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Students for a Democratic Society

NEW LEFT NOTES SDS

January 22, 1969

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Vol. 4, No. 3

INSIDES:

- Revolution in the army.....1
- Inauguration action.....3
- Wilmington.....6
- Youth movement.....7



Revolution in the army

by Bernardine Dohrn
Inter-Organizational Secretary

(Interview with Dave Kline and Guy Smith, recently discharged from the army at Ft. Hood, Texas, both Vietnam veterans. Guy is black, one of the Ft. Hood 43; Dave, white. Both are returning to work at the Oleo Strut coffeehouse outside Ft. Hood.)

NLN: What's the relationship between black and white GIs? Do you deal with racism when organizing white GIs?

DAVE: Yeah, a lot of white GIs got a lot of racial hang-ups and stuff, but when you start rapping with them, you can see what racism is. You can really see it 'cause the same dude is fucking with everybody. A lot of racist shit gets wiped out, by just talking to guys about the role that racism plays in the structure. A lot of guys can dig that because they're together in the army.

(continued on page 4)

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

Soviet Bureaucracy

Brothers and Sisters:

I am writing in response to a letter in the December 11 issue of New Left Notes. This letter was written by David Kaplitz, and its content included strong anti-Soviet feelings. It seems to me that in his reference to the "exception" of Cuba, he was quite naive. Where would Cuba be today, if it were not for the U.S.S.R.? On the bottom of the Caribbean, to be sure. Even though I know little about the internal functionings of the Soviet Union, other than what I read in the distorted capitalist press, I will assume that the present state is a bureaucratic opportunist one. Even if this is true, why would one condemn it as strongly as our capitalist state? It is absurd. From what little I know, I have gathered that the Soviet State's explanation for complete dictatorship is the U.S. threat. Russian people are told that only until the threat of U.S. invasion is gone can the working class assume the power now entrusted to the state. The people of Russia are not dumb or stupid. They read Marx and Lenin, and when they see the contradictions between what they said and the existing situation, they don't just skip over it. They truly believe the reason that all of the power is in the hands of the state is because of the American threat. Whether or not the government is sincere is another question. However it is my belief that if we do our stuff here, and succeed in overthrowing capitalism, the Russian people will overthrow their bureaucracy if need be. There will no longer be any excuse for any government to suppress its people with the U.S. aggression out of the way. Once again I would like to stress that whether or not the Russian government is sincere is not the important factor; what is important is what is in the minds of the Russian people. They ultimately have the power, and when the reign of capitalism is overthrown, they will take it.

In the Struggle
Grant Cooper

(Editor's note: The writer is a 16 year old now doing high school organizing for SSOC after having been kicked out of New Orleans High School.)

Sycophancy

"Cuba Week" seems to have gotten off to a bad start—in advance. In Michele Clark's article "Reflections on Cuban Socialism," printed Dec. 11, we find the following:

Haydee Santamaria refuting Simone de Beauvoir's charge that Cuban women are not liberated by saying, "If you don't understand the importance of cooking for Fidel, you don't understand our revolution";

A longer anecdote to the same effect, regarding the right to strike: "Strike?" the workers shout, "strike against whom? We are the bosses"; a second worker shouts: "Yes, we want to strike! Strike against imperialism!"

The assumption of both anecdotes is that Cuba's revolution has somehow released her from the laws which apply to the rest of society: that cooking for men is a sign of women's inequality everywhere else, but not in Cuba; that Cuban workers have gone through ten years of revolution without ever desiring to put down their tools to enforce a grievance.

Questions we should ask ourselves in "Cuba Week," in addition to questions about imperialism:

Are labor relations in Cuba (or China or the USSR) really described adequately by phrases invented by Trotsky in 1921, rejected then by Lenin (who insisted that there would be a need for strikes even under socialism) and put to work by Stalin in the 1930s? (It is especially depressing to see the questioner who raised the matter of strikes put down in Clark's article as a "pink-diaper baby.")

Doesn't Cuba's attitude toward women (as well as toward homosexuals) reveal serious flaws in the Cuban conception of "socialist man"? (Depressing to see

Granma giving big play to a description of pot-smoking and homosexuality in the Guantanamo naval base.)

Is the revolution creating in Cuba, as in other socialist countries, an administering elite? Do elites ever favor policies which would eliminate their own social role and their existence as an elite? (Depressing for Clark's article to quote Raul Roa Jr.; does the fact that his father is foreign minister make him any more quoteworthy than any other Cuban?)

All these questions and more. Socialism doesn't, or shouldn't, involve uncritical sycophancy to the revolution of your choice.

Christopher Hobson
U of Chicago SDS

Hot Issue?

Comrades:

The first demand of partisans of the Vietnamese revolution is, of course,

Motherfucker acquitted

Ben Morea was acquitted last week on two counts of assault and battery by means of a dangerous weapon. The charges could have sent him to jail for 20 years.

Ben and his lawyer, Bill Homans Jr. of Boston, won despite, or maybe partly because of, a D.A. that constantly ranted that Ben was the type who "would stab anyone in the back." The D.A. carried knives as evidence in his pockets, brandished them around making leading statements, and constantly ranted and race-baited Ben on his name, his origins, and his style of life.

The jury acquitted Ben even after the judge strongly instructed the jury to disregard any testimony concerning self-defense and defense, a prime issue of the defendant's case.

The jury was younger than usual, three black people were on it, and some of the jurors were from the working class. The D.A. kept trying to prove Ben is inhuman. The jury apparently didn't believe the D.A. after Ben testified for two hours, talked about how he does carry a knife, and does believe in protecting himself and his people, and in their protecting themselves. As Ben puts it, "The jurors seemed to understand the nature of defense, what it means. They understood when I said we don't allow our people to be pushed around."

After the judge's instructions to the jury, everyone was surprised at the outcome of the trial. In fact, right before the jury's verdict, the lawyer was in the library preparing to file an appeal.

BLACK BRANDEIS STUDENTS GRANTED AMNESTY

64 black Brandeis students walked out of the Communications Building they had held for 11 days last Sunday. Their demands for an autonomous Afro-American Studies Department were still unmet, but amnesty has apparently been granted to all except students who disrupted a government class during the strike.

There was some support from the nearby black Roxbury community. Strike spokesman Randy Bailey said that their struggle would continue using new forms, and that their demands were not in any way negotiable. President Morris Abram has learned some of Hayakawa's tricks, and has announced an unscheduled week's vacation after midterms in early February, for "regeneration and rest."

GUSANOS AT COLUMBIA

The celebration of Cuba Week at Columbia University was disrupted by a gusana's handgrenade Jan. 14.

Edward Boorstein was speaking to an audience of 400 when a 25 year old gusana (Cuban counter-revolutionary chick) pulled the pin of a handgrenade and hurled it at his feet. Her aim was good, but fortunately the grenade was a dud.

New York City boasts the second largest concentration of gusanos in the U.S., yet Columbia SDS did not set up a security system. After the handgrenade incident, people noticed a number of people in the audience armed with tomatoes and eggs.

We suggest that folks who are planning to have Cuba events in February take into consideration the militancy of the gusanos and take the steps necessary to protect speakers, film and sound equipment, etc.

STANFORD SDS BREAKS UP TRUSTEES

Palo Alto, California (LNS)—About 50 students broke up a luncheon of the Stanford University Board of Trustees Jan. 14. The members of the movement and the members of the power elite pushed and shoved on opposite sides of a door at the Faculty Club dining room, until a student infiltrator sneaked into the dining room from the other side and got the door open.

The trustees tried to block the students with physical force. One demonstrator said, "Keep your hands off me or I'll smash you in the face," and another said to a venerable trustee, "What's your right to be here, punk?"

