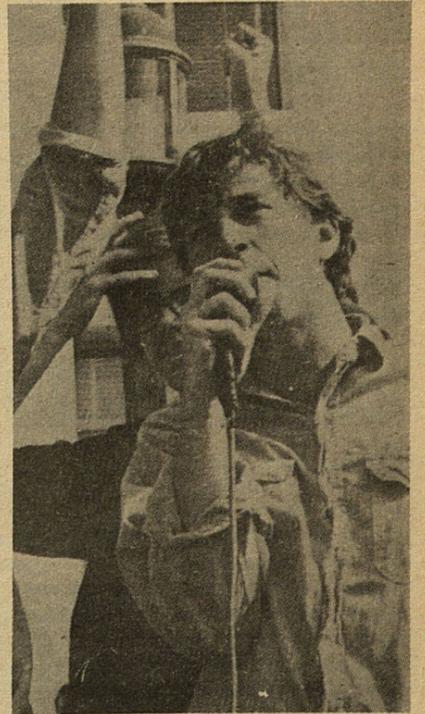
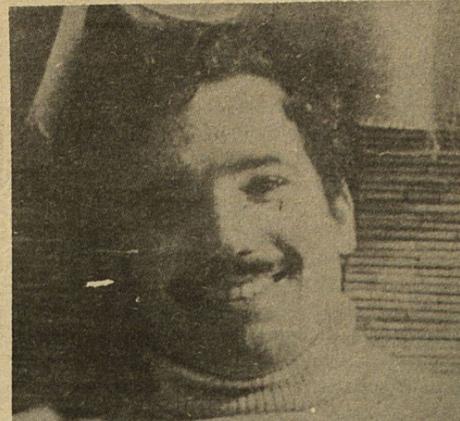


# STOP THE DRAFT WEEK CONSPIRACY CHARGES OAKLAND SEVEN INDICTED!

Story on Page 3



Frank Bardacke,

Reese Erlich

Mike Smith

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

## New Left Notes

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 7

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

FEBRUARY 19, 1968

### DU BOIS CLUB HEARINGS

#### THE SACB VERSUS THE MOVEMENT

On February 27th the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) begins hearings in New York against the DuBois Clubs of America. The hearings will be the first proceedings by SACB under the "Dirksen amendments" to the 1950 McCarran Act which was signed into law by Johnson on January 2nd, greatly strengthening the Board's powers. In the view of many veterans this new McCarran Act represents the "Tonkin Gulf resolution" of the now unfolding war against the Movement and the ghetto. For this reason, we must understand this attack.

#### The Act and How It Works

The McCarran Act grew out of HUAC investigations in the late 40s, was framed originally by Nixon, and is the codification of the political ideology of McCarthyism. The McCarran Act's preamble affirms the existence of a world Communist conspiracy, directed by Moscow and dedicated to the overthrow of Western democracy, functioning in the US through the agency of the Communist Party USA (labeled in the Act a "Communist action organization"). The modus operandi of the Communist action organization is said to be terror, sabotage, and espionage. All of this is presented as "findings of fact".

The Act defines 2 other categories of organizations: "Communist front" and "Communist infiltrated" groups. The "Dirksen amendments" greatly liberalize the already-broad definition of a Communist front group of the old Act. Today the criterion for defining a Communist front group is the presence of 1 or more Communists in a group's membership who exercise influence in that organization. It is under the category of Communist front that the DuBois Clubs are to be investigated.

#### How SACB Works

SACB, the investigative body established by the McCarran Act, is a board of 5 anonymous bureaucrats. The "Dirksen

amendments" have provided the Board with powers that have thrown constitutional-law people into a frenzy. The Board has the power to grant immunity to all witnesses that appear, knocking out Fifth Amendment rights and obligating witnesses to answer all questions put to them by the Government. The new Act makes "misbehavior" before the Board a crime punishable by a fine of \$500 to \$5,000 and a year in jail. The amendments state further that no legal action can be brought against the Board to halt or interfere with its procedures.

But for still other reasons the Board is the most potent mechanism of repression available to the Government. Its proceedings, which can last as long as 3 months, are designed to bankrupt and completely divert entire organizations from offensive programming. Further, the Board maintains the facade of due process permitting you to cross-examine Government witnesses and present a defense. Although a kangaroo court essentially, its basic nature is shrouded, making it more difficult to expose than a HUAC or SISS.

At the hearings the Justice Department trots out all its finks and then rests its case. Under the "Dirksen amendments" the Board conducts its hearings whether you are present or not. After sufficient time to "study the evidence", you are duly registered in the appropriate category. Of course the verdict is built in, but just to make sure the new Act states that the Board must register somebody in the next year or cease to exist!

Registered organizations must print on all publications, and their spokesmen must announce before any public statement, that their organizations have been determined by final order of the SACB to be Communist front organizations. Members of the registered organizations cannot hold defense jobs (there are worse fates) or any non-elective Government position. Violations of any provision of the Act are punishable by \$10,000 and 5 years in jail.

Under Title II of the Act the President is empowered, under a national emergency, to round up "subversives"

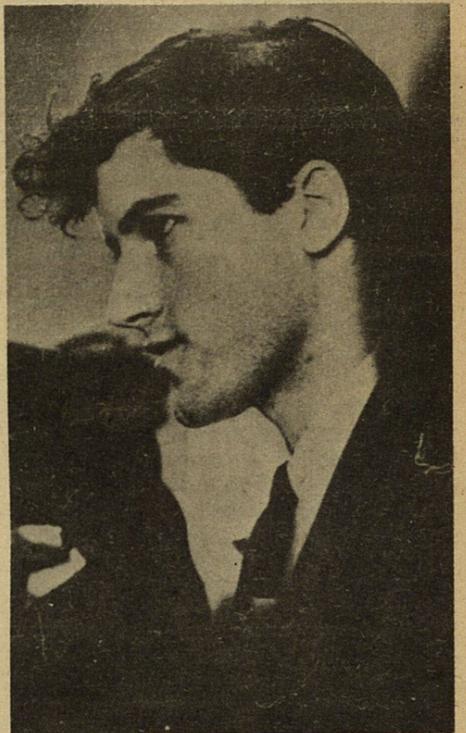
in dragnet raids without trials, hearings, or warrants and herd people into detention camps. 5 of such camps are presently operative in the country, and they can hold tens of thousands.

#### The real question — anti-Communism

An examination of this McCarran monstrosity is enough to explain the necessity for the most vigorous fight around these hearings: but we are dealing here with far more than a fight against an attempted repression of an organization. More fundamentally we are dealing with a fight against the political and ideological mainstay of present-day American imperialism—anti-Communism. To those of us who are concerned with the development of radical and revolutionary consciousness in America, this aspect of the attack is of paramount importance. Clearly one of the foremost tasks we face with respect to consciousness is the need to demolish the



Steve Hamilton,



Terry Cannon

February, 1968

Events of the past several months have made it painfully apparent that the Government has begun a serious and systematic attempt at repression of the anti-war, black liberation, and student movements. Inherent in these attacks is a threat to the democratic rights of every American citizen. The "pre-emptive arrest" of H. Rap Brown, the vindictive sentence given to LeRoi Jones, the impending trial on false murder charges of 5 black students at Texas Southern University, the attack on the National Conference for New Politics and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the indictment of dozens of anti-draft activists and their supporters, including Spock, Coffin, Goodman, Raskin, and Ferber—these are only the more dramatic cases. Throughout the country there have been literally scores of indictments, arrests, and convictions of people from all walks of life active in various aspects of the movement for social progress. And to cap it all off, on January 2nd, 1968, President Johnson signed into law the "Dirksen amendments" to the notorious McCarran Act, extending the life and greatly strengthening the repressive powers of the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB).

We call on everyone in this crucial period to unite in defense of the DuBois Clubs and in support of the most basic of American rights.

Sincerely,

H. Rap Brown  
Ossie Davis  
Dave Dellinger

James Forman  
William Kuntzler  
Grace Mora Newman

Linda Morse  
Sidney Peck  
John Wilson

# Call to Action for Du Bois Clubs

anti-Communist mythology that sustains and justifies the actions of US imperialists abroad in the minds of the American people. The Alice in Wonderland view of world communism and of Communist

regimes which has been implanted in the minds of the American people through 23 years of careful, painstaking, and expensive brainwashing has been the ideological straitjacket of our people.

Greece, Korea, Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, the Congo, Laos, Santo Domingo, Vietnam would never have been possible were it not for the Grand High of anti-Communism which imperialism has turned America on to.

presented with the question of the Act twice in a short period of time. We expect and are working toward both a political and a legal victory in this battle.

We are calling upon local and national organizations to:

—Call local actions against the hearings on opening day—February 27th.

—Participate in the local press conferences being called by DBC people throughout the country.

—Send support messages to the DBC National Office, 34 West 17th Street, New York City 10011. (These should also be issued as press releases.)

—SEND MONEY!! (Checks are payable to DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA.)

—Organizations and individuals can join the legal suit as co-plaintiffs. Contact our National Office (phone 929-2010) or the offices of Kunstler, Kunstler and Kinoy, 511 Fifth Avenue, New York City, immediately.

—Help circulate the support statement which is printed and available at our NO.

—Local SDS chapters that want speakers on the attack should contact the DBC national office.

—For groups in the New York area: The hearings are scheduled to take place at the US Customs Court, 201 Varick Street. Be there 10 a.m. Tuesday, February 27th. It'll be a gas.

—BUT ABOVE ALL ELSE—DO NOT FLINCH FOR ONE SECOND. LET US KEEP DOING WHAT WE'VE BEEN DOING BEFORE, ONLY BIGGER, BETTER, AND MORE AGGRESSIVELY.

SDS, which has been among the pioneers in breaking out of the Cold War straitjacket, can play a critical role in this fight-back. You have plenty of experience in this business.

Yours in the struggle,

Bob Heisler  
National Education Director  
W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America

## DROPOUT COUNSELING

Michele Clark

The premise we work beneath/around/above is: soon enough—today, tomorrow, next week—our strength should expand beyond the campus or the revolution in our minds will die there. We have always known this. The more students who become ex-students and remain in radical politics off the campus, the more radical consciousness (our own and others) has a chance to seep into/pervade all levels of the American granary.

