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 October 7, 1968

SDS NEW LEFT NOTES



CUANDO UN GOBIERNO ABUSA DE LA FUERZA, SE CONVIERTE EN DICTADURA!

VENCEREMOS! - CONSEJO NACIONAL DE HUELGA

Poster from Mexican National Strike Committee: "When a government abuses power, it becomes a dictatorship." (LNS)

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Noche Triste

by Mike Klonsky
 SDS National Secretary

After the slaughter of Mexico City last week, most of the bourgeois press listed the death toll at between twenty and forty. Terry Cory, a producer for ABC's Midwest Bureau, said he was standing on a balcony overlooking a plaza when troops moved in.

"Look at them fall," he said, as troops turned automatic weapons and rifles on the students. "It looks like some kind of weird spectacle."

Cory said it is possible that as many as two hundred were killed, while thousands were wounded. Cory himself was beaten and jailed, as were many newsmen filming the massacre. Other estimates go as high as four hundred dead as grenaderos opened fire on apartment buildings and fired on crowds of peaceful demonstrators in a savage attack that must be seen in the context of US imperialism for one to understand why such a thing could take place.

Massacres such as "Noche Triste" ("The Night of Sorrow") bring to mind

the names of such places as Sharpsville, South Africa, and Orangeburg, South Carolina, where human life became worthless and racism and imperialism took their toll.

Despite the slaughter and the executions of members of the National Strike Committee, the grand frolic of the Olympic Games will proceed as scheduled beginning October 12th. Here is where the millions of dollars invested by the giant corporations in an attempt to put Mexico City on the map as a market for imperialism will reap its profits. The Olympic stadium is built on the outskirts of Mexico City, so that as the hundreds of athletes (many of them from socialist or Third World countries or blacks from the US) perform for free, the people in the audience, cheering on their modern-day gladiators, cannot see the bodies of the young Mexicans which made these games possible.

In the meantime, it looks as though peaceful demonstrations are finished as a tactic for the students as they attempt to re-group, build new

leadership, and gain support from other sectors of the population. The students are having some success in their effort to win popular support. The Mexican Electrical Workers Union announced support for the students and denounced the puppet government of Diaz Ordaz. Working-class support must be seen in a context in which a few weeks ago government troops were prepared to turn machine guns on a crowd of students marching in support of Denetrio Vallejo and Vanentin Campa, two labor leaders who have been imprisoned since 1959 on charges of "subversion".

Another pocket of student support has been the Nonoalco-Tlatelolco Housing Project, where police turned cannons and machine guns on residents of apartments believed to be hiding places of student rebels. Residents are being forced to move from the bullet-ridden buildings where, according to New York Times reports, "drunken soldiers had rampaged through the

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

N.O. CONSPIRACY?

Reading the report on the last NIC meeting, I noticed that it was decided that three people (myself, Mike James, and Mike Klonsky) "were sent to meet with Cleaver Tuesday, September 3rd." I would like to clarify what the results of this NIC decision were.

Through a complex series of events (and non-events) Mike Klonsky and Mike James went to the meeting themselves. I had been informed (by Klonsky) that the meeting would not be when it was. I was later told that this occurrence was due to Cleaver's only being available at that time. When I asked Klonsky what he felt the importance of my not being there was (I was chosen because I'm a local person in Berkeley SDS and the Berkeley commune.), he answered that it didn't matter because the NIC decision was due to local people's pressure. It was part of the "National Office Conspiracy" resentment.

I do not consider it outrageous that I missed the meeting. What I do object to is that a National Officer of SDS should dismiss a decision of the NIC so casually. Mike talks a lot about responsibility to a collective, but if he is not responsible to an elected body of SDS, it is total bullshit. I have not been paranoid about the NO, but there is definitely the POSSIBILITY of a "National Office Conspiracy". We should not scoff at this idea, but recognize it as a possibility. If we do this, then we can be aware of this danger; if we scoff at it, we are opening ourselves up for the possibility's becoming a reality.

A National Officer who disregards local people's legitimate effort to be responsible to the national organization both exacerbates anti-NO feeling and develops within himself the type of elitist concepts that make the fear of a "National Office Conspiracy" more realistic. I would appreciate it greatly if future issues of New Left Notes contained articles by people in the National Office defining their collectives (and collectives in general), how their responsibility to collectives relates to responsibility to the organization as a whole, and how they see their role in SDS's development (where they want it to go, et cetera). I would also appreciate articles that specified what people mean by "revolutionary communist", bringing out both agreements and disagreements.

Nick Gruenberg

CZECH ANALYSIS

I want to comment, however briefly, on Russell Neufeld's article on Czechoslovakia (NLN, September 23rd) because I feel it comes so close to, but ultimately misses, the point.

Movement people here immediately recognized their identity with the Czech students, workers, and intellectuals who sat in in front of the Russian tanks, held strikes and rallies, turned around street signs, published underground leaflets and papers, et cetera after the invasion. Our support for them, though not necessarily the Dubcek government (which appears to be trying to save its skin now by doing the Russians' work of re-Stalinization for them) was evident in our spontaneous slogans "Up Against the Wall Mother Russia" and "Chicago Equals Prague". These elements were "pro-Dubcek" only to the extent that they recognized that minimal freedoms of press, assembly, public trial, et cetera are the prerequisites for organizing for real workers' power and participatory democracy from below against the bureaucrats in power. If these are the "progressive forces" he is talking about, I think we agree.

On the other hand, to talk of the Czech liberalizers as "counter-revolutionary" is confusing, especially when Neufeld correctly points out that the World War Two re-division of the world between Russia and the US implied no revolution for those in the Russian sphere. The phrase is confusing because

it somehow suggests that the "liberal" Stalinists were really "more reactionary" than their hard-line old Stalinist predecessors — which is exactly what the Russians want us to think.

The time has come to discard the outworn and confusing terminology of "progressive", "reactionary", and the rest of the Old Left lexicon and talk about class relationships. Until we realize that ALL the so-called Communist countries are basically only different forms of state capitalism ruled by more or less liberal bureaucratic elites, we will be dumbfounded every time these ruling classes fight among themselves or develop splits between hard-liners and liberalizers within their ranks. Rather than worrying about the relative merits of the leaderships in Moscow, Prague, Belgrade, Havana, or Peking, we should be looking exclusively for the revolutionary class upsurge from below which aims at a fundamentally new society. At the same time, however, we must recognize that any blow against the totalitarian controls of the one-party state, any split in the ruling class, creates the opportunity for the revolutionary class forces to organize and express themselves. In that sense, it is now ridiculous to talk of such freedoms as press and assembly as "bourgeois".

Dick Greeman
Columbia SDS

MORE DRAFT

Brother Gordon's article on the Draft (NLN, September 16th) is very useful because it helps to re-focus the issue and prompt some needed planning. He is certainly right: the draft has not been much of an issue this summer, but is likely to be again come November. I'd like to differ with some of his analysis and extend a little what he says about strategy.

I don't think the current situation reflects an intention to strain out or drive out what Hershey might consider "subversives". The political situation is both more complex and less devious than that. When Congress passed the new draft law it was under strong conflicting pressures: on the one hand, to maintain student deferments and to remove the source of campus agitation against ranking; on the other hand, to prevent students, who were so often opposed to the War and the draft, from parleying a series of deferments into exemption. Characteristically, they took credit for keeping students out of the draft by making undergraduate deferments mandatory. And they passed on to the Administration the hot potato of ending graduate deferments.

The Administration delayed and delayed. The report was due in December, then in January. My own feeling is that the Administration were, as usual, hoping they could duck the issue. The Tet offensive ended such hopes; evidently that awoke Johnson to the fact that, whatever his generals were saying, he couldn't expect to have the NLF's scalp by Election Day. That

¡HOY LOS SALVAJES ESTUDIANTES GOLPEARON A UN HEROICO GRANADERO!..



The helmeted visored animal, stepping on the skulls of students is saying: "Today, savage students struck a heroic grenadier." From the Consejo Nacional de Huelga - National Strike Committee. (LNS)

meant two things: There would have to be more men, and a different political coalition from the one that elected Johnson in 1964 would have to be built. It is true that the manpower pool is huge, but the vast majority of men in it are either 4-F, 1-Y, or deferred as students or for some other reason. A large increase in troop strength would, at least in some and perhaps in many local board areas, have meant drafting either most nineteen-year-olds

and maybe some eighteen-and-a-halfs, or students who had finished as undergraduates. That's a rough choice for a President wanting to run again; for a number of reasons, though, it was students who were told tough bananas. First, if you threatened them, you were likely to get far more recruits. Hershey has pulled that every spring for four years. About as many enlist under threat of the draft as are actually drafted. Second, you could be sure that ways could be found to let some of the graduates off the hook—not enough so that you didn't get your men, but enough to divide and ground any large-scale protest (more about this in a moment). Third, Johnson may have figured on washing out the liberal and academic vote from his political calculations. They weren't going to accept him, so why not move toward satisfying people who hated the students anyway? There was lots of other evidence at the time to suggest that Johnson planned a right-oriented campaign—and certainly the Hump hasn't done much different. This is a reasonable explanation and one that fits the facts, past and present. I give it at such length only because I wouldn't want the main organizing emphases of Fred's article vitiated by an analysis that seems too conspiratorial. Florence Howe and I argued this view in the New York Review last spring, and I think events bear it out. Two other mild differences: One is (continued on page 9)

new left notes

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Election Action: a proposal for Boston

by Vernon Grizzard, member of the New England Regional Committee of SDS; staff member of the Old Mole, new Boston Area political underground paper; and Chairman of National GI Week

An edited version of this proposal appeared in the Old Mole; it is reprinted in NLN as a suggested election program for other areas, and as the outline of a national program for consideration at the Boulder NC. It was narrowly voted down at a Boston Sub-Regional.

America is moving to the right. America is also moving to the left. More and more people of all classes and ages are deeply disillusioned with Humphrey-Nixon politics. The "little people" Wallace is addressing himself to and the thousands of students who have flocked to introductory SDS meetings correctly perceive that the American political center is incapable of dealing with Vietnam, the ghettos, and the social and political revolt of young Americans.

The American political center is fast disappearing. Its "leaders" have been assassinated (Kennedy and King), defeated (McCarthy), or discredited (Humphrey and Johnson). All of them represent differing attempts to "solve" the crises of our time within the framework of what we have named Corporate Liberalism. The welfare state, a reasonable commitment in Vietnam, an honorable profit in the ghetto, minor concessions to student demands on the university—these are the solutions which are being advocated and tested by the corporate liberals, and which will be found wanting. After

Nixon's election (he is from "the other party" and he falsely appears to be closer to the right than Humphrey), he too will find himself incapable of pacifying Vietnam, black Americans, the young, or other insurgent groups.

It is in this context that I propose a concentrated campaign to reach out and broaden our movement through actions during the election period. Never have more people wanted to know: "What does the New Left really want?" Never in our lifetime have more people been alienated from the traditional liberal political processes and programs. This is not a time to be intimidated by the growth of the Right. We must counter Wallace's racist and militaristic solutions for the justified grievances of working-class white people. We must demonstrate our own conviction that America cannot save itself within the system of corporate capitalism and imperialism, regardless of whether that system has the complexion of Humphrey's social welfare rhetoric or Nixon's reliance on private enterprise. Both of these men, and their solutions, rest on the power of the police state at home and the US Army abroad, just as surely as Wallace states this truth.

We should form Election Action Committees on every campus before the elections. These committees should be initiated by SDS or other active campus organizations on the left, but should extend beyond the usual core of activists on a given campus. I would propose the following action programs for these committees:

Nixon Demonstration

Nixon should not escape our opposition while we are still beating Humphrey, who is fast becoming a dead horse. Our opposition must be deeper than a dispute about Nixon's right to free speech, for it is our opposition to his politics which will allow us to bring more people into our movement. We should have a massive, militant, loud demonstration, one in which our leaflets, our publicity before and after, and our discussions on and off campus explain our fundamental opposition to Nixon, to this election, and to any elections which promise peace and justice under the present American system.

Election Day Demonstration

In Boston, and perhaps in a few other New England cities, all of us should gather together to vote with our feet. We should pick one or several targets which we feel are more important, more basic to revolutionary change in America than a vote for Nixon or Humphrey. Thousands of us should march together against the institution we single out. Perhaps in Boston we might decide that Harvard or MIT are sufficiently significant embodiments of racism, capitalism, and imperialism to be the target for our demonstration; perhaps we should concentrate on a city or federal target. The importance of this demonstration would be for us to feel and express in action our growing strength as a mass movement which is committed

to more basic change than can take place through electoral adjustments.

