



— photo by Douglas M. Pallagi / Daily Kent Stater

Kent State activists fight Oakland police recruiting

(Editor's note: The following article is an analysis of a confrontation at Kent State University by Kent State SDS and the Black United Students over racist police recruiting on campus, police infiltration of campus organizations, and armed police on campus.)

by Mark Real
Kent State SDS

Kent State University, in Northeast Ohio, has the country's largest school of education. Self-defined as "apathetic" and "conservative" and characterized by the careerism of a teacher's school, Kent was a natural recruiting area for the Oakland, California police.

Natural enough until 300 persons staged Kent's first significant sit-in/blockade in the area surrounding the Placement Bureau, 700 students crowded into the Administration Building in support of amnesty, and

1400 signed amnesty petitions.

At week's end it was clear that a new dimension of possible action existed for people. The sit-in, followed by the drive for amnesty, was an important first victory, giving Kent radicals a sense of their own potential and creating visibility, respect, and a larger base.

The action was confrontive education largely because of the latent guilt/sympathy and confusion generated by the presence of the black students. Shocking in its directness to a campus "not yet ready". The confrontation achieved only partial success in addressing the real issues of university complicity with racism and the political role of the campus police. Because of the amnesty focus, Black United Students' walkout, and emergence of several small, white vigilante groups, the original demands were frequently submerged or forgotten.

However, the joint confrontation by BUS/SDS raised central questions concerning the black and white movements in America and the difficulties and advantages of alliances at this time.

SDS is new at Kent, existing only since August. Involved in base-building since the beginning of school (post-Chicago), educational work was seen as central to building the white movement during the Oakland visit. "Huey: A Black Panther Documentary" was shown in several classes and dormitories and two thousand copies of the SDS newspaper were distributed the night before Wednesday's action. Generally, though, education was late, leaflets were a failure, poorly written and inadequately distributed. As with the teach-ins, part of the problem was rooted in SDS lack of confidence of ability to articulate our own politics.

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Students for a Democratic Society

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

December 11, 1968

SDS

NEW LEFT NOTES

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NEW LEFT NOTES
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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

VIETNAM GI

Many of us here in Vietnam are interested in the events that are now taking place in the U.S. We feel cheated at being here and not being able to take part in the coming revolution.

Please inform us as to the possibility of soldiers joining the SDS. You have more supporters in the armed forces than you'll ever know.

We would appreciate any information you could send us.

4TH CAMP?

In the Nov. 11 issue (Ann Arbor SDS Splits) reference is made to "third camp socialists" who attempt to ingratiate themselves to the anti-communists by condemning the existing socialist states as strongly as they do capitalism.

It would seem that if we do indeed seek a new world, we must in fact become a "4th camp" of humanist-socialists who will condemn the "socialist" states as strongly as the capitalist ones—if only by implication. Below I have listed what I consider to be some of our salient criticisms of US society:

1. Creation is curtailed or carefully "managed" by an oppressive bureaucratic structure.
2. War is favored as a means of settling international disputes.
3. The people are to a large degree powerless and alienated.
4. The military plays a large part in decisions of foreign and even domestic policy.
5. The state forces its imperial will on other nations.

Cuba an Exception

If we accept the above as being substantially correct, as I do, we must also admit that they are at least as true in regard to the existing "socialist" states. It is of dubious rationality to believe that regimes which find it necessary to murder those who attempt to leave the country without permission have in the main anything better than our own system to offer. Furthermore, anyone who cares to travel in the "socialist" countries today will find the people to be at least as oppressed, repressed, and alienated as ours—with the possible exception of Cuba, which has killed off or shipped out those who object to having to adhere to the gospel; in this respect Castro has been wiser than other "socialist" leaders, who have usually permitted deviates and other annoying types to remain, then tried to kill them all when they became excessively annoying. And while it has become distinctly unfashionable to say so, it is clear that many of these are essentially "human" problems that mere change of system will not necessarily solve—not to say that a change will not help.

The essential problem, to get to the point, is that we are all caught in the

truly monstrous struggle of two great power blocs, neither of which has demonstrated any overriding concern for humanity at large, and neither of which deserves our allegiance if indeed we are interested in freedom. "Marxism", like "free enterprise", has become merely a political tool for the extension of national interests. An examination of history shows, for example, that Russia desires much the same things now that she did under the Tsars—access to the Mediterranean, etc., but these desires are forwarded under the cloak of an "internationalist" dogma.

Disgust with our system is one thing. The desire to destroy it and substitute another is one thing. But to accept totalitarianism is quite another.

Red-Baiting

P.S. The issue of liberalism vs. communism appears to have been distorted in several ways. For example, we can justly complain when our regime uses the presence of a few communist guerrillas as an excuse to intervene in a country. This is a species of red-baiting. Is it red-baiting, however, to oppose a Communist-controlled movement with admitted allegiance to Moscow or Peking? While I can oppose our war against Ho Chi Minh partly on the grounds that he is not a puppet of Moscow or Peking, I can oppose Maoist guerrillas in Cambodia and Moscow-aligned guerrillas in Latin America (as well as US intervention in those areas). It is clear that Moscow is interested in supporting that which is anti-US, not that which is pro-humanity. Thus, the Kremlin could support fascist dictator Peron in Argentina and Mossadegh in Iran. If we are truly revolutionary and not the pawns of somebody or other we must stand for the Third World's choosing of its own alliances, without the pressure of US, Chinese, or Soviet imperialism.

David Kaplitz

ON BROTHERHOOD

The SDS split at the University of Michigan and the prospect of other splits came as no real surprise. Since the New Left consists of X-number of personally liberated zones, the failure of organization and coherence is a built-in feature of the movement. What does bother me, though, is the animosity involved in the split. It is this same animosity that leads, finally, to destruction.

We seem to have a difficult time realizing that "education" and "confrontation" are the same thing—spread over a different time perspective. But if we look within that time perspective, even there the two are complementary.

Let's face it: the left today is based upon two fundamental assumptions about people. The first assumption is what makes radicals/revolutionaries on both the right and left. That assumption

is that the present social context is all wrong. It comes from having been forced outside the context and then finding that that is the best place to be. The second assumption is what separates the radical/revolutionary of the left from the one on the right. The r/r of the left assumes that man is capable of being something a lot better than he is or has been. This is true whether it be in a purely economic or political sphere or whether it be a matter of intrinsically-held spiritual or ethical belief. To believe in a classless society of selfless men is, after all, vain in the light of experience.

It is this second assumption which has given the movement its coherence, thus far. Within certain tension levels, draft resistance, grass-root organizing, rent strikes, etc., have all gone forward together. The style of different groups has been quite diverse.

It seems to me that the big question for the "movement" now is whether, with the loss of the immediate focus (the war) the movement will continue to gain momentum. Thus the loss of a major issue can be more critical than the sustaining of it. (Some will argue, I know, that the war focus is not lost. I concede that it is not lost within the movement, but it is already lost outside the movement.)

The problem at Ann Arbor is that brothers have lost brotherhood—and that is a critical loss for people who work from both radical/revolutionary assumptions. The lip service to unity at the end of the article is rather ill-designed to cover the contempt felt.

Thus the need for both confrontation and education exists simultaneously, whatever the time perspective. And it is true that we haven't any more time than brothers to spare.

Ray Rohrbaugh

100 years of struggle



The Cuban poster documenting 100 years of struggle includes Cespedes, leader of the 1st armed struggle against Spain in 1868; Marti, Maceo, and Gomez, fighters in the fight for independence in 1896; and Camilo and Che.

Actions during a week of agitation and education might include demonstrations at the sugar exchange, guided "tours" of Latin American Institutes on campuses, United Fruit, and counter-insurgency research centers. These actions make sense as part of a general campaign which poses the questions of Cuba, communist society, US imperialism in Latin America, the US blockade of Cuba, and US military occupation of Guantanamo.

The NO is producing pamphlets on the history of the Cuban revolution, US and Cuban political and economic relationships, Che's article "Man and Socialism", and articles on Cuba today (ending a money economy, the abolition of material incentives, fighting bureaucracy, etc.). Cuban films on the literacy campaign, the Olympic games, Che, Hanoi, Colombian guerrilla fighters and women are being duplicated and will be available to chapters.

For many areas, the first week of January is bad for planning any activity. The films, speakers and pamphlets can be used later in the month. Contact the NO. Films and literature will be at the NC in Ann Arbor.

New Left Notes

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photo: nacio jan brown

WAR-STATE

(reprinted from the San Francisco Express Times)

by Todd Gitlin

War is still the extension of politics by other means. The war at S.F. State, the war that cannot be walled off from the rest of the city by the mountain that separates the physical school from its community--that war of blackbrownyellowwhite against blue, of free and desperate men against the structures that plot noisily and silently to mediate us into submission, that war of inside agitators against outside powers--that war has broken out on new battlefields, because the politics of self-determination, which are the quintessence of the black and Third World demands, admits of no honorable compromise.