SDS had prepared an elaborate position paper attacking the University's ties to the Defense Department and the Vietnam War. The students demanded that three trustees resign from the board of trustees or from positions in defense-related industries. The three men are Roger Lewis, president of General Dynamics Corp., William Hewlett, head of Hewlett Packard Corp., and Tom Jones, president of the Northrup Corp. The students also demanded the university-sponsored Stanford Research Institute abandon all defense-related research.

Dean Willard Wyman declared the demonstration in violation of rules and got about 30 names, some of them pseudonyms.

for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops.

The next immediate order of business is what class will take over from the compradore bourgeoisie and what form of government and society will be constructed.

Indeed, the determination of these two issues cannot be separated—as the Paris Peace Talks must inevitably show.

Vague assurances that the struggle being won through blood will not be sold out at the Peace Talks fall all too short of being convincing.

Our experience of such past disappointments gives us plenty of reason to demand more than mere wishful thinking.

Little or nothing has appeared in the pages of The Guardian, The Militant, Monthly Review, or New Left Notes on this question. Have neither the "new" or "old" left any theories or programs to offer? Is the role of the working

class in Vietnam of no legitimate concern to the American working class? Have none of these publications digested the experience of a similar problem faced by the Bolsheviks half a century ago? Can a "non-socialistic", "coalition government", "a national democratic regime that would include bourgeois elements—including private enterprise along with some nationalized industry",



Selling out?

(as Wilfred Burchett (Guardian 12/21/68) uncritically reports the NLF as advocating) really bring independence and "democracy" much less solve Vietnam's economic problem in today's imperialist world? Is this not Utopian and Menshevist?

How will such a government qualitatively differ from Kerensky's or Sukarno's for that matter? Will not such a government still have to be overthrown by the organized armed might of workers with the support of the peasants if the Vietnamese Revolution is not to be smashed and drowned in yet another blood battle as under similar "non-socialist" (and what is "non-socialist" is capitalist) regimes in Germany after World War I, China in 1927, Spain in the 30's and Indonesia just a couple of years back?

Referring to the proposed government Burchett tells us (in the 12/21/68 Guardian) that, "In the North, the feeling is that this is a cheap price to pay for national independence."

But weren't the German, Chinese, Spanish and Indonesian workers and peasants also told that their support of non-socialist regimes was also a "cheap price to pay" for the termination of revolutionary struggle? Did it turn out to be so? Must the Vietnamese go through yet another such agonizing experience?

Didn't the Ho Chi Minh leadership tell the workers and peasants of Vietnam in 1945 and 1946 that its establishment of a "democratic and middle class government" and its decision to lay down its arms in the face of British occupation troops and later its agreement to permit French troops to return was a "cheap price" to pay for peace? Was it?

Didn't this same leadership in 1955 sell its people on a divided Vietnam with the assurance of the lying Imperialist world of free elections in the South after it had thoroughly beaten the French Army on the field of battle—on the theory that this compromise was a "cheap price" to pay for peace? Was it?

Has peace ever been purchased cheaply?

Can Marxists in good faith accept such a projected compromise in the struggle for state power without first rejecting every argument Lenin fought for in "The State and Revolution"?

Have the adversaries of Trotsky's "Theory of the Permanent Revolution" nothing to say about such a deal?

Do its advocates have a theory to refute it?

Is the issue too hot to handle? Will it go away if we ignore it?

Or does some mysterious cat have the collective tongues of the radical press?

A. Robert Kaufman
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Action, evaluation in DC

by Jonny Lerner
DC Regional Staff

Most of the 5,000 kids who came to Washington for the counter-inaugural demonstrations went through some fast changes. They were mainly young kids, new to the movement, the kind of people who have been showing up at chapter meetings and demonstrations since the beginning of this academic year, kids who for the most part were not in Chicago but for whom Chicago was an extremely important jolt. On one hand, the clarity with which the bankruptcy of electoral legalistic politics was demonstrated there, coupled with the militant response of the actions, had turned them on. On the other, that response had scared them shitless.

Contrasting Actions

The best explanation of the changes people went through is the contrast between the first actions on Saturday and the street action Monday.

On Saturday, a small group, mostly made up of women, began to picket a Distinguished Ladies' Tea at the National Gallery of Art, and were completely controlled by a handful of cops who moved them around the corner and forced them to disperse.

Later in the day about 300 people demonstrated at the Young People's Inaugural Salute (a cocktail party hosted by Randy Agnew and Tricia Nixon) at the Washington Hilton. There was not enough organization within the group to have been able to move aggressively in any way, even if there had been support for such initiative.

One brother who pulled a piece of bunting from the hotel awning was busted by three cops who moved right into the middle of the group and pulled him out and across the street, while the people watched passively.

Universal Brotherhood

At a mass meeting/communal dinner that evening at the Washington SDS movement center, major contradictory political currents emerged. SDS organizers tried to raise tactical criticisms of the afternoon's action as a way of developing people's consciousness and preparing them for the bigger demonstrations on the following days.

We were met, to our surprise, by a strong pacifistic response from a large number of those present. When the general question "Why have we come to Washington?" was presented, the response was largely "To show Nixon that we want peace now".... A major part of the meeting was taken up by people objecting to calling cops pigs "because we believe in universal brotherhood".

It is important to understand that this meeting had been well publicized and consisted of those people who were in town and who identified enough with SDS to come to our center, and we felt that as vague as their politics had turned out to be, they were probably more together on the whole than the rest of the kids in town for the weekend. By the end of the evening, however, it was felt that the rapping and subsequent informal conversations had been invaluable in forcing kids to deal with why they had come, how they were going to act in the streets, and most important, the need to struggle.

By the end of the Mobilization march of 20,000 Sunday more than a thousand kids were participating in more militant disruptive action. People were much more together in terms of defense, rescuing brothers and sisters from the pigs, etc.

Sunday night another meeting, attended by SDS, CO-AIM, and unattached people, decided that the Mobilization's non-plans for people to simply come to the parade route had to be countered. We decided on meeting at a park several blocks from the parade route and marching to the route, expecting a major confrontation before we had gotten there.

Several of us then went to the "Counter-Inaugural Ball" being held in the Mobilization's huge tent by the Yippies to speak about the demonstration—although we anticipated having trouble gaining access to the microphone, and were also afraid that in that context of a rock dance/light show/hip party our ideas would not be accepted.

We were surprised that when one of our people spoke about the demonstration and the need for people to get themselves together into small groups of friends and work together in the streets for better communication, defense, etc., the crowd of fifteen thousand not only listened but cheered.

What had been planned turned out not to work. By the time we were ready to leave the Park Monday only a few hundred people had come, and there were several busses of tactical pigs waiting to bust if we went into the streets or dispersed. Their chief told us that they would let us go down to the parade route on the sidewalks as a group, and we were forced to accept that.

When we got to the route, however, we had picked up enough people to completely take up two blocks of the parade route. People were feeling angry and strong then, and there were several confrontations at points along the steel cable separating us from the pigs. When Nixon had gone by people began to move out of the parade area and split up in several directions through the downtown area, disrupting traffic, breaking windows, etc. From the experience of the three days people had learned the necessity of hanging together and hanging loose. People were learning what it is to move in the streets.

Tactical Growth

Tactical development is always related to political development. On Saturday at the Hilton, the lack of organization was matched by sporadic, weak chants—chants such as "End War", "Hell No, We Won't Go", even "More Pay for Cops". Few of the kids

understood why we should be demonstrating at a party for the children of the ruling class, and few bothered to come.