Mass Student Action

Masses of students should be organized to leave their classes and participate in a variety of possible movement actions. In addition to a large march on Election Day, there should be teach-ins on many campuses during the two days and a large-scale attempt to explain our political attitude toward the elections by leafletting and discussion at factories, schools, polling places, and other public places throughout the city. In some cases this boycott may become part of a struggle against a particular school administration. We should designate several places where people not situated on a campus can come to eat, sleep, and plan activities.

Fort Devens Delegation

We should go to Fort Devens before Election Day to demonstrate publicly our support for GIs in their opposition to the treatment they receive from the brass and in their opposition to being sent to Vietnam. The entire 107th Signal Corps (two hundred and twenty-eight men) at Fort Devens is taking legal action against being sent to Vietnam on October 7th, and this action is only one example of growing resentment within the military. We need to counter the popular impression that the anti-war movement is opposed to soldiers, that we look upon them as Eichmanns who are only to be condemned. We should specifically ask to speak with GIs in the Fort, especially those who are imprisoned in the stockade, in order to express our solidarity and to better understand the situation GIs face inside the military.

Vietnam GI Distribution

Members of the New England Resistance and the Boston Draft Resistance Group have at times distributed copies of Vietnam GI, an anti-war, anti-Army paper edited by Vietnam veterans, in the bus station and at the airport. More of us should work with them to ensure that every GI who comes through the Boston area during the week preceding the elections hears personally from us how we feel that GIs (black and white working-class guys who did not escape the draft) are being screwed more than other Americans by this election and the system behind it. We should remember that an army which is created by the draft is an army we need not be afraid of talking to. Increasing our activity to reach GIs before and during Election Week gives a specific political content to our opposition to the elections, and should lead to continued efforts to reach GIs after the elections.

Summing Up

An election action campaign would give real meaning to the analysis, the words with which we continually describe our opposition to the American system we live in. We will probably be opposed by authorities at one or another of the actions I propose—leaflet distribution at the bus station (where people have already been arrested), or out at Fort Devens, or in Boston at a university or other target for an Election Day march. We should not be afraid of this opposition, either for ourselves or for our movement. It is by providing the possibility of collective action for change that we attract people to our movement and gain the opportunity to talk with people who do not yet feel they are part of us. Even when our actions do not achieve immediate demands, they define and identify us more clearly as a serious movement, a movement dedicated to struggling to achieve what we believe in through action.

THE WORLD OF SPIRO AGNEW



NC PROPOSAL

SDS march on the White House

On November 5th, tens of millions of Americans will be forced into making a non-existent choice between various moralist "liberal" or "conservative" racist imperialists. Things are getting worse—economically, intellectually, culturally. Taxes rise, more die in Vietnam, domestic police terror grows, suppression of the black and student movement increases. The Democratic and Republican Parties can offer no change. They are bankrupt because they are the imperialist parties. Some turn to Wallace's demagogic, "simple" answers, which only equal more of the same—worse and worse conditions for the very people he appeals to.

But hundreds of thousands of students and millions of Americans refuse to choose between the three. They are looking for answers outside of the "system"—the imperialist system. Many are looking to us. Across the country first SDS meetings have seen two, three, and four times as many

have been brought through seeing the farce of the '68 elections. Some still have illusions about McCarthy. We have to burst these illusions. All want to learn...and act. They must be brought into the on-going SDS projects. But that isn't enough.

To all of these people, as well as millions mistakenly choosing one of the imperialists to vote for (We can't write these people off!), we must offer a clear, vocal political vehicle. Between now and the election we should carry out an intensive agit campaign, on campus and reaching out to workers. This needs a national focal point. A massive militant national demonstration of opposition to the hoax of the elections, to imperialist wars, and to racism. A clear, loud NO! to be heard throughout the country and around the world. In the history of the US there has never been such a vocal attack on the farce of the Presidential elections.

We propose that SDS organize a national March on the White House,

Election Day, November 5th.

We propose three main ideological themes:

The Elections are a Hoax!
US Get Out of Vietnam Now! No Negotiations!

No Imperialist Law or Racist Order!

It is vital that around the organizing for the march, SDS use these three themes for massive radical education through literature, forums, one-to-one talks, et cetera. The elections and the issues will be on everyone's lips during the next month. The Vietnam War isn't over. It is growing. We shouldn't forget it. It should be a major theme. We should use this opportunity for radical education and political organizing for the march. Campus issues from recruiters, ROTC, and IDA to university expansion and racist admissions policies can be built around and related to this organizing. This will be a tremendous boost to base-building. Our on-going campaign will grow.

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Give it a name/ call it SDS, and join us

by Terry Robbins and Bill Ayers
Ohio-Michigan SDS

There's a whole new set on campus. SDS is coming out of isolation; it's growing, maturing, developing—and not by watering down radical rhetoric, analysis, or practice; but by being and saying exactly who we are, and by offering to students real alternatives to the plastic five-ass society the Man wants to put them in.

For the past month we've been traveling through Northern Ohio and Southern Michigan—particularly to the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor), Case-Western Reserve University (Cleveland), and Kent State University (Kent-Akron). We plan to expand our traveling to the whole of both states at some point, but for now a report on the three chapters we've mostly been at:

CASE-WESTERN RESERVE is the major liberal arts-technology combine in Cleveland. SDS has never really grown there—one year a three-man chapter, the next year five completely new people finding the old guys washed out, freaked out, or stoned out. Most activist types have centered around the YSA-dominated Committee to End the War in Vietnam: single-issue, lowest common denominator-type bureaucrats. Last summer, as part of Cleveland's summer organizing campaign, initiated by city-wide MDS, a small group of Reserve students were pulled together to work on organizing in the fall. Their main work involved research into trustee-business connections, and a "Who Rules Reserve" book will be coming out in the next few weeks.



During freshman orientation, five of us flooded the campus with leaflets: Where It's At in Cleveland, Where It Ain't, Draft, University, Oglesby's McCarthy letter. The initial response brought in ten freshmen, many of them high-school activists, who formed an initial planning group and stirred up a lot of interest. They met and planned an initial "introduction to SDS" meeting...more leafletting...manning a table...selling or giving away pig posters...then the meeting.

We opened with a round-table discussion about SDS, national Movement shit, Chicago, and the local scene. Very quickly discussion moved to substantive issues: violence versus non-violence, civil liberties, disruption, et cetera. One hundred people were there—and formed into work groups around the draft, university complicity, action during the elections, women's liberation. Most of the workshop talk, though, revolved around the possibility of revolution in America, and what kind of society we want to build. The discussions for the most part were very real; students' consciousness was very high. Kids were turned on.

The next day, about sixty of those kids turned up for a militant anti-Humphrey scream-out in front of a downtown hotel. (They were joined by about three hundred others from high schools, other colleges, and the adult Movement.)

Things are moving now, and people are getting firmly into those work groups, and calling an organizational meeting in about a week to discuss structure, program, and action.



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN at Ann Arbor has had a fairly large SDS chapter, called voice, for a long time. And, while the liberal arts campus seems overwhelmingly left-liberal, the chapter has had difficulty growing and making its presence felt. For example, last year the chapter did a lot of education around classified research, leading to a student referendum that was resoundingly defeated as the engine school came out in force to oppose SDS. There the issue died.

The old leadership of the chapter seems content to continue "building bases", arguing that campus reform is the key issue for the year. However, a new group, calling itself alternately the Lurleen Wallace Memorial Caucus and the Jesse James Gang, has emerged to challenge the leadership's concept of the chapter. At a large meeting on September 24th, the split was articulated.

The old leadership argued for more education, building consciousness, et cetera, leading to action. The James Gang argued that it was precisely action that built that consciousness. While the leadership seemed to believe that kids are unwilling to accept a radical, revolutionary analysis of American society, the caucus-crazies argued that a lot of kids already feel that analysis, feel very alienated; and that what is mostly needed is for kids to know what real options exist for them. Aggressive confrontation politics (everything from pies in the face of recruiters to taking buildings), the caucus argued, could begin to provide people with those options, those possibilities for movement; and would turn the campus on its head. The debate was really heated, and clearly the insurgents are forcing the whole chapter to deal with a new concept of the vitality of the Movement and its potential for growth.

The future is unclear. Right now the group remains split into formal or informal caucuses, perhaps going their separate ways, perhaps (hopefully) not. What is clear, however, is that the Ann Arbor chapter is struggling with the most important issue facing the Movement today: that of the use of confrontation and aggressive politics in building revolutionary consciousness. The move in Ann Arbor toward aggressive politics may be indicative of the entire region, and maybe the whole country.

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY is a large (twenty thousand) state school outside of Akron, Ohio. It has the largest education school in the country, and sends most of its trained graduates to Cleveland. Here SDS never existed before last February, when a group of about five people started a chapter. Over the summer, that group initiated a "Peace and Freedom Summer" in Akron, started an Ohio Union of High School Students, and did a lot of recruiting work for SDS in the fall.

As it were, a group of people worked really hard establishing a Free University—Independent of but initiated by SDS.

During freshman orientation, people manned tables, leafletted, and held a massively-attended acid-rock concert in the student union. Their first (unannounced) organizational meeting brought out sixty people, who went to work in dorms and on the streets

getting people to a large meeting the next week to talk about program and politics.

The meeting was really great. By the time the first speaker had finished, two hundred people were present. There was guerrilla theater and extensive workshops on the campus, the draft, labor, "public relations", and the university. After the workshops—which were successful in getting people into motion—the entire group reconvened to talk about election strategy. They tentatively agreed on a guerrilla theater-type action—white sheets and leaflets—against George Wallace.

As the meeting closed, it was announced that four hundred students were enrolled in the Free University. The hard work of the spring and summer were beginning to pay off.

The experience at these schools has given us the sense that the Movement is opening up all over the place: the first generation of high-school SDS coming onto the campus, the no-choice election-fraud bullshit, Columbia, and Chicago all have contributed to a new atmosphere of optimism and aggressiveness and the possibility for continued, prolonged action. At the same

time, students are more and more open to deepening analyses of America, and are seriously seeking dramatic alternatives to life out there in the computer.

A brief word about our plans: We'd like to start moving all over Ohio and Michigan real soon. But we're understaffed now, and want to work in a concerted way with chapters: attending meetings, doing shit work, participating in the nuts and bolts of as many chapters as want us. Hopefully, some kind of "region" will exist by January, and we can begin to talk about participation in national SDS.

But mostly we want to continue to help chapters with strategy, link people up, build the sense of a growing national movement. We're saying to people that youth is the revolution...that politics is about life, struggle, survival....We're saying that there ain't no place to be today but in the Movement....And we're saying to kids all over the place that if you're tired of the Vietnamese eating napalm for breakfast, if you're tired of the blacks eating tear gas for dinner, and if YOU'RE tired of eating plastic for lunch, then give it a name:

Call it SDS, and join us.

Election Idea

We must carry the war into every corner the enemy happens to carry it... It is necessary to prevent him from having a moment of peace...we must attack him wherever he may be; make him feel like a cornered beast wherever he may move. Then his moral fiber shall begin to decline. He will even become more beastly, but we shall notice how the signs of decadence begin to appear.

—Che

Clearly these prophetic words of Che have cast their powerful truthful shadow over the ruling class of the United States. The decadence and brutality of Miami Beach and Chicago were vividly displayed before the entire world while we watched as political clowns manipulated their machine candidates to power while black people and the anti-war movement fought the police and the National Guard in the streets. As the ruling class is being driven up against the wall by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, their ruling coalition is collapsing at home. For the first time since the 1930s millions of people have received a sharp blow from the ruling class, and there is a good chance that they will be willing to fight back.

The growth of the Peace and Freedom Party is one way that people have chosen to begin the fight against the System. However, as members of the California Peace and Freedom Party have decided, the act of voting for a radical candidate is not an adequate response for a movement that hopes to defeat the System! Thus the California Peace and Freedom Party is calling for mass national demonstrations at institutions of oppression (such as induction centers)

for Thursday, November 7th, as the Movement's response to the political fraud of Humphrey-Nixon-Wallace.

SDS can play a key role in building and initiating these demonstrations all across the country. The elections will guarantee that politics will be the big thing on the campus this fall, and people will be looking for a way to respond to the fact that the ruling class has turned its back on the student movement and instead has offered us only Billy clubs and tear gas. There is likely to be massive political alienation, and people will have a real urge to confront the institutions of power and oppression. SDS can supply the needed leadership and direction to move thousands of young people into open struggle with the enemy.

Let us not miss this opportunity provided by the blundering of the ruling class and their spokesmen. We can reach millions of people with our answer to Vietnam and Chicago. NO SUPPORT FOR PHONY PEACE CALLS BY THOSE WHO HAVE MADE THE WAR! END US IMPERIALISM AND RACISM NOW! WE WILL NOT ALLOW YOU TO USE US OR OUR BROTHERS FOR CANNON FODDER IN VIETNAM, BOLIVIA, OR CHICAGO! WE WILL FIGHT YOU IN THE STREETS! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!