So—it should be up to us to encourage any student who is considering dropping out of school to drop into productive action.

But dropping out of the hallowed halls is not so easy. Students come predominantly from the middle class. They have been imbued with the idea that quitting school will make them "failures". Intellectually, they may recognize that the educational system is rotten and serves utility—channeling of manpower—rather than knowledge. Emotionally, they are aware that their participation in the academic scene narrows the scope of their lives. But the world is a big and increasingly oppressive place, and they are afraid of floundering, useless without that cherished diploma. Such fears are not merely a throwback to bourgeois toilet-training. Many dropouts have left school to become anchorless, psychedelically drowned and/or sucked into the system.

If, on the other hand, dropping out of college meant dropping into a fuller, creative life with broader experience and broader perspectives, a student wouldn't have to wait until graduation to learn about all the beautiful, painful, ridiculously complicated ramifications of living as a total human being.

This is what the project is about. We are locating places for those students suffering from such understandable apprehension to drop into when they decide to leave school. We have already printed up the first list of such places. They range, generally, from eccentric utopian communes through underground press work through movement stuff and radical theater to miscellany. Our aim is to help establish a broad base of radical youth off the campus as well as on it. Radical students involved in personally fulfilling, non-establishment activities which will increase both their own commitment and the commitment and consciousness of others.

We have been reaching dropouts through articles in underground presses throughout the country. We have also

discussed similar counseling projects for high school students and disgruntled professionals and have been contacted by several people in both categories. But the problems involved in such projects are different from and more difficult than college work and would probably best be initiated by the people involved. In any case, this is in the rose-colored future.

Right now we need/welcome 2 things: letters from potential dropouts or already dropouts who would like to receive the list of projects (We also give advice, free of charge, if you need that.); more better new projects around the country which need new people and could be included on our list—projects of all types. If possible we would like each project to specify what type of person it needs; and the nature of its living situation—communal, on your own, room and board, salary if any, et cetera.

Brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, write to Johnny Lerner, c/o SDS, 50 East 11th Street, New York City; and/or Michele Clark, c/o Strassberg, 1765 Oxford, Berkeley, California. Both ends of the vountry will fill each other in so that each office will have complete lists and information.

## (Letter)

Dear Editor,

Stokely Carmichael's use of the phrase "colonial rule" to describe the exploitation of the black people in the USA by the white ruling class is misleading. The relationship between the US white ruling class and black people for over 200 years was that of master and slave. Today that relation is one of wage slavery or capitalist exploitation. And the rules of that game are the same for every wage earner, farmer, athlete, and professional or business man—whether he is white or black. This is also true of students. Whether white or black, they are all trained to serve, not humanity, but the needs of imperialism.

To isolate the black man from his white brothers is to put him in the same peril as the Jewish minority in Germany and the Chinese minority in Indonesia.

Sincerely,

Paul Burke  
201 South 32nd Avenue  
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

Those of us who escaped the myth or shed it (come down you might say), and who are the radical generation of the '60s, are just now coming to understand the toll America paid and is paying for McCarthyism, Cold Warism, and anti-Communism. Most of the ideological deformities of the movements of the early '60s and today can be traced to the effect of anti-Communism on American life. All the movements of the '60s bore the pockmarks of this ideological disease.

The whole question is so vast that we would like to take this opportunity to propose to SDS that a special Movement-wide ideological conference be called solely to probe all aspects of this problem with a view toward dealing with the continuing Movement problems resulting from the effects of anti-Communism.

For our part we will utilize every means at our disposal to defeat this attack. We are initiating an offensive legal suit (despite the prohibitions of the Act) to get a declaratory judgment from the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Act. At the hearings we will move that the Board cannot proceed because of the suit that will be pending. We expect of course that these notions will be denied. At this point we are considering fighting the hearings every inch of the way, exposing the Government finks, and using the hearings as a forum to put anti-Communism on trial. We are attempting to subpoena Katzenbach and other Government officials. Mass actions around the hearings are in preparation. We are also preparing a counter-hearing for Thursday, February 29th, to indict the Government for war and imperialism, racism, repression, and failure to eradicate the poverty and misery of millions of Americans. We will create so much heat for this Board that they and the country will never forget it.

We will of course initiate an appeal suit after the SCAB decides to register us. In this way the Supreme Court will be

## ALBUQUERQUE

by Jim Kennedy

New Mexico is a strange place. Backward with unsophisticated politicians; underdeveloped with inept cops and legal apparatus; colonial with committed liberation forces. That is, of course, oversimplification—but with enough validity to provide the background to the last 2 weeks' happenings.

In mid-January the State Supreme Court held that Reies Tijerina and 3 other Alianza defendants could not be released on bail. The presiding judge refused to delay the preliminary hearings for 20 Alianza leaders. Today NO ONE remains in jail. All charges have been dropped against 9 defendants including Cristobal Tijerina, Ramon Tijerina, and Rose Tijerina. The kidnapping charge against Reies Tijerina—for which the State had promised to seek the death penalty—was reduced by Judge Joe Angel to "false imprisonment". All this in a hearing in which statements by the recently killed cop Eulogio Salazar were admitted as evidence, though he had never been sufficiently cross-examined while alive.

Reies Tijerina and the remaining 10 defendants, including his 18-year-old son Reies Jr., have been released from prison, where they had been held on bond since January 3rd following their arrest in connection with the murder of Salazar. Tijerina was to journey to California February 17th for a speaking tour sponsored by the LA Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights. Trial cannot begin until next September at the earliest under New Mexico law.

Ramon and Cris Tijerina have announced

their intention to bring suit against D.A. Alfonso Sanchez and the State of New Mexico for "false arrest and imprisonment". Reies has promised intensification of the struggle in N.M. this year.

Freed because no evidence had been presented to prove presence or involvement in the Tierra Amarilla uprising last June 5th were the following: Cristobal Tijerina and his brother Ramon; Reies's daughter, Rose; Alfonso Chavez; Victor Dominguez; Geronimo Borunda; Adelvis Moya; Antonio Valdez; and Cirilio Garcia.

Bonded over for trial were Reies Lopez Tijerina and his son Reies Jr.; Jerry Noll; Jose Madril; Solomon Velasquez; Moises Morales; Ezequiel Dominguez; Tobias leyba Baltazar Martinez; and Juan Valdez. Baltazar Apodoca, 72, having refused to waive change of venue from Rio Arriba to Santa Fe County, may yet have to have a special hearing, but was bound over for trial and released on bond by Judge Angel. The charges against the 11 are now "24 counts of false imprisonment (!); 4 counts of assault to commit a felony and 1 count of unlawful assault on a jail (!)".

Meanwhile the first step of repression against SDS in N.M. was commenced. One participant—Joe Barnes, an English Economics teacher at the University of Albuquerque—was ordered to leave the US by June 1st, 1968. His visa was revoked because of "attendance at SDS meetings". Another SDS activist, an Air Force guy, has been informed he is under investigation by security forces.

## new left notes

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# NASHVILLE UNDER THE LASH

Atlanta, Georgia (SNCC)—There has been a complete and total news blackout on the events which have occurred within the past week in Nashville, Tennessee. The events (outlined below) make it very plain that the white bosses in this country have chosen Nashville as a dress rehearsal in preparing for the coming arrests and jailing of all black folks who are or appear to be militant in their efforts to free our people from this brutal system which has just stepped up its program to crush, confine, and destroy US. We urge all black people and other groups who face the same danger to take note of these facts, see that the word is passed around in your community, and begin to ORGANIZE people immediately to FIGHT FOR OUR LIVES—FOR OUR VERY LIVES! OUR SURVIVAL IS AT STAKE!

We remind you that the Government has created special laws and special committees for the purpose of picking up any person they label "subversive", arresting us without bail, holding us for an indefinite period of time without legal counsel or communication with the outside world, and then sending us away to "detention centers" (in Germany they were called "concentration camps".) They

can keep us in these camps as long as they want to—because they have the power to do so. What is happening in Nashville is just around the corner in your city!

## HERE ARE THE FACTS!

On Wednesday, January 16th, 2 policemen were shot in Nashville—1 killed, the other wounded—following an incident which is still not very clear. The Nashville press has reported that 5 black men were involved in the shooting incident and that "black power" literature was found in the car. The 5 men were reported to be from Cincinnati, Ohio.

Starting the next day, the press in that city immediately began to carry headlines and stories blaming SNCC and Stokely Carmichael for the shooting. One headline said: "SNCC Starts Murder Campaign"; on the front page of one Nashville daily it was falsely announced that "Stokely Carmichael is in Nashville."

Stories and headlines such as these have continued all week.

The infamous Nashville Police Chief Sorace has used the white press attack to convince the Nashville community that it is necessary for white folks to arm

themselves against the "murderous" black militants, and that the police force must get more and better "riot" equipment to deal with US.

Police, armed with "riot" weapons, have flooded the North Nashville black community and completely taken control of the area. They have picked up over 70 black people, including 30 to 40 students from the Fisk and Tennessee State A & I campus. They are also picking up anyone who "looks" militant or wears his hair natural or anyone else they just take a notion to pick up.

These brothers and sisters have been taken to the police headquarters or jails and "questioned", without benefit of legal counsel, and without being able to communicate with anyone. These interrogations last anywhere from a few hours to a day, with the cops getting a complete run-down on the personal lives and political views of those questioned and their friends.

It is known that one such victim to be "questioned" was horribly beaten during his "visit" with the police. Another, a former SNCC chairman in Nashville, was taken from the jail to the prison farm, where his "Afro" hair style was

cut, and then he was released.

Using these tactics, Police Chief Sorace has succeeded in frightening the Nashville black community, and is adding names to his "list" of black folks that he labels "subversive".

We remind black folks in this country that it was Sorace who went to Washington to "testify" with his stories and "reports" on SNCC, Stokely Carmichael, "black power advocates", and the liberation school in Nashville. The Government is using this testimony to build its case against SNCC and against all of us. We remind you that certain "law-makers" from Tennessee have asked that Stokely Carmichael be deported from the United States or tried for "treason".