By the next night at the Smithsonian, we were yelling "Death to the Ruling Class", "Go Spiro, Beat Greece", and understanding clearly that the people arriving in limousines were the enemy, that the police were present solely to protect them from our rocks and sticks and fists.

On Monday, waiting for the parade, someone started to chant "Communism" over and over, and it was picked up by everyone in the crowd. It is true that to yell "Communism" one need not be a communist, chanting "Go Spiro, Beat Greece" does not automatically involve an understanding of Greek fascism and how it is the result of American imperialism. But for a group of people to move from "Peace Now" and passive acceptance of police control to "One More War—Revolution" and smashing windows of banks and insurance companies in three days is a most serious and important change.

Mobilization as Cop

The actions of the Mobilization during the inauguration weekend must receive a good deal of serious criticism. Confusion and poor coordination are to be expected, though not excused. We were not prepared, however, for intentional anti-SDS,

anti-militant decisions over and over again from most of the Mobilization leadership.

A few examples will be helpful: on the morning of their march, before the rally began, some SDS people asked to have an announcement made that there would be an open meeting to discuss street tactics for that day. The person on the mike, a member of the Mobilization Steering Committee, refused. When we grabbed the mike and started to make the announcement, he had the sound cut off altogether.

The reason that the pigs could perform so smoothly and in such reserved fashion on the Mobilization march, using only four or five motorcycle cops per block to keep us on our side of the street, was because the Mobilization marshals effectively functioned as cops. In fact, several of them drew knives on demonstrators who were trying to rip down the flag in front of the HEW building.

On Monday the Mobilization disavowed any connection with the demonstration to the bourgeois press. In addition, on the grounds that since they hadn't called the action they weren't responsible, they refused to give bail money to some of the people busted in the streets, and it was necessary for people to threaten that they would bust up their office before they agreed to pay people's bails.

Also it was clear from the composition of the crowd which turned out for their rally and march that the Mobilization no longer draws major support from adults. In fact, in Washington as well as Chicago, the Mobilization has functioned as a means by which unattached and politically unclear kids are pulled into movement actions.

While in both of these instances the experience has been an important one for those who participated, it is clear that this has happened around disastrously poor politics, and that national actions which embody correct politics and good organizing would be more successful and more useful.

In the past the Mobilization has played an important role as an anti-war coalition, and has organized actions which have built SDS and the movement in general. It is clear that it is no longer able to deal with the radical movement's development in terms of political analysis and militance.

This leads to a criticism of SDS, which as the major radical organization in the country must come to see itself responsible for operating on the national level.



Where are all those pledges
folks promised at the NC?

NIC members remember
NIC meeting February 7-9.

Revolution in the army revolution in the ar

(continued from page 1)

GUY: Once you get into that rank thing, they develop that racist thing more openly against black GIs. "Well, I'll put five of you black guys on that detail—if you don't like it you can go see the CO." The CO's supposed to help you but he's a racist also. If you come into the army and you're black minded, or if you're not going to take any of that white hatred, you're going to go to the stockade for being black, nothing more. Phony charges like not getting a haircut, being 15 minutes late for a formation, stuff like that.

DAVE: A lot of GIs start being conscious and they think about it. Say you get fucked with and you start thinking about why there is that race hatred and then you see who's injecting it into the thing is the officers.

GUY: Like when they had riot control, they were saying black people this and black people that. This is a lieutenant racist from Alabama and at the end of the statement he says everybody go out and vote for Wallace. Either you just sit there and take it or you get up and walk out.

NLN: What about the GIs' attitudes on black urban revolts, the Panthers, SNCC, black caucuses in unions?

DAVE: A lot of white guys get the same reaction as back in the States. You know, paranoia and stuff. But we got some of these here "Huey Newton Speaks to the Movement" and had them passed around. Guys really dug reading it. You know, they dug what he was saying about the black liberation movement.

You know, when they had riot control, they always say, well the army's got the good Negroes—and they say Negroes too—and the bad Negroes are out in the streets. "You've got to watch out for them," they say to us. They try to play on that race paranoia thing.

GUY: You go in the ghetto and shoot your brother. That's their philosophy.

NLN: How did the Ft. Hood revolt—the refusal of GIs to come to Chicago this summer—get organized?

GUY: You go into the army thinking you're going to get away from the discrimination at home. In the army you cope with it in a deeper degree; you get stronger and you're willing to fight the system. That's the way our thing came about. We knew that they wanted us to go into the ghetto and fight black people. And there'll be similar things coming this summer, black GIs and white GIs saying we're not going

into the cities to fight our own people.

Viet Cong Fighters

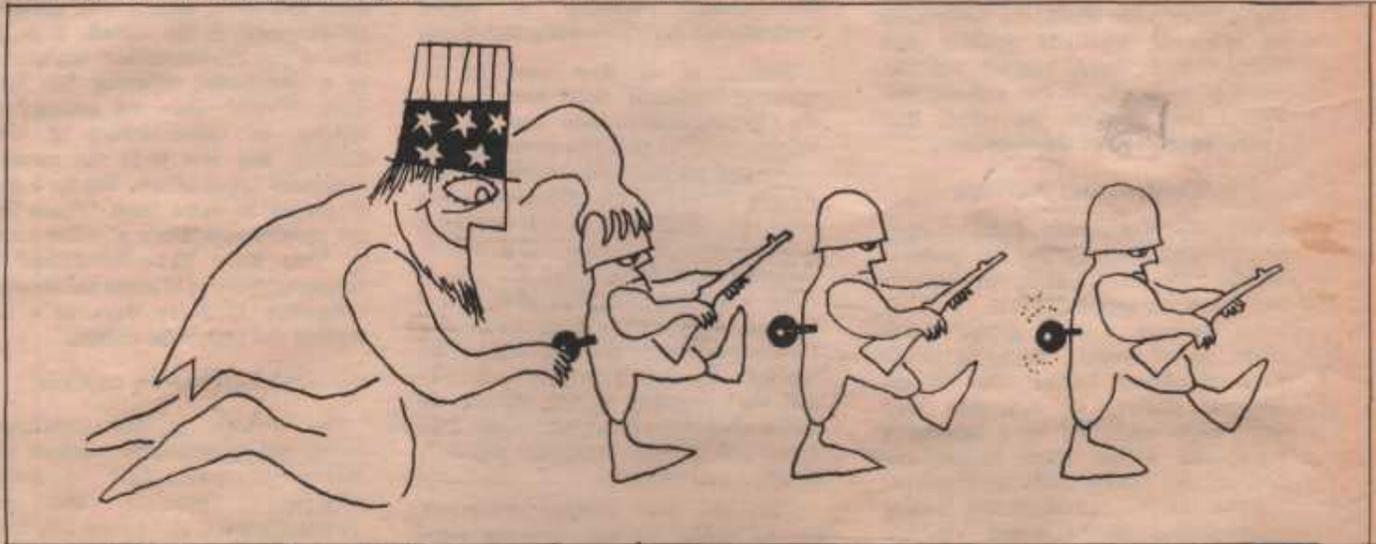
NLN: What's the attitude of most of the guys about the "Viet Cong", at least after they've come back?

DAVE: As fighters...they're the best. But the political content of the fight—the army tries to hide that. They manipulate the news. When guys go over to the Nam, they expect women to be throwing flowers at you. You know, the great liberator role. But they don't know where it's at and they get over there and a lot of them hate the Vietnamese. They hate the Viet Cong but they respect

getting over with it. The army's got a powerful tool: no matter how bad the block is, the army's worse. While you're in the army you build up this feeling that everything's beautiful back there.