The concentration camp is the extension of authoritarian society by other means. Inevitably, many inmates grow accustomed to their helmeted guards. The Nazis could well have used competitive grades, reminders of a nonexistent future, to soothe the inmates. But inside the camp there is revolt. We have seen the future, S.F. State as a test of the not so new, but fiercer law and order, nationwide and it doesn't work.

A run-down of the last week on campus:

TUESDAY: In the morning, quiet picket lines outside three classroom buildings. At 9:00, a Tac Squad phalanx attacked one line of 20 students chanting "on strike, shut it down." The pretext, had the Tac Squad been in the habit of announcing one, would have been that one girl was carrying--not using--a bullhorn. The clubbing was vicious: how am I to invent new ways of describing it? Cops chased some of the picketers into the Commons cafeteria, beating some students who wanted nothing more menacing than a cup of coffee. The fish had found some water, but the picketing had to stop. Eight busted.

At noon the BSU rally began, center campus. Two thousand strikers moved to the BSS classroom building, chanting. Police squads attacked from four directions. Scatter: regroup. A few students (?) threw rocks, a very few made clubs torn from dismantled commons furniture. The rest of the furniture made a giant barricade that only got in our

way. Blue-armed jocks cleared it away and picked a few fistfights, to the applause of the cops. Cops charged, sometimes singling out someone previously over-photographed. (Secret police--for that is what they are, in turtlenecks, long hair, blackjacks sticking out their back pockets--have taken so much footage, it had been rumored that the counterrevolution is being sponsored by Eastman Kodak. Watch for ABC cameras.)

The battle went on about three hours. Many insurgents were hurt--bad, some were maced and clubbed as they were hauled in blue-armed-flying paddy wagons. Drs. Larry Rose and Richard Fine of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, in white coats, were beaten while trying to reach victims. Forty-three were busted, many on felony charges, the most serious of which was "attempted murder" for breaking the collarbone of a cop.

WEDNESDAY: Picket lines were cancelled; too dangerous. The noon rally (illegal according to the President's illegal emergency proclamation) was too substantial to break up. The Black Student Union had invited "black community leaders" to share the platform, and they turned out with a unanimity not seen since the days of the Selma march. They publicly endorsed the strike and counted it their own: State Assemblyman Willie Brown; Berkeley City Councilman Ron Dellums; the Western representative of the NAACP; Percy Steele of the Urban League; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor of the black Sun-Reporter. Goodlett, no Black Panther, laid it down hardest: "We are ready to die"; if necessary we will exercise "our constitutional right to bear arms."

The rally of several thousand marched around the campus, chanting the call to strike. There was no violence, though blue-armed jocks (led by secret police) in front of the gym tried to provoke fights. They failed.

THURSDAY: In the morning, Hayakawa met with the black patriarchs. He treated them like children; they insisted he address himself to the demands; he stormed out. They moved onto the campus, this time joined by Supervisor Terry Francois, a man not known for his militancy.

The noon rally was led by BSU's Jerry Varnado into the Administration Building chanting, "We want the puppet!" The first inside were Maced; Tac Squad cops drew guns; retreat. Some windows broken in BSS. Six hundred police (from S.F., the badgeless Highway Patrol, and innumerable suburbs) divided the campus in quarters. Goodlett, Dellums (fist raised), and others were arrested in one corner of the sodden quad; many clubs bashed many strikers. Screaming; confusion; self-defense hard against a force so huge, and on a street-car campus, over twenty arrests. Much anger at the decision to move into the Ad. Building; Jerry Varnado not in evidence the next day.

FRIDAY, December 6, exactly one year after a tiny movement occupied the Ad. Building in a brief spasm of glory, demanding black admissions and the abolition of ROTC:

Hayakawa took to his new rooftop loud-speaker (the man dares not leave his office) to read a proclamation of deceit; an endorsement of half-baked concessions first floated by the clubby, baronial Academic Senate. Acumb here, a crumb there, and not too many at that, but no acknowledgement of the principle of educational self-determination. The BSU and TWLF won't accept equality for a Department of Black Studies as twisted and lame as the white departments. White students gathered below yelled, "Bullshit!" "There has had to be an escalation on this campus," said Hayakawa. "You're goddamn right, it's a fucken revolution!" yelled a student. The strike minstrel simulated a series of bars.

BSU, TWLF, black and other patriarchs

wasted no time in responding. They marched on, and at noon speaker after speaker denounced Hayakawa's public relations move. Juan Martinez and others pointed through the transparency of Hayakawa's attempt to divide the blacks from the TWLF by ignoring the latter's demands. Then three circuits around the campus, 4000 marchers strong, including some black high school kids. Then an old-fashioned picket at City Hall, where somebody seems to have tried to blow up a police car.

CBS national news covered the Friday march fairly, but Walter Cronkite was sad: "A few hundred students! On a campus of 18,000." The deception/self-deception--a few ringleaders manipulate a minority--fled in the face of photography. Sunday night, Hayakawa pinned the blame on outside agitators--from France, even--and on dope. If this is what passes for intelligence reports, the Mayor had better investigate his investigators.

Over the weekend there were two rallies at City Hall, much leafleting of San Francisco neighborhoods, speeches at union meetings, etc. Support is everywhere, inchoate, but a lesson to those whose worldview one long month ago ended at 19th Avenue. In the Mission, deep discussion among chicanos. The BSU has held rallies at the old Fillmore.

MONDAY: The rain kept many people home: the lawn is sopping enough when the sun is shining. When the noon rally began, no cops were in evidence. March around the campus, the line spreading almost the whole circle, then up to BSS. A garbage can smashed the glass door, then some rocks, many students screaming, "No!" The Tac Squad took a while getting there, long enough for everyone to move back to the Speaker's Platform. Then the call to leave, the (black) march leader asking people to leave their marks on the buildings as they passed. Rocks through windows. March up Holloway, pursued by unbreaking squads of maybe a hundred police. Sixteen Park Police on horseback, whose orders are that in a pinch every man is on his own, moved after them; some students leaped into front yards, where property values must be falling precipitously. The horses are not trained to follow. There was a face-off for a while, as some cops invaded Ecumenical House, poked around, took pictures. Outside, they searched a medic's bag for rocks (and found none). A fellow named David Brooks was arrested; I think he was the only one. The cops must have been under very strict orders, lest they nettle the Central Labor Council also meeting that day to consider strike sanction.

Classes were still meeting, attendance hard to measure. Was there occupational therapy at Auschwitz? Human beings are tough, can learn to endure anything. Departmental strike meetings drew uneven crowds, and many students are panicking at the thought of impending grades.

The usual hundred agitators, though, must be very busy; the Intedepartmental Organizing Committee has gathered--in a few days--5600 student signatures pledging strike if and when the AFT goes out. They are also crystallizing sentiment to turn the white strike into a self-generating movement for new curriculum and participating decisions. Beside the 15 demands; black and TWLF leaders are the first to proclaim that self-determination is not won by the swishings of a white tail on a Black Panther. The crap that nonwhites will no longer stomach--is this education for whites?

Vice-President for Business Glenn Smith's office in the Ad. Building went up in smoke Sunday evening. No one will say arson, but it is certain that patience and irony, those two revolutionary virtues, are wearing thin. Roger Alvarado of TWLF was busted Sunday on an outstanding inciting-to-riot warrant, and there are probably other warrants out. Planning meetings are hard to hold, with a city full of cops (where--remember--they will return if ordered off campus). Leaders change apartments as often as they change clothes.

If the Trustees do not SOON break, something will blow; the sky has never looked more like a literal limit.

In Vol. II, No. 6 of

RADICAL AMERICA an SDS journal of american radicalism,

marxist theory and the arts

CULTURE AND RADICALISM: The Marcuse-Adorno analysis and the struggle for a new understanding of AmericaDavid Gross: *Toward a Radical Theory of Culture*Jeremy J. Shapiro (English trans. of Marcuse's *Negations*):*Notes on a Radical Theory of Culture*

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NYU presents exciting double feature

Wednesday, Dec. 4 was a heavy night at NYU. At Loeb Student Center, the young Nixonites had invited a Saigon lackey to speak on "Negotiations or Surrender?". James Reston of the Times was speaking on the Paris peace talks, Teachers for a Democratic Society was debating a speaker on the teachers strike and community control, and Rhody McCoy was speaking across the campus under the sponsorship of black students.

The Saigon puppet had hardly begun his performance to a house of 20 when one hundred and fifty people came barging through the door chanting "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, NLF is going to win." The puppet flag, a pretty thing appropriately done in imperial purple and gold, came down, the NLF flag went up, a swastika appeared for the

ambassador; the hardy soul never stopped smiling until he was doused with his own drinking water. At that point, the staff of the student center led him out.