We would also remind you that Nashville is only one example of what the Man is doing to us from New York City to Oakland, California, from North to South, and all around. TAKE A GOOD LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED THIS PAST YEAR:

1) Rap Brown, SNCC Chairman, was placed under house arrest on Manhattan Island, thereby restricting his freedom of movement and speech.

2) Huey Newton, Chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, now sits in the Oakland County Jail on such trumped-up charges as "murder", "kidnapping", and the like—as a result of cops shooting him last October 28th.

3) LeRoi Jones, respected black poet, is now serving a 2 1/2-year sentence which the courts just clamped on him—as a result of his brutal beating suffered during the Newark rebellion.

4) Reies Tijerina, militant leader of the Mexicans in New Mexico, and 20 of his followers, now sit in a Santa Fe jail—charges, including "murder".

5) Eddie Oquendo, a Puerto Rican black, was found "guilty" of refusing the Draft and sentenced to 5 years. He is now under house arrest in Brooklyn, New York.

6) Dr. Benjamin Spock, a moderate white pacifist, and several others were recently indicted on charges stemming from his activities in the Peace Movement.

7) Clifton Thurley Haywood, a Muslim from Georgia, was found "guilty" of violating his religious objections to the Vietnam war, sentenced to 20 years in jail, and fined \$10,000—not to mention the well-known stiff sentence handed out to Muhammad Ali.

These cases are but a few examples that have somehow been publicized. We could not begin to list the countless thousands of black folks and other folks considered to be enemies of this country who have been subjected to the same false arrests and phony convictions, and are now serving prison terms, filling up Amerixa's jails. Because so many of these political prisoners are not connected with any organization or do not have the means to get public attention, they become another number, another nameless victim of the American police state.

WE REPEAT! What is happening in Nashville is a testing rehearsal for what will soon happen in your city, in your community! We urge you to get our brothers and sisters together, we must begin to ORGANIZE and fight for our very survival! The interrogations, arrests, and pick-ups have begun, the jails are filling up, and the concentration camps are ready and waiting! Where will the full-scale attack come next? Your city? Mine? And who will the next victim be? You? Me?

in Washington, in the CIA and in the Pentagon."

Militant anti-war activists throughout the Bay Area are responding to these new attempts at intimidation and suppression by increasing the pace of their anti-war activities and by organizing an intensive political defense campaign for the Oakland Seven. Funds for the defense are needed, and contributions should be sent to:

Stop The Draft Week Defense Fund  
233 Lake Drive  
Berkeley, California 94708

# CONSPIRACY INDICTMENTS

REPRINTED FROM THE MOVEMENT

Talk of repression is anything but talk these days.

Taking their cue from the Boston indictments against Dr. Spock, Reverend Coffin and the others of the Boston Five, Alameda County D.A. J. Frank Coakley has secured indictments from the Grand Jury against seven of the organizers of the October Stop The Draft Week in Oakland, on charges of "conspiracy." The Grand Jury, meeting in Oakland, issued the indictments on January 24, after an "investigation" of the demonstration which included the subpoenaing of radical Bay Area printers, sympathetic UC faculty members who refused to testify, and the testimony of UC Dean Jan Blais and a UC political cop.

The Oakland Seven are: Frank Bardacke, a graduate student in political science at UC, Berkeley; Reese Erlich, recently suspended from UC for anti-draft activities on campus and subsequently elected to the student government; Steve Hamilton and Mike Smith, both former UC students dismissed for campus anti-war activities; Bob Mandel, who withdrew from UC to spend full time on anti-war work; Jeff Segal, national officer and traveller for SDS; and Terry Cannon, formerly of SNCC and an editor of the MOVEMENT. All but Bardacke were on the STDW Steering Committee.

The indictments were instigated by J. Frank Coakley, Oakland's D.A., a well-known racist and reactionary, who commented that he had been trying to "get these guys" for a long time. For a look at Coakley's previous criminal record, see p. 3.

## How "Conspiracy" Works

All seven are charged under the law which makes it a felony to conspire to commit a misdemeanor; in this case, conspiracy to commit the various misdemeanors which occurred in Oakland during October Stop The Draft Week—obstructing sidewalks, public nuisance, trespass, and obstructing police officers. The indictments also charge "ten overt acts", alleging that the seven "did conspire, confederate and agree together", in meetings held between Sept. 27 and Oct. 17, to commit the following acts:

--Reese Erlich, on Oct. 5, did arrange a meeting at Wesley Foundation, Bancroft and Dana Streets;

--Jeff Segal, on Oct. 7, distributed and printed leaflets and maps of Oakland to organize demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center on Oct. 16, 17 and the remainder of the week (during which attempts were made to shut down the center);

--On Oct. 8, Mike Smith met with other parties in Lafayette Square, Oakland, and demonstrated the use of a wooden stick as a club;

--On Oct. 9, Bob Mandel and Mike Smith opened a checking account in the name of Stop The Draft Week at the Wells Fargo Bank in Berkeley;

--On Oct. 14, Steve Hamilton met with others in Lafayette Square and walked to the Induction Center with them;

--On the same day Terry Cannon demonstrated use of wooden clubs to others in Lafayette Square;

--On Oct. 15 Frank Bardacke directed a walk of others from 23rd & Grove Sts., Oakland, to the Induction Center;

--On Oct. 16 Bob Mandel hired and paid buses to assemble at Bancroft and Tele-

graph Aves., Berkeley to carry persons to Oakland;

--On Oct. 17 Mike Smith directed persons at Sproul Plaza on the UC campus to move to the induction center.

Still unaware of the exact charges, the five defendants who were in the Bay Area on Jan. 25 held a brief press conference and surrendered to the DA's office. Jeff Segal, who is currently battling the Chicago courts concerning his draft refusal, and Terry Cannon, who is on a cross-country speaking and organizing tour for The Movement, were unavailable for immediate surrender, but indicated through their lawyers they would do so in the near future.

## Make It Bigger & Better

Speaking for the entire Seven, Bardacke said they viewed the charges as one more step in the attempted repression of anti-war forces. Their only "crime", he declared, was to advocate militant action against the war. Our only response, he stated, should be that we continue to do our anti-war work, and step it up and make the next STDW bigger and better."

Bail, originally set at \$6250 apiece, was lowered Friday morning to \$1250, and a waiting bail bondsman expected to have the defendants out of jail in time for them to join a 2 o'clock rally supporting Huey Newton, Black Panther Minister of Defense indicted by the same Grand Jury on charges of murdering a policeman. But in typical, brazen harrasing tactics, the Sheriff's office had the five transferred from the holding jail in the Oakland Courthouse to the jail compound at Santa Rita, some distance outside of Oakland. There, despite the availability of the bondsman, they were re-booked, strip-searched, sprayed with insecticide, and put in the compound. The guards during this time, according to attorney Alex Hoffman, giggled and made it clear they were harassing the defendants." The five were finally released sometime after 4 P.M.

## Defense Committee

Protest, anger, determination to resist the dual tactics of intimidation and repression, and a strong defense committee, have marked the reaction to the indictments. Top Bay area lawyers have begun working on the defense. (Attorney Garry, defending Huey Newton, is first of all attacking the legitimacy of the Grand Jury, charging it is biased and, for black and poor people, certainly not a "jury of their peers".) The UC campus responded with two days of rallies, at which bail and defense money was raised.

At the rally Thursday, when the indictments were announced, philosophy professor Richard Lichtman spoke of the importance of continuing to do battle against the system, "a system", he commented, "we have to bring down." He spoke of the force and violence used by the system against those who break its rules & whom it terms criminal. But questioning the concept of criminality, Lichtman noted, "This system does not think it criminal to burn villages with napalm, but does think it criminal to stand in certain places and protest that act." He warned of the seriousness of the coming struggle, the possible need to be more secretive. "This isn't a game" he emphasized. "This system will strike back when attacked where it is vulnerable."

The following day an even larger rally heard several speakers call for continued protest and resistance as a means of showing support for Huey Newton and for the Oakland Seven.

Karen Koonan, an active member of the STDW steering committee, smilingly charged the DA and Grand Jury with male chauvinism, and challenged them to arrest her also. She emphasized the need to relate to the rest of society to build strength for the movement.

Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers called DA Coakley a "racist dog," but he also called for militant blacks and anti-war whites to join forces, commenting: "I'm not going to argue black and white; I stopped being a racist a long time ago." He tied the tripling of police forces and the increase of troops in Vietnam to the effort to repress political speech and action in the US.

Bettina Aptheker charged that if there is a conspiracy, it is by the US government, and not by youthful draft protesters." Referring to the conspiracy charges, she said "They didn't conspire to break laws, but to stop the war. If that is illegal, damn it to hell. If there is a conspiracy," she went on, it is a conspiracy to crush the anti-war movement, and it is taking place in Oakland,

# Community - Based Draft

Jean Weisman

At the end of the summer 5 of us decided to create a community-organizing project centered around the issue of the Draft. Most of us would continue going to school, but we would try to be organizers first and students second. The project would be made up of students who were committed organizers or did a lot of work for the project. We would work to create cadre among community people who could eventually run the project. Several of us decided to move onto the blocks where we were organizing.

Soon after I moved into the neighborhood, we had a big City College SDS party in my apartment. A group of people from the neighborhood came in. After the party we got to know a lot more people from the neighborhood.

Previously all our meetings had been attended only by students. Now we decided to invite some of the people we had met during the summer and at the party to our next meeting. We made visits to each one. They came to the meeting now not because they had read the leaflet but because someone they knew had told them about it.

Our first meeting, with about 5 students and 5 community people, was a mind-blowing experience for all of us. Everything was beautiful as long as we talked about what was wrong with America—we pretty much agreed. But we got really screwed up when we started talking about what kind of society we wanted to create. Some people got into the bag of defending Chinese and Cuban communism.

People could accept many socialist principles, but felt that under communism people lost their personal freedom. So we started talking about what personal freedom meant when you didn't have any food to eat. The discussion got really tense and people got very turned off. We finally realized that you couldn't radicalize people in one night.