Guys coming back from Nam especially, they know what the war is all about. They might not want to say it, 'cause they're defensive about it; but when they get back home, they get pretty disillusioned about what is going on back there. All the time you're in the army, they're always giving you classes on the benefits of investing, you know. They reach the stock market to you, how capitalism is good and all.

structure brought out in the open. Dudes can see the basic thing; you got rich men and you got poor men. And all the contradictions become polarized, so to speak; they're not glossed over. You can see that the motherfucker's doing better who went to college or got a bar on his shoulder. Guys know where it's at, and some of us have learned how to deal with these problems, and take care of them. We're going back to Texas to work, but after that we're going back to the block and tell them where it's at. And that's what we're trying to do at Ft. Hood—to show dudes that it can be done, that we can solve our problems.



the Viet Cong because they get their asses kicked by them every day. Guys know they're dedicated soldiers.

GUY: Their unity is very strong and they have a cause. The majority of GIs are just in Vietnam because they have to be there. But the Viet Cong believe in it—and they're not going to lose either.

DAVE: GIs know what the Viet Cong are fighting for, basically. But the army tells you it's communist aggression.

NLN: What do GIs think about the role of the U.S. army?

DAVE: Lifers got a thing they say every time something fucks up in the world; they say they should have put a soldier in charge.

We don't hear about strikes and the national guard. At the present time, white guys don't associate the army with busting into their neighborhood. A lot of people don't think about the army too much; they think they're

Guys, when they get back and find out that it ain't nice like it was on leave, they're going to be pissed off. That's what we'd do. When we would rap with guys and try to get them to associate their struggle with others and thinking that they'll be going back home and spreading the ideas to their friends—seen on a larger scale, you know, spreading out to the working class as a whole.

NLN: What do you think the role of guys who've been in the army, particularly guys who've been to Vietnam, will be in building a revolutionary movement in America?

GUY: Well, I think that the army is turning out a lot of revolutionaries. In a sense, they made me one. Instead of closing people's minds up, they're pushing them to the peak of defiance. 'Cause in the army you can't get away from it, and they can do just about anything they want to you.

DAVE: In the army, there are all these here contradictions within the

Becoming a revolutionary and overthrowing the structure and setting up a people's government. That's what we see our role as—getting past the anger and getting into a constructive thing, seeing what can be done. The more guys we reach, the better we're going to be for a revolutionary movement. Guys are coming back mad. The army's cutting its own throat.

B.S. Student Movement

NLN: What's the general attitude of GIs toward the student movement in America? Do they know about it? Do they dig it?

GUY: Well, a lot of them think it's just a lot of b.s. 'cause they realize that most of them are just in it for the present thing.

DAVE: Yeah, a lot of them see the student movement the same ways they see officers, 'cause a lot of officers are college graduates and they see the

LA regional action

Things are building again at San Fernando Valley State College in Northridge, Calif. a week after nearly 400 students, black, brown, and white, were arrested as the result of massive anti-racism actions on the campus.

Acting president Delmar Oviatt and Alumni Association head Richard Hill held a press conference to explain why police were called on the campus during a campus protest meeting and made hundreds of arrests. They told of a report from police spies that they had sent into a community meeting the night before the big bust informing them of a giant conspiracy on the part of the black community which included the supposed assassination of Oviatt and a plan for 1500 militants from the black community to invade the campus. This statement was made at a time when negotiations were taking place between the Black Student Union (BSU), SDS, United Mexican American Students (UMAS), community people, and the radical caucus of the faculty and the administration. Immediately following the press statement, BSU president Archie Chatman announced that negotiations were being broken off. He said that the statement showed that Oviatt (acting president since President Blomgren had a mental breakdown a week earlier) had acted in bad faith.

Conspiracy Charges

The statements on the part of the administration indicate that heavy conspiracy charges in the near future

may be in store for VSC students. There are already some 50 black students facing possible death sentences for the alleged kidnapping of administrators during the seizure of the administration building some weeks ago demanding an end to institutional racism.

East LA Strike

Also in the LA area a strike at East Los Angeles College, heavily populated by third-world students, has left the campus tense following the arrests of 12 students. The strike was called for by BSU, MASA (the Mexican American Student Association), and SDS to demand a black studies program, the hiring of black teachers, and an end to police on the campus. ELAC has 900 police science students. About 600 of them attend evening classes and work for the police department in the daytime. Many wear guns to school and there have been

incidents where they have attacked movement people. Also raised was a demand for the school to openly support the strike at S.F. State. As of now, the demands have gone unmet. Last week a dozen people were arrested during the strike.

High school actions around the city have quieted down since the city-wide rebellions a week ago. 10 leaders of the Hamilton High School SDS demonstrations against racism on the campus were thrown out of school and are now organizing at nearby Fairfax High School.

Tensions have increased at UCLA after two Black Panthers were gunned down and killed at a BSU meeting on the campus. That night 17 Panthers, supposedly armed and ready to commit acts of retribution, were arrested. Warrants have been issued for two brothers who are allegedly members of US, a black nationalist group headed by Ron Karenga. Nobody is clear as to exactly what happened, but the man is obviously doing his job within the movement.

This is the context in which the L.A. regional conference will take place January 31 and February 1 and 2 at Pitzer College in Claremont. For further information on the conference, SDSers should call the L.A. regional office: 660-0190. The new address for the office is 619 S. Bonnie Brae in L.A.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA REGIONAL CONFERENCE

to plan program for campus and community in the spring

Place: Pitzer College, Claremont

Time: Weekend of Jan. 31, Feb. 1, 2

For further information call LA Regional Office: 660-0190



Main University of Tokyo administration building, held by police during heavy campus fighting last week.

my revolution in the army revolt

student movement as the same class. They see class privilege—like they were in school, and we were being shot at. And a lot of times, at least in the past, students used to yell at soldiers "You fascist pigs" and shit like that. Guys in the army didn't have the time to go to college and never made it into college in the first place; and that's why they're in the army. So a lot of times they don't see the student movement fighting in their interest at all. They see that students don't have to go up against the system in the same way; they have to force the system to act a lot of times. But in the army when you decide to fight

about operating, about how to play the Man's game against himself. Get him in a place where you can expose his whole nature, the whole class nature of the army, the whole war, the nature of the whole society.

We use classes. They get chaplains out to give classes on anti-communism. In those classes they come on like there's god speaking. We failed to use that at first, but we use it now. We ask questions; every time a question is asked, the guys go "yeah". They really dig it. They see us speak to them, speak for ourselves.

DAVE: They try to put all that paranoia against you, and separate you

There were some people who doubted the whole thing, the anti-communist feelings; everyone had questions on their mind. And Connie and Phil answered according to what they had seen. By the end, everyone was digging Cuba pretty much. It served a good educational purpose. I think we're going to use the Strut for more educational type things.

There's the films on Thursday night, and one night is poetry reading and other bohemian type aspects. I think we're going to have the Cuba thing back because we have a pretty rapid turnover, a lot of guys getting out of the army. The less education and

organizations legitimacy. Those ones that say we're going to help you GIs. They don't see themselves fighting their struggle and relating to our struggle. They see themselves in supportive roles, and we don't need no supporters, we need fellow combatants. And we don't see no union thing as being feasible, 'cause that just goes down the same road that the trade unions went down. With the system controlling things like it does, that reformist shit just don't make it. We aren't trying to reform the army; we don't see no good values in the army worth reforming. We're going to build a people's army.

Ft. Hood 43

NLN: What's happening at Ft. Hood and in Killeen in the wake of the revolt of the Ft. Hood 43's refusal to go to Chicago in August and the busts that have happened since around the Oleo Strut coffee house?

