IMPERIALISM

The Draft serves imperialism in two

"produce" more cogs for the corporate wheel. Young people were not staying in school where they were readily available to the processors and trainers. Many, disillusioned by the War and the inequities of the System, were dropping out or going into the humanities rather than into business, engineering, or nuclear physics. Using the 2-S student deferment as a pendulum, the power structure was able to keep young men in the "pit" of the multiversity for fear of dying on a Vietnam battlefield or in the jungles of Guatemala. Henig described the 2-S as a "club of induction" hanging over the head of every college student in America.

THE DRAFT AND RACISM

This processing of students exposed to us another aspect of the System which can be grasped only when seen in life-or-death situations like this one. Racism was and is an integral part of imperialism, and so it is an integral part of Selective Service. The "service" had to be selective, since it was making a special effort to keep the white college students in school where they could be properly trained for the choice positions within the walls of the big corporations. Who was left available to

We are no longer interested in simply fulfilling young men's needs for "personal liberation", because personal liberation does not exist within the context of an exploitative, oppressive system. We are interested in building a movement of committed, radical people who are able to define the nature of the System and put theory into action.

SDS now has hundreds of trained "counselor-organizers" who are working to bring out the mentality within the men they counsel which causes them to say "Our fight is here, not in Vietnam." This is the only real basis on which to build a Draft resistance program. Getting individuals out of the Draft is not impossible; but if the process stops there, a student-based Draft-resistance program is merely helping the Government do its job of selection. For each student we pull from the jaws of the SSS, a working man is sent in his place. If we are trying to build a revolutionary movement, history tells us that this is not a very wise trade. We must instill a sense of commitment within the people we counsel which turns them into fighters instead of frightened, impotent students hiding behind another out.

A new development is now taking place within SDS. We know that the

Draft Arrests In Seattle

Five members of Draft Resistance Seattle were arrested early this month when military police entered a church sanctuary to seize Sp/4 Allan Wafkowski on charges of desertion. Five weeks before the August 1st arrest, Wafkowski had left the Army when he was ordered to report for Vietnam duty.

Fifty persons attended a special service for Wafkowski led by Reverend Hoyt Griffith at Seattle's First Church of Christ Esoteric. The eighteen-year-old private from Patterson, New Jersey appeared briefly at the pulpit and read his refusal to wear his uniform and go to Vietnam. Several hours later, after the local Establishment press had gone home, twenty military and Seattle police arrived at the church. Demonstrators locked arms on the church steps and prevented an MP and later a Seattle cop from entering. Wafkowski then asked his supporters to come inside the church for a final service, after which he submitted willingly to arrest.

Wafkowski was led to a black MP car, followed by the demonstrators. About a dozen supporters sat down around the car, and the Seattle police went into action, dragging persons down the street, handcuffing them, and kicking heads. Police jumped on one demonstrator's head while he was lying face down on the pavement. The five arrested are Bob Deardorf, Jim Douloug, Pat Friel, Tom Meland, and Pat Ruckert.

Wafkowski was taken to the Fort Lewis stockade, where he awaits his court martial. He will claim conscientious objection on the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Contributions for legal expenses can be sent to The Allan Wafkowski Fund, c/o Veterans for GI Resistance, Post Office Box 15, University Station, Seattle, Washington 98105.

Veterans for GI Resistance is a new organization in the Seattle area, composed primarily of Vietnam veterans. The group counsels military men on their constitutional rights, offers legal and financial assistance to resisters, and counsels and supports COs in the Armed Forces.

McCARTHY

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to avoid the on-coming international war of race and class and to restore the chance of national sanity.

Our parallel task is to create the political means by which we can pursue our objectives.

This requires, above all, that we face a simple fact: Political institutions designed to perpetuate a system of power will never become instruments for the transformation of that system.

If you want to stop not only the Vietnam way but the system that begot it, if you want not merely to blur the edges of racism but to change the system that needed slaves in the first place and could "emancipate" them only into ghettos in the second, if you want not merely to make deals with irrationality but to liberate reason for the conquest of joy, then you will have to go outside the system for the preparation of your means. You will have to go inside yourself first to rediscover the feeling of your own possible freedom, and from there to the feeling of the possible freedom of others.