No one was touched by any of the assorted cops around, and the whole thing moved on to the Reston speech. A fire door was battered down and demonstrators streamed in chanting "Bourgeois press eats shit." Reston offered half the time; the demonstrators asked for half the New York Times. Reston left in a huff, and the liberal audience, insulted, astounded and enraged, broke up and left. The whole thing was a groove, but it happened practically in a vacuum. It is important for our politics that the Times be attacked as well as the war criminal, but the campus was hit hard by the combination. Two students were

immediately suspended and the administration has claimed that it will press charges against non-students. The campus newspapers have refused to co-operate with the administration in identifying people, and there is a growing sentiment that the administrative disciplinary process is completely unjust (no due process, no open hearings, not even a statement of charges to the suspended student.)

But campus opinion has been traumatized as well. Both newspapers called the action "fascistic" and relatively few people signed petitions calling for open hearings. Since the campus had not been prepared for the action (mostly the Reston disruption) with educational material, the chapter must now do a job of exposing the "free speech" issue and explaining the politics behind such an action.

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Ohio: "Y

by Terry Robbins
Ohio Regional SDS

The Ohio region, meeting at its first regional conference, has endorsed and

Kent State actions analyzed

(continued from Page 1)

BUS at Kent is a good example of collegiate cultural nationalism. Hobbled by a lack of political perspective, BUS was nonetheless willing to initiate joint action. The alliance was tentative, fraught with distance, suspicion, and a lack of clearly defined mutual goals. As the week continued, communication became less frequent, each (spurred on by self-appointed faculty negotiators) afraid of a possible betrayal by the other.

Reaction within BUS to SDS centered on distrust of alleged white manipulation and apprehension of SDS's supposed militancy. Uncomfortable with the restrictions of the alliance, SDS criticism of BUS was modified by the results of BUS' spontaneously political appreciation of escalation/mobility in leaving the Placement Bureau (site of sit-in) Wednesday evening and during the walkout. Initially questioned by SDS, in retrospect, both BUS-initiated moves increased visibility and pressure. The unrealized pressure of the black presence did much to unmask the university's vulnerability.

Administration Desanctified

For the campus, the confrontation revealed the inadequacy, stupidity, dishonesty, and disorganization of the administration. The exposure of police infiltration of SDS, and the transparency of "due process" further desanctified the myth of administrative neutrality.

Opting for self-protection with its bullshit observations about apathy and majority in the face of our accomplishments, the student government was revealed as powerless, cowardly, and without direction. The resignations of the five black members reinforced its illegitimacy and isolation.

However, the possibility of cooptation is still implicit in student government's newly-formed committee to investigate recruiting, coupled with the student power promises of a new constitution.

Ignored by the administration, the role of the faculty was generally that of passive accomplice to due process doublethink. With one possible exception, no radical faculty emerged—even the teach-ins were dominated by admonitions to SDS and distress over the BUS walkout. As a Columbia, the faculty emasculated itself through the self-indulgence (and self-delusion) of mediation. Unwilling to engage in real debate or action, professorial commentary was quickly reduced to the banality of "This is the most intellectual stimulation this campus has had in years" or the "opportunity for dialogue."

Appropriately, the Faculty Senate carefully protected the interests of the Board of Trustees (and the channeling of students into racist institutions) by declaring "our present concern is that recent events not obscure fundamental commitments of the university."

To this end, by rejecting arbitration and restricting the Ohio Civil Rights Commission's investigation to racial

discrimination, the administration has insured that no official discussion of the real issues of racism, recruiting, and the political role of the campus police will occur.

The BUS decision to remain apolitical for purposes of consolidation may open them to co-optation with more black culture and scholarships and the addition of human relations staff for campus protection with no real discussion of racism or the university.

The Oakland confrontation remains a modified success—critical areas of follow-up still exist.

During the confrontation we discovered our ability to attract large numbers of students, surfacing a heretofore passive alienation on the part of people disgusted with the boredom and bad classes characterizing the campus. Majority apathy existed as a potential base, providing little active support for the administration. Anti-BUS/SDS sentiment surfaced but was never significantly transformed into pro-administration support.

The sit-in provided a central confrontive focus for members of student liberal organizations, and the attendance at teach-ins indicated growing response. At the same time, our ability to control the political content of discussion was challenged, particularly by the influx of liberal professors at teach-ins.

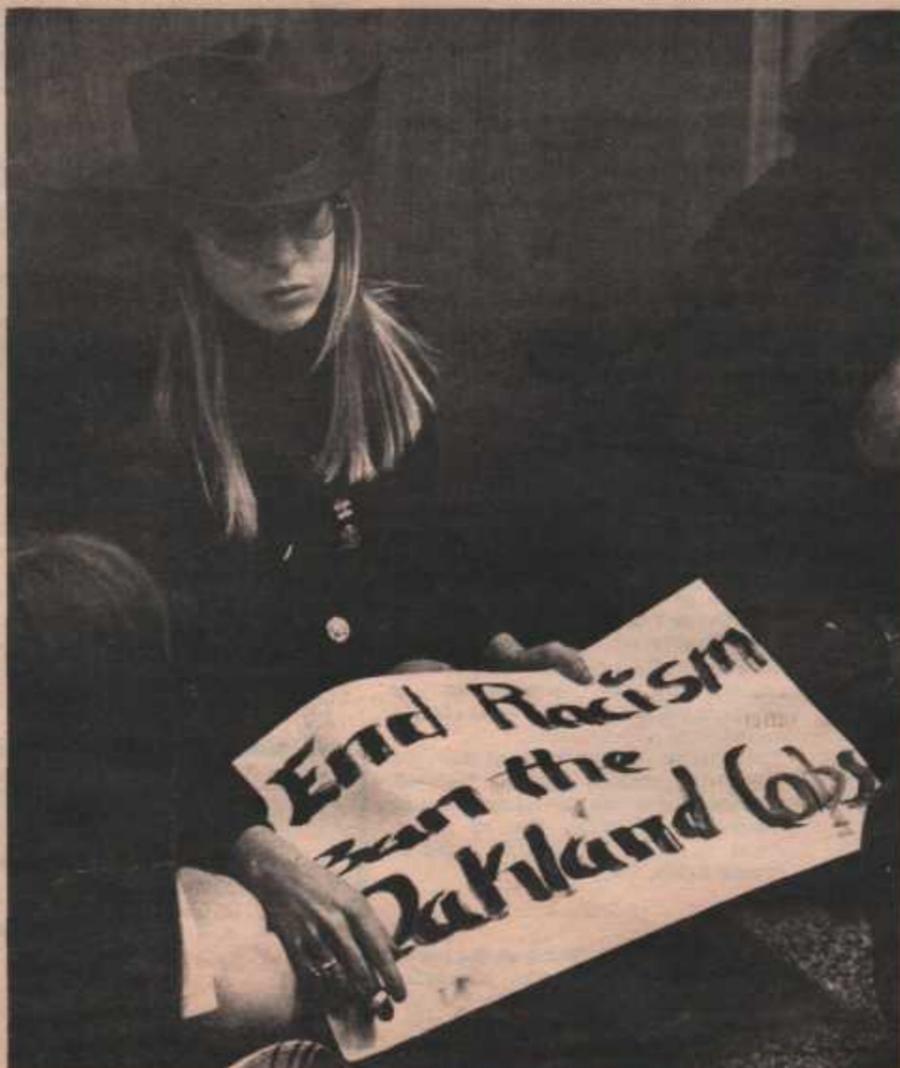
Despite our inability to sustain the boycott and to hold and involve new people, the Oakland confrontation was supported by substantial numbers of students, proving in decisive fashion, the possibilities for the Movement at a campus new to left politics. As the first prolonged militant action in Ohio, new possibilities were created at Kent and throughout the state with important implications for the spring.

The Work Ahead

The coming months require increased work and political sophistication if we are to be seen as a genuine programmatic alternative. The need for internal consolidation which emerged from the confrontation was coupled with the necessity of renewed organizing in developing constituencies (classrooms, dorms, etc.).

With the Board of Regents and the Board of Trustees' decision to make infiltration and repression official campus policy, a strong movement is essential to defeat efforts to deny campus recognition to SDS.

For us at Kent, the highlight of the week was an expanded view of people—waiting to go to jail together, marching together, talking, planning, identifying, moving out of isolation, becoming political, joining to expand and sustain a growing community of radicals.



—photo by Douglas M. Pallagi / Daily Kent Stater

Calendar of a confrontation

Monday, November 11: SDS submitted demands requesting that (1) Oakland police be barred from campus recruiting; (2) infiltration of campus organizations by local police be ended; (3) cops on campus be disarmed. The administration gave us no response.

Tuesday: We held a teach-in and showed the Huey Newton film. Still no reply from the administration.