GUY: At the present time, there are still five people left in the stockade, locked up. Three of them are doing a nine-month sentence, and two of them are doing six. The majority of people who got convicted went to Ft. Riley, Kansas, which is an indoctrination center. They're sending them back to Ft. Hood for further harassment. The majority of the ones who were convicted are coming back to Ft. Hood.

NLN: What kind of sentences were given?

GUY: Three were given nine months. That was the heaviest. The majority got six, some three. I got a discharge, and I went back to my unit and got three months for not getting a haircut. I got out last Friday.

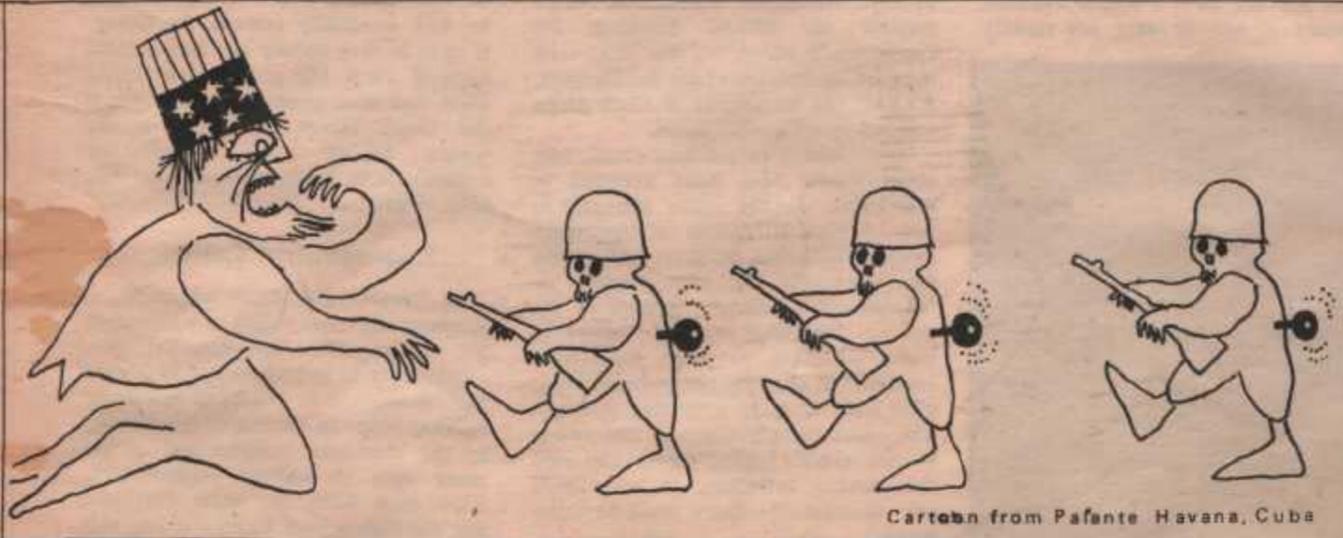
Around Killeen, most of the busts are frame-ups—people who are active don't smoke. Military Intelligence is framing, Killeen police are framing. Because you want change, you're considered a criminal.

NLN: How have these arrests and the revolt affected general attitudes on the base?

GUY: Well, it's opened a lot of minds to what's been happening. A lot of people notice racism in the service now more than before.

NLN: What's the situation like in stockades both at Ft. Hood and in Nam?

GUY: In Nam it's constant harassment. Every time there's something against the guards it's both a political and a racial thing. The majority of people who speak up for their rights are put in a cell. They try to break a lot of people, but they're making them a little bit stronger. The army's turning out more revolutionaries today.



Cartoon from Pafante Havana, Cuba

the system all you have to do is turn around and you get stepped on.

Army Organizing

NLN: What's the role of an organizer in the army?

DAVE: GIs got to organize GIs, talk to them in the barracks, everywhere. Like Mao talks about the fish and the sea. When we rap, we rap for the GIs' interest and they know we rap for their interest. They know we're not talking about some privileged group. They know we're talking about all of us together.

So we can slip around and keep cover. We have a lot of discussions with GIs; guys are always talking in the army. A lot of times guys react to things first off with a sort of individualistic analysis. You know what we've been taught all the time under capitalism turns you against everybody else. But we get in there and start talking about uniting, and guys can dig it.

We learned a lot about organizing,

from the rest of the guys. They say that look out guys he's a commie, or a hippie, or something. But guys, when they're told you're a commie or a hippie or something come over to find out where you're at.

NLN: What kind of uses have you been making of the Oleo Strut? How do you see the coffee houses being used for GI organizing?

DAVE: We have Newsreel films every Thursday night and then discussions afterward. The films are pretty good, about guerrilla struggles around the world and stuff at home. Guys were picking up on what students were fighting for when we showed the films because they were pretty much legitimate struggles.

Last week we had Inside Vietnam, it's the kind of film that afterwards you think about.

Then we had these two folks who had been to Cuba come up with slides and films and a rap. It was really something because everyone really got into it.

struggle going on, the more dope guys do. So we're going to try to get more struggle and education stuff. We're firm believers in struggle.

NLN: What kind of contacts do you have with organizers or activities going on at other bases around the country, or what kind of communication? What about organization inside the army?

No GI Union

DAVE: We do have problems with the people who want to organize mass demonstrations of and for GIs.

Most of us working together at Hood don't see the demonstrations serving no purpose except to stick your neck out for no reason. We're trying to build up consciousness to take back home. We're not trying to build a GI union. We're not trying to reform the army or form no union inside the army. We're trying to overthrow the system. We're not interested in getting up front in a demonstration and giving reformist

Japanese left ties up Tokyo

University of Tokyo students, after having closed down their campus since last spring, moved into Tokyo Monday to seize and hold a 1.5 square mile section of the city.

The area, called the Karla Liberation Sector, included subway and railway stations and ran through two of Japan's major universities, Chuo and Meiji. During the ten hours of seizure no police or automobiles were allowed inside. When 3,000 police finally stormed the approximately 2500 students, the students set the barricades on fire.

The clash came after 6,000 Tokyo police used gas grenades and water hoses to end a student takeover in 8 out of the 10 departments at Tokyo University. In the two days of fighting on the campus injuries ran into the hundreds, most of them cops. In many cases, students were able to throw back the grenades before they exploded. Students were also armed with helmets, shields, and a supply of Molotov cocktails, rocks, and other objects to drop on the cops below. Over 200 policemen have been reported injured.

History of Strike

Medical students began the strike over a year ago. They struck last January over the authoritarian control the full professors wield over both students and research assistants. The issues multiplied, however, as the

radical Zengakuren students began organizing the rest of the campus on both student and national issues (such as the US-Japanese Security Treaty, which is up for renewal in 1970).

Cops moved brutally on campus once in the spring to reopen the medical school—the result was that seven other departments went on strike.

During the fall, strikers continued to study on campus, setting up their own classes and boycotting assigned ones. Several main buildings were occupied

and draped with red, black and blue (blue for Zengakuren) flags.

Student strikes in many other of Japan's universities forced the issue to be discussed in several cabinet meetings of the Diet (the Japanese parliament). As the unrest among students began to be connected with general unrest in the country over the Security Treaty and the massive American economic and military presence, the strikers became more militant and the government moved in.

New Left Notes

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Wilmington: an occupied town

by Karen Fink
People Against Racism

Delaware is the home of the duPont Company. Wilmington, Delaware is the home of the National Guard. Wilmington has been occupied by Guard troops since the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968. What is the relationship between the racist oppression in Wilmington and the capitalist power of the duPonts, and what should be done to fight it?