Pride and communion.

That's what the Movement is about. That's what we think you should be about.



cartoon by chuck mathias

ways. First, and most obviously, imperialism needs young men with rifles in their hands to go to those undeveloped nations in the Third World, where the liberation fires are beginning to burn brightly and threaten the likes of United Fruit and Chase Manhattan, to put out the flames. If people still struggle to be free after vain attempts at buying them off, then genocidal destruction becomes the next step in the process. Even in this age of technological advancement, any general will tell you that there is nothing like the foot-soldier. To win a military victory, territory must be occupied. Thus we learned what Malcolm X meant when he described revolution as a battle over land. As the Draft calls soared and opposition to the War among young people grew, we knew we could do harm to imperialism if we could deprive it of its cannon fodder.

Even more basic than its function of getting young men into uniform was the second function which the Draft played in our analysis. That was the function of social control and channeling. Peter Henig, a radical researcher in New York, published a paper which he called "The Manpower Channelers". In this paper, Henig describes the nature of the System's need of manpower in its industries and corporations. There was a lag in the Cold War effort to

kill Vietnamese and die for America and the Great Society? Of course it was people of color; and blacks and Mexican Americans are dying right at this very moment in incredibly disproportionate numbers. In other words the Draft was killing two birds with one stone...the Vietcong fighting for national liberation and the people of color in America who were becoming expendable with the coming age of technology and cybernetics. These were the very same people who were left out of this Great Society anyway.

THE DRAFT AND ORGANIZING

SDS, a radical organization made up of students, saw Draft resistance as a handle with which to organize and educate other students about the nature of capitalism and imperialism. This was something SDS was previously unable to do. Out of individualism and alienation, an analysis was developing. Students, a force in the Movement that was capable of revolutionary thought and action, were being kept down, paralyzed by fear and used to strengthen the system which oppressed them. A movement had to be built that wouldn't just begin and end with the Draft. The Draft must be used as a tool for explaining the nature of the System and organizing against it.

working class in America has been left virtually untouched by all of our organizing energies, that it is workers who attack our anti-Draft demonstrations in Whitehall Street in New York. And why shouldn't they feel fear and animosity toward us? Aren't they the ones who must die if we live? Aren't they the ones who must pay for our education and training so that we can fit into the highly-advanced technologic skills while they find themselves automated out of work? Now I'm not saying that these workers consciously act out of these kinds of motivations. It does appear, however, that too many students pass off natural class contradictions by classifying working people as "fascists" or saying that they are "brainwashed". The new change in SDS involves a move off the campus and into the communities where those working people live, where we live. We must build a base among the working population of America before America isolates us and destroys us. It may already be too late to go into the community. Only time will tell.

The Draft and resistance are an important part of community organizing. In simple terms, it makes no sense to have a man see his fight here in America and then have him dragged off to Vietnam. We have to have alternatives available to those who want to fight, for those whose fight is here.



NLN Interviews Tom Hayden

This interview between New Left Notes and Tom Hayden took place several weeks ago. Formerly an SDS national officer, Hayden is now an organizer with the National Mobilization Committee, which is co-ordinating many of the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.

NLN: Tom, could you tell us a little bit about how plans are coming at this time as well as projecting ahead to the Democratic Convention?

TOM: First of all, the interest around the country among New Left groups, student radicals, and anti-war groups, including the traditional ones, has picked up enormously in the last three weeks. This is the natural time that

that I'm sure that they'll get a whole variety of short-term demands, some that they didn't even demand. In my opinion, they won't be repressed. The political organizations that grew out of the strike, that were made illegal, will just re-appear in other forms in the fall. But...that's not at all parallel to what we're talking about here. What we're talking about is a more organized demonstration of the classical sort, where you bring people together for a short period of time to register their opposition and to set the tone for local organizing afterward.