Wednesday: The Oakland police came, and we were there to meet them. About 150 Black United Students and 150 Students for a Democratic Society sat in at the Bureau of Placement. When informed by the Dean of Students that the university would not respond to demands under coercion, the group became more militant, stood up, locked arms, and blocked all entrances to the building. We held the building for five hours. The administration threatened to use police at this point, so at the suggestion of the blacks we all left at 7:00 p.m., promising to return if necessary. After leaving the building we staged a spontaneous street march through the campus.

Thursday: The university directed three black and five white students to appear before the Student Conduct Board Friday on disciplinary charges. BUS and SDS held a rally and jointly raised the cry for total amnesty. That evening we held dorm teach-ins to gain support.

Friday a.m.: 300 blacks and 400 whites entered the Administration Building for the hearings. SDS had 300 signatures and BUS 200 students claiming to have been in the building. Our position was that the indictment of eight people was random, arbitrary, and unacceptable. None of us accepted the legitimacy of any trial and all of us demanded amnesty. The hearing was cancelled. Later, BUS threatened that all black students would walk out if demands weren't met by Monday at 6 p.m.

Monday p.m., Nov. 18: By this time it was obvious that the administration would not meet the demands. 300 blacks left Kent and went to Akron in protest. SDS held a mass teach-in that night attended by 600 people, and urged everyone to attend classes on Tuesday, raise the issues, and if classes didn't consider them, walk out and boycott.

Tuesday: The administration still hadn't granted amnesty. SDS held a second teach-in, calling for total boycott of classes.

Wednesday: Approximately 1000 people boycotted classes; and by Wednesday 1200 people had signed the petitions for amnesty. Finally, in the afternoon, after severe pressure from students and liberal faculty the administration responded, claiming that legal evidence for "charges" was insufficient. The administration stated that it would bring no charges against any individual for participation in the confrontation.

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names of delegates (chapters get one delegate for every 25 national SDS members)
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lots of money (for registration and to buy literature)
lots of revolutionary fervor (and patience)

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phone: (313) 663-6610

Ohio: "You can win, but..."

by Terry Robbins
Ohio Regional SDS

The Ohio region, meeting at its first regional conference, has endorsed and

agreed to organize for a militant action in Washington on Jan. 20 around the Presidential Inauguration. The conference, held the weekend of Nov. 23 and 24 at Kent State University, was attended by about 150 people from twenty chapters throughout the state.

The conference began on Saturday afternoon with a plenary discussion of recent actions at Kent State University around recruiting by the Oakland pigs. (see story elsewhere this issue—ed.) From there, we went into a general discussion of where the chapters are at, and broke into workshops around guerrilla theater, classroom and dorm organizing, internal education, high schools, media, etc. The workshops were fairly substantive, and at least some people got some good new ideas for organizing on their campuses.

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Despite our inability to sustain the boycott and to hold and involve new people, the Oakland confrontation was supported by substantial numbers of students, proving in decisive fashion, the possibilities for the Movement at a campus new to left politics. As the first prolonged militant action in Ohio, new possibilities were created at Kent and throughout the state with important implications for the spring.

The Work Ahead

The coming months require increased work and political sophistication if we are to be seen as a genuine programmatic alternative. The need for internal consolidation which emerged from the confrontation was coupled with the necessity of renewed organizing in developing constituencies (classrooms, dorms, etc.).

With the Board of Regents and the Board of Trustees' decision to make infiltration and repression official campus policy, a strong movement is essential to defeat efforts to deny campus recognition to SDS.

For us at Kent, the highlight of the week was an expanded view of people—waiting to go to jail together, marching together, talking, planning, identifying, moving out of isolation, becoming political, joining to expand and sustain a growing community of radicals.

Calendar of a confrontation

Monday, November 11: SDS submitted demands requesting that (1) Oakland police be barred from campus recruiting; (2) infiltration of campus organizations by local police be ended; (3) cops on campus be disarmed. The administration gave us no response.

Tuesday: We held a teach-in and showed the Huey Newton film. Still no reply from the administration.

Wednesday: The Oakland police came, and we were there to meet them. About 150 Black United Students and 150 Students for a Democratic Society sat in at the Bureau of Placement. When informed by the Dean of Students that the university would not respond to demands under coercion, the group became more militant, stood up, locked arms, and blocked all entrances to the building. We held the building for five hours. The administration threatened to use police at this point, so at the suggestion of the blacks we all left at 7:00 p.m., promising to return if necessary. After leaving the building we staged a spontaneous street march through the campus.

Thursday: The university directed three black and five white students to appear before the Student Conduct Board Friday on disciplinary charges. BUS and SDS held a rally and jointly raised the cry for total amnesty. That evening we held dorm teach-ins to gain support.

Friday a.m.: 300 blacks and 400 whites entered the Administration Building for the hearings. SDS had 300 signatures and BUS 200 students claiming to have been in the building. Our position was that the indictment of eight people was random, arbitrary, and unacceptable. None of us accepted the legitimacy of any trial and all of us demanded amnesty. The hearing was cancelled. Later, BUS threatened that all black students would walk out if demands weren't met by Monday at 6 p.m.

Monday p.m., Nov. 18: By this time it was obvious that the administration would not meet the demands. 300 blacks left Kent and went to Akron in protest. SDS held a mass teach-in that night attended by 600 people, and urged everyone to attend classes on Tuesday, raise the issues, and if classes didn't consider them, walk out and boycott.

Tuesday: The administration still hadn't granted amnesty. SDS held a second teach-in, calling for total boycott of classes.

Wednesday: Approximately 1000 people boycotted classes; and by Wednesday 1200 people had signed the petitions for amnesty. Finally, in the afternoon, after severe pressure from students and liberal faculty the administration responded, claiming that legal evidence for "charges" was insufficient. The administration stated that it would bring no charges against any individual for participation in the confrontation.

Consolidation Through Action

It was clearly agreed that the action could not be a success without working out the concrete politics and specific tactics of the action. However, people began by voicing their enthusiasm over the general notion of a militant action in Washington. Many SDS kids, it was argued, have been attracted to the movement on the basis of the vitality and militancy of actions at Columbia and in Chicago. People felt emphatically that a well conceived national action could really help consolidate that base of support for SDS that's been generally active in Ohio—that it could put people through an obviously radicalizing experience in terms of large scale confrontations, and continue to attract people to SDS on the basis of our being a fighting movement. It was further felt that such an action is critical at a time when the war is becoming more and more obfuscated as a political issue, when the New Democratic Coalition bullshit threatens to erode at least some of our support, and when the fear of repression seems to be mounting.

Political Line

We broke into workshops late Saturday night to discuss the political line of the action, and to try to develop some guidelines for the action itself. We agreed that the action should focus on (1) a continuation of the campaign that began in Chicago and on election day to expose the illegitimacy of the government and its inability to govern, (the slogan we want to use is "You can win but you can't govern"); (2) a demand for an immediate end to the war and total withdrawal of US troops; and (3) exposing the whole issue of law and order as meaning nothing more than repression, and saying that the movement's response should be to fight back.

Everyone felt strongly that any action around the Inauguration should therefore be conceived to maximize those political issues. Our sense was that the action should be militant, probably hitting a target near the parade route, (though not necessarily directly on it.) We agreed that some definite plans should be formulated by interested regions

"The student movement people's movement. The movement will inevitably be the whole people's movement."

ITHACA (LNS): Bruce Dancis, 20, bail after being sentenced to 6 years by a New York City Appellate Court Federal Youth Corrections Act for Judge Irving Kaufman (the judge who bail to Dancis after condemning the students who gathered 5500 signatures)

MADISON, WISCONSIN: U of W stud (known as the Rat) in response to the grabbed a white assistant supervisor at The issues being raised go beyond question of opening university facilities the university is open only to student closely with the university and citizens "outsiders."

The strike was organized by the Oso #1 of SDS/WDRU. Students are eating

STORRS, CONN.: Twelve people, when a crowd of 300 people tried Olin-Mathieson Chemical Co., developed bullets.

The day before, students had forced next day to hold sessions in a small, was barricaded by cops and warning posters. Students pelted police with rocks at swinging. State cops were called in and busted.

ORANGEBURG, S. C. (LNS): A hunk College chanted black power slogan Carolina State Highway Patrol Headquarters. The demonstration was staged to protest this month to indict nine highway patrol last February on the campus.

The students, members of the Black state officials that both whites and

OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN: Under the 600 white students marched on the University, Oshkosh campus, to demand students. The black students were administration building in protest at demands which included the hiring of an Afro-American culture center on campus. Meanwhile in Madison, 300 students Alliance marched in the streets in that was considering the Oshkosh case completely by surprise and were able in the state capitol building.