Endorsed by the following members of San Francisco State SDS and the California Peace and Freedom Party.

Alex Forman
Bruce Hartford
Renee Johnson
Barry Biderman
Candy Huerlin

Student Labor Action Project

The student movement remains isolated from the majority of students and almost all working people. We have fought on numerous particular issues, but we must begin to carry on these fights in the context of a strategy of uniting the majority of students and allying with workers in sharp struggle against the common oppressor.

Why Ally with Workers?

Exploitation of workers is the basis of this imperialist society! Students also are victimized materially—both economically and intellectually—by the same system that exploits and oppresses working people. Thus there exists the basis for a common fight. Most students become part of the working class after they flunk out, drop out, or graduate. Teachers, social workers, and other white-collar workers, mostly former students, have been drawn into sharp union struggles recently against their oppressors.

In the process of struggle on and off campus, students face a choice: whether to ally with working people or with "liberal" sections of the bourgeoisie. The wrong choice can be made overtly:

of action to which they will be irresistibly drawn. France shows that this approach is one-sided and necessarily leads to inability to consummate the Revolution. The French students provided such a focus. But the revisionist "Communist" Party had the base among workers and was therefore able to sell out the people over the objections of the unorganized opposition among the workers. The situation in the US is similar. Just as on campus we must do the hard work of base-building, so radicals in factories will develop an anti-imperialist base through day-to-day struggles. After graduation, some students should go to work in plants with a perspective of becoming part of the working class and helping to build this base. Of course, this crucial work is in no way a substitute for building the student movement on a pro-working-class basis.

The Time to Start Building This Alliance is Now!

Some say we don't have to start building a worker-student alliance now. Either we should wait until the workers have a powerful, politically-conscious

of black working people is key to building a real worker-student alliance.

We can't leave the development of this to chance or individual cases. A nationally-organized thrust is needed to make the strategy of worker-student alliance a reality in the Movement. The important struggles at Columbia and San Francisco State at the end of last term show that it is crucial and possible to build a mass base on campus in a pro-working-class direction and ally those students with working people in struggle. Our weakness at these and other schools has been the failure to put that strategy into practice thoroughly.

Tactics of SLAP

SLAP involves both a strategy of worker-student alliance and various tactics. Some of the tactics could be and should be used by entire SDS chapters—such as bringing pro-working-class/anti-ruling-class ideas and tactics to "purely" student struggles. Others (like strike support) will in most places require actual Student-Labor Committees (SLCs) to carry them out. What part of the SLAP

learned a lot and found they could talk with the workers. Another example would be: Stop on-campus recruitment by companies whose workers are on strike!

(3) Summer work-in projects: Going into factories to work over the summer can help students learn first-hand the actual class oppression of workers. Bringing out political ideas to workers can mean that a few will have a clearer understanding of the War, racism, and other key political issues. Weekly, small workshop meetings should be organized to evaluate our approach to workers and improve it. These should involve regular study. (By seeing the truth more clearly, we can make the discussions of how to reach workers more useful.)

(4) Support for black rebellions: As we said earlier, a key part of building a worker-student alliance is opposing racism, showing the specially harsh way black workers are exploited and oppressed. Support for black rebellions should be large-scale and as sharp as possible. Militant demonstra-



—reprinted from Challenge

relying on Eugene McCarthy to get the US out of Vietnam instead of relying on the people to force the "liberal" and other imperialists out; or the wrong choice can be made in a less obvious fashion: attacking the ROTC as bad because it represents an invasion of the Ivory tower instead of exposing it as an arm of the anti-working-people US foreign policy which bribes college kids into officer positions where they push (mostly working-class) kids into a fight against their interests. Moreover, anti-working-class ideas are very strong on campus, and even have a hold among us. Unless the student movement is built on an explicitly pro-working-class basis, it can easily develop into a force more or less openly allied with imperialism against working people.

Working people also face a similar choice: Should US workers ally with Vietnamese working people or the boss's government? Should white workers ally with black workers or the boss? Should skilled workers ally with unskilled workers or the boss? Should teachers ally with working-class parents or with the racist Board of Ed? Should social workers ally with clients or with the oppressive Welfare Department?

The question is not one of students in missionary fashion "liberating the working class" because of a supposedly superior intelligence. The fact is that students and white-collar workers cannot fight successfully against their oppression without allying with the key force: production, transportation, and communications workers.

France is the sharpest people's struggle in recent history in an advanced capitalist country. The theory that a "new" working class—professionals and technicians—is the key force did not materialize in practice. French students were very clear that while they could start the fight, the working class must finish it!

Some hold that while the working class may be the key force in the anti-imperialist struggle, to win them we only have to provide a sharp focus

movement; or we should first develop a student movement on a "purely" student basis, and make alliances with workers later. We say the time to start is now.

As we said earlier, the question of who students ally with comes up in every struggle. At Columbia, students could decide between accepting a few "student power" reforms or standing fast behind the people of Harlem on the issue of the gym. Another example—many strikes of campus workers have occurred. In these cases, the Movement can militantly back the workers and help them win, or it can remain indifferent while other students scab (it's happened) and defeat the strike. Failure to ally with workers now and to win the Movement, in every struggle, to the pro-working-class approach, will make any alliance far more difficult in the future. A student movement which doesn't consciously try to build this alliance can be more and more effectively presented to working people as just a group of future petty exploiters out for themselves. And in practice, the Movement could turn solidly against workers.

Behind SLAP, therefore, is the notion of worker-student alliance. This does not mean we give up student organizing. It means we realize that US Imperialism is based on class exploitation, that to defeat it in the long run—indeed, even to win immediate victories against it—we must develop a class approach, build support for the working class in ALL struggles, defeat all anti-working-class ideas, support workers' struggles, and launch anti-ruling-class battles that concretely link workers and students in fighting their common enemy. A special point should be made here in regard to racism. The student movement has virtually ignored the immense struggles of black people. Although a racist reaction to rebellions exists both on and off campus among white students and workers, most radical students have done little to support rebellions. Struggles for admission of blacks have often been ignored. Attempts to expose and smash racist super-exploitation and oppression

approach requires an SLC and what part doesn't depends on the particular chapter. In general, SLCs should be set up all over on a chapter and regional basis.

We should build a stronger base on campus, reaching out to all schools, to masses of students, leading them in sharper struggles against imperialism. Students will not organize workers. The point is to develop a student movement rooted in struggles against the ways imperialism oppresses students, INCREASINGLY PRO-WORKING-CLASS, more and more consciously allied with workers in a struggle. Developing a worker-student alliance is a long process. In building that alliance, important activities are:

(1) Leading students to link up their struggles directly with working people: Oppression of campus workers and workers in University-controlled hospitals, and university expansion at the cost of local workers (and students) are a good basis for link-up struggles. The idea is to tie the fight against a way the school screws students with one of its anti-working-class policies. Exposure and explicit condemnation of the racist content of many of these policies is key!

(2) Strike support: This includes bringing large numbers of students to picket lines; raising money (and food and clothes) on campus; leafletting on campus and in the community to support the strike (as was done with the farm workers' strike); researching to aid the strike; and more militant tactics. (In Los Angeles, students ignored the racist, pro-boss labor bureaucrats, and two hundred and fifty workers and students blocked the struck Los Angeles Herald Examiner from coming out for several hours. In Chicago the SDS Work-In organized support for wildcatting Railway Express Workers who were led by militant black workers. In New York, the Work-In helped eight hundred workers at Figure Flattery Company win a very important strike in the garment center. In these and other important struggles, students

tions on campus and before armories—demanding all cops and troops out of the ghetto, and massive leafletting among white students and workers explaining why the rebellion is just and pointing out that they have a common class enemy with black working people are some possible activities. It is important that the work of exposing and attacking the oppression of blacks be done beforehand! This includes forums, leafletting, and classroom agitation. Racism can and should be fought on campus with militant struggle. Two possibilities: anti-expansion (which usually means black-removal) struggles and fighting for more low-income black (and working-class white) admissions.

(5) Educational work on campus and in courses to attack and defeat anti-working-class ideas like: workers are no good, sweaty racist pigs and only intellectuals have any grace and delicacy; workers are the main supporters of the status quo, and have produced a reactionary foreign policy out of their greed for high-paid defense jobs and their hatred of commies; workers are a vulgar, low mob and the sacred Ivory towers must be held up to stem the tide; black workers are especially bad and violent, and even lazier than most workers. These false ideas not only can and should be fought in occasional leaflets discussing experiences with workers during strikes, et cetera, but also should be raised in the course of ALL on-campus struggles.

(6) In general, think campus struggles out carefully to answer the question: How can this fight be directed most sharply against the ruling class? How can the real class relations of America be most sharply exposed? How can we raise the need to ally with working people in sharp struggle against imperialism, effectively?

Cathy Kelly, Boston University SDS
Jared Israel, Harvard SDS, PLP
Steve Raudenbush, Harvard SDS, PLP
Allen Gilbert, Harvard SDS

The forgotten people

by Mary Hanson
Radical Education Project

The popularity of George Wallace among working people ("forgotten people") is making the Movement painfully aware of "where we ain't at" —we ain't getting to them with either messages or programs that meet their questions and needs.

REP is distributing a package of important articles on labor and the working class to the NC. We feel that it can help to illuminate essential problems in the relationship between SDS and the student movement as a whole with the working class and existing labor organizations. We feel that informed discussion of issues—with the membership aware of the implications of the various strategies—can somewhat mitigate the abstractness and facility of many discussions to date. The packet will be available in bulk to chapters for use after the NC. We would have liked to have mailed it out to people in advance; we will try to do that with similar topical literature packets that we will be pulling together in the future. The following article draws out a few major points from each of the articles; it is not a summary of the packet.

Why Wallace?

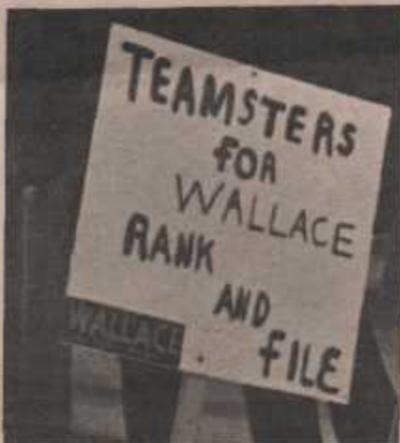
The liberal Democratic coalition and the Republican Party lack legitimacy in the minds of most "forgotten people"; we no longer need to prove that Nixon, Humphrey, and McCarthy are different masks on the Man. They are much more conscious than we of the immediate injustices of the System, but prefer to "play it safe" because they quite honestly see no alternative. Their fatalism makes their Wallace votes a protest; to them the election is a racket.

These people need "direct and familiar ways out of the trap (they know) they're in...ways that are neither nonsense nor a racket." (—John McDermott: "Who Does the Movement Move?", REP packet). They see our demonstrations by and large as chaotic nonsense.

The few Movement attempts to build a relevant working class have taught us some lessons. One recurrent lesson, more so in view of Wallace, is this: We can make very little political progress as long as we blame or patronize individuals for their own political "false consciousness". As Paul Cowan writes ("Wallace in Yankeeeland: the Invisible Revolution", REP packet):

"...there is a real temptation, in writing about the working-class people who attend the Wallace rallies, to mock their lives and habits or to profess

outrage at their new beliefs. Of course we call the man a fascist when we hear that he resents paying high taxes to support legislation that is designed for someone else; or that he is terrified by the idea that he might have to bus his kids to a new public school; or that he thinks that students who are taking over universities are wasting education he wishes he had been granted, and applauds when he sees the police spanking them. But when you talk to such people you feel a surge of sympathy. For these are this decade's



invisible men. They are not fascists, but sad, confused human beings whose lives have turned out to be far worse than they had hoped.

"After the Wallace rally in Lowell I talked with Nick Makrides, a Greek American whose lumber business went bankrupt a few years ago: 'You know, I was...only fourteen when I organized a union in a pulpwood factory up near Lawrence. I did it so well they had to close the place up. When I was seventeen I lied about my age and signed up for WPA. That Roosevelt, he was a very good man. But I was too young to vote for him when I went into the Navy.' (Nick's business began to fail as "organized" munber factories sought cheaper labor sources in the South, and the region began to decline economically.)

"The polished products of the nation's best graduate schools now symbolize the 'corrupt politicians in the Democratic Party' and the Government to men like Nick: 'I sure know what Wallace is talking about there...Nobody ever talks about us anymore....' (Finally, he left the Democratic Party and intends to support Wallace because): '...at least he knows what we think.' (Insults like McCarthy's 'well-educated people support me, badly-educated people oppose me' insure support of Wallace on the part of men like Makrides.)"