As far as the control of this goes, let me say this: that we don't believe in control in the sense of the way that certain civil-rights organizations

involved in local organizing, as I was in Newark and on campuses, knows that an occasional confrontation and mobilization of your full resources can be a great advantage to local organizing. It can make you visible to people you want to organize. It can tremendously expand and open up the consciousness of people who have never been involved in national politics or national struggle. It can help you overcome provincialism. In other words, local organizing can become stagnant like a pool of water unless it's stirred occasionally with mobilization tactics.

On the other hand, mobilization tactics can destroy local organization and can turn a local organization into nothing more than a committee that is basically concerned with projecting a national message on the one hand and getting busses and arm bands and bull-horns on the other. Mobilizing is no substitute for one-to-one, house-to-house building of neighborhood movements. There is a balance that should be struck between the two. The real problem has come in, it seems to me, not between local organizing and mobilizing, but in political criticism by New Left radicals of the Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the organization itself, which has always paid lip service to local organizing but has never done it, and second has relatively simple common-denominator politics rather than radical politics which can educate people.

We can boycott the elections by urging people not to vote, or to vote for a candidate who's really against the System like Cleaver, or to vote for some other candidate they may want to put up or for somebody who's been assassinated, like Malcolm X.

We can have demonstrations on Election Day, voting with our bodies. We can have an enormous number of arrests that day to again demonstrate that the whole political system is not working, is not operative.

Finally, by launching this kind of direct action and more radical campaign, I think we can offset the tendency toward a fourth party....

NLN: Previously, you referred to the Paris peace talks as a hoax. Would you talk about that a little, as well as your last trip to Paris?

TOM: Briefly, I don't think that the Administration is seeking to withdraw from Vietnam under any terms except complete surrender of the other side. I think what they're essentially trying to do is to create the appearance of negotiations—to get the people off their backs and minimize popular opinion—so as to continue, especially with air and naval bombardments, to put pressure on the other side to compromise the independence of Vietnam. They figure that they can get up to another year and a half of escalation. They are escalating now. The amount of bombs being dropped on Vietnam is increasing, has increased since Johnson's April Fool's Day speech.

We think that they can buy time in this way. In fact the anti-war movement has set a trap for itself by emphasizing too much the issue of negotiations in the past, and the Johnson Administration has taken them up on it, at least in form if not in substance. And it can do the same thing over and over again. Just think, for example, how much time the Government would buy if it withdrew at the first of the year twenty thousand American troops from South Vietnam, which it can easily do. It's increasing the draft of South Vietnamese troops, and it's arming them with better equipment, and the American troops are not involved with search-and-destroy operations any more. They're simply an occupation army in a few enclave areas, so it would not be too difficult to withdraw a few American troops. And if they withdrew a division or two, I think it would give them an upper hand on the diplomatic front. It would win them a lot of time in terms of public opinion back home, and they could go right on with the massive bombardment of Vietnam for another year or two.

NLN: There is a debate in the Movement, a historical debate, at least as far as SDS is concerned, around the question of organizing versus mobilizing or mobilization politics. Is this a real political differentiation?

TOM: It's a very political and strategic question, but I think that the debate has not always been very clear. In principle, anybody who's been

involved in local organizing, as I was in Newark and on campuses, knows that an occasional confrontation and mobilization of your full resources can be a great advantage to local organizing. It can make you visible to people you want to organize. It can tremendously expand and open up the consciousness of people who have never been involved in national politics or national struggle. It can help you overcome provincialism. In other words, local organizing can become stagnant like a pool of water unless it's stirred occasionally with mobilization tactics.

Also the Mobilization has always been composed of people who are both older and part of traditional Left or traditional peace movements rather than the New Left. There has been this continuous tension which hasn't yet been overcome. I think that the Mobilization has its limits. I share the criticisms of the radicals I have just mentioned, but I think the Mobilization has the value of being able to be an instrument that registers mass protest occasionally.