—photo by Douglas M. Pallagi / Daily Kent Stater

Georgetown outlines education program

by Georgetown SDS

It is clear to us that our internal education has happened not as a result of any structured kind of program, but rather as the product of the total experience of our chapter activity. We have learned from conversation and discussion, from hearing and seeing, and from experiencing the successes and failures of actions. Consequently, we feel that the development of chapter consciousness depends largely on the manner in which a chapter conducts its day to day life. In particular we have found that we have facilitated the development of consciousness by structuring our chapter so that all decisions are made by the chapter as a whole. We have no steering committee, no officers, and everyone makes a conscious effort to avoid all types of elitism. In essence we have designed our chapter structure to place the responsibility for policy decisions equally on all members. The process of living up to this responsibility provides the major impetus needed for an ongoing internal education program. (Likewise, it seems as though a similar conception of the organization of national SDS is key in the development of national perspectives on the local chapter level.)

Once more, getting back to the development of consciousness, we found that in order to actualize the potential impetus that this anti-elitist chapter structure can give to internal education,

it must be accompanied by certain, perhaps obvious, attitudes. From the beginning, everyone must deal with each other as equals; the cliches of "trust", "openness", and "honesty" seem to have some relevance here. Altogether, then, the context produced by this structure and these attitudes seems to have accomplished three things for us: it has facilitated the exchange of information between members, it ensures the even development of the chapter, and it provides a general impetus to individual members to develop their consciousness.

We have also found that an ongoing program that puts as many chapter members as possible in the position of presenting SDS policies to outsiders, creates a further encouragement to our study. Whether sitting behind a table or as a part of a dorm canvassing program, the experience of trying to answer questions and articulate our politics has given us all a very personal understanding of the value of internal education.

Specific Political Habits

Now if we can leave this discussion of the general conditions that we found favorable to internal education, it seems that, in addition to the everyday exchange of information, we have developed several specific educational habits and programs:

1) In chapter meetings we try to have clear political debates on all major decisions. To do this, to have time to get beyond purely business matters, we have meetings twice a week for at least two hours each. Half of that meeting time each week is devoted to discussions of a more theoretical nature, sometimes including the consideration of a selected reading.

2) Our theoretical discussions and readings are chosen in response to a felt need of the chapter. For example, in the midst of our campus program on imperialism, we will be reading and discussing imperialism in order to improve our understanding and ability to convey our ideas to outsiders. This relevancy to our immediate needs makes it possible to keep up interest in a continuing program.

Burning Questions

3) Early in the semester we found that despite two long meetings each week, there were many concepts and ideas which were basic to our consciousness that we never had time to discuss. These kind of unanswered questions were making it impossible for us to clearly conceptualize our role as a chapter. To overcome this we spent an entire Saturday at a nearby farm trying to figure out what we were about. To prepare for this discussion we printed and gave each member a copy of four relevant articles from past movement publications. We used: "Burning Questions for the Movement", by Neil Buckley, a position paper presented to the 1968 SDS convention; "Businessmen's International", by Carl Oglesby, from NLN, Aug. 12; "Where Are We Heading? Internationalism: New Left Style", by Calvert and Nieman, Guardian, June 8, 15, 22, 29; and "Socialist Consciousness and the New Left", by Calvert and Nieman, Aug. 24, 31, Sept. 7.

At the morning session of the farm conference, our discussion focussed on the Buckley paper and chapter structure. In the afternoon we turned to a discussion of the movement and its goals, and then in the evening we settled on organizing priorities for our newly-formed chapter structure. Now it looks as though we will have to have a similar session in the not too distant future.

4) We try, as much as possible, to keep the chapter open to developments outside of our own constituency by having as many members as possible attend regional and national SDS meetings; and by subscribing to and discussing NLN and the Guardian.

5) We have found that having a house

(continued on Page 7)

HOUSING: Sue Palmer
Student Activities Bldg.
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48105
phone: (313) 663-6610

NO: resolutions for the NC
names of delegates (chapters get one delegate for every 25 national SDS members)
ideas for educational panels and workshops
Ann Arbor: working papers (at least 1,000 copies)
lots of money (for registration and to buy literature)
lots of revolutionary fervor (and patience)

You can win, but...

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"The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement."

Chairman Mao

ITHACA (LNS): Bruce Dancis, 20 year old SDS organizer, who had been denied bail after being sentenced to 6 years in Federal for draft resistance, was released by a New York City Appellate Court Judge. Dancis had been sentenced under the Federal Youth Corrections Act for ripping up his draft card in December, 1966.

Judge Irving Kaufman (the judge who sentenced the Rosenbergs to death) granted bail to Dancis after condemning the "outside pressure" of Cornell University students who gathered 5500 signatures on petitions asking for Dancis' release.

MADISON, WISCONSIN: U of W students have organized a boycott of the cafeteria (known as the Rat) in response to the arrest of a black non-student who supposedly grabbed a white assistant supervisor after being called a "black nigger."

The issues being raised go beyond the one incident and deal with the whole question of opening university facilities to the community at large. Right now, the university is open only to students. The supervisor is a former cop who works closely with the university and city police to keep track of drug users and "outsiders."

The strike was organized by the Oscar Meyer Memorial Affinity Group Loco Foco #1 of SDS/WDRU. Students are eating free food from the Liberation Food Service.

STORRS, CONN.: Twelve people, including a chaplain, were busted Nov. 26, when a crowd of 300 people tried to disrupt campus interviews held by Olin-Mathieson Chemical Co., developers of the M-1 rifle and other guns, bombs and bullets.

The day before, students had forced the interviewer to leave. He returned the next day to hold sessions in a small, wooden building on the edge of campus, which was barricaded by cops and warning posters.

Students pelted police with rocks after police tried to clear the crowd with clubs swinging. State cops were called in and the leaders of the demonstration were busted.

ORANGEBURG, S. C. (LNS): A hundred black students from South Carolina State College chanted black power slogans at a two-hour protest march at the South Carolina State Highway Patrol Headquarters Nov. 25.

The demonstration was staged to protest the Federal Grand Jury's refusal earlier this month to indict nine highway patrolmen in the slaying of three black students last February on the campus.

The students, members of the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee, told state officials that both whites and blacks would die in the next confrontation.

OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN: Under the leadership of the outlawed SDS chapter, about 600 white students marched on the administration building at Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh campus, to demand the reinstatement of 92 suspended black students. The black students were suspended last month for seizing the administration building in protest at the administration's refusal to grant their demands which included the hiring of more black faculty and the establishment of an Afro-American culture center on campus.

Meanwhile in Madison, 300 students led by SDS-WDRU and the Black Peoples Alliance marched in the streets to invade a meeting of the State Board of Regents that was considering the Oshkosh case. The demonstrators caught the pigs almost completely by surprise and were able to disrupt the meeting that was being held in the state capitol building.

N.O. News

NIC sets literature procedure

by Mike Klonsky
SDS National Secretary

A question of great importance has arisen in the National Office concerning the production of literature for the organization. The question arose over a proposed pamphlet on the Work-In. Since this was the first pamphlet brought forth by Education Secretary Fred Gordon all year, the question of how a piece of literature is produced hasn't come up yet since I've been in the NO.

Unsigned Articles

The problem with the production of the Work-In pamphlet, a collection of personal experiences put together by people in the summer work-in projects, was that articles in it were unsigned, that is, the writers of the articles were not known to the national secretaries or anyone on the staff; the pamphlet was not sent around to the REAC (Radical Education Administrative Committee), which is interpreted now by the NIC to mean people involved

in the kind of work discussed in the lit as well as people who have volunteered for the committee.

When Bernardine Dohrn and I asked "Who wrote the pamphlet?" we were told that it was written by people in the work-in. When we asked their names, we were told that Fred Gordon had forgotten. When we asked if the pamphlet would be circulated for criticism and comments before being printed, we were told that it wasn't necessary. In the introduction to the pamphlet, there was a paragraph explaining that if the writers of the pamphlet signed their articles they might not be able to get their jobs back next summer or hold the ones they presently had. While this might be considered a reasonable explanation as to why the names shouldn't go on the articles, it was certainly not a good reason for officers of the organization not to know who wrote them, especially if the articles were to be published as SDS literature, under the title of "Towards a Student-Worker Alliance".

A NIC decision was asked for (the

NIC being the next highest body able to make decisions about organizational policy). The position Bernardine and I presented to the NIC was this:

While we think the pamphlet is pretty good and see the need for literature to be put out on the work-in, we feel that all literature not mandated by the NIC or NC around a program like the Cuba Week should be sent around for criticism and comments. It should either be signed so that the people who wrote it will have to stand behind their politics, or at least the authors should be known to the national officers. We said also that Fred Gordon's position that "no changes or criticisms would be allowed" was wrong.

NIC Polled

All eight NIC members were polled and they reached a unanimous decision:

1) The pamphlet should not be produced unless Bernardine and myself knew the names of the people who wrote it.