But the community people came back, and at the next meeting we decided to shut up and listen to the community people rap the neighborhood. It used to be an Irish neighborhood. It is now predominantly Puerto Rican, and the Dominicans are moving in. The Irish say that the Puerto Ricans are dirty and that they leave beer cans all over the place. The Puerto Ricans say that you can't trust the Dominicans because they came here for money and they can't speak English. The neighborhood used to be run by gangs, but now most of the gang leaders are junkies. We learned about 2 Irish guys from around the corner who had been to Vietnam and were very patriotic. We heard the story of a Puerto Rican guy from our neighborhood who had come home from Vietnam in a casket. Many people felt that his death was not worth it. We learned about Puerto Ricans that were still in prison camps in Korea because the Government had done nothing to get them released.

So we decided to open up a storefront—a draft information center. We realized that we could not go into the neighborhood only as a radical political organization. A vision of a revolution 20 years from now may solve the alienation problems of some white middle-class students, but it offers nothing immediately to help solve the basic economic problems that people in the ghetto are faced with. As a draft information center we would be offering a service that was desperately needed. We could offer the services of doctors and lawyers who were also against the War.

On Friday night, December 15th, we decided to show a play *Brother You're Next*, written, directed, and performed by a group of NYU Drama School Students. All kinds of cultural techniques are used to make people oppose it. We felt that a play with real people talking about their lives would be much better than an NLF propaganda film. One of the neighborhood guys who has joined the project managed to get about 40

neighborhood people to come. We told people that we were presenting a play against the War and then having a party. The play was a very funny satire showing people what would happen if they got drafted. There was a lot of audience participation, and everyone really enjoyed it.

After the party 2 guys were standing on the street when the cops came along and told them to move on. One of the guys started hitting the cops, and the cops started hitting them with their nightsticks. One of the guys was an epileptic. As they beat him, the cops said, "Hey, epileptic, move on." They took them down to the station house and beat them up some more and ripped their clothes. They then let them go without charging them with anything. Some of us went down to the precinct to see what was happening, and the cops got really up tight.

After this incident we discussed the possibility of organizing against police brutality. Police brutality very logically connects with the Draft. The cops are used by the Man to keep people down in the ghetto; the soldiers are used by the Man to keep people down in Vietnam.

We have found that there are a large number of deferments that people in the ghetto should be getting and are not getting. For example, if a guy lives with a common-law wife who is pregnant, and plans to support the child, he is entitled to a deferment. (The National Lawyers Guild at 5 Beekman Street, New York City, has an excellent memo on The Hardship Dependency and Fatherhood: The 3A Classification.)

Also, many people in our neighborhood have severe psychiatric and physical problems. People often are not aware of the fact that they have diseases that would qualify them for a deferment. (The list of Standards of Medical Fitness is so long and comprehensive that almost anyone could probably find some ailment that would qualify him for a deferment.) Alcoholics and drug addicts are entitled to deferments. Other interesting causes for deferment are: "1) Frequent encounters with law enforcement agencies, or antisocial attitudes or behavior which, while not a cause for administrative rejection, are tangible evidence of an impaired characterological capacity to adapt to the military service. 2) Overt homosexuality or other forms of sexually deviant practices such as exhibitionism, transvestitism, voyeurism, and the like. 3) Character and behavior disorders whose case histories and objective examinations indicate that the degree of immaturity, instability, personality inadequacy, and dependency will seriously interfere with adjustment in the military service as demonstrated by repeated inability to maintain reasonable adjustment in school, with employers and fellow workers, and with other society groups." (The list of Medical Fitness Standards for peacetime army can be obtained for \$1.60 from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.) With the help of the people in the neighborhood we have been able to be incredibly creative about finding ways of getting guys out.

We usually spend a lot of time with the people we are counseling. Usually the people we counsel are friends, or friends of friends. First we discuss their draft problems, and try to help them find alternatives. We also discuss the War and how the Draft controls and manipulates people. Our counseling involves a number of sessions with the counselee and usually means getting to know several people on the project. After we counsel them we ask them if they would like to work with us.

The guys we have met do not want to go to jail. A prison sentence would have a much more damaging effect on their chances of getting a job than it would on a middle-class person's. In our counseling we try to find solutions that are appropriate to people's lives and will not screw them up. Following are

three examples of the kind of counseling we do.

1) We met someone at the party who was 20 and had never registered for the Draft. He had a history of psychiatric treatment and had not until recently known that he had to register. The fact that he hadn't registered was really screwing up his life: he didn't have a draft card so he couldn't get a job; he was very nervous about being caught. So with the help of a lawyer and a doctor, we argued that he didn't know he had to register, and that he wasn't a draft evader since he had 2 kids when he turned 18 and would have been entitled to a deferment anyway. So we took him down to the board to have him registered. He has received a registration card,

to sign himself into a hospital for a narcotics program, we managed to get him out.

Since we have not yet opened our storefront, and not done any publicity on the project, we have only counseled about 10 people. When the store is opened our pace will be stepped up. Following is an article written by a Puerto Rican guy from our neighborhood. We are planning to use it on a leaflet following the opening of the store.

Not so very long ago there were these so-called leading members of our society who proclaimed that teenage warfare, better known to the young as jitterbugging and bebopping, was increasing at a most alarming rate.

## We Made the New

by karen gellen  
chapter correspondent

compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA—over 200 people marched through downtown san diego, 1 of 3 major pacific military ports, in support of spock, coffin, raskin, ferber, and goodman, indicted for "conspiracy to aid draft evasion". the march, co-sponsored by SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE SDS, the peace and freedom party, and clergy and laymen concerned about vietnam, in an unprecedented unity of the left, began at the federal courthouse with a litany of identification prepared by the clergy concerned. unharassed by uniformed police, the largely non-student group marched to the draft board and on to the post office, to hear speeches denouncing american imperialism, advocating draft resistance and other new forms of political action, and calling for unity in the face of repression.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—the free university held its second "learn-in" on the campus of AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. the 12-hour session attracted hundreds of students, with a low of 20 at the beginning to a high of 80 and 90 at the late afternoon discussions. the learn-in began with several ministers playing tapes and showing slides on vietnam, taken and narrated by reporter felix greene. will inman, ex-poet-in-residence at AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, who is helping to organize the free university, spoke about "the free university and the free individual". other speakers included frank speltz of the washington free press, who spoke on "youth in revolt", several professors, and a boo-hoo of the neo-american church. this learn-in, which ended with a hug-in, was better attended than the previous one. the free university is planning to hold a learn-in about once every 3 weeks—the next one will be held on february 28th.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA—the labor committee of the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY SDS is doing research, education, and fund-raising to support the copper workers in their bitter 6-month-long strike. sds has been distributing on campus a pamphlet which explains the history of the strike and the living and working conditions of the copper workers, and gives an analysis of the international dealings of the 2 main corporations involved—kennicott and anaconda. the chapter is also fund-raising for the union strike fund, and publicizing the facts on the strike by selling cookies and pamphlets, and by sponsoring movies and dances.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI—a ST. LOUIS AREA SDS conference on draft resistance fighting the repression of the movement and strategies for radical organizing to support the growing resistance movement in missouri was held on the campus of ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY. the conference began with a rally in support of Spock, coffin, etc. and of draft-resistance activity. the rally was addressed by Greg Calvert, Staughton Lynd, and representatives of women's strike for peace and WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY SDS. the conference then broke into workshops on draft resistance and counseling, underground press, guerrilla theater, the sds spring program, and high school organizing.

but has not yet received a notice of classification.

2) In another case the brother of someone who worked on the project came to us. The only thing we could see getting him out on was that he drank a lot and he had been arrested once for drunkenness and his father was an alcoholic. But he didn't want to be called an alcoholic; he was afraid that would hurt his future. So when he was ordered to report for induction they told him to take off his pants and pull his cheeks apart. He said: "I ain't gonna do that. You can't tell me what to do. I'm still a civilian." So he got into a fight with one of the sergeants and the sergeant gave him a black eye. They took him to court and charged him with disorderly conduct and then let him go. At the present time, he has not been called for.

3) We met a junkie who had received an induction order. By encouraging him

Because of this these same people felt that the police, along with any available youth organizations, should take decisive steps in order to suppress that most unpleasant factor. They believed that the youth of this country should be taught to apply their future lives and potentials to what they termed the better aspects of community life, instead of being left to run about blowing each other's heads off just because they didn't belong to some clique.

Social workers, some priests, and God knows how many other organizations were running around telling us, the young, how wrong and immoral it was for us kids to just go about stabbing and shooting people just because we didn't dig them or their ways.

But like, man, somewhere along the way these so-called coolies really messed things up; because as soon as we gave up jitterbugging and bopping they went and put us in a war to do the very same

# Resistance, N.Y. -II

things we were supposed to have been taught not to do.

Uncle Sam has taken us off the street and placed us in the Armed Forces, not for the purpose of teaching us how to go about constructing more peaceful and meaningful lives, but for the purpose of teaching us how to go about killing people—or, for that matter, getting ourselves killed over in Vietnam just because our government doesn't dig the people or their ways.

So like, man, if war isn't your kind of bag, then maybe it's time to start doing something about it.

Hopefully when the store is opened there will not be too much hostility

thinking. One counseling session cannot overcome this. It takes a long time of getting to know people before they begin to understand these contradictions and are ready to act.

And draft counseling, or even political draft counseling, is not in itself organizing. Organizing involves getting people in motion collectively. Draft counseling can be used as an organizing tool, a way of getting to know people so that eventually we can build a radical organization. In talking to people we found that most people understood the oppressive nature of the system. They knew that housing, welfare, police, schools, the Draft were all part of one system that oppresses them. Our

members live in our neighborhood. They didn't expect them to. Unfortunately the board is not located in our neighborhood, so it would be difficult to organize a demonstration against the board. A demonstration against police brutality would be more feasible, since the precinct is located in our neighborhood. However we decided that we should wait until we had a firmer base in the community before staging a demonstration which would encourage harassment and possibly repression by the cops.

Recently a number of students on the project participated in a demonstration in support of George Davis, a combat medic in the Medical Corps of the US Army who had refused orders to go to Vietnam. He had enlisted in June 1967. They had told him he could get training in pharmacology. Once he was in they said "First we'll send you to Vietnam, then we'll train you in pharmacology." At his fort in Texas he talked to a number of peace people, and when he got to the Oakland Army Base for shipment to Vietnam he went AWOL. On December 26th he turned himself in at an M.P. station. We are now working to publicize his case and raise money for his defense.