It does, at least in the demonstrations if not in the planning, involve a hell of a lot of young people, especially high-school students and non-ideological youth for whom the experience leads on to other things. I think it's been valuable in that way. It was a surprise to me I remember, working in Newark, to find that it was even possible to mobilize tens of thousands of people for a demonstration. I remember that gave me a lot of confidence in the idea of an anti-war movement, prior to the SDS march and the later Mobilization marches. I know that I was fearful of whether there was a potential constituency or base in this country for anti-war politics on a massive level.

In this particular action, I think that the Mobilization will express rather minimal politics and not be trying to educate the country ideologically or anything like that. There is no danger that it will seem close to McCarthy's kind of politics. The Mobilization has stressed right along that it's coming primarily around the issues of withdrawal from Vietnam and ending racism, and that it's purpose in being here is precisely that the Convention and all of the candidates will smother the issues rather than clarify them. So the MOB will have no problem in identifying itself distinctively, but its problem is that it doesn't have a very substantive political line. I think that the answer to that is that all the radical groups coming should bring their own black or red flags, or NLF flags, or their propaganda tracts on McCarthy or on the Columbia strike, and turn this into a tremendous teach-in or giant rap on where the Movement is going....

NLN: Do you think that SDS has been "fishing for liberals"?

TOM: I think that SDS is so amorphous that it's unfair to say any (continued on Page 5)



Demonstrators practice defensive snake-dancing in Chicago.

people get interested in these sorts of things, about a month or so in advance. As far as we know, people are coming from all parts of the country....

This is a situation that is like a drama or a play that brings together all of the political tensions in the country at one point and place, and the radicals are part of the cast of characters. The effectiveness of the entire set of demonstrations is going to depend on how well-prepared radicals are to play for a week the role that they play in American politics the year round.

NLN: What kind of control do you, the organizers of the Mobilization, hope to have over the outcome, over the political repercussions, over the final political outcome of this Convention? Also, do you think it is important to have control over these things?

TOM: Well, it depends on what you mean by control.

NLN: Here, let me clarify it. Try thinking of it in terms of the situation in France, where certain forces were unleashed that French revolutionaries had no control over; and as a result, although they had massive strikes and confrontations with the power structure, the end result was that the country moved considerably to the Right and that possibly now France is moving toward a state of fascism.

TOM: I think it's not the same as the situation in France, because in France you had a somewhat spontaneous nation-wide rebellion on the part of people fighting where they lived and where they worked and where they went to school. This is more of an artificially staged protest, a registration of opposition to the Government and its policies.

As for whether things went to the Right in France, I think that that's true among certain sections of the voters and certain sections of the ruling class, but at the same time, the organized resistance in the shops and in the university was so broad and so solid

and peace organizations in the past have almost tried to police their own ranks. We're talking about doing what organizing and preparation we can that makes possible a great variety of protest against the Democratic Convention here and cross-fertilization between the various movements....

NLN: When I spoke of control, I was talking more in dialectical terms. In other words, having some amount of predictability about the outcome of certain confrontations. I wasn't talking about control of the demonstration, or monitoring it, but about picking your own time and circumstances for confrontations so that political results can be controlled. What do you think will happen after the Convention?

TOM: My personal opinion is that this confrontation in Chicago comes at a critical time on three counts: First, it is a way of surfacing, in a very militant way, the anti-war movement after a period in which it has been knocked out—knocked out by Johnson's phony withdrawal, by the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns, and by the hoax of peace talks in Paris.

Our view is that the Administration's strategy is clearly to undercut the anti-war criticism and protest for the period of elections preparatory to escalating the War early in 1969. That is, it's 1964 all over again. See, just at the time they most want to renew people's confidence in the Government and in the Government's ability to make peace, we have to shatter that facade of so-called democracy at the Convention.

Second, the action is going to make us a much more visible and militant force in the election itself, which really heats up from September 1st down through November. We are going to be the object of a lot of debate on the part of all the candidates. None of them are going to discount us, even in their keynote addresses to the Convention. They talk about having to win the loyalty and the participation of youth and students, and they're having a big