Clark Kissinger criticizes our confinement to the left-liberal-radical nexus in "Who Supports George and Gene" (REP packet). We knew analytically that without worker support and action there would be no revolution, but directed our energies at those borderline people (McCarthyites, et cetera) who typify our pre-radical selves:

"In retrospect, the most astonishing thing about the McCarthy phenomenon was its almost total confinement to the white upper middle class....

"It never penetrated, nor did it ever attempt to penetrate, working-class neighborhoods, and its vote analyses proved this....

"While suburban ladies held coffee klatches for Gene, it was George Wallace literature which was being left on the Doctor Pepper machine in the filling station....

Are You Listening?

"Listening to a Wallace speech (which too few Leftists do) is really a trip. He stands up there and in a loud clear voice says: 'There's not a dime's worth of difference between the Democrat and Republican Parties!' The audience cheers. Then he says (Are you listening, New Left?): 'I think there is a backlash in this country against the theoreticians who look down their nose at the steelworker and the paper worker

and the communications worker and the beautician and the barber and the policeman and the fireman and the little businessman and the clerk and the farmer, and say that you don't have enough intelligence to decide how to get up in the morning and when to go to bed at night, and people are tired of theorists running their country.'

"George then points out that Washington is the 'hypocrite capital of the world'. He delights in needling the 'liberal' Congressmen, only three of whom allow their children to attend public schools in Washington, and who flee the ghetto into the suburbs....

"...He masterfully blends racism with scorn for Wall Street to produce gems like: '...these tax-exempt foundations like Rockefeller and Ford recommend that YOUR taxes be doubled to pay people not to work, and some of the sob sisters say the people of our country are sick. It's the politicians, the judges, and the newspaper editors that are sick.'

"Some of these liberal newspaper editors are saying one reason the Wallace philosophy is so popular is he says what the people want to hear. And they're saying it in such a manner that it sounds like what the people want is bad. The trouble is these liberals created a Frankenstein's monster in our country, and now their chickens are coming home to roost and they don't like it.'

"While Wallace claims he will raise the personal income-tax exemption from \$600 to \$1,000, Wallace's identification with the economic interests of the working man is utterly shameful. But who is trying to document this to the American working class? You can bet it's not the American Left. They're too busy trying to win the \$13,000-a-year McCarthy workers to the anti-imperialist camp.

"The question for the Left to ponder is not whether it should have abandoned revolutionary politics, but why it pre-occupied itself with the McCarthy campaign and allowed Wallace to mobilize the very real force of class consciousness in America....

"Ironically, the 1968 campaigns have forcefully demonstrated two of the long-cherished contentions of the New Left: First, that reformist movements could not seize the Democratic Party structure. And second, that there was a deep discontent among masses of American people that could be politically directed against the Establishment. Perhaps now the New Left's new departure in theory can be followed by a new departure in practice."

Into Strange Territory

Obviously, few students are natural-born community organizers. Exposure to working people can be gotten in several ways—one being leafletting Wallace demonstrations and working-class neighborhoods with good, factual, low-key, anti-Wallace radical leaflets, such as the one printed in last week's NLN.

But organizing will have to follow this propaganda work. We cannot afford to re-make mistakes, so communication (through New Left Notes, et cetera) of tips learned in the propagandizing effort is essential. Many insights into the problems of cross-class communication are to be found in the SDS pamphlet "Don't Mourn, Organize!" —which is singularly the best such pamphlet to date. It is encouraging to find the authors (organizers themselves) objectively describing and politically evaluating the conflicting political imperatives, work-load problems, isolation, and (yup) identity problems that existed. Political and personal maturity, especially regarding criticism and self-criticism, seemed to develop in many of these people. It has to be read.

Obviously, worker mistrust of student-background people is the first problem to overcome—the burden rests on the student to do it, because of the onus of his class privilege. (See



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McDermott's article and "Don't Mourn, Organize!") Avoidance of arguments is at times the right way, at times the wrong way to gain trust. Noel Ignatin's article describes a situation in which "alienating the workers" was necessary politically; in this case the conflict was between white workers' pride in being somewhat "skilled" and de facto discrimination against black workers—all within a union in which it might have appeared to outsiders that blacks and whites were fighting for each other.

Many "offenses" that are not politically necessary can be avoided by learning a rudimentary history of the unions in America. This is essential also to distinguishing progressive union demands from conservatizing ones—both may be very militant. Acceptance of management authority is deeply imbedded in union people and their families; though wildcat strikes are becoming more frequent, wildcats are not necessarily anti-management in a broad political sense.

Racism and Capitalism

The American dynamic of racism and capitalism affects most decisions the organizers and propagandists make. Ignatin goes thoroughly into the co-optative effects of this problem in his article "Learn the Lessons of U. History" in "Don't Mourn, Organize!" Robert Analavage deals with Southern manifestations of it in "Labor in the South, Black Turned Against White" (REP packet). The immediate threat to job security that black people pose to white workers in most factories keep them from uniting together against the corporations that control the unemployment rates (fairly directed through automation) and other cause of the stress.

Deciding what particular approach toward our final political goals we ought to take within a particular situation demands both general and particular criteria. A moral and political imperative that cannot be translated into actions and programs yields frustration on the part of organizers and both cynicism and disillusionment.



by the NOC staff

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All the time they were in, kids from the school milled round, exchanged fist and V signs, and grabbed pamphlets and literature from Mike James to hand out to their buddies.

It was just one of the scenes in the first leg of Peggy Terry's Vice-presidential Midwest campaign tour. SDS NIC member Mike James is Mrs. Terry's campaign manager. Both James and Jimmie Staats from Cleveland are on the National Organizing Committee (NOC).

NOC has forty organizers around the Midwest. In Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Columbus, Indianapolis, Louisville, Chicago, and other cities. The Peggy Terry campaign on the Peace and Freedom ticket is the beginning of a drive throughout the Midwest to organize young white working-class people. Black Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver is the Presidential candidate.

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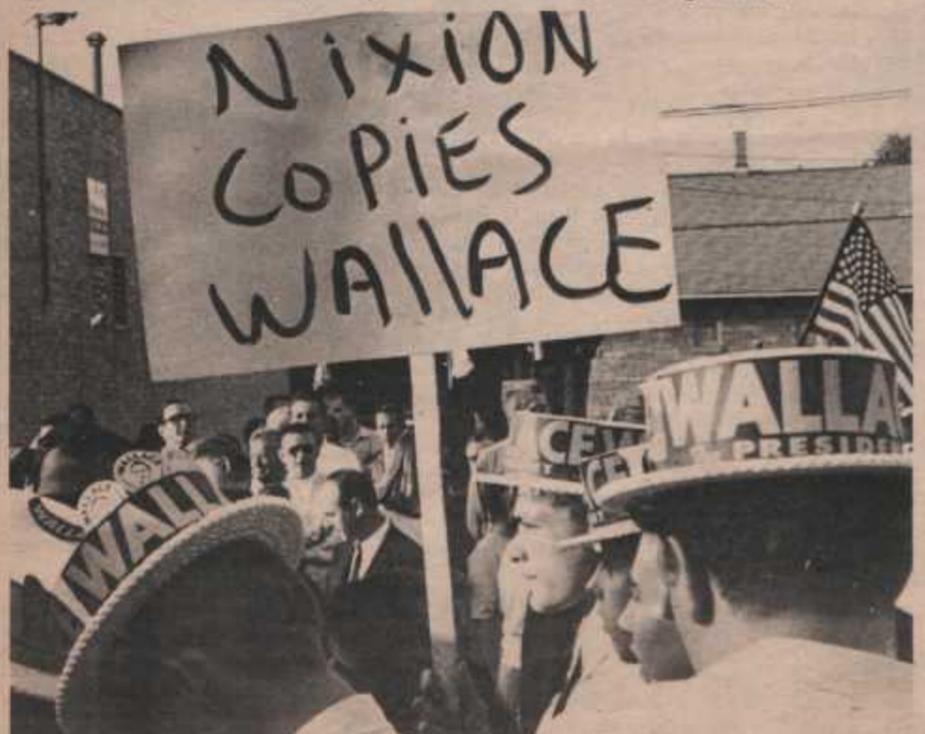
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Also, increase in rank-and-file political consciousness is becoming more and more possible (and somewhat more actual) as material scarcity recedes as the main need of workers. High wages are everywhere coupled with oppressive working conditions and manufacture of poorly designed products.

Conclusion

The conclusions are yours; priorities will be set by each of us for himself, and—if the NC gets to work—for SDS as a collective. We're all pretty new at it, so let's take it easy on our brothers; but let's get into it!



Peggy Terry campaign

by the NOC staff

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movement for young working-class people. Instead they had to look to black and student models.

Organizing in factories, neighborhoods, prisons, high schools, day-labor centers, and the army is generally aimed at doing three things: building consciousness; planting the seeds of organization; and beginning to build cadre.

Young working-class people are more alienated, anti-military, anti-police and anti-authoritarian than middle-class kids, and they are exploited more on the material and consumer end. Furthermore, they are coming to be characterized by what some call a youth culture that crosses class lines. It's an "objective cultural phenomenon", and it's growing. New Left organizers have to deal with it, work through it to develop the friendship and trust that is key to the thrust of a political movement. Young people are in motion in the neighborhoods and plants as well as on campus. In each place they are a constituency for the Movement.

NOC sees youth culture as a vehicle to class interest. From the ranks of young working people, organizers will develop who are committed to the liberation of their people.

Peggy Terry from Uptown, Chicago—with NOC organizers—will be on the road for the next five weeks. The campaign is a way to get more outreach into young working-class constituencies. The afternoon after the pig-car incident in Des Moines, about seventy high-school students met in a public park, and the pigs busted it again. The meeting was



Peggy Terry

taken elsewhere and continued, with Mrs. Terry talking to the group.

The Iowa tour included talks at Simpson College in Indianola, a visit to Cedar Rapids, a Peace and Freedom rally in Iowa City, and an SDS regional meeting in Grinnell. Most of the time, though, was spent talking and distributing a special issue of the Firing Line, NOC's paper, at working-class high schools, at plant gates, and in neighborhoods. Dig it?



—photo by JOIN

Peace and Freedom Party in the Midwest,

on the part of the people, who've been promised too many miracles already. Knowledge of the relationship of each class (underclass, industrial working class, "new working" or technical-intellectual class) to both production and political decision-making power is a basic prerequisite to evaluating a situation properly and sizing up its political potential. Peter Wiley's article on "Hazard, Failure and Lessons" (REP packet) shows concretely how improper evaluation by student organizers led them to treat a dying trade-union struggle as though it had the potential to be the first in a series of white civil-rights struggles, eventually leading beyond that.

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"The New Left is composed of radicals, anarchists, pacifists, crusaders, socialists, Communists, idealists, and malcontents. This movement, best typified by SDS, has an almost passionate desire to destroy the traditional values of our democratic society and the existing social order." — J. Edgar Hoover

BOSTON: Cultural repression against high-school students in the Boston area has triggered student demonstrations and boycotts. Black and white students, joined by some parents and community leaders, have been demonstrating in response to arbitrary rulings banning Afro dress, hair styles, and black student unions.

Student arrests, rock-throwing, window-breaking, and a fire-bombing marked a week of action. White students from East Boston joined black students in the Roxbury area in boycotts of schools. They burned their ties in protest of dress regulations. The boycotts and demonstrations have now affected every school in the city.

KOKURA, JAPAN: Students of the Japanese Zengakuren stormed into the Kokura District Court twice, forcing postponement of the trial of three anti-American demonstrators.

A band of about twenty helmeted Zengakuren rushed into the courtroom about noon but were persuaded to leave by three of the demonstrators' lawyers. They returned a short while later, however, and sang the Communist Internationale, prompting the judge to close the court and postpone the trial.