We have met a number of friends of George Davis who are white working-class guys from Washington Heights. They are interested in standing on street corners telling guys about the George Davis case and ways of getting out of the Draft. We are talking now about expanding the project into that neighborhood.

We have had little trouble getting legal, medical, and financial aid. The National Lawyers Guild, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights have been very co-operative. RESIST gave us a contribution to start our project going and the names of the people in the neighborhood who signed their statement. There are a lot of people in New York who are interested in helping draft resistance, and the community-organizing approach appeals to them.

We spoke to a group of women from Women Strike for Peace. They got so turned on about draft resistance that they decided to open up a draft information center in the neighborhood south of where we are working.

We've begun to talk about organizing around other issues. For most guys the Draft is something they're confronted with only once in their lives. Once someone is in the Army there is little he or his family can do. Police brutality, jobs, housing, schools, welfare, and so forth are issues which people feel all the time.

One of the mothers in the neighborhood is interested in setting up a community nursery school, run by the kids. When people come to us with welfare problems, we send them to Stryckers Bay, a Welfare Rights organization. We talk to people about Columbia University expansion, but have not done any organizing around that issue. Columbia is trying to make Morningside Heights into a white upper-middle-class sanctuary. I have already received a note from Housing and Redevelopment that they are doing a survey of the building I am living in. We have been able to talk to people about Columbia and the War from this point of view. For example they had to tear down apartment buildings in our area to build the School of International Affairs, which does work for the CIA and trains US and foreign government and military personnel. Also Columbia gave Con Edison some land a block away from where we live to build a plant. It is interesting that Grayson Kirk, the president of Columbia, is also on the board of directors of Con Edison, among other things.

We have learned other interesting things about the power structure through our organizing. For example when we sent to the Center for the Study of Democratic

Institutions, asking them for a hundred copies of the Scheer pamphlet on how the US got involved in Vietnam, we got the following response:

"Although we are usually happy to send out pamphlets on consignment to assist various organizations with their programs, the history of payment by student groups has been so poor that we are forced to ask for prior payment from such organizations. Shipment of your order will be made on receipt of \$76.50. We're sorry to be compelled to do this, but we are entirely dependent on contributions from the public for our support and cannot afford to lose the sizeable amounts that we have been doing in unpaid bills."

On looking up the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in William Domhoff's book *Who Rules America?* we found out the following:

"Ford has sponsored other projects which are an important part of American intellectual life. It gave a \$15,000,000 grant to the Fund for the Republic, which in turn set up the liberal-minded Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California. The grant was made during the presidency of millionaire Paul G. Hoffman. Hoffman is best known as the former president and chairman of the Studebaker Company. He is one of the leading "business liberals" in the American upper class and, as shall be seen, the founder of the influential Committee for Economic Development." (Page 66)

As far as the internal functioning of the project, we have had a lot of problems. Some people have emerged as leaders and tend to run the whole show. Others tend to be very quiet. One of the people from the community said: "Well, look: when all your life you've been taught to be passive, it's hard to all of a sudden assert yourself. We have tried to find different roles for different people. Not everybody wanted to be a draft counselor. Some people just tell their friends about us, or organize people to come to see things like the play. Among the draft counselors, each person is taking a specialty, like conscientious objection. One girl in the neighborhood whose husband is in the Army offered to teach one of our organizers Spanish. Another woman is telling her friends about us.

Right now we are not sure how long we plan to stay in this neighborhood. One white community person is talking about moving to a white working-class neighborhood to do organizing. Some of the students are planning to do full-time organizing when they graduate.

One of the most important parts of the project is the changes that we have all been going through. There is a lot of tension on the project because we are mixing together 2 cultures, the student culture and the poor people's culture. We are trying to take from the best of each. We realize that the Government tries to mold people, to make them accept oppressive conditions. We realize that we will have to change people and change ourselves before we will be ready to act. We have to create a community of people who have a revolutionary set of values, can support each other, and can act together when necessary.

Students can start community-based draft-resistance projects in poor or working-class communities if: 1) they are willing to move into a neighborhood and work full-time; 2) they see their commitment to their organizing as coming before their school-work; 3) they are willing to make long-term commitments; 4) they have some sense of their own identity. (We are students; we are against the Draft and the war in Vietnam; we want to work with people in the neighborhood who are also against the Draft and the war in Vietnam.)

## s Today, Oh Boy!

DETROIT, MICHIGAN—local representatives from anti-war, anti-draft groups based in Michigan and northern Ohio met last week for a 2-day conference on the draft at WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY. The organizers of the conference, some of them SDS members, hoped the group would develop a regional strategy and structure for both regional and local action during the SDS spring days of resistance to the war. The workshop on campus action proposed region-wide co-ordination around an anti-draft program directed at all those graduating seniors and grad students soon to be classified 1-A. Between now and April 20th, a mass effort will be made to gather signatures for both a "we won't go" statement and a pledge to return draft cards. From April 20th to April 30th rallies will be held each day, announcing the members signed and recruiting more draft refusers. Finally, plans were discussed for protest actions that could be carried out by the graduating draft resisters during commencement exercises.

EUGENE, OREGON—SDS members at the UNIVERSITY OF OREGON picketed Eugene McCarthy when he spoke there last week—they passed out a leaflet giving McCarthy's "liberal history", and stating that "he offers us nothing but the democratic party's recognition of our dissent!"

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA—20 students, black and white, from FURMAN UNIVERSITY SSOC marched on the federal building to protest the slaughter of 3 students by the national guard and local police at S.C. STATE COLLEGE in Orangeburg. The students demanded that the students at S.C. STATE and CLAFLIN be deputized to protect themselves from the cops and guard, that all officials responsible for the slaughter be prosecuted, and that the federal government stop all of their illegitimate investigations of political organizations and start acting to stop racist terrorism in places such as Orangeburg and Nashville.

ORONO, MAINE—after extensive publicity, administrative warnings, a symposium which attracted about 300 students, faculty members, and local newsmen, and a campus-wide literature distribution, the UNIVERSITY OF MAINE SDS held a demonstration against Dow. The demonstration culminated in a mass visit to the office of the university's president, who told the students, "I'm willing to discuss the issues...but masses of students may not come directly to me, bypassing the proper authorities and their student leaders."

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS—a BOSTON-WIDE SDS campaign is now underway to prevent a planned MBTA bus and subway fare increase. SDS members and other students and faculty members from at least 11 Boston-area schools have been distributing leaflets, talking to riders and drivers, and gathering signatures on a petition. There is a good chance that the campaign can be successful in stopping the fare increase—people will see that SDS, an anti-war group, fought for and won something for the people of Boston. So far over 50,000 printed leaflets have been given out to transit workers, riders, and students on campuses. Over 500 signatures have been received in the mail from concerned riders. Several new people, both students and community people, have written or called SDS, helped distribute leaflets, or joined the campaign more actively. The response from transit workers has been good, with many of them encouraging the leafleters while their bosses try to kick our people out of the stations.

toward us. We have been living here for 5 months now, and a lot of people know us.

We have gotten ahold of the 1-A lists from the draft board. We have not used them to contact strangers. Rather what we do is show the lists to neighborhood guys we know, asking them if they know anyone on the lists. When they find someone we go with them to find out if the person is interested in draft counseling.

One of the reasons why the Draft is a good issue around which to organize is that it is where imperialism affects guys most directly. However draft counseling is not, in itself, anti-imperialist organizing. When for 20 years the mass media, the schools, and so forth have been teaching people one thing about America, and their lives have been teaching them something else, there tend to be a lot of contradictions in people's

biggest problem is a real sense of hopelessness about the possibility for significant changes coming about in this country. As radical organizers, then, our major role was not to explain to people how the system oppresses people, but to offer organizational skills and knowledge of past radical movements in America.

We found people were incredibly brave in fighting the system on a personal level. Several guys we know in this neighborhood have jumped cops. We met a woman whose husband had gone AWOL for 6 months because he wanted to stay home with his family. Our role, then, is to mobilize that personal protest into effective political action.

We have not yet been able to involve community people in demonstrations against draft boards or induction centers. Most people are not very impressed over the fact that none of the draft board

# Consumer Organizing in the Heart of America

—Rich Rothstein

This article is intended as a possible contribution to the revolutionary theory of SDS. As such, it takes a number of assumptions for granted:

First, that a popular American revolution is in the interest of the vast majority of Americans who are exploited economically, emotionally, and socially by the present structure of American capitalism.

Second, that it is possible to expose to this majority the mechanisms by which they are manipulated and exploited in their day-to-day lives; but until these mechanisms are exposed, a popular American revolution is impossible.

Third, that only those organizers who sincerely empathize with the plight of the American majority can be in a position to expose this exploitation; and that such empathy cannot be merely theoretical, but must include an ability to live naturally (not as a "put-on") in ordinary American communities. (This assumption may conflict with a common assumption that radicals must "change their lives"—no true radical can change his life so greatly that he can no longer relate to a mass base.)

And fourth, that the organization of the base for a popular American revolution may take 10, 20, or 30 years; and the organizers of such a revolution must be prepared to swim happily among the American people for that period of time—persistently trying to change the course of the stream, but never so persistently that they get blown permanently out of the water.

I want to suggest that some radicals in SDS should consider, when they are married and in a stable mood, living in the kinds of working-class communities where becoming involved in the organization of consumer protest can be a part of their radical work.

Living in such a community can be a natural experience for radicals whose social origins are middle-class. It does not imply the artificiality in life style that a move into a very poor white or black community involves; and without this artificiality, the role of "organizer" merges comfortably into that of "concerned citizen". The radical will find that, without posturing, he is not so different from his neighbors. A significant mass of Americans live in these so-called "lower-middle-class" communities—usually suburban communities where teachers, factory workers, lower-level civil servants, craftsmen, clerical workers, and family doctors dwell together.