2) The pamphlet should not be printed until it is circulated for criticism and comments to people around the country who worked in the work-in program and to other people working extensively on literature production.

The next day, the names of the authors of the pamphlet were made known to Bernardine and me. The NO staff agreed to mimeo the pamphlet for distribution to various people around the country for comment and criticism and then print the pamphlet. That is presently being done.

The importance of this decision should not be overlooked. The question should arise at the Ann Arbor NC. How should literature be produced? Why haven't we produced any relevant (or for that matter, irrelevant) literature since June? What principles must our educational material meet? Should an established REAC be constituted?

Internal education is our weakest area organizationally. We must develop ways to reach our people if we are going to struggle together.

Critique of sanctuary

by Hilary Putnam

(Prof. Putnam is a member of the philosophy department at Harvard University.)

In the past two weeks many opinions have been voiced about the value of "sanctuary" as a tactic. In view of this clash of opinions, it may be desirable to discuss the issue of sanctuary in a more general strategic perspective.

Such a discussion must begin by recognizing certain limitations which are built into the tactic. The first of these limitations is the non-struggle character of the tactic. It is true that some sanctuaries have ended in a symbolic obstruction of the police, and that in the very first sanctuary, the one at the Arlington St. Church last spring, this obstruction was fairly militant. But symbolic disruption is not struggle.

At Columbia, by way of contrast, students were invited to join the sit-in not to get a story in the newspapers, not to get their heads bloodied, but on a very clear basis: "We are fighting to keep Columbia from building the gym. We want you to join the fight because the objective is a good one, and because we need you and you need us to gain the objective."

Moral Witness

At the MIT sanctuary and at the Boston University sanctuary the mood of the "community" was to keep the symbolic struggle as non-violent as possible, and at MIT it was finally avoided altogether. This was no accident. Since the crowd is brought together to admire an act of moral witness, it naturally leans to the politics that go with moral witness, the politics of pacifism. Such a crowd does not generally lean to any militant action, not even symbolic action. At BU some speakers sought to change this by urging the crowd to stand up and fight the police; but this was no improvement on the situation. If the crowd had stood up, they would have been badly beaten. The speakers in question assumed that a violent "confrontation" would radicalize the group; in fact, violent tactics would not have changed the political nature of the demonstration: a moral appeal to the ruling class. Instead, it would have left many feeling manipulated (and rightly so).

People should be brought into the Movement in two different ways, which we want to reinforce each other: on the basis of the ideas of the Movement, and on the basis of the specific struggles against the ruling class that the Movement is involved in. The second way is almost the ideal way, since it is in the context of a specific struggle that the ideas of the Movement become clear for most people, and because we want intellectual assent to the ideas of the Movement to lead to real assent via participation in the fighting that the Movement does. We have just seen

that sanctuary is not a struggle (even when it ends in a brawl); it is also not, as usually conducted, an action taken on the basis of any serious agreement on ideas.

People come to a sanctuary because they here "Hey! There's a sanctuary at the Student Center" (or at the chapel, or wherever). But what statement does a sanctuary make, in and of itself?

- (1) We are against the war,
- (2) We support this act of moral witness (and, by implication, the idea that moral witness is a good way to fight).

The first statement is almost meaningless: what does it mean to be "against the war"? In New York, Javits says it means voting for him; the Movement says it means demanding immediate withdrawal.

Defects of Sanctuary

The second statement is wrong. We are living in an unjust society, and our enemy is not the people but the ruling class. Moral witness suggests that the people are to blame for not being "moral" enough: what the people need is not somebody's moral superiority. In fact, the people are already engaged in a variety of struggles with their oppressors: wildcat strikes, black rebellions, etc. Our pressing need is to link up with them and to arrive with them at a general perspective of overthrowing the ruling class and setting up a just society.

(Putting a sanctuary in a University also introduces confusions. Are you really trying to say that the University is safe turf for this working-class GI? If the University calls in the police against its own students, the University is seen as an enemy by the students, but if the police enter the University to arrest someone they would have arrested anyway, the University can easily manage to appear neutral. And to the extent that the tactic of sanctuary makes the University appear neutral, it actually defeats the objectives of building anti-imperialist struggles in which the University administration is a clear enemy.)

To recapitulate: sanctuary has the built-in defects that

- (1) It is a non-struggle form (one

that tends to appeal to pacifism and to moral witness directed at the ruling class),

(2) The statement that the action itself makes is either unclear or wrong,

(3) In a University, the action tends to undermine the very important Movement effort to expose the role of the University in modern imperialism.

Opportunistic Tactic

The first way that has been tried of overcoming some of these defects is to put "politics" into a sanctuary after it starts via press releases, speeches, films, etc. This method only tells the captive audience what the politics of the organizers of the sanctuary are; it has nothing to do with their reasons for being there, and to the extent that their politics differ from those of the organizers, they tend to feel manipulated. (Also, if the politics of the AWOL differ from those of the organizers, he may feel manipulated.)

A better method would be to have a large group decide on the sanctuary and decide what its purposes and demands are. This would probably avoid the ridiculous situation at M.I.T., in which the M.I.T. Resistance issued a press release during the sanctuary calling for an end to imperialism and for new (presumably socialist) forms of social organization, but forgot to demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam!

But what of the argument that sanctuary does "turn people on", that some people do become involved in the Movement as a result of sanctuary? (Common variant: "nothing would have happened at MIT otherwise". The combination of snobbery directed at MIT students and distrust of MIT students that this one reveals is breathtaking.)

Some people are brought into the Movement, indeed. But it is not so simple as that. To the extent that the organizers of a sanctuary have political views which they try to pump into people after the sanctuary starts, to that extent many people feel (rightly) manipulated, and those people are driven away from the Movement. Secondly, people who "join the Movement" without really accepting the

ideas of the Movement don't stay in, as a rule, or, if they do, they do bad work. Thirdly, sanctuary can become a substitute for political work: with a sanctuary every two weeks, a group of Boston "sanctuary-goers" is already coming into existence. Fourthly, the tactic does not build the Movement politically; that is, the tactic is in essence opposed to the politics of the Movement.

But the trouble is not just that sanctuaries drive some people away, or that they bring some people in on a bad basis. To the extent that one builds the Movement by (1) getting people together on a meaningless basis, and (2) then pumping political views into them through films, speeches, etc., to that same extent one builds an elitist movement. The basic stance of the leadership in such a movement is: "we know what's best for you." The people who join such a movement quickly acquire that same stance, and they start looking for gimmicks (such as the one we discussed above) to get a captive audience of their own, or for ways to "radicalize" people (by manipulating them into situations). There is a name for this stance: OPPORTUNISM.

And opportunism in a thousand and one forms is the biggest problem affecting the New Left.

Alternative Action

By way of a contrast, I would like to describe the organizing stance of the Cambridge Peace and Freedom Party (P.F.P.). Cambridge P.F.P. is conducting a campaign for rent control. Its leaflets make it crystal clear that Cambridge P.F.P. has concerns that go beyond rent control: for example, immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. At the same time, P.F.P. makes it clear it is willing to work on rent control with people who do not agree with its other demands. This is an excellent model for honest work. One is engaged in meaningful struggle, for a real demand (ring a few Cambridge doorbells if you don't think rent control is a real issue to working people!), and one's political perspective is out in the open from the start.

One more point about Cambridge P.F.P.: the proposed law is being discussed point by point by the people who want to work on the campaign. It may seem overly idealistic to think that in general one can work in the same way: that one can win people over on the basis of ideas, that one can bring them together for real struggles, and that one can work out the form of the struggles jointly with them instead of "springing" actions and demonstrations on them. That kind of idealism has a name: belief in the people. On that kind of idealism one can build not just a movement, but a new world.

RADICAL ECONOMICS CONFERENCE

A national radical economics conference sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economics will be held in Philadelphia Dec. 19-21. This is an effort to bring together academic economists, non-academic economists, Movement organizers, and other interested persons to discuss "radical economics" and establish a firm basis for a national organization of radical economists. Some of the topics to be discussed are (1) a radical critique of contemporary economics (2) radical teaching and research (3) poverty problems (4) economic development and imperialism (5) the economics of democratic control (6) the relevance of Marxist, neo-classical, and institutionalist economic analysis to current problems.

For information, contact URPE, P. O. Box 571, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107.

Radical caucuses highlight Montreal conference

by Phoebe Hirsch

(The author is a staff member of NY Regional SDS.)

Delegates and observers to the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam gathered at Montreal, Canada to both condemn the U.S. war in Vietnam as well as to praise the NLF and North Vietnamese for their valiant struggle against the American imperialists. Spokesmen for the different Latin American, American, and Canadian left movements related the resistance of the fighting Vietnamese to their resistance to local forms of oppression. Although there were many differences in local conditions as well as in political backgrounds and perspectives, there was one point upon which all viewpoints converged: the need to combat American imperialism.