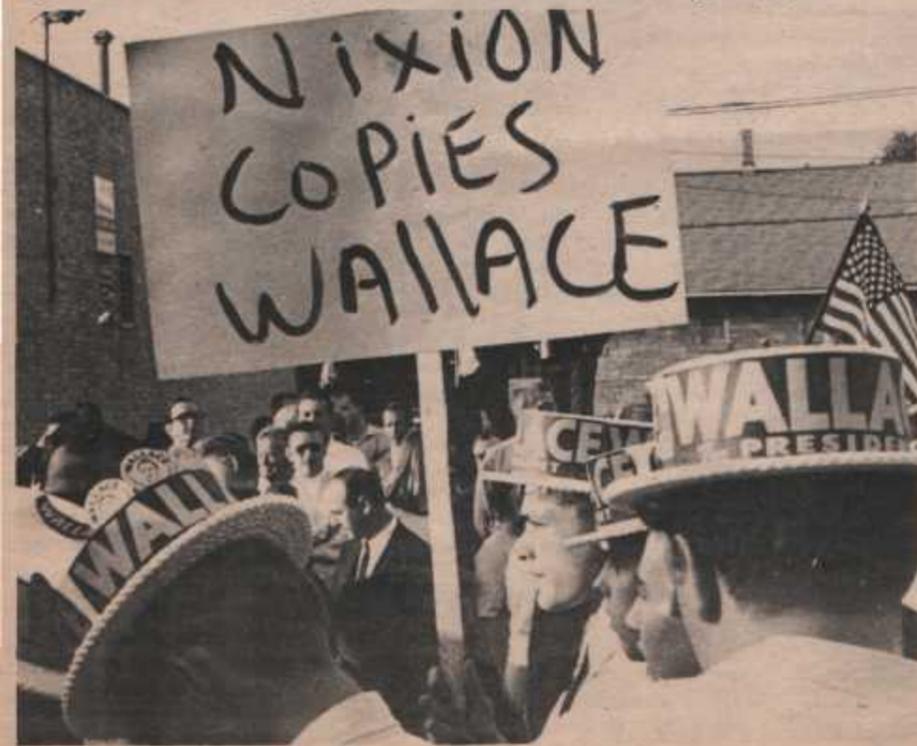
BALTIMORE: The trial of the Catonsville Nine opened in Baltimore with a march of two thousand supporting demonstrators. Charges of conspiracy were dropped immediately from the list of charges against the nine who seized six hundred 1-A files from the draft board offices and set them on fire with home-made napalm.

A jury is being selected although the defense has announced it will take no part in jury selection.

FORT DIX, NEW JERSEY: Sp/4 Allen Meyers was acquitted on charges of handing out subversive literature on the military base when the Army's witnesses were unwilling to make a case against him. Meyers was accused of handing out "Support Our Men in Vietnam, Not Those Who Send Them" leaflets on the base.

CHICAGO: An anti-repression march in Chicago drew more than twenty thousand persons carrying signs saying "Stop Police Repression", "Amnesty for the Fort Hood GIs", and "Amnesty for the Chicago Arrested". The crowd, ninety per cent of whom were young people, heard speeches by Mike James of SDS and Peggy Terry of NOC.

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA: University students fought with police after a street demonstration was busted up on September 20th. The demonstration, symptomatic of the smoldering student unrest and hostility toward the Barrientos regime, was held in protest of the military occupation of San Simon University in Cochabamba.



The False Privilege

by Cathy Wilkerson,
Mike Spiegel, and
Les Coleman

For most of our lives the university has been offered to us as a special opportunity, a chance to get ahead in the traditional American fashion. How often have we heard that we are privileged—we personally or even we as a nation of Americans—to go to college. As a result, many of us have worked our way through that "privileged" institution. Many others have gone on the wages of parents who worked to give us what society has called "a better chance" than they had or than many thousands of other Americans now have.

An Anti-Human Contract

Partly we are told that our supposed privilege comes at the expense of others—those who must work while we are free to develop ourselves—and partly we have had to find out what expense was involved. Through the Sixties, more and more students have learned that our supposed privileges have come at the expense of black people and the populations of Vietnam and other Third World countries. We began to see that the wealth and opportunities offered us were built upon an American empire that involves the suppression of millions of people. And further, we have seen that the university, through its research and its training, is institutionally a direct participant in military and counter-insurgency policy. We as students did enter into a contract with the university when we went there—we were there to get ahead, and in return we were to serve the System's ends. As we understand those ends, and understand how we are to achieve them, we begin to understand also that not all of the fine print in the contract was legible. Not only is the contract anti-human, dehumanizing to us and destructive to others, but the so-called privilege is no privilege at all; the promise of the university is false.

A False Privilege

What is the reality of the promise of success we've been offered? What jobs should we take? Do we want to join the managerial staff of some corporation and look into the empty faces of fellow businessmen eight hours a day, drink their faces out of our minds all night, and play the game of competing to have the best job in the biggest corporation that exploits the most people? Or would it be better

values of individualism—being one-up, individual recognition for social accomplishments, being in a position to control other people's lives to one's own advantage. And with them comes the attitude that "not everyone can make it, but if a few do on the backs of the rest, if I do, I like the system."

The structure of student life—life at the expense of others—leads to a characteristically American situation. The abstracted education of the university is so divorced from the practice of everyday living that nothing is learned out of recognition of need—human need—and there is no recognition of the interdependence of people's lives in society. What results is that the student reacts either by spending all his life compulsively deciding how to best spend his time and money (when there is no decent way to do that in the atmosphere of the university), or he makes a conscious decision to waste his time and money, just as absurdly and publicly as he can, lest the situation blow his mind altogether.

But the mis-education of the college and the creation of such anti-human values and relationships are not peculiar to the university. Capitalist institutions, by nature exploitive, depend on fostering those values to maintain themselves. America has a whole history of this particular evil.

America the Beautiful

The possibility of making a large individual fortune—the private-enterprise system—has never existed in a vacuum. From the beginning, America was founded and controlled by businessmen who built their empires by exploiting the slave or indentured labor they contracted from Africa and Europe, and by expanding their control over lands that belonged to the American Indian. The pioneer spirit took forms which should look familiar to the American student. The pioneer went west to compulsively and brutally control the land, the people, and the resources he found: or he went west to slaughter the race of the American Indian, destroying the farmland by carelessly laying waste to it with profitable crops, and brag like the fool he was that he never got a damn thing from it and would die without owning anything but his boots. Behind the myths of the history books lies evidence of the persistent practice of racism, genocide, suppression of women, and exploitation of other men's lives and labor.

Economic history reveals that our early tradition flowered—into a

minimized wages can buy.

The solution was found increasingly in control of foreign markets and foreign labor. The corporation, if it got political control of foreign markets, could dispose of its over-production at great profits. If the corporation controlled foreign industry, it could afford to pay (and so buy off) domestic workers the wages it didn't pay foreign workers. Everybody was kept in control. From time to time the exploited peoples of other countries have revolted—struggled for their liberation—but you know, that is what the military production center is for.

Just as capitalism, the private-enterprise system, led to exploitive employment and consumption, a power elite, and world economic and military imperialism, the individualist Horatio Alger fuck-the-other-guy values of a free-enterprise culture have led to the dehumanizing and destructive lives of today's Americans.

Shut It Down!

We must attempt to make clear the historical role of those values, and politically attack the university for its role in the perpetuation of those relationships. As well as attacking the university for its participation in war research and exploitation of surrounding working-class communities, we must also challenge the other main function of the university, which is to turn out corporate morons to take up the task of administering the world. The university is not a place devoted to human development which "makes a few destructive mistakes". The university is a place DEDICATED to the perpetuation of class exploitation and class oppression. It is dedicated to making us identify with the exploiters and the oppressors, catching ourselves in the stupid chains of individualism.

Our strategy therefore must be an attack on the entire institution of the university, a challenge to its purpose and to its right to exist. Wherever possible, we must strive to shut it down—shut it down rather than "reform" it, because as long as the society exists in its present form the university can only function to achieve the aims we have just discussed.

Not all campuses, in fact probably very few, can achieve a Columbia. To say we should shut it down is only a reflection of our understanding of the role of the university and its education in our society.

"De-studentize"

We should begin to speak to students about "de-studentizing" their lives. We must break students away from their identification with the university and its structure of values, as well as break their identification with the university as corporate/government researcher. We must call for the stoppage of that institution, for an end of that old identity of the student.

We can call instead for a new identity—an identity with the exploited class, the working class. That class must be in struggle if it does not accept the false privilege and anti-human contract that binds it in its own exploitation. In struggle the values of that class are the values of the collective, of a lived understanding of collective human need and collective human survival. It is struggle to end the existence of a privileged class, to proletarianize the society.

Tactically we will find that there must be methods for expressing this analysis at some level other than the actual closing of the university. Both the internalized values of the university and the force which stands behind them will make it difficult to carry such a program out. But imaginative tactics of confrontation should be our method, not academic round-tables on how to re-structure the university.

Suppose a group of five people in a course decided to do a required paper together. And on top of that, they made

I participate
you participate
he, she, it participates
we participate
you participate
they profit

copies and all handed in the same paper (or only a single copy with all their names on it). At that point they explained that their desire was to do a paper which they thought was interesting, and that their concept of education included people learning how to learn together; that they condemned the values of individualism implicit in grade competition and held that the value of an educated society meant that people learned in a social context, together, not merely being educated apart and bringing that individual education together through competition to achieve an irrational and anti-human end.

Perhaps even an "outside agitator" could help on this paper, with the explanation that he or she also was interested in what you students were working on and had some things to offer from his or her experience. This could work as well in high schools, and could also be applied to exams. It is just one method of attacking education's role in inculcating the values of individualism. Also it would probably produce severe reaction from the authorities around an issue which is easily explained to students.

These kinds of principles and tactics should be substituted for the reformist approaches we have often taken: using student government referendums instead of challenging the legitimacy of the student government and proclaiming academic critiques of courses that show they make a few mistakes on their own terms. We are not and will not be on their terms.

In addition we should continue to educate about and disrupt those functions of the university which are immediate functional parts of this country's capitalist system: its racist policies, its corporate exploitation of the community surrounding the university, its participation in research and training for clear imperialist or militarist enterprises. But in attacking around those issues, we must make it clear that we are also attacking the institution and what those issues mean to people's lives within the institution—within the false privilege and the anti-human contract.

In all the ways we attack on issues we should keep the problem of de-studentizing in mind. That means we see much of the problem we face, in organizing, as one of delegitimizing the university as an institution. Instead of building all year around one or another issue—like IDA or ROTC—chapters should divide into as many groups as there are good issues. Each group should do its canvassing and educational work on its issue, but try to pull in new people to frequent confrontations: small demonstrations; "stump speeches" given in lots of different parts of the campus, during classes, et cetera; and guerrilla theater. Our job is to challenge the institution in our tactics as well as our rhetoric—frequently and imaginatively.

We must link our struggle with off-campus struggle in any concrete ways we can. In doing so we must again stress our rejection of the imposed concept of "student". People who are not students should be welcomed into our struggle against the university, and those of us in the university should take an active part in off-campus struggles, as well as attacking the university for its role in the society which the struggle is against. Still, our main emphasis must be on organizing a youth movement on the campus, because that is where our power lies.

Once again, saying that we want to
(continued on page 9)

1. YOU ARE NOT STUDENTS.
2. YOU ARE NOT MIDDLE CLASS.
3. YOU ARE NOT HOUSEWIVES.
4. YOU ARE NOT PRIVILEGED.
5. YOU ARE NOT GETTING
A LIBERAL EDUCATION.
6. YOU ARE NOT CHILDREN.
7. YOU ARE NOT WEAK.

to join America's research and action team and help destroy the world? Still better, why not just stay on in the university, teach the same irrelevancies we've learned, and slip gradually through boredom into death? At any rate, make enough money to buy more televisions, plastic food, monster car machines, and other contrived necessities to keep from thinking or living a human life....

So the promise is false. In its function as trainer and socializer for future participants in the society, the university seeks to perpetuate values at the core of which is the acceptance of (false) privilege. These are the

monster. Individual capitalists like Rockefeller and Gould built enormous economic empires based on ruthless wage oppression and the military suppression of labor organizations. The individually-controlled empires became corporations, staffed by men who mindlessly followed the maxim: the best position in the biggest corporation. Meanwhile, the capitalists and corporate capitalists dabbled in the financial control of foreign trade and foreign industries. But the great push to show corporate growth—so that stockholders invest more and make possible further corporate growth—led to the production of more goods than

Mexico Draft

(continued from Page 1)

"project after the battle looking for girls."

There has been a concentrated effort on the part of Diaz Ordaz to get the leadership of the Strike Committee. At one point, grenaderos turned machine guns on the third floor of a building where the Committee was meeting. At least six members were killed. Nearly all have been imprisoned along with thousands of other people.

In a paid advertisement in the newspaper El Dia, the Committee stated that "The National Strike Committee does not consist of isolated individuals...rather it consists of representatives with special and direct power which it receives from the base of students, whose initiative is the main driving force of the movement. Therefore, even in the case that the repression eliminates the present National Strike Committee, out of the base of the student mass there will always emerge the most adequate direction....In the face of an ever more reactionary and discredited public power, there will be a continuous, ever more determined and popular struggle."

There are reports of confrontations and fighting going on in many of the other provinces of Mexico. Solidarity strikes were reported at schools in Monterrey, Cuernavaca, Chihuahua, Villa Hermosa, Culican, and Merida. Here too students have held and are holding solidarity demonstrations and demonstrations against US imperialism in Latin America. The SDS National Council Meeting is being held only thirty minutes from the headquarters of the Olympic Committee, which is located at 1390 Logan in Denver.