Levittown, Long Island, would be one such community; in the Chicago area, names like Roseland, Gage Park, Maywood, and Schiller Park come to mind, Somerville, Massachusetts, or Anaheim, California are similar. These are not "middle class" communities in the "upper-middle-class" sense which the Movement is used to scorning; neither are they so poverty-stricken that rent strikes or welfare demonstrations are appropriate. These are the communities that feed the junior college systems, that worry about school and property taxes (not out of contempt for education, but out of economic necessity), and that elected Johnson because medicare was a solution to the critical problem of going into debt to pay hospital bills of aged parents. It is here that one sees on every block a gold-star pennant hanging in the window: denoting a son who died in Vietnam, who was drafted because he was not "middle-class" enough to stay in (or go to) a 4-year college, but not poor enough to be rejected on mental, physical, or criminal grounds.

These communities are America; they are neither so poor as to belie her pretensions, nor so rich as to caricature them. And if radicals are those who believe passionately in the democratic and revolutionary potential of the common man, it is here that they must search out him and his potential.

In communities such as these, issues of consumption and distribution are not the only possible organizing issues. Education and the Draft are obvious; traditional peace-education committees would be legitimate. But consumer issues are certainly the focus of the most

consciously felt frustrations and aspirations; and in 1968 are seen as a legitimate area of dissension and protest. No clean-cut, concerned citizen who 'stirs up trouble', screams, and pickets about usury, insurance, or clean meat need fear being branded a cook and rendered ineffective; Ralph Nader, Esther Peterson, former Senator Douglas, and the UAW have seen to that.

The fact that these issues are today a major focus for liberal reformism is not a deterrent to but an opportunity for radicals. For the difference between liberal and radical organizers is not in the issues they choose—"reaching folks where they're at" has long been a slogan for radicals with aspirations to build a broad democratic movement. What distinguishes radicals is their commitment to expose the exploitation and conflicts of interest which such issues raise, rather than to include all parties in a consensus; their commitment to use organization to educate participants in the struggle about more fundamental issues and the roots of presently-felt problems, rather than to define all deeper issues as extraneous to the meeting (and consequently, the buying off) of present demands. The difference between liberal and radical organizers lies not in the substance of the immediately-felt issue; it is the difference between a clean-meat lobby and a supermarket boycott.

Though the above is always true, there are still times when radicals have been legitimately nervous about the identity of reformist and radical issues. One example is the initial stages of the War on Poverty, when some radicals believed that the Great Society had not only the capacity, but also the will, to co-opt with material concessions whatever demands the radically organized constituencies might make. For this reason, SDS community organizers may have been too hasty to impose radical slogans and educational programs on

community unions organized around "nitty-gritty" needs; only such educational preparation, it was implicitly assumed, could prevent co-optation of the movements by Great Society Welfarism.

The present consumers' movement is not analogous, however. For while it was possible, before the Vietnam escalation, to believe that Johnson's economy had the capacity to erase the vast material inequalities and deprivations at the bottom of the income scale, it is not conceivable that the Pandora's box of consumer grievances can ever be closed, once pried open. Monopoly capitalism, as Sweezy and Baran have illustrated, can never concede its irrational manipulation of consumption and distribution—and still remain intact. The incessant creation of useless (new car models) or differentiated (brand-name drugs) goods is an absolutely endemic disease of the American System. Michael Harrington could plausibly urge the Administration to abolish poverty; Ralph Nader doesn't dare demand a rational transportation system—he can only beg for a few safety features.

While particular consumer reforms are possible as a result of consumer organizing, the complete co-optation of such organization is much less likely. A victory on one demand will lead the organizer to the next demand, or level of demands. It will take a creative organizer to connect meat with drugs, with insurance, with safety, and with credit; all the while raising the problems of profit, education, imperialism, and democracy. But this is a much more attractive scenario than the rush to get from rent strikes to Vietnam, lest the reasons for insurgency disappear.

The point here is definitely not that radicals should abandon their teaching, medical, legal, factory, or artistic careers to become single-minded consumer organizers. Just the opposite is the case. The most legitimate radicals

in such communities are those whose work is similar to that of their neighbors—they are genuinely representative of their community. Their radical involvement is avocational—in the PTA or in consumers' unions. (Indeed, the local PTA in such communities will be found to have the same mixture of blue-collar and professional workers described above.)

A "straight" job has other values, too: it is a means of support, a check on instability, and insurance that lack of day-to-day tasks will not pressure the organizer to hurry where speed is not possible.

(The danger today of such a perspective is that the organizer will be lost, submerged by the community and the life style he once vowed to stay astride. This danger will continue, and prevent many of us from undertaking serious long-term work, as long as we are without a radical organizers' union which connects organizers to one another and to their movement. Our hope must be that a work organization for radicals will have been put together by the time most present SDS members are ready to embark on such ventures.)

In the Levittowns of America food is a major budgetary burden and concern, particularly with the rising "cost of living". Co-operative food buying, where a number of families pool their shopping lists and are able to buy wholesale, is a natural solution and new organizational form. When a food-buying co-op is the result of, or results in, a campaign and boycott of the local supermarket, a radical movement has begun.

In addition, it will be possible and necessary to win other victories by picketing and boycotting banks, used car dealers, furniture stores, and finance companies.

The co-operative idea can be applied in a radical way to any number of felt problems. The reformist campaign against high-priced drugs is a natural stimulus for the organization of a democratic co-operative drug store; community people subscribe to the venture and a pharmacist is hired who fills all prescriptions generically.

Medical emergencies invariably destroy the life patterns of working people who normally live comfortably in such neighborhoods. A major illness which is not adequately covered by the factory Blue Cross group plan will plunge a family into indebtedness for a decade. But radical doctors can team up with a block group which, for a reasonable membership fee, can have its own health plan—the doctor is on retainer to the group, and the life-shattering risks are shared.

A recent (December 1967) Supreme Court decision has made the same arrangement permissible for lawyers; and radical attorneys should seize the opportunity. Attorneys can be hired by groups to do whatever legal work any member of the group requires. A radical lawyer retained by a "legal-care" co-operative can use this position to raise consciousness about other issues as they will invariably present themselves—mortgages, sales swindles, installment contracts, garnishments, tax suits.

As simple service institutions, such co-operatives will be easy for any established resident of these communities to organize. The co-ops will provide food, drugs, medical care, and legal aid inexpensively. The task of the radical is to insist that these co-ops sacrifice some (but not all) efficiency to the development of democratic skills and habits; to use these new organizational forms to raise higher issues; to insure that the democracy and mutuality of such organizations suggests a vision of a society which is organized without exploitation; and to urge that the co-operatives always look outward, seeking conflicts with the profit system organized on quite a different basis, and using this conflict as the medium for talking to an ever-larger constituency.

It is this larger constituency, America, which will win our revolution. It is found in those average, "lower-middle-class" communities I have described.

(This article was written originally for the Radicals in the Professions Newsletter.)

## Review

### Reflections on Violence

by Georges Sorel

Collier paperback, 1961, \$1.50

Reviewed by Tom Rose

We live in a world where people and concepts get tossed around like a rubber ball. Sorel helps understand just what violence is, at least for him in 1913 when he last added an appendix to the third edition of *Reflections on Violence*.

Sorel was not concerned with violence hampering economic progress or being a danger to morality, but rather, he saw violence enlightened by the idea of the general strike as the vanguard of the revolution. "It is to violence that Socialism owes those high ethical values by means of which it brings salvation to the modern world." "The strike is a phenomenon of war."

His most significant contribution is the distinction between force and violence—acts of authority and acts of revolt. Too often, he warned, we believe violence and force are one. Because of this ambiguity he argues, "...the term violence should be employed only for acts of revolt; we should say, therefore, that the object of force is to impose a certain social order in which the minority governs, while violence tends to the destruction of that order."

His argument is all the more important because he feels that orthodox Marxists did not make this distinction. Sorel feels they made a grave error in thinking the proletariat must acquire force like the middle class—"the mass of the producers would merely change masters." Not even Marx, according to Sorel, understood this because "...he did not move in circles which had acquired a satisfactory notion of the general strike."

"Whether force manifests itself under the aspect of historical acts of coercion, or of fiscal oppression, or of conquest, or labour legislation, or whether it is wholly bound up with the economic system, it is always a middle-class force labouring with more or less skill to bring about the capitalist order of society."

Proletarian violence for Sorel is the general strike which he compares to Napoleonic battles—both crush the adversary. "Strikes have engendered in the proletariat the noblest, deepest, and most moving sentiments that they possess." For Sorel, the general strike is the crucial element in a Marxist revolution.

Sorel believed that revolutionary syndicalism keeps the minds of the workers alive and ready to strike, but this is only true when strikes are accompanied by violence. The theory and practice of violence for Sorel is giving a sense of "reality and gravity" to Marxism.

For Sorel, Marxism becomes a theory of revolutionary syndicalism or a philosophy of history where the essential factor is violence. He has written *Reflections* not to justify perpetrators of violence, but "...to inquire into the function of violence of the working classes in contemporary Socialism."

He always responded to the immediate, and was deeply disturbed by class war in France, and further, felt that the only way it would disappear was via the revolutionary or direct method. He realized the government would become frightened of proletarian violence, and would force an agreement, but this "...becomes an encouragement to the propagandists of violence."

In order to destroy the government and middle-class, they must be kept in a state of fear. Even a few acts of violence will suffice. Even small violent strikes keep the revolutionary spirit alive, for the role of violence in history is "singularly great." It can awaken the middle-class "to a sense of their own class sentiment."

But Sorel argues that these acts "can only have historical value if they are the clear and brutal expression of the class war; the middle classes must not be allowed to imagine that, aided by cleverness, social science, or high-flown sentiments, they might find a better welcome at the hands of the proletariat." Proletarian violence makes the future revolution certain.

# THREE WEEKS UNDER BRUSH IN SOUTH VIETNAM

by Roger Pic

As the first news photographer admitted to the NLF-controlled zones of South Vietnam, I was able to observe for 3 weeks—from the side of the poor—the dirty war of Southeast Asia on the scarred, burned, bombed, and poisoned land to which, in spite of everything, 2/3 of the population cling.

You have to live among the peasants and guerrilleros, splash through the mud of the flooded country, and burrow under the woods to understand that the US will never break the will of this country.