Delaware is accustomed to the use of concentrated power in its affairs. Through control of the state's financial market and fiscal base, the University of Delaware's Board of Trustees, the metropolitan area's largest newspaper and development programs (e.g., large amounts of money—with direct control—went into the Wilmington ghetto through the Greater Wilmington Development Council), and the two

first black rebellion.

This Emergency Act had been voted by both houses of the state legislature and signed by the governor in a single day. According to this law, those arrested for damaging property during a declared emergency may be punished by not less than 3 nor more than 10 years in prison without any chance of parole for the first 3 years. Persons 16 years of age or over are equally



political parties, the duPonts have always been able to get what they wanted. Through privately financing a number of public schools, highways, parks, cultural events, civic groups, churches, and reform programs, the duPonts have been able to control or co-opt most of the state's citizens.

Decades of paternalistic largess have created a psychology of dependency. With such a large concentration of wealth and power, a family fortune of over 7.5 billion dollars, there are few independent political forces, and many hesitate to speak out or work on independent projects for fear of conflict with duPont.

When events or persons threaten duPont's self-interest, or their concept of "how things should be", duPont is quick to act. Two University of Delaware professors, Bresler and Myers, who publicly sympathized with a group of students who were objecting to compulsory military training on campus, had their contracts terminated by full approval of the duPont-controlled Board of Trustees. The students, numbering in the hundreds, who are protesting the illegitimate use of power against these professors, are now being threatened, bought off, or punished.

Emergency Riot Act

Both of Wilmington's newspapers and its main radio station are owned by the duPonts. The city skyline is dominated by the duPont building, the Nemours building, the Delaware Trust Company, the Farmer's Bank building, and the Wilmington Trust Company; all are either owned or controlled by the duPonts. Two of the four city high schools were built by private duPont money and named for members of the family.

Following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. last April, the black community expressed its grief and bitterness: like their brothers and sisters in cities throughout America they took to the streets. The outbreak was mild compared to what happened in other cities: there were no deaths or major injuries, and property damage was estimated at less than \$250,000.

On April 9th, however, the entire 4,000-man strength of the Delaware Army and Air National Guard was mobilized. Between April 8 and 13 more than 370 persons were arrested, most for curfew violations, but many under the Emergency Riot Act passed August 4, 1967 following Delaware's

considered adults. But one need not destroy property to be considered guilty under this act. Merely urging someone to destroy property, even if that person does nothing, makes one liable for the full penalty.

Mayor Babiarz lifted a city-wide curfew and declared the situation under control on Easter Sunday, April 14. But Governor Terry refused to withdraw the Guard troops, saying he had "intelligence reports" forecasting violence the next day. There was none.

On April 29, Douglas Henry Jr., a black man accused of burglary, was shot and killed in the custody of the police by an experienced clerk-typist in the Guard. No charges were filed against the Guardsman, but the state legislature passed a bill absolving the Delaware National Guard from any civil or criminal action resulting from deeds performed in the line of duty while under state mobilization orders.

In the face of such action at the state level, Mayor Babiarz formally ended the emergency on May 1. Governor Terry still refused to remove the Guard. The legal basis for his action is unclear and has never been challenged in the courts. It is also unclear whether or not the Emergency Riot Act is still in effect, but persons have been arrested and charged under its provisions since the Mayor's announcement.

Since spring the situation has changed very little. Troops—about 50 men in radio-equipped jeeps—still patrol the city's black community every night, only now they ride with Delaware State Troopers (since the Guard does not have the power to arrest). Ostensibly the Guardsmen are present for the purpose of riot prevention, and their only task is to disperse assemblies which could be the focus for larger, more hostile gatherings. From the point of view of the ghetto resident, however, it all adds up to a white occupation army.

The police have taken advantage of the Guard's presence to decimate the young grass-roots leadership of the ghetto. The harassment of militant black leaders had been going on in Wilmington for some time. But the April rebellion provided a rationale for handling the harassment a new way. With the National Guard patrolling the streets, any organizing effort on the part of blacks could be termed a violation of law and order. Indeed, the logic of the situation encouraged the

police to use their powers of arrest indiscriminately: the more arrests they made, the more convincing would be the argument that the Guard was needed; the more the Guard was needed, the longer it would stay; the longer it stayed, the longer the police would be free to work at the destruction of indigenous black leadership.

The primary target of the attack has been an organization called the Wilmington Youth Emergency Council (WEYAC) which in the past was the recipient of both private and public efforts at co-optation. Police have been assisted and prodded in their efforts by the McClellan Committee, which focused on WEYAC following the Committee's attack on the Blackstone Rangers of Chicago. Like the Rangers, WEYAC has its origins in black gangs and had received OEO funds.

At present it is unknown exactly how many blacks have been arrested in Wilmington or how many are still in jail. A cursory review of newspaper articles indicates at least 130 names whose arrests for such charges as "disorderly conduct," "breach of the peace," "resisting arrest," "failure to move on," and so forth could have represented political harassment. Many have been arrested a number of times. The court records are poor and nobody in the clerk's office knows for sure the number remaining in jail. There are at least 30—there could be many more.

"It's Only Soldiers"

National response to the Guard has been practically non-existent. NO legal challenge in the courts to the authority under which they remain has been made. Nor has legal defense or affirmative action to prevent the political attack on the black community been forthcoming. Media coverage has been sparse except for a few stories in national publications, none of which appeared before September, after the Guard had been there for six months.

A group of white Wilmingtonians has recently formed an organization known as the White Coalition for Justice Without Repression, in response to the presence of the Guard. Their efforts to mobilize public opinion against the Guard have been hampered by the apathy of persons like the white storekeeper who said: "Why get upset? It's only a few soldiers."

On the other hand, influential citizens who have spoken out have been met with remarkable hostility from the power structure: when some 60 clergymen issued a statement calling for removal of the Guard, Governor Terry denounced them in a vitriolic attack which suggested they stick to

their pastoral duties and stop preaching "what is next to revolution."

In conjunction with the black United Council, the White Coalition has been pressing three basic demands which may be summarized as 1) removal of the National Guard; 2) release of black political prisoners; and 3) severance of duPont control over community affairs. Governor-elect Russell W. Peterson (Republican), for many years a duPont executive, has refused to address himself to these demands. He has repeatedly insisted that he will disclose his intentions with respect to the Guard only after his inauguration on January 21. There are indications he will eventually remove the Guard, if only to save money and disassociate himself from his predecessor whose style has been blunt and bossy. But if the Guard leaves without the larger issues having been raised, the experiment in military repression will have succeeded.

Demonstration Called

To prevent this from happening, a demonstration was called in Wilmington for January 21—the day the new governor is to be inaugurated in Dover. The demonstration will focus on Rodney Square, which is dominated on one side by the Municipal Building and on the other side by DuPont headquarters. Wilmington MDS, the white coalition, and the high school Union students will lead the demonstration on a "tour" of Wilmington's institutions of control, both public and private. The tour will end in Rodney Square with a rally. The demands will include removal of the Guard, release of black political prisoners and severance of duPont control over community affairs.

Hopefully the demonstration will strengthen the position of those in Delaware who believe that the use of military force in response to human problems is not acceptable.

Furthermore, it must be made clear in Delaware and the rest of the nation that those who look to the corporations and their exploitative power to "save our cities" are deluded. Corporate imperialism for America's black and poor, like American imperialism everywhere, leads to military solutions.

Finally, Wilmington represents the first example of what the corporate controlled partisans of law and order have in mind for all of us. It must be challenged by the movement now: for the situation in Wilmington there are no outsiders.

(Editor's note: Presstime precludes including information on the proposed demonstration.)

Junior high protests cops

Half of the 1,258 students at Cole Junior High School in Denver Colorado boycotted school after a community meeting called for the students to stay home until plainclothes cops were removed from the school.

The strike was called by a meeting of people from the black community in Denver after a group of white teachers at the predominantly black school demanded police protection for themselves from their own students. The meeting was attended by parents of Cole students, members of the Denver Black Panther Party and students as well as other interested members of the black community and representatives of the Crusade for Justice, militant Chicano organization headed by Corky Gonzales.

The Panthers offered to station themselves around the school the next morning along with any others who wished to inform students about the boycott and encourage them to join. As students began walking to school at 8 a.m. Thursday, January 16, Panthers and members of the Crusade for Justice were stationed on every corner around the school. Most of the students were receptive when informed of the issues around the boycott and

turned around and went home.

Then the police moved in, arresting three Panthers on charges of "loitering" and "contributing to the delinquency of a minor." Other Panthers were harassed by police and warned that they would be busted if they stayed near the school.

The police were stationed in the school after members of the Denver Classroom Teachers Association at Cole presented a petition containing 27 demands—including a provision for at least four plainclothes cops at the school permanently. Seventy-five of the eighty teachers at Cole agreed to the demands. This action took place after two white teachers were allegedly attacked by students.

Mrs. Joy Boyd, a black teacher at Cole, drew a standing ovation at the community meeting when she denounced the racist teachers' demands. She said: "Out of all these grievances that you've heard, they (the teachers) have said nothing about teaching your child." Suggestions were made for a program of community control by the black community but were left undecided. The meeting ended with a unanimous standing vote to boycott Cole until cops are withdrawn.

Analysis of the youth movement

by Howie Machtinger
Chicago Regional SDS
University of Chicago

(This is the first of a two-part article.)

"Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty." (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in *The Communist Manifesto*)

"What? Marx didn't have a class analysis!" (Howie Machtinger, in exclamation!)

Children as a class—NO. What Marx understood (and what we are beginning to) is that class analysis had to be concrete and specific, and a class analysis was not effectively carried out by exhortations that the primary contradiction was between the working class and the ruling class. Beyond that, we must understand, for instance, the youth "problem" by understanding the way in which bourgeois class rule leads (at certain times) to super-exploitation of children in the factories and (at more times) to oppression at home, and (at this time) to other kinds of oppression of youth. One of the key points of Klonsky's resolution ("Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement", NLN, Jan. 8) is that at this time, in America, in the midst perhaps of what Lenin called the moribund stage of imperialism, youth are oppressed in particular ways which create the potential for a youth movement which can 1) raise and fight for demands which are in the interest of "the working class as a whole" and 2) help to build a revolutionary working class movement in the shops and in the communities. (This second I'll discuss in the next issue of NLN.)

Trade Union Legacy

The problem of the American working class movement, historically, has not been a lack of militancy. It has a glorious history which we should all learn, as we begin to think of it more and more as our history. Rather, the problem has been its inability to wage sustained, sharp struggles which were in the interests of the entire working class, not just in the interest of whites (in opposition to the interest of blacks) or in the interest of the skilled (in opposition to the unskilled) or in the interest of American workers (in opposition to the proletariat of the Third World). Of course there are specific struggles which are exceptions to this, but our legacy is a trade union leadership which supports the war, a racist working class (they are not alone) self-defined as threatened by black insurgency, and unions like the Longshoremen's which preserve present job security at the expense of future job security. The problem is to unite the working class against imperialism, racism, and to enable them to act together to demand jobs for everyone. How? What does a youth movement have to do with all this?

America has had to militarize to protect its empire; this concrete expression of imperialism has made the draft necessary. Young men form the basis for a movement against the draft, the war, and imperialism. Further, the material basis for racism among the white working class is that under current conditions blacks do indeed threaten their jobs and the value of homes they have spent 20 years buying. Young workers, while often very vocally and militantly racist, haven't as great an investment in racism, and therein lies the possibility that a youth movement which is self-consciously anti-racist and which identifies with the black liberation movement can begin to counteract racism.

The economy, particularly the private sector, is having difficulty producing new jobs. Automation, such as "containerization" (for longshoremen), leads to conservative attempts on the part of unions to secure jobs for those presently working. Youth unemployment is three times average unemployment (the rate for dropouts from the education system is even higher) despite

the fact that over half of those between 18 and 25 are in school or in the military. There are close to three million men in the armed forces (3/4 of whom are under 30). Further, the stability of future industrial "careers" is undermined by automation, the saturation of markets (in the auto and steel industries), and the potential for general economic instability due to problems such as inflation, etc. Schools are used in part as incubators extending the period of pre-employment. The increased training of the working class in America compared with the European working class does not yield comparable increases in productivity. Part of the functional value of 40% of Americans going on to college is that it keeps them off the labor market. Training that used to go on on-the-job is carried on in the schools. The government has also attempted to cope with unemployment (as well as deal with the problem of underconsumption) by increasing defense agency employment which helps produce even more jobs in private industry connected with defense. At the same time that there are too few jobs, more and more training is required for those that remain. Industry becomes more and more capital-intensive (that is, capital becomes an increasing percentage of production costs); labor inefficiency becomes more costly (an inadequately trained laborer in the chemical industry ruins a greater amount of invested capital than an inefficient textile worker in Marx's time). Junior colleges become the center of post-high school training, particularly in math (calculus and computer math) and in science (engineering). The integration of youth into the work force is a key problem for American capitalism as a system.

Youth inherits a society, and it assesses its inheritance as it comes into possession of it. Thus as Lenin and Klonsky both point out, youth can become a critical force. This has always been true in non-static societies. The point of the above analysis is to show that present conditions in American society oppress youth particularly, and in such a way as to allow for the raising of demands which are crucial to the creation and development of a revolutionary working class movement. The particular oppression of the draft, if we understand an anti-imperialist analysis, allows us to raise the kinds of issues that historically have been most difficult to raise. We can follow Lenin's advice that we take the draft issue to the people, and not put our main thrust around the university, as we have done until recently. Concretely, we have been anti-working class in assuming disinterest among working people about a draft system that no one digs in relation to a war that is unclear to everyone. A nation-wide anti-ROTC, anti-military campaign which moves into the high schools (as suggested in the *Smash the Military...* working paper, NLN, Jan. 15) is an important step toward developing the kind of anti-imperialist consciousness that both Marx (in his writings on the Irish question) and Lenin (in his commentary on the British working class as the partial beneficiary of imperialism) understood was crucial for a revolutionary movement.

Racism and Jobs

The case is less clear with respect to the racism and the job market issue. For instance, even among young white workers there remains a material base for racism: black competition for job opportunities; the retention of the white monopoly of skilled jobs. Still there remains an opportunity to push an anti-racist line when for the first time there is a real black liberation movement which must be responded to, which keeps the race issue live and not either submerged and ignored or manipulated by the bosses (as in the use of blacks to break strikes particularly right after World War I and up until recently). At the same time, a crisis is developing in some of the institutions of racist socialization, such as the high school, college, and

prison, which opens up some radical space. In Chicago, we have shown the Panther movie to white working class kids (sometimes after a showing of "Pig") and the reaction has been exciting; a respect for people willing to defend themselves and a glimmering that blacks are not excitable yet ultimately docile animals invented for them to dominate. My point about the job situation is that a critical problem of American capitalism falls hard on youth, but I have only faint notions of the forms of struggle that will arise out of this particular oppression.

Opportunities of Youth

To sum up and elaborate slightly: a class-conscious youth movement is important because—

1) at this time youth is the group in America which has the best opportunity to raise issues such as imperialism and racism and adequate job opportunities which traditionally have been difficult to raise, and which are at the same time absolutely crucial if a divided working class is to act in unity in opposition to the American ruling class;

2) a class-conscious youth movement will understand the importance of taking the above issues to the working class rather than condescendingly treating working people as essentially irrelevant (because they are too stupid and/or indoctrinated in materialistic splendor) to important "change"; this will include as Klonsky suggests organizing in the army and pressing hard the issue of imperialism (who are we fighting? what are we fighting for? etc.);

3) it means a change from a student power orientation in the university to one that attacks the university as an imperialist and racist institution—in which war and counter-insurgency research is carried on, in which we are taught racist ideas while blacks (both teachers and students) are kept out while the university expands into the nearby ghetto, in which ROTC trains officers for Vietnam, in which the ideology of liberal anti-communism-pluralism is developed and the ideologists and socializers and empire administrators of the future are trained—and sees student power as a weapon in that attack;

4) such a movement will further attack the conception of a university as a congregation of experts dedicated to the pursuit of elusive truth whose standards cannot be lowered to permit admission of those unqualified for such pursuits and develop an idea of a university which serves the people (we demand increased admission of blacks and other working class applicants, or hopefully all such applicants) and acts as an agent of social change (we demand a black studies department, a working class history department, 5 Marxists on the faculty; do critiques of reactionary social science pointing out for instance how such science assumes the legitimacy of our society and that state, legitimacy which we want to question); one of our key aims being the removal of people's allegiance from the university either as an escape from the awful rest of society (stressing the university toes with and participation in the enterprises of capitalism) or as a mobility ladder (the graduate of Loop Junior College isn't likely to attend Harvard Business School or even be terribly well-trained for the fewer job opportunities available);

5) such a movement will do more than start anti-war newspapers in high schools; it will point out and attack the class nature of the high schools by focusing on the track system; we demand unlimited admission for those who apply to Track 1; a good demand because even in losing, the administrators and teachers will clarify the class nature of a school in which working class kids are considered either too stupid, not motivated enough or not slated for a destiny elevated enough to deserve admission to the special preserve that is Track 1 and also because it avoids the accusation that we want everyone to be equally badly educated as a demand for the abolition



of the track system perhaps implies to those who complain that they wouldn't read Faulkner without Track 1; the abolition of dress codes which are too costly for some and which promote the bureaucratic image of clean and proper for all; attacking student government for being administrative tools, for assenting to their powerlessness, helping perpetuate a notion of politics as the celebration of the given, and the political process as one in which participation is irrelevant and leadership is all of one kind because things remain pretty much the same anyway; and the posing of mass politics as an alternative in which people raise real issues, are not afraid to fight for these issues, and which can to some extent challenge the power of administrators and teachers with the threat of mass action; and the development of specific class analyses of curriculum such as NY Teachers for a Democratic Society critique of bourgeois biology courses and the development of a model of a radical biology course.

Class Based Struggle

The discussion has so far mentioned one kind of youth oppression only in passing; that is, oppression stemming from attempts at social control of youth, on the streets by the pigs and through curfews in the courts, in youth reformatories, in prison, in the school, in the factory, and in the army. In the next issue of NLN I will speculate on the relation between imperialism and the growing tension around social control of youth, and attempt to explain the importance of anti-authoritarian movements with respect to that tension. But before I conclude this article, I think it is important to distinguish the analysis presented here from one which mechanically separates student struggle from working class struggle and then pastes them together because they both have a common enemy, and recognizes the need to unite to fight against it. Students are bored, find everything meaningless, and feel impotent in relation to powerful forces such as the university and the government whereas workers are exploited by their bosses. In both cases the ruling class is the oppressive agent. In opposition to that analysis, I have tried to develop a position which substantiates Klonsky's statement that "our struggle is the class struggle." In fact the student movement, whatever the origins of its individual members, has rarely acted around boredom, meaninglessness, and impotence abstractly, though it has often acted boringly, meaninglessly, and impotently. In its best struggles, moreover, it has fought around class issues of what a capitalist university is (Berkeley), of imperialism and racism (Columbia and SF State) and against bourgeois parliamentary democracy (the election demonstration). The point of the Klonsky resolution, it seems to me, is to begin to sum up the concrete practice of our movement; to abstract general principles from it; and to project these principles into the future. Our best struggles have been class struggles; the Klonsky proposal aims to make us become self-conscious about that, and for our analysis and future practice to more thoroughly and organically reflect our growing class consciousness.

letter to my movement friends

Dear Friends:

From the Bay Area to New York, we are suffering the greatest depression in our history. People are taking bitterness in their coffee instead of sugar.

It's a common problem, not an individual one, and people don't talk to one another too much any more.

It is 1969 already, and 1965 seems almost like a childhood memory. Then we were the conquerors of the world. No one could stop us. We were going to end the war. We were going to wipe out racism. We were going to mobilize the poor. We were going to take over the universities.

Go back and read some of the early anti-war literature. Check out the original hippie-digger poetry and manifestoes: euphoria, overflowing optimism, and expectation of immediate success. Wow, I can still get high on it.

A lot has gone down since then. The war roars on, the San Francisco scene is gone, pot and acid are being challenged by speed and smack, Nixon has replaced Johnson, and white racism is stronger than ever.

Still, our victories since 1965 have been enormous. We kicked LBJ's ass. We defeated the Democratic Party. Our history has been marked by a series of great battles: Berkeley, the Pentagon, Columbia, Chicago. We are stealing the youth of America right out of the kindergartens and elementary schools. We are the most exciting energy force among whites in the nation.

It is just because we are striking so deep that, in every phase of the movement, arrests and trials and court appearances and jail have bottled up resources, sapped energy, and demoralized the spirit.

This has happened slowly—not the way many paranoids expected, the knock on the door, and concentration camps for thousands of us. Chase that shit out of your head. That's not The American Way.

The American Way is to pick one off here, one there, and try to scare the others into inaction.

So:

Huey Newton is in prison.

Eldridge Cleaver is in exile.

America's courts are colonial courts, where White America punishes her black subjects. America's jails are black concentration camps. Every black man in jail is a political prisoner.

And they have picked off the Panther leadership and driven it into jail and exile without our burning the fucking country down in retaliation.

Which means: organize a demonstration which effectively challenges authority and the courts arrest you for conspiracy and tie you up with lawyers and court appearances for years. Is that why so few people are into planning demonstrations any more in Berkeley?

Pot is Political

Tim Leary is up for 30 years and how many of our brothers are in court and jail for getting high?

Smoking pot is a political act, and every smoker is an outlaw. The drug culture is a revolutionary threat to plasticwasp-5america.

If you smoke quietly, you won't get bothered. If you smoke in public, or if you live in a commune, or get active politically, or show up somewhere in J. Edgar Freako's computer, you're likely to get busted for getting high.

Spock faces two years in the pen.

When America arrested the Baby Doctor for advising young men to follow their consciences, I was ecstatic: the next day I actually expected thousands of intellectuals and religious folk to stand on soapboxes and repeat Spock's words. Fuck. No one hardly said a word.

The intellectual community was paralyzed by fear. Is it any wonder now how German intellectuals were so easily silenced? Some of the Boston Five tried to beat the rap, re-interpreting their actions into meaninglessness. Where was that moral confrontation with authority that Paul Goodman spoke so oozingly about?

Sorry for the bitterness, but I saw the arrest of Spock as a test case for the government. If they could arrest and convict Spock without much of a backlash, certainly they could exile Cleaver and jail Leary, and eventually get to me.

The government won the test. Now they are willing to try anything.

Campus activists are expelled and arrested.

Participants in any campus outbreak now are expelled or suspended from school, and arrested on assorted misdemeanors, if not on felony charges for conspiracy.