Radical Caucuses

The conference was structured by a liberal-opportunist steering committee in such a way that certain political groups were given greater voting power, a resolutions committee had arbitrary and total control over the resolutions that would be presented in the plenary sessions, the content of the workshops was decided on in advance on irrelevant topics, and speaking out for a new position was automatically ruled out. It was the desire to inject some useful political discussion into a manipulated conference that brought three "radical caucuses" into existence: the Black, the Radical (consisting of white radicals and the Third World Liberation Front people from Berkeley) and the Anti-Imperialist caucus.

The radical caucus argued for a stronger anti-imperialist approach to the problems discussed, i.e., focusing on the details of the nature of American imperialism in Third World countries rather than just repeated calls for peace in Vietnam. The radical caucus also presented proposals for more

meaningful workshops, in which problems of the anti-imperialist struggle in North America could be discussed and evaluated in the context of a world-wide fight for liberation.

The black caucus—primarily North American—wanted the conference to address itself at some point to the colonial struggle of the black people within America: the forms it takes, the repression it meets, the programs it puts forth and its relation to the Vietnamese and other struggles for liberation around the world.

The anti-imperialist caucus was organized and led by Canadians. One group, the Quebecois, were very much like SDS politically, but the two other groups, the Internationalists and the Party of Labor, were straight out of "La Chinoise" with red books in hands and authoritarian words in mouths. They picketed the conference, condemning not only the leadership that had organized it (a valid criticism) but also the "sell-out" Vietnamese who were engaging in hypocritical peace talks in Paris and accepting "revisionist" weapons from the Soviets.

The black and radical caucuses formed to fight against the liberal and manipulative organizers of the conference. They presented a demand

that Bobby Seale (advertised as an original participant in the conference) be sent enough money to come to Montreal. Other attempts to change the direction of the conference were essentially aborted by the emotionalism of the situation as well as the rigidity of old CP types who were more interested in generalized speeches about struggle rather than the details of the work that makes struggle happen. When Bobby Seale arrived the next day (the protest did obtain the money to get Seale to Montreal) he managed to arrive at a solution which enabled the black and radical caucuses to feel satisfied. What he did was to give a speech in support of the Vietnamese struggle. For the sake of a unified stand behind that struggle he gave total support to the unity resolution written by the conference steering committee and the Vietnamese. He was well aware of the different ramifications that the war and issues of domestic imperialism have had on the black, white, and brown struggles in the United States. Yet it was most important in the context of a conference that had inherent limitations that there result a unified position of support for the Vietnamese struggle against the same racist, imperialist America that oppresses the

blacks, brown, poor and working-class whites in the U.S.

On the plenary floor, the unity resolution in support of the Vietnamese was unanimously passed. In addition, an amendment to the resolution specifically condemning the imperialist nature of the American involvement in Vietnam was passed. Further resolutions were presented and passed, including one calling for the liberation of Quebec province from the authoritarian and discriminatory rule of the present Canadian government.

SDS Role

Some of the groups attending the conference included the CPUSA, the Canadian CP, CP and workers groups from Latin America, Black Panthers, Mexican-Americans, and SDS. Also there were many unaffiliated young people, mostly from the U.S. The SDS role (only about 20 SDS people were there) was to try to pass the best possible unity statement without upsetting the need of the Vietnamese for a united front against the American government. SDS people also worked with the radical caucus and the different workshops.

Both the NLF and the DRV sent their greetings to SDS and all SDS people.

Anti-Communism in the movement

by Jim Prickett
approved by San Diego Workers
for a Democratic Society

(second in a series)

The general malaise in SDS is apparent to all; people who barely know each other write fearful letters about the dangers of an upcoming split in the organization. At a regional convention in Southern California, a student from the school hosting the conference began passing out a tentative agenda, and he was immediately physically assaulted by staff from the regional office, which had its own proposed agenda. There is no point in multiplying examples (the vote on the SLAP proposal with its obvious fraud did not effect the outcome of the vote particularly, but it does reflect the new spirit in SDS.)

What is wrong with the movement is paradoxical: at the very time that national officers all call themselves "revolutionary Communists," the clearest and strongest attitude of anti-Communism is prevalent in SDS—fostered by some of the same people who call themselves Communists.

What is Anti-Communism?

I have spent the last few years of my life studying anti-Communism in the CIO; my book on the subject should be out before the end of next year. In that study, it became necessary to determine the characteristics of anti-Communism, since it was clearly something different from mere opposition to the program of the American Communist Party. What are those characteristics? Are they apparent in SDS?

The first and primary characteristic of anti-Communism is the blurring of political perspectives in order to achieve unity against the Communist grouping. In the UAW, Walter Reuther mobilized Schactmanites, Norman Thomas Socialists, and conservative trade unionists against the Communist Party; in the NMU, Curran mobilized the above groups along with the Trotskyites. In SDS, the beginnings of that approach, particularly in the New England region, are clear: coalitions are being formed, not on the basis of a clearly defined program, but on the basis of hostility to a Communist group.

The arguments used by trade union anti-Communists should be familiar to anyone who has attended a recent NC. The Communists were outsiders (external cadre); what were they doing in our organization? We need to make our own mistakes; the Communists think they know all the answers. They are manipulators; only when they are

removed can democracy flourish in the organization.

Some of the red baiters in SDS call themselves Communists; that was also true in the CIO, particularly in the NMU. In fact, the Communists themselves red baited the Trotskyists throughout the Second World War. Socialists, Schactmanites, and Trotskyists were all indispensable in the fight to purge Communists from the CIO; many of them were later expelled from the unions and many others remained in their lucrative jobs, their radicalism becoming little more than a memory.

But this is not a historical piece; those who want to know about the Communist purge in the UAW can read the Summer, 1968 Science & Society, and those interested in the NMU can read the Fall, 1968 New Politics. It is important because currently in SDS a significant group wants to purge the Progressive Labor Party from SDS.

Those of us who are not in PLP are faced with a serious problem. We have not joined the party because we have disagreements with them; for the most part, those disagreements have nothing to do with the way PLP operates in SDS, or with the positions it advances within SDS. Still, we do not wish to be inhibited by their politics.

Yet our major disagreement is with those moving against PLP, for they are moving against PLP in order to crush a working-class perspective. When the leadership said that resistance was the order of the day, PLP's criticisms of the resistance line in favor of base-building won a number of SDS members. When the new working class was postulated as the new revolutionary agency, PLP immediately began an extensive critique. Facing coherent criticism is difficult for any leadership; it is not surprising that forces in the

national collective want to eliminate that criticism.

It is not surprising, but it cannot be allowed to happen. It must be made clear that the issue in SDS is not external versus internal cadre, but whether or not SDS is committed to working-class revolution, to the political hegemony of the proletariat. PLP's role may become defensive, the repetition of set speeches (I hope this prediction is inaccurate). But however PLP responds, our role must be attack, attack, attack, clarify, clarify, clarify.

(The third and final part of Prickett's series discusses "Thoughts on Working Class Strategy and the Student Movement".)

Georgetown

(continued from Page 5)

close to campus has encouraged many informal discussions of important issues.

We also maintain a library in our house and have printed a bibliography for members who are interested. Some of our members consider the house and the constant discussion that it makes possible the key to our internal education program.

The above summary is limited by several considerations, the first being that it is far from a complete picture of those five months, since it removes all the content and leaves only the form of the experience, for example, the ideas that resulted from our efforts aren't even mentioned.

For ourselves, we are convinced that our effectiveness as a group of radical organizers has depended, and will continue to depend on the success of our attempt to understand what we are doing.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER! JOIN REP STAFF.

The Radical Education Project is looking for staff. REP is an internal education arm of the movement; we publish a wide selection of pamphlets and articles. We are also developing internal education programs involving campus level activities, tours of speakers and films, and translation of materials from other countries. Staff salary is \$35 a week (subsistence in Ann Arbor) and we generally ask a commitment of one year. Staff work means a good deal of "revolutionary labor" (office shitwork?); it also means political participation in the growth and direction of REP's internal education program. Staff decisions are made as a collective, and revolutionary labor and political/programmatic work are shared by all. At the present, also, we could particularly use people who know how to print (or want to learn how) and someone who is interested in helping develop the politics and program of our newsletter, Radicals in the Professions. If you're interested you should drop by and see us in Ann Arbor. Our phone is 313-761-1320; address, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107. Come to the SDS National Council meeting in December and talk with us while you're in town.



IF YOU HAVE BEEN USING A TELEPHONE CREDIT CARD, READ THIS!

1) At some point, about \$70,000 worth of calls was made on Dow's card. They were pissed, cancelled the card, but refused to press charges for interstate fraud.

2) Since April, the telephone company has separate codes in addition to just the number. If you don't automatically give the other code, they know it's a phony and tape the conversation for identification purposes.