The Pentagon's electronic computers are ill-fed. Their conclusions have not only led America into a deadlock, but also into the most humiliating situation: it is losing the War. (Stalemate isn't the same as defeat?)

That, at least, is my conviction after spending 3 weeks with people who are surviving the greatest onslaught of ultra-modern warfare.

## Draining the Vietnamese Cut of Vietnam

How can our Western minds understand that a people can go on living even after being forced back to the most primitive conditions and doomed to burrow under ground like cornered animals? Not only do they cling and survive, but they claim to be building their country's future while their fighting forces grow ever stronger.

In these last months they have effectively resisted the US operations. They have taken the initiative more and more, attacking everywhere by surprise and harassing the US bases.

You have to see the extraordinary organization of the whole NLF system with its efficient system of health services to realize that the US has failed to concentrate populations around bases, to drain the Vietnamese out of Vietnam.

## The Golden Camps

Let's examine the situation from the NLF's point of view: without getting overexcited, as is inevitable for the journalist who, having been with the Americans, has become fascinated by the gigantic display of this vulcanesque war machine, by all these gadgets of a superman's war, by these men who cannot see except by radar, nor think except with transistorized brains.

The Americans have settled themselves snugly in golden concentration camps. They may enjoy here the same comforts as "back home", but shut in with their fantastic arsenal of explosives, they are at the mercy of the NLF commandos.

Much has been made of these big bases with their highly perfected defense system. A rat cannot cross the boundary of the protected zone without setting off an entire super-scientific-electronic alarm system. But maybe too many Vietnamese rats throw the radar off the scent of the Vietcong. In any case, a growing number of surprise attacks with mortars, rockets, short guns, or any weapon that can be carried on the human back are destroying the myth of the invulnerable Yankee war machine.

Out of these bases, the Americans are trying the tactics of forcing the people to concentrate in "strategic hamlets" and so-called "pacified zones".

This arbitrary herding is supposed to allow control of the whole population and systematic destruction of the rest of the country: the so-called "Vietcong controlled zones".

This was the famous "theory of the 3 all's": destroy all, burn all, kill all.

Thus were triggered the formidable B-52 bombings, the general defoliation of the forests, the poisoning of the rice-fields with chemicals, the scarring of the countryside with airborne units and tank columns, and such large-scale operations as "Cedar Falls", "Junction City", and "Attleboro".

## The Dead Zones

Whoever pays attention to the communiques from US Headquarters or to the dizzying statistics on the weight of explosives or the price of this war is tempted to believe that America is the strongest. But after my stay in the operation zone

of "Junction City", I must report that it is not so and that the reinhabitation of this thoroughly dead area is the flagrant proof of the irresistible tenacity of the Vietnamese—and of their unbelievable ability to adapt themselves to the cruelest situations, to survive under conditions that could not be endured by any Western people.

For 3 weeks we traveled more than 600 kilometers on foot, with a group of guerrilleros in the province of Tay Ninh, and through the "Plaine des Joncs". We retraveled the rout of operation "Junction City". We came within 4 miles of the US bases at Tran Long and Tour Hai. The 3 of us—Professor Kahn, Doctor Krivine, and myself—made this journey to see the results of the US operations and to investigate on behalf of the International War Crimes Tribunal in order to prepare a report for the next session, which will take place in Copenhagen, Denmark November 20th through December 1st.

## Born into the War

The difference between the peasants and the fighting men is striking. Unquestionably, all young people dedicate themselves to defense and fighting, and they are directed by a strong and remarkably structured organization.

On all levels, the people we talked with seemed to be completely resolute and to hold an absolute faith as to the results of this struggle.

With an exemplary abnegation—a voluntary renunciation of any private life, any personal problem—these young people born into the War, formed and conditioned by and for the resistance, give themselves entirely—and, it seems, joyously—to the patriotic fight. The whole fighting body is solidly armed with equipment perfectly suited to life in the brush.

For these young people, fighting men, the feeling of being led, directed, and organized by a whole secret—but efficient—structure gives them a sureness and confidence that seemed to me spontaneous.

The regular army depends on the NLF organization. The guerrilleros are given half-salary by the Front, and must provide the rest for themselves.

## To Survive at All Costs

The peasants, on the other hand, terribly affected by the bulldozing operations, show more signs of suffering and misery. No family is spared from loss; most of them are dislocated; and those who remain have been jailed, tortured, or deported one or many times into strategic hamlets from which they have escaped.

An irresistible will to cling to their land, to build and rebuild their huts, to live in a state of frightful poverty and misery, seems stronger than the idea of letting themselves be herded into the so-called "pacification zones", where, perhaps, they will not be bombed but will suffer just as much.

All the peasants we met described the daily tragedy of their lives with a fatalistic resignation. All remained dignified, showing a ferocious hatred for the Americans. All insisted that they preferred freedom under the hardest conditions imaginable to being uprooted and herded into camps.

## A Hen is Enough to Trigger the Apocalypse

With the regular poisoning of the large rice-fields with chemicals sprayed from airplanes, the peasants are forced to cultivate small patches of ground on the edges of the woods so that they can hide from the L-19s.

In general, such farm-work as thinning and harvesting is done at night. The raising of pigs and chickens must be supervised constantly because it takes only one hen running out of the woods to set off the artillery.

The bombers warned by L-19 planes come minutes later with their apocalypse of rockets, pellet-bombs, and napalm.

## Hide and Seek

Traveling through the forest of Eastern Nambo, I realized just how rash and insane were such spectacular operations as "Iron Triangle" and "Junction City".

How could the US command make such a poor evaluation, and send their best troops into this jungle of NLF soldiers? In this province of Tay Ninh, General Westmoreland sent more than 45,000 troops into action. The plan was, after "softening up" the area with intensive bombings, to criss-cross the forest with multiple columns of tanks sustained by a constant rotation of helicopters.

It was easy for the Front to hide in the gaps between tank columns. The jungle is so dense that 60 yards from an M-113, an isolated, invisible group of guerrilleros can lay an ambush. It is easy for them to determine their distance from the tank column and to place their mines. If the first tank blows up, it is easy, in spite of the helicopters, to fire on the other tanks whose path is blocked. Extremely effective anti-tank rockets have wreaked havoc. No armor can hold up against these small rockets which can give out 3500 degrees of heat. These weapons are as easy to handle as a sporting rifle!

According to the NLF's figures, more than 10% of the US troops engaged in this operation were put out of action, and 1 out of 2 tanks was destroyed.

In Saigon, the results of "Junction City" were called "deceptive", without any other explanation.

## War School with Scrap

In the brush the hulks of some wrecked tanks are the scene of the guerrilleros' school. Twice as we walked through the forest we met groups of young fighters who were listening attentively to a lecture on ballistics. They were learning the fine points of attacking an M-113 or an M-118. As if preparing his pupils for an elephant hunt, the professor showed the vulnerable spots of these enormous metal carcasses.

Using the side of one of these tanks for a blackboard, the instructor showed the best angle for aiming the rifle and what parts of the iron monster are easiest to shutter.

It was surprising to me that every destroyed tank I saw was completely dismantled. The anti-tank rockets completely destroy these monstrous machines. The sides are blown open, and, like enormous tin cans, the US tanks are no more than twisted, rusty scraps of iron.

## The Flying Spies

Only once during the 3 weeks of our journey through the NLF-controlled zones did we feel that we were in danger. Even while coming very close to US bases I always felt that since our column advanced according to strict rules of caution, we were running only the smallest calculated risks. When once, however, we were forced to travel a mile and a half in open terrain before hiding again in the forest, we were surprised suddenly by the sound of an L-19, with no time to run into the protective trees. The orders were strict: Hide as best you can, and above all don't move. There were about 40 of us in the column. Instantly I was pulled down into a clump of rushes. There we were—6 of us—sitting in the water. The others hid as best they could, covering themselves with camouflage cloth (pieces of US parachutes recovered after commando operations). We felt very exposed.

The flying spy began to fly in circles over us. It must have found something suspicious on the ground, because after it had circled 7 times directly overhead we heard the whistling of a shell which exploded to our left.

Warned by the L-19, the US bases began firing on us. We were at least 4 miles from the US camps, and the flying spy radioed the base to correct their aim. The next time, the explosion came to the right.

The leader of our group gave strict

orders not to move and forbade the use of cameras, the lens of a camera being clearly visible. The next time the shell whistled louder but exploded in front of the group.

Our leader then gave the order to fire on the plane the next time around. That meant showing ourselves, but the guerrilleros were well-enough armed to shoot down the L-19. That also meant setting off a violent counter-attack with F-105s, intensive bombing, and perhaps parachutists.

The unit leader had the caution to wait for one more pass. The plane flew overhead, but this time there were no more shells from the US base. The flying spy had only thought it saw something. Our immobility saved us, and there was no 12th time around. The plane withdrew.

Only 3 shells—that was cheap for 40 men. Often, for 1 peasant, 6 bombers and 10 tons of bombs and shells are the average....

We marched toward the forest, and I really understood then what an effective shield the jungle provides for the Front. It is incredible how you feel protected by the trees; how, that day, in spite of the water, the bloodsuckers, and the blistered feet, I felt fine in my hammock beside an underground shelter.

## No U.S. Military Solution

During these 3 weeks with a group of guerrilleros, I had the constant feeling that we were amusing ourselves frustrating the US Air Force.

In our encampments with underground kitchens, shelters, infirmary, and dining room, I always felt perfectly safe. The patrolling planes seemed blind, and you quickly got used to the sound of the bombers.

It is the immensity of the forest that gives this feeling of security.

How can these supersonic planes pick up the signs of this life of woodsmen?

Quite objectively, I must say in conclusion that I have no belief in a military solution for the US, and that the solution is in the hands of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

# SOREL...

CONT'D FROM P. 6

I hope that I assume correctly that LBJ's high-flown sentiments and the jargon of social science will not deter us. I need not point out the lessons we can learn today from Sorel, but will, rather, conclude with a few ideas about his thought.

Sorel elaborates and accentuates dramatic social change. His objections to consensus and eternal progress are fantastic; he advocates open aggressiveness and an ethic of crisis. Focus on the total problem of human conflict has led him to an ideology of revolutionary violence. G.D.H. Cole points out that this is essentially "...a refusal to compromise and a determination to act that was made stronger by opposition." This is why Sorel liked the general strike which he viewed as an insurrectionary act in defiance of all authority.