(continued from Page 2)

that large numbers of graduates—no one knows how many—have simply been re-channeled from graduate school into deferrable jobs as teachers. (There are many, for instance, at Ocean Hills-Brownville.) And a number of graduate schools (I'd like to have more details about this—does anyone have them?) have asked for and apparently obtained deferments for their teaching assistants (which means that the squawks we heard from the grad schools in February will be much diminished).

The other concerns counseling: It is politically frustrating, but I think there are three reasons for doing it. As Fred says, it helps politicize counselors, and also it helps keep the issue alive. (In general, my impression is that where there have been strong counseling programs, there have been more resisters.) Second, any program that seeks to organize people must offer them services that speak to their needs, and that's true of welfare clients as well as potential draftees. Third, it helps to undermine the legitimacy of the draft and the automatic assent to it that many guys have.

At any rate, as Fred says, the problem now is to organize in anticipation of large increases in draft calls come November. I don't think we have to choose between the two strategies he outlines (agitating among the troops, turning universities into sanctuaries). Both strategies can be used.

If men are decided on going into the army, they would probably be well advised to enlist quietly together. It is much easier for the military to isolate and render ineffective single individuals. And it will be vital to increase the networks that already exist for keeping men in touch with one another and

functioning with a group however much the army shifts them around.

Sanctuaries are just being tried out. The Harvard Divinity School had one with a marine who had two purple hearts from Vietnam. Unfortunately, apparently in part because of internal dissension during the action, he repudiated it when the Marines got hold of him. But that was just a PR matter. The main questions concern how to use sanctuaries for building solidarity and resistance. I don't see that we can turn universities into genuinely liberated turf—that is, a place where the authority of the government is both repudiated and ineffective. That may come; meanwhile, I think sanctuaries must be organized to recruit; to raise the level of consciousness about the draft, the War, and imperialism on campus; to build solidarity in conflict. Which suggests that campus discussion should be instituted now; dorms and whole colleges should be organized to vote to offer sanctuary; ex-students and guys from nearby ghettos should be sounded out about taking sanctuary. Meanwhile, we should learn from places which try such actions and we should try to organize them at places having relatively more-advanced consciousness. (Resist is trying to do some of this.) And I think we ought to think of sanctuaries as working on a number of political levels; if they turn out to be actions which involve only a tiny militant fraction in fighting the cops, they will have failed. But they can, I think, be organized to involve the mass of students, clergymen, and local community people in differing roles. And they can be used to assert a positive right: It is our right and the right of the community of which we are a part to decide that another member of the community must and should remain a part of it; and that any authority which tries to remove him is illegitimate and must be resisted.

Questions that have come up for discussion so far: Physical resistance—should it be undertaken, what are its goals, and should it be violent or non-violent? Should efforts be made to have the man taking sanctuary disappear if the cops break in? If sanctuaries are, in some measure, "symbolic" and therefore pre-revolutionary, what does that imply about strategy and tactics? How can the physical activity in a university building, for example, be co-ordinated with propaganda activities including teach-ins, wall posters, suspension of regular classes, newspapers, et cetera? How does the tactic of organizing a sanctuary fit into longer-term perspectives on campus organizing—that is, how can we avoid destroying Movement energy and isolating radical groups?

No one has all the answers yet; but they should emerge in struggle this fall, which I think we will enter together.

Paul Lauter

Privilege

(continued from page 8)

shut the university down is not the whole of our program, it merely concretizes our analysis. It says we reject the false privilege and the anti-human contract that characterize the university as an integral part of American capitalism. We do not want to participate in the control of that kind of an institution, as long as that is the kind of institution it is. We know we can not change it until the whole System can be changed. Therefore we want to control the university as students controlled Columbia—in order to change America, not to participate in the System the way it is.

Literature Available from SDS
OCTOBER, 1968

REMEMBER TO INCLUDE \$\$\$ WITH ORDERS. ADD 5% for POSTAGE. ALL ORDERS MUST BE PREPAID. *****

GENERAL SDS STUFF:

- Constitution (free)
- SDS Literature list (free)
- REP Literature list (free)
- Introduction to SDS (free) (1¢/ea. for 50 or more)
- Open Letter to McCarthy Supporters/OglesbyFr (free; 1¢/ea. for 50 or more)
- Democracy is Nothing if it is Not Dangerous/Oglesby (free)

STUDENTS:

- The New Radicals in the Multiversity/Davidson/15¢
- High School Reform/Kleiman (10¢)

MILITARY & DRAFT:

- Pocket Manual on Draft Resistance/Cloke/40¢
- HELL NO!/15¢
- GUIDE TO G. I. COUNSELING**NEW**40¢

ORGANIZERS TALK:

- Break out and Do it Now! M. James/10¢
- Black Liberation/Forman/15¢
- Getting Ready for the Firing Line/JOHN/10¢
- Youth Will Organize for Freedom/Coleman/10¢
- Huey Newton Talks to the Movement/15¢
- Don't Mourn; Organize!/from the Movement/50¢

FOREIGN POLICY

- The CIA/10¢
- U.S. Imperialism/Gilbert & Loud/15¢
- Who Controls Vietnam?/Burchett/15¢
- Program of the NLF/15¢

dig this



A representative from the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI) from Puerto Rico will attend the National Council meeting in Boulder. After the NC, he will be able to speak in various areas around the country in the latter part of October. This will present organizers with a chance to familiarize themselves and other people with the Puerto Rican movement for independence and the student movement in that country.

Connie Ullman from New York SDS has just returned from Puerto Rico, where she traveled with the student movement there.

FUPI is also sending a film to show around with the speaker. Fund-raising programs could also be set up.

Those wishing to make use of this opportunity should contact Mike Klonsky at the National Office before the NC or at Boulder during the NC.

We have copies of the Convention issue of Connections, the underground newspaper out of Madison, Wisconsin. You can order them at 15¢ per copy.

A representative from the United Farm Workers is now on a speaking tour to spread the story of the California grape strike. Venustiano Olguin will discuss the three-year-old struggle against the California agricultural giants, and will show the film "Decision at Delano". He will also be helping form local committees to support the UFW's boycott of California table grapes.

The son of a migrant farm worker, Olguin grew up in California's grape fields. He completed college, but decided to suspend further studying to work with the farm workers' movement.

He will be traveling in the East and Midwest this fall; after Christmas, he will visit states west of the Mississippi on his way back to Delano, center of the UFW's activities. Groups interested in sponsoring a talk by Venustiano Olguin should call Juanita Brown in Delano (805-725-1314).

a ticket to ride?

From U. of Ill. SDS freshman handbook wallpaper, "Where It's At".

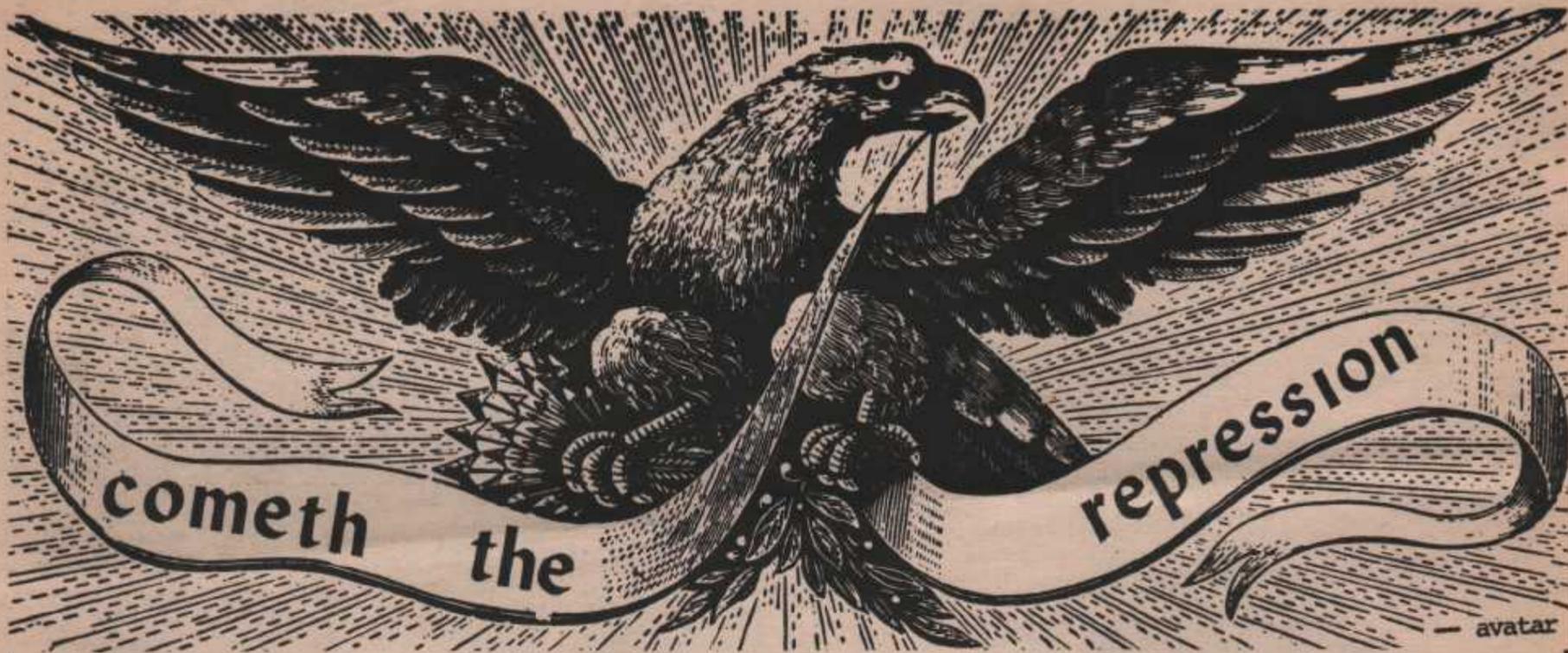
This gilded institution can help you get ahead. If you want to, you can use this place as a ticket to suburbia, a white Ford station wagon, two and a half kids, an okay job, and a mate for life. Lots of fun and games here, too—parties, sports, clubs. This place has been called a university: Is it Newman's community of scholars? Is it an area designated for the pursuit of truth? Is it a bunch of kids who pay for a prof's research? Is it any of these things? No. Was it ever? No, not in essence. This campus turns out middle-level technocrats and teachers (little power, less pay, but a white collar).

The average multiversity does all kinds of destructive stuff like chemical and biological warfare research—you know: Institute of Defense Analyses (IDA) a la Columbia. But our little Chicago Circle until recently has only managed to attract a couple million bucks. Oh, we recruit napalm improvers for Dow Chemical Company at University Hall a few times a year. We train ROTC Second Lieutenants to lead us, after we graduate or get forced out, in the defense of "liberty". (We have to or we lose the Federal buck. Our lieutenants take over ten courses in leadership, but strangely none in liberty.) We have a broad spectrum of ideas presented to us in our course-work here, if only fleetingly in introductory remarks. We are spoon-fed facts and methods that will help us fit the mold of society—rather than challenged with ideas that will help us mold our own society.

Now we are finally getting in on the cash and status; we've got a national police institute. Think of it: head pigs (cops) from all over the country coming here—to our campus—in their snappy uniforms, to have round-table seminars on how to put down black insurrections and student revolts and peaceful demonstrations. Our campus will be the national center for planning mass arrests, mass gassings, mass head-splittings, and maybe even a mass-murder contingency plan. Our campus can no longer be considered out of touch with society. We are where it's at, baby! We are the hosts for the planning of the police state.

The role of the university is to serve the interests of those who wield power in this society. It is only one institution. It is representative of some of the best and some of the worst in our system. Our university plans the police repression program because those who wield power want police repression. Until the people, values, and institutions of this society as a whole change, the role of the university will not change, and you and I will be responsible partners in its products.

Why not be responsible for the change?



J. Edgar Hoover thought enough of SDS to devote a whole section of his report on crime in the US to us. The report was presented to the national commission studying crime, and old J. Edgar speaks about the "so-called New Left" just after mentioning some woman who gets raped every nineteen minutes.

Under the heading "Organizations Advocating Violence" Hoover lists SDS, which he refers to as having played a key role in many demonstrations, "and whose national leaders have publicly admitted that they are Communists". J. also lists the CPUSA, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, YSA, YAWF, and PLP in his list of crime-committers. Referring to SDS, Hoover says "The

New Left is composed of radicals, anarchists, pacifists, crusaders, socialists, Communists, idealists, and malcontents...a large proportion...were reared in affluent homes."

J. says that SDS, which is the New Left's "primary component", has this "passionate desire to destroy the traditional values" of our society, as well as the existing social order.

He then goes on to say that the "riotous activity at Columbia University was spearheaded by Mark Rudd," and then quotes from Rudd's open letter to President Kirk where Mark admitted that "Your power is directly threatened since we will have to destroy power before we take over."

Hoover also mentions in his report

the SDS convention held in East Lansing, Michigan in June where a workshop was held on "sabotage and explosives" and people discussed ways of disrupting Selective Service facilities. Some of the ways mentioned are as follows:

- (1) flushing bombs in toilets in order to destroy plumbing;
- (2) using sharp, tripod-shaped metal instruments to halt vehicles;
- (3) firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns;
- (4) jamming radio equipment;
- (5) dropping "thermite bombs" down manholes to destroy communications systems.

J. then gives SDS some credit. He says that the "protest activity of the New Left and the SDS, under the guise

of legitimate expression of dissent, has created an insurrectionary climate which has conditioned a number of young Americans—especially college students—to resort to civil disobedience and violence."

Some of you might think that J. Edgar is picking on us, but that's not so. He also talks nasty about the "other side". J. gets down to the nitty-gritty when he talks about "corporate violence". Although he says that this peculiar type of violence is not just the "individual sadism and brutality of the 'enforcers' and 'strong-arm men' but the monopolistic position" that these men hold "in their legitimate as well as their illicit activities."

Sock it to 'em, J.



Washington March

(continued from Page 3)

The first SDS march on Washington had a tremendous effect of building SDS and advancing the student movement. This was done especially through the intense work done on campus before and after the march. New chapters were formed. Old chapters grew. Thousands joined SDS.

Organizing for this march should have the same effect...except more intensively. The objective situation is sharper; the demonstration should be also. This march would offer every chapter an opportunity to organize five hundred...a thousand...two thousand students. It would be a real boost. Many new people would be activated through going to Washington and preparatory organizing. Instead of dropping out or joining a phony McCarthyite "New" party, these people should be brought into SDS and radical activities.

It is important that the march be led by SDS. At the time of the first march a liberal coalition wanted to take control of it. This move was narrowly defeated within SDS. Such a coalition would have meant a real defeat for the radical movement.

It is important that this march not be a coalition with the Mobilization, which has watered down politics and/or led people into police traps every time it has led an action: from New York's Stop the Draft Week to Chicago (where the people fought valiantly in spite of the Mobilization mis-leadership).

Worker-Student Alliance

During the weeks preceding the march, SDS and SLAP committees should carry out intensive leafleting and talking with workers at factory gates, subway entrances, et cetera. GIs can be reached near and on bases, at transportation points, et cetera. We should explain our analysis of the elections, imperialism, and racism; how they screw both students and workers; and why we're going to the White House. We should follow up these contacts after the elections.

On the West Coast, demonstrations should be held to coincide and tie up with the White House action.

In Washington, we should begin with a rally, putting forth these three themes, leading to a march on the White House and a demonstration in front of it. If violence occurs, it will be initiated by the Government. Chicago has shown us that that is likely. A lot of tactical considerations must be discussed at length. We don't want any traps. We can expect a lot of force to meet us, very possibly the Guard and federal troops. SDS should organize to keep tactical control of the situation. We don't want crazies, provocateurs, "terrorists", or plainclothes cops to lead the demonstration. These are problems that now come up at any large demonstration. The NC and the SDS march organizing committee will have to discuss these at length. Plans will have to relate also to changing events. We can't go into all of these in this proposal.

The basis of the proposal is: a national march, with the White House (not the Pentagon), which is the center of the ruling-class government, as a target; the three political themes; and the organizing effort before and after the march reaching to students and workers.

Implementation

(1) A national call should be put out by SDS immediately.

(2) An SDS march organizing committee should be elected at this NC to work full-time on the march for the next month, set up a Washington headquarters, print literature and signs with the three themes, et cetera. Ample funds should be mandated from the National Office for them to operate on.

(3) Every chapter should begin organizing immediately for the march and election.

(4) Regional conferences should be called next week for regional planning, transportation, organizing new schools, et cetera.

Jeff Gordon, NYU SDS, PLP
Steve Shapiro, Queens College SDS
Rick Rhoads, NYCC SDS, PLP
Carolyn Eubanks, Columbia SDS

LET US ALL BE NAMECALLERS



It is imperative that we in the radical movement know exactly who our oppressors are. That means, among other things, calling names—especially the names of those key money-powers and their servants who attempt to remain invisible behind the screen of their power apparatus. One such figure, brought recently to the attention of the Guardian, is the man above: Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering for the Defense Department. His job? To hand out more than \$60 million per year for scientific research on behalf of U.S. imperialism. One of his interests, indeed, is the "motivations" of the Columbia rebels. In a future issue of the Guardian therefore, you will learn more about him, including his address.

Among other of our recent and regular features: a two-page diagram of the power structure that dominates Columbia University a detailed breakdown of U.S. military arms manufacturers regular dispatches from Southeast Asia and Paris by Wilfred Burchett former SNCC-member Julius Lester's popular column new left analysis by Carl Davidson book, film and record reviews much more in 20 to 24 pages tabloid

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Special from the
Washington Free Press

Two weeks ago HUAC subpoenaed at least four friendly witnesses, including two Chicago Red Squad cops, and seven hostile witnesses (Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Bernardine Dohrn, Dave Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Bob Greenblatt, Quentin Young) in connection with the Chicago demonstrations. In response to these hearings, a group composed of members of the Washington Free Press, SDS, the American Playground, Women Strike for Peace, the Mobilization, and many others planned a series of activities in the Washington area.

Monday, HUAC began executive sessions. Bernardine, Rennie, and Bob arrived in town and spoke to a crowd of about five hundred and fifty at the University of Maryland. People responded enthusiastically not only to the indictment of HUAC, but to ideas for election-time activities and mounting a campus offensive against university repression and oppression.

HUAC Testimony

Tuesday, HUAC heard a HUAC staff member and two Red Squad cops testify about the communist involvement in, and control of, a gamut of Movement groups, including the Mob and SDS. Their testimony was largely a farcical drone of data drawn from the Movement and the straight press, and a little data drawn from large and open meetings recorded by informers and bugged. The counsel for the defense tried again, as in past hearings, to establish right to cross-examine the evidence blandly being read into the record. But as before, this right, sanctified in the courts and other Congressional hearings and in the Constitution, was denied. The lawyers were accused by Chairman Ichord of disruptive behavior for trying to read these objections into the record.

Tuesday night, Rennie, Bernardine, Dave, and Frank Wilkinson (head of the Committee to Abolish HUAC) spoke to thirteen hundred people at George Washington University about HUAC and the need to move on the injustices in American society.

Wednesday there were no hearings, and the lawyers and defendants met in a strategy meeting most of the day. That night, Bernardine, Bob, and Frank spoke to a large crowd at American University. At the same time there was

a light little circus being held at George Washington University with Jerry, Abbie, Pigasus, and the Fallen Angels, a rock group.

Free Abbie!

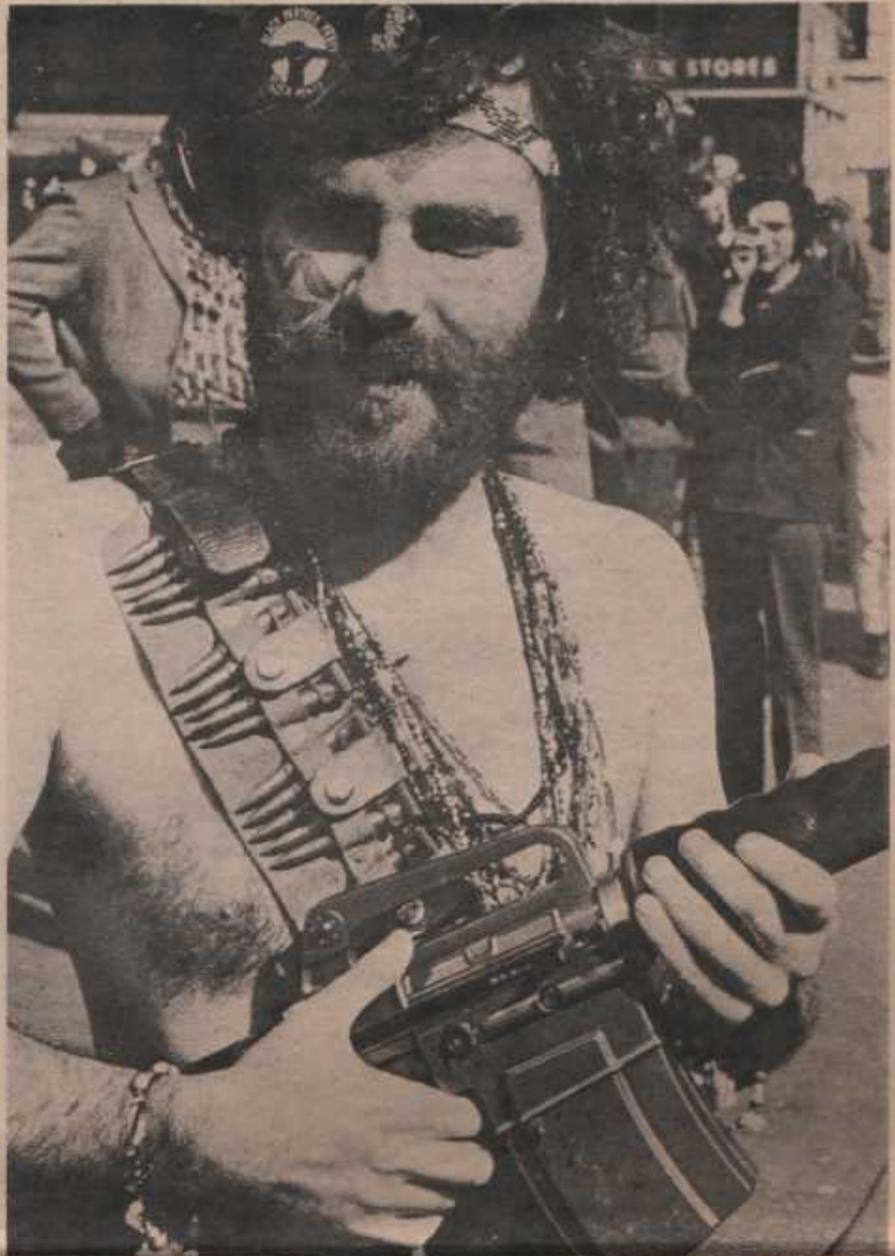
Thursday was the first day that Movement people were to testify. The day started out with the arrest of Abbie Hoffman as he was walking into the building wearing a shirt resembling "Old Faithful", the US flag. The first witness was a Mr. Pierson, who had been hired as Jerry's bodyguard in Chicago. As our people were about to be called to the stand, they walked out of the hearing room, insisting that Abbie be released from jail.

Bob Greenblatt and Quentin Young, however, were the only two who got near the stand during the remainder of the Thursday and Friday proceedings. Both responded to most questions with positive political analyses and suggestions. At the end of the Friday hearings, HUAC decided to adjourn until after the elections (probably forever).

For Thursday we had planned a large rally for the Capitol on the Mall about four blocks down from the Cannon House Office Building. Only a few had appeared by the ten o'clock starting time, so people went up to the building to begin to make our presence known at the scene of the crime. Many cops lined the third floor of the building; nevertheless, the nearby hall was packed with a crowd of people anxious to get into the hearings even though we all knew that no one but the defendants or their counsel would be allowed in from our side.

During the morning, several hundred more people arrived, many wandering around inside the halls of the building with bells, whistles, and other noisemakers; many more stood outside. As the Committee broke for lunch, several hundred people, packed in around the entrance underneath the hearing window, started taunting HUAC and chanting anti-war slogans. The cops were called and started to force people rapidly down the steps.

We moved to the next entrance and started to re-congregate. Again the cops came down the entry. Again we saw the spectacle of the House of Representatives ringed by cops with raised billy clubs. Step by step they drove us all the way down the hill off the Capitol grounds. Down on the



—photo by Jeff Shero/RAT-LNS
Jerry Rubin, star HUAC hostile witness, models the latest fashions for Congressional hearings. Trend watchers have noted with interest Jerry's switch away from his fetching 1776 uniform of two years ago.

Mall, our people re-grouped and started to rap about what had happened.

A few new things were apparent in the current conduct of the Committee. Ichord was out to make a new image for HUAC. The Committee is up for appropriations soon, and they want a lot. It has to prove important and relevant. And everything had fallen apart over the last few years of Joe Poole's leadership of the Committee. The Committee was

not anxious for contempt-of-Congress citations; it wanted to appear rational and orderly. Apparently the HUAC members felt they could only lose by giving Rennie, Jerry, Tom, and the others the opportunity to testify—that testimony that would surely have pointed out the shame of the whole proceedings. So, with these muddling tactics, HUAC, the running dog of Congress, adjourned its hearings on Chicago.

N.O. News

The Office Mail

by Sue Eanet

I want to try to tell you about one of the functions of our National Office, because a lot of what the NO does or does not do for chapters depends on this particular function. We get about two hundred to three hundred letters and requests per day in the mail, plus twenty to forty publications from every conceivable organization. With this much information flooding steadily into the office, we had to develop ways to divide up labor politically, in order to winnow out the useful stuff and avoid being engulfed in petty bullshit.

What happens to the letters people write to the NO? Literature orders and requests for basic information about SDS go to the Literature Secretary. Requests for local contacts go to people working on chapter correspondence. New dues-paying members go first through the financial secretary, and then to the immortal Rayte Clerk, who prepares a membership form and an address stencil for the new member.

Then there are the publications. We try to clip the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Time, and Newsweek every day or week. There are also all the bulletins from peace organizations, liberal community organizations, and fraternal organiza-

tions to be sorted, discarded, or filed. Underground papers are scanned for relevant photos or articles, and then discarded. Papers and pamphlets produced by SDS chapters are filed in the chapter files for future use. If they are original or real good, they are often ordered in greater quantity from the chapter, in order to use them as examples for other chapters needing literature ideas. Many new books are coming into the NO now; hopefully, they will be reviewed for NLN in the future. We also get mail from Cuba and from New Left organizations in Australia and Europe, which have to be read for news and filed by organization.

The more specialized requests land in various people's desks, depending on who has the various information necessary to fulfill the request. Hate letters (the day-to-day anti-commie mail) generally just gets circulated for laughs. But hate letters from chapter people—infrequent, but not unknown—have to be answered. Usually they are of the "I-sent-you-my-goddam-dues-last-june-and-where's-my-goddam-New Left Notes" garden-variety hate letters. But sometimes they raise real serious criticisms of the NO functioning, or the political position raised in NLN, or the operation of the NIC or of a national officer. If it is a criticism of an

individual, he is generally the one to respond to it. If it is a mistake the NO has made, then we try to rectify it fast. But it strikes me from time to time that a lot of people just blow off steam in our direction when there is neither a practical nor a political criticism to be raised. (Like the girl who wrote me an angry letter last week, in which she accused us of "neo-capitalist entrepreneurialism" because it costs money to subscribe to NLN. She said we are cutting ourselves off from the working class by not handing out NLN for free in the urban centers. I tried to explain to her that it costs us about \$165 to print each issue of NLN, and about \$75 to mail out each issue.) I think it is necessary to take these charges seriously, because they are, after all, made with good intentions in most cases.

The good mail is from people who are organizing SDS in various "virgin" high schools and campuses around the country. I get a letter from a kid in East Tennessee which says he passed a petition around his high school to see how many people would be interested in starting an SDS chapter. A hundred and fifty students signed the petition.

A brother writes from Laramie, Wyoming and tells me sixty people showed up for a chapter meeting last

night—and could we please rush some membership cards and imperialism pamphlets?

A letter with dues enclosed: "I got my freshman orientation watching the Democratic Convention on TV. Count me in."

Heroic packages from the Niagara Region, with maybe \$60 in new memberships, and their shocking-purple membership forms enclosed.

A check for fifty bucks from the Green Lantern Eating Co-op in Madison, Wisconsin: Co-op members asked the management to send their refund money to SDS for what we need.

A GI writes asking for samples of NLN to hand out to his buddies. I send a bunch of literature. Four days later, the same GI sends \$25 in dues from five friends in Fort Hood, Texas, and a long letter full of defiance. "...We have been investigated by the CID, kicked out of jobs which needed a security clearance, and put in the infantry. We have seen our country become more oppressive at home and toward the world more imperialistic."

A fifteen-year-old kid writes that we should please stop sending NLN to his home and send it to this other address instead, because his parents "are very alienated from the Movement and do not tolerate me reading stuff I like."

NLN talks to Phil Hutchings

Interview with Phil Hutchings,
Program Secretary of SNCC

PHIL, THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF TALK IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS ABOUT NEW POTENTIALITIES FOR BLACK AND WHITE RADICALS TO WORK TOGETHER. WHAT THOUGHTS DO YOU HAVE ON THIS SUBJECT?

Well, I think that the more there are demonstrations like Chicago among principally progressive young white people who are meeting the hostility of the white power structure, the more you have confrontations like you had at Columbia, the greater the existence of a very radical and potentially revolutionary force among young white people becomes clearer.

I think that what's happened on many of the college campuses, especially among groups like SDS, has shown the tremendous connection between the racist universities and the outside neighboring black communities such as the relationship between Columbia and Harlem, the relationship between Yale and the Hill section of New Haven. You have a tremendous black labor force being exploited by white institutions, and in many instances the universities are major employers in the black community. Often the universities own housing and are the slumlords for many black people. The university is institutionally very much a kind of microcosm of the white power structure as a whole. And therefore we think that as the white radicals are beginning to fight the university from within and black militants from without, we can see a possible level at which there can be co-operation and a working relation between these two forces.

And the fact that many white workers also feel very alienated from the American political system (but are presently moving in a reactionary direction) shows that real possibilities for change exist if there were a radical white movement that was organizing the working class in the white community.

We in SNCC have said time and time again that we believe that there has to be a revolution in this whole country for a revolution to benefit any one group. And therefore we feel that in

an attempt to gain power in the country—in other words, to have a revolution in the whole country—you have to organize at all levels in the white community: the students, the workers, the older people, the intellectuals, and so forth. Therefore, as we begin to see the white student movement or the white left movement progressing in this direction, we feel that it will gain more respect within the black militant movement and also within the black community. And therefore there is that possibility for working relationships.

RECENTLY SDS HAS BEEN MAKING A CONCERTED EFFORT TO DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE. WE'VE BEEN SENDING TRAVELERS OVERSEAS TO EUROPE AND TO THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, TOO. WHAT KIND OF IDEAS DOES SNCC HAVE ON DEVELOPING SUCH A PERSPECTIVE?

As far as SNCC is concerned, SNCC identified most closely with the countries in the Third World—in Asia, Africa, and Latin America: the colored nations of the world which form the majority of the world's population which is fighting racism, capitalism, and imperialism in the Western nations and most specifically in the United States of America. We feel it's very important to strengthen our ties and to say that the black people in the United States of America are Africans of American descent. We feel that for the strength of the black community in this country it is most important that there be a strong and independent Vietnam, a strong and independent Latin America, and a strong and independent Africa. We feel that Africa is the motherland, and that it is currently being oppressed by the white Western nations through neo-colonialism. Therefore, we feel that it is the role of black people in this country to fight against the desecration of the motherland by the white Western nations through imperialism by forming together to fight that struggle and by having a very strong identification along a positive and political level with the African nations and with other revolutionary nations of the world such as Vietnam, Cuba, and Latin America.

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM IS SNCC GOING TO HAVE FOR THE FALL AND THE WINTER AS FAR AS CAMPUS ACTIVITIES ARE CONCERNED?

SNCC wants to work on the Southern black college campuses. We want to try and organize them because we feel that they are very open in the sense that there is no organization which is currently working on black Southern college campuses and that these colleges are very backward in terms of education, in terms of the reality of Twentieth Century urban America. The colleges have failed dismally in their conception of the black man; they are still trying to get black students at these colleges to become like white people—like white people who are basically corrupt and identify with all the worst features of the ruling system. And therefore, it is our interest in SNCC to try and organize Southern freedom organizations which begin to tie up with national organizations like SNCC, which begin to develop a program, which begin to develop an ideology, and which begin to develop a long-term perspective of what has to go down. They must also begin to tie these colleges to the areas surrounding them—to the black community.

SNCC HAS COME UNDER A LOT OF POLITICAL REPRESSION. WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF FORCES ON THE RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY, IT LOOKS LIKE THERE WILL BE MUCH MORE. WHAT KIND OF PLANS DOES SNCC HAVE FOR DEFENDING ITSELF IN THE COURTROOMS AND AGAINST WHATEVER OTHER KIND OF ATTACK IT MAY COME UNDER?

We think that the best way you can defend yourself against attack is to attack back. We think it is important that dissent in the country, dissent against the government of the United States and the white power structure be broadened as far as possible. Therefore we want to develop political programs in the cities and within different interest groups all over the

country which push dissent as far as possible. We think that white radicals can play a very tremendous role in that, Chicago being a good example of the kind of force that they can level in the country against the white political establishment and (the extent to which they can) expand dissent.

At the same time, legally, we see that there are many people who are in jail who are unknown, who are not in the national newspapers, and who definitely need defense. We also recognize the fact that the United States government is using the so-called legal procedures to intimidate, harass, and bankrupt militant black organizations such as SNCC and the Black Panthers. We must begin to develop fund-raising mechanisms as well as political arms which begin to take initiative so we do not simply react to the harassment of the national, state, and local governments.

JUST ONE MORE QUESTION: GENERALLY, WHERE DO YOU SEE THE FUTURE OF SNCC IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS? WHERE ARE YOU HEADED?

SNCC is going through an entire re-structuring, both in terms of personnel and in terms of structures and programs. The kind of dynamics in the country which made SNCC a well-known organization do not exist now. And SNCC wanting to continue to play the vanguard role which it has always played in the human-rights struggle, realizes that to stay abreast of the times it has to change the nature of what it does and its role within the struggle; to begin to adapt to new conditions. It is my personal belief that there is no future for national newspaper militants; that it is important for SNCC as an organization to get some of its radical, revolutionary rhetoric to local grass roots-based organizations within the black community. That's going to be very much a part of our program. We feel that this is necessary in very concrete terms before we can begin to talk about any black political party.

Reformist demands, revolutionary struggle

by Carl Davidson

Amidst all the debate over which set of demands or issues are reformist or revolutionary, the new left would do well to remember that only one issue cannot be co-opted; which class has power? Except for that basic question, no other formulation of issues, programs, or demands is necessarily revolutionary. However, the demand for all power to the working class can only be raised in a revolutionary situation. What, then, do we do prior to that time?

We fight for reforms. But here, we could understand that the question is not one of reform or revolution. The problem, rather, is how to engage in a struggle around reforms in such a way as to develop revolutionary class consciousness.

Consider the issue of ending military research on the campus. In itself, the demand calls for a reform of a certain aspect of the content and purpose of the university. The demand can be met with corporate capitalism remaining intact. Already, a good deal of military research is being moved from the campus to various research and development institutes unaffiliated with university resources or personnel.

But whether the military operates on or off the campus should not be the primary focus of our concern. What is more important is the kind of consciousness raised in the process of the struggle.

For instance, a few years ago students and faculty at the University of Pennsylvania fought against chemical and bacteriological warfare research on campus and succeeded in having it removed, after several months of mass struggle. At Columbia, a mass struggle is being fought around the similar issue of the Institute for Defense Analyses (as well as other issues) and has not yet succeeded in stopping its work.

Yet, from a revolutionary perspective, the struggle at Columbia has been a success while the struggle at Penn was not.

Why? Since both fights were for reforms, how did one struggle result in building revolutionary consciousness and the other result in reformism?

To understand the difference, it is essential to see the two aspects of struggle against the military's integration with the university. One reason given for opposing the on-campus presence of the military is

an academic concern: the *secrecy* involved in military research conflicts with the traditional academic notion of the free and open pursuit of truth. The other aspect of the fight is quite different. The concern is not with the *means*, but with the *ends* of the military's work—the repression of liberation struggles at home and abroad. Here, the purpose of the fight for a reform is not a matter of purifying the ivory tower, but a demonstration of solidarity with a revolutionary struggle.

The choice of which aspect of the fight should be given primary attention has far-reaching consequences. If the academic aspect is stressed, then the natural ally of the radical students is the liberal faculty. If the ends served by the military are stressed, then the potential for alliances reaches to constituencies beyond the campus—the black liberation movement and third world insurgencies.

At Penn, the former strategy was followed. An alliance with the liberal faculty was formed around the question of secrecy, and the demand was won. But the movement created was a mass, militant movement for academic reform.

Radical organizers were submerged in a reformist movement which has since dissolved.

At Columbia, on the other hand, the latter strategy was followed. Alliances with the faculty were seen as secondary to potential alliances with Harlem and solidarity with the Vietnamese. Reformist issues were submerged in an anti-imperialist struggle. And while the reform itself has not been won (and may not be won), an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist consciousness now exists among hundreds of students.

Naturally, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles cannot be fought around all, or even most, reformist issues. A good amount of serious analysis, planning and work—qualities which the new left is not especially noted for—is required for determining a correct strategy.

We must begin to transform fights around reformist issues into anti-capitalist struggles. Too often, under the guise of revolutionary rhetoric, we only reveal a lack of confidence in our own ability to conduct those struggles in a revolutionary manner.

(reprinted from the Guardian)