3) All of the credit cards commonly used by the movement are known. Some of them have been out of date since 1963.

A leak inside ITT told us that names were being kept; when the source read off the names, they were mostly movement people. Later a guy from SNCC was called in for questioning by the FBI, ITT detectives, and local cops. He denied everything, but they played back some tapes showing evidence. Dow and ITT won't press charges, so the FBI can't get people just yet. The assorted cops pointed out that national SDS people are the biggest offenders. If use of phony credit cards continues, they may press charges. Under the new crime bill, it appears that the tapes can be used as evidence in court.

Reflections on Cuban socialism

(Editor's note: Michele Clark travelled to Cuba in September on the SDS trip. These are excerpts from her journal, distributed by Liberation News Service.)

This little island. Ninety miles from Miami. No wonder los Americanos thought it was just a drop of their very own personal imperialist spittle. I'm amazed at how little I knew before I came.

But I'm learning fast. Almost anyone you talk to here—worker, engineer, teacher, student—knows the economic situation of the country. Will give you a rap, in five minutes, on under-development, the sugar harvest, the price of sugar, the world market, the diversification of agriculture.

Where did they learn all this? From Fidel's speeches. His speeches are incredible. They're filled with facts. Statistics; how much we've grown; how much we must still grow; why we are building schools rather than a shoe factory. "Subdesarrollo" which means "under-development" is a household word. Every citizen an economist.

Strike Against Whom?

Best anecdote so far: Yesterday, Mark Shapiro, a white working-class organizer from Detroit and pink-diaper baby, asked a party official at San German Sugar Mill: "Are workers allowed to strike?"

"Strike against whom?" responded the Party member.

We were outdoors. It was lunchtime and a group of workers from the mill were crowded around us, listening. It was about to rain. The sky kept getting darker. The trees whistled.

"Theoretically, I mean," said Mark. "Could they strike if they wanted to. If the grievance process broke down. Theoretically."

"Theoretically what?" said the Party man, who was, by the way, also a worker. He sold bread door to door before the revolution and presently he makes the same salary as a worker but has more responsibilities. Party members are elected by the whole body of workers. Elected because they are exemplary workers and communarians. If he stops being an exemplary worker, the rest of the plant can

remove him from office.

"What kind of theory?" he asked again. Our guides were embarrassed. The sky got darker and the workers crowded closer.

The communications gap continued another minute or two. Everything getting darker and angrier. Finally the Party man said, "Why don't you ask them if they want to strike?"

"All right," said Mark.

And one of our guides, in Spanish, said to the large group of men standing around us. "This companero wants to know if you have the right to strike. If you would like to strike?"

"Strike?" shouted one worker. "Strike against whom? We are the bosses! We work for the Cuban people!"

"Strike?" shouted another. "Yes, we want to strike! Strike against imperialism!"

We thought Mark would be lynched. But everyone started to laugh and



Mark said, "That's what I was hoping to hear," and began clapping his hands.

Anecdote: It's said that Simone de Beauvoir told Haydee Santamaria (one of the few women who fought in the mountains with the Rebel army): "You Cuban women are not liberated at all! Look! Celia Sanchez still cooks for Fidel."

Haydee replied: "If you don't understand the importance of cooking for Fidel, you do not understand our

revolution."

Despite all this love, pictures and signs of Fidel are scarce, though there are some. A poster might say: "Con Cuba Con Fidel" or "Todos por la ofensiva revolucionaria junto con Fidel," but these are not abundant. The feeling is that Fidel is a great man, but hardly god, that we work for him because he works so hard for us. We work to emulate him and to please him.

Pictures of Che, on the other hand, are everywhere. An isolated bohio (thatched house) in the countryside will have a newspaper picture of Che on the front door. Posters and photos are everywhere. The most astonishing, perhaps, was a forty-foot cardboard cut-out of Che with a bandaged arm, the way he entered Havana on January 1, 1959. It was down the street from the co-ordinating center of the Havana Green Belt. Naturally, we all took snapshots of it—posing between his legs, our heads touching his cardboard kneecap.

Anecdote: On the Isle of Youth, a small island off the Cuban coast where intensive farming communes are being developed, a ten year old girl was excited because we were norteamericanos:

"Do you want to travel someday?" asked Sue Orrin.

"Yes," said the girl.

"Where do you want to go?"

She thought a moment. "Bolivia," she said.

"To be like Che?" said Sue.

She thought a moment. "No. To be like Tania."

Working Hard

As we travel from factory to factory, personalized, psyche-oriented, I keep asking people, workers and others: Do you like your job? Do you enjoy your work? Would you like to do something else?"

The reply is invariably: "I will do what the revolution needs." Or: "I was trained as an agronomist—but the revolution needs chemists—so this is what I do now." Or: "Of course I like this, but if the revolution needed something else I would do that." Or sometimes, I get no answer at all, because it's not a question that Cubans often ask themselves.

Their satisfaction comes not exclusively from personal gratification

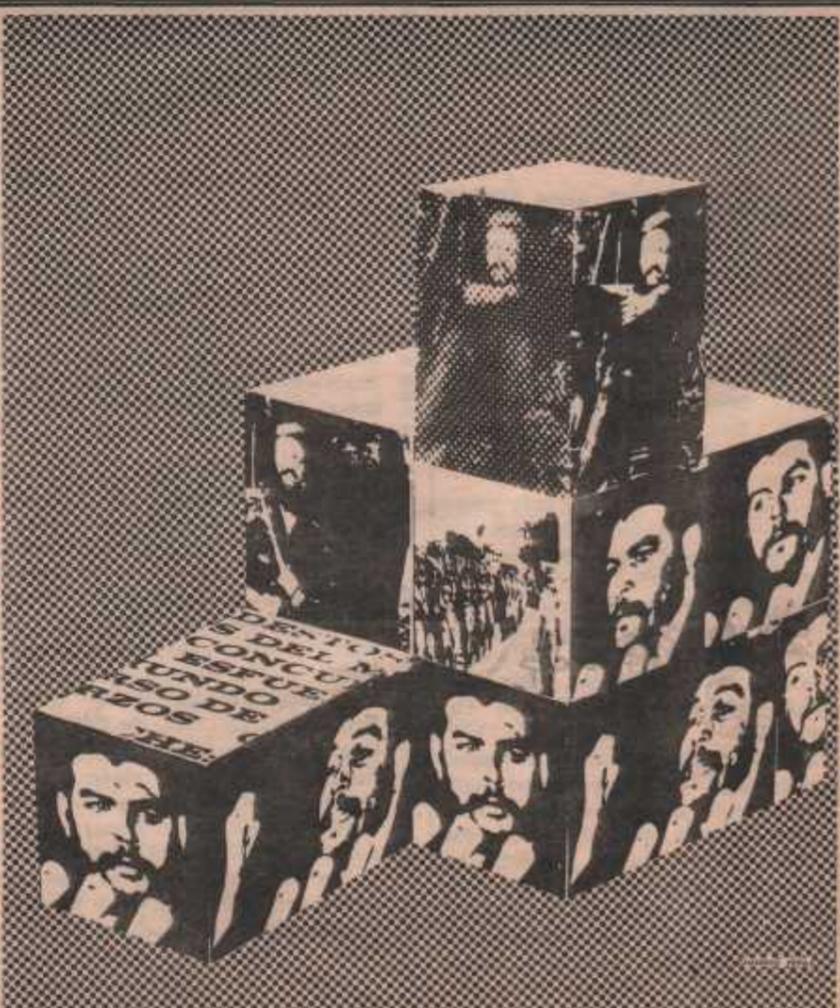


(as ours in the U.S. must come), but from collective gratification. From the sense of building Cuba, giving courage to other third-world movements, working together on whatever is necessary.

Everyone in Cuba is working, and working very hard. Cuba needs everything. Technicians, translators, scholars, teachers, doctors, laborers. All our guides are both full-time guides and students of language or political science. Most of the university students we met, like Lochy, were working simultaneously in their field. Or they work one year in their field and go back to their studies the next.

Every person is requested (not required) to do agricultural work for 45 days a year. The students go out to the fields together with their teachers. Whole ministries vacate for a month and a half. Even Fidel cuts sugar cane for twenty days a year. It's said he's a very good cutter.

Haji Raa Jr. (whose father is foreign minister) told us: "If someone had told me in 1955 that I would be spending a month cutting cane and enjoying it—I would've laughed in his face. But I'll tell you something—it's a very good thing. A man you have never spoken with—a man who empties the wastebaskets and you've said hello and that's about it—well, this man will be your bunkmate for a month. So you get to know him and his family and his troubles. It's very important. It builds consciousness."



These Cuban posters are part of a series commemorating the 100 years of struggle. The one on the left depicts the attack on the Moncada barracks in 1953; the one on the right shows "Che Comunista".