Edward Shils writes in the introduction to the Collier edition that Sorel along with Pareto and Michels saw the impossibility of large-scale political democracy. For them legitimate authority did not exist. Perhaps this explains why Sorel was excited with the tactics of anarchists.

In retrospect, it is important to remember that Mussolini said, "I owe most to Georges Sorel. This master of syndicalism by his rough theories of the revolutionary tactics has contributed most to form the discipline, energy, and power of the fascist cohorts." It isn't surprising that the Nazis were also interested in Sorel.

(Editor's Note: Tom Rose is a graduate student in political science at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee (53211), and is doing research on violence with the idea of writing a dissertation on the theory and practice of violence in America. He would appreciate your critical comments on this review, and ideas generally.)

# we read the news today, oh boy

a review of recent publications of interest

by Carl Davidson

1) THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (February 14th, 1968): It seems that America's business and civic leaders (the ruling class) are becoming more concerned about our campus activities. This issue contains a lengthy, somewhat analytic front-page article entitled "Campus Militants' Drive for Policy Voice Stirs Turmoil at Universities". An interesting aspect of the report is its description of the differences between NSA and SDS. After detailing our attempts to link on-campus issues with off-campus questions, they comment on how: "More moderate groups like NSA seek to separate the drive for student power from agitation on the Vietnam war, civil rights, and other public issues." What does NSA think? President Ed Schwartz is quoted as saying: "If people put the whole thing into one big bag, the students—and the colleges—have had it." Mr. Schwartz's concern for the preservation of our knowledge factories should be kept for reference and used whenever NSA tries moving in on our turf.

2) VIET-REPORT (January, 1968, 133 West 72nd Street, New York 10023; subscriptions \$4 per year, 50¢ each, 15¢ each for 50 or more), THE MID-PENINSULA OBSERVER (February 5, 1968, 180 University, Palo Alto, California 94301; subscriptions \$1.50 for 12 issues), and THE MICHIGAN DAILY (February 8th and February 9th, 1968, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor): The current special issue of VIET-REPORT, long in the making, is absolutely essential material for every SDS activist. Chapters should order it in bulk. Entitled "The University at War", the edition includes several articles and directories offering a wealth of solid analysis and intelligence on university participation in military and paramilitary operations.

In the lead editorial, Carol Brightman introduces what she aptly calls "...44 pages of reconnaissance behind government lines on the American campus (covering)... the application of science and technology to the development of increasingly more sophisticated systems of social coercion and human destruction."

In his article "The Public Interest University", Ed Greer provides a brief but substantial analytic perspective accurately placing the university in an integral relationship with corporate capitalism, and not in the position of some neutral bastion suffering a temporary corruption of values.

Cathy McAfee describes, in detail, a recent SDS target for inter-campus opposition in "IDA: The Academic Conscripts". The Institute for Defense Analysis, a 12-university-Pentagon consortium, has become increasingly significant to the black movement since the recent revelations concerning IDA's development of urban counter-insurgency (COIN) techniques directed at American cities.

Mike Klare's article "Universities in Vietnam" and Richard Du Boff's "US Policy: The Third World" document and describe the actual practice and rationale behind the involvement of many ordinary universities in "...assigning whole departments to COIN missions which included overseas cover for CIA operations and illegal weapons entry, and on-campus crash training programs for US government-picked foreign elites....(Klare)". These programs, and a wide range of others, are revealed more particularly in 2 additional case studies: "The Stanford Complex", by David Ransom, and "The Michigan Complex", by Roger Rapoport. Also, Beverly Leman in "MACE: Weapon for the Homefront" provides information on the development and dangers of the chemical which can be used in protesting its recent use by police.

Campus organizers who plan waging university complicity struggles, but lack the concrete information necessary, should make good use of the 4 directories the issue makes available: "CBW (Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare) Research Directory" and "US International Research Apparatus" are the most extensive, although the listings in "Project Themis Research Centers, 1967" and "Department of Defense University Contracts" are helpful as well.

The most potentially important paper included is Mike Locker's "Campus Reconnaissance". This article outlines, step by step, the methods individuals should follow in uncovering relevant information on their own universities, as well as listing bibliographical sources from which the information is likely to be obtained.

Intelligence (that is, information used as a weapon in political struggles) of this level must play an integral role in our political work. Used properly, it can contribute significantly to our movement's growth. THE MID-PENINSULA OBSERVER, a local radical paper based in Palo Alto, demonstrates the propaganda usage of intelligence in a recent lead article entitled "Stanford's Warriors Invade Thailand". By the use of data and techniques similar to, if not the same as, those in VIET-REPORT, the Stanford Research Institute is exposed for "...providing the Thai military government and the Pentagon with data (and technique) sufficient to repress dissidence before—and after—it becomes armed revolt." 2 additional articles reveal the SRI's connections with Stanford University and US corporate investment in Thailand. At the University of Michigan, THE MICHIGAN DAILY has been doing related exposes for some time. Their most recent work was the exposure of the U of M's Institute for Social Research contacts with the CIA. The ISR had provided intelligence for the CIA concerning the foreign trips of ISR staff members, foreign visitors to the ISR, and former ISR staff members. While deobfuscating tactics of this sort do not directly result in the collapse of our enemy's power (far from it!), they are essential to the delegitimizing of its authority in the eyes of our constituents. Only then can the work of mass opposition and resistance begin.

3) SNCC NEWSLETTER (September-October, 1967, 360 Nelson Street Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia 30313; subscriptions \$2 per year): While this issue is generally dated, 1 article, "A Profile in Treachery", remains relevant. When several SNCC staff members were touring Africa, they obtained a copy of TOPIC, a publication of the US Information Agency (USIA) for distribution in Africa. The text and photos from 2 TOPIC articles, reprinted in the SNCC NEWSLETTER, reveal the insidious and false use of intelligence material by the US government. The articles and photos supposedly describe to black Africans the work of white and black American students, particularly Bob Moses of SNCC, in fighting racism and poverty here at home. In addition to misleading statistics on domestic poverty, the USIA informs its readers on the 1964 Mississippi Project, claiming: "As the summer ended, Moses and other leaders demanded—and won—the right to represent Mississippi's unfranchised Negroes at the national convention of the Democratic Party." Very interesting. Someone should inform the MFDP, so they won't continue wasting their energy fighting this year for something they must have won 3 1/2 years ago. Someone should inform the USIA (CIA, and others) that propaganda must be true to be effective. On the other hand, the truth makes us free, a value noted for its low priority in the machinations of the repressive tolerance characterizing American society.

## Campus Draft Organizing: DEFERMENT INFO

- 1) Student or non-student, there is no way for a guy between 19 and 26 to avoid the all-embracing channeling and manipulating effect of the Draft.
- 2) Persons most vulnerable to the Draft are high school graduates who do not want to or cannot attend college; college drop-outs; college students who have fallen behind in their studies; and college graduates.
- 3) Under current law, no first-year graduate student will be given a deferment except for students of medicine, dentistry, and allied fields subject to the doctor's draft (eligible for induction up to age 35) and students in fields "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest as identified by the Director of Selective Service upon the advice of the National Security Council". (Sec. 1622.25)
- 4) The National Security Council has yet to make available a list of fields. It is expected, however, that graduate students in the natural sciences, math, and engineering will be exempt. And all others, about 90% of college grads, will not be exempt.
- 5) Although it was the clear intent of Congress to subject almost all college graduates to the Draft, delay in releasing the lists suggests that the Government is afraid of the repercussions of trying to draft a formerly privileged group. It is also apparent that the Government is being subjected right now to pressure from graduate schools which do not want to lose their potential teaching assistants, researchers, and the federal grants which often accompany graduate students.
- 6) Both the Army and graduate schools are pressing President Johnson to take more 19-year-olds instead of college graduates. The Army prefers younger men because they are "easier to handle, less resentful, and not as afflicted by personal commitments back home as college-trained inductees". (Chicago Sun-Times, February 1, 1968)
- 7) It seems likely that if the intent to draft graduate students is eliminated or modified, it will be 19-year-olds who suffer the most.
- 8) It is currently required that all eligible men 19 through 25 be called into service the oldest first. The June 1967 law, however, empowers the Secretary of Defense to call up men born in a specified calendar year. This gives him the power to order that 19-year-olds, for instance, be drafted first. If this were done, all men who have held II-S deferments since June 1967 would be included among
- 9) Students enrolled in two-year institutes qualify for either II-S deferments (if they are taking credits towards a BA or BS), or II-A deferments (occupational deferment, given to all vocational students).

## VIET-VET NEWSPAPER

VIETNAM GI, a new anti-war newspaper for GIs being put out by Vietnam veterans, is looking for distribution and information contacts—both civilian and military—in the US and Vietnam.

First, we need persons who are willing to receive and distribute bulk mailings of the paper on and around military bases, in specific units, and at major GI transportation centers (such as bus stations and airports) in large cities.

Second, we need contributors—civilian, veteran, and military—who will send us information, stories, articles, letters,

and so forth (one time, sometimes, or continuously) about former experiences in Vietnam, and current experiences and information from both Vietnam and US military bases. Although some sort of identification is preferred, anonymous information and articles will be accepted. VIETNAM GI is currently being distributed free to servicemen and Viet veterans.

Address all correspondence to:  
VIETNAM GI COMMITTEE  
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### RESOLUTIONS FOR SPRING N.C.

CHAPTERS SHOULD BEGIN TO COMPILE PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS FOR THE N.C. THIS SPRING.

WORK ON THEM — WRITE THEM UP

SEND THEM TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE SO THEY CAN BE PUBLISHED IN NEW LEFT NOTES.

### STATEWIDE SDS CONFERENCE AT OKLAHOMA UNIVERSITY

This conference will take place Friday through Sunday, February 23rd through February 25th. The agenda will include the following topics:

- The University Power Structure
- The Draft
- Who Runs Oklahoma
- The Southern Caucus
- Black Power
- The Spring Program
- Building a Radical Base in Oklahoma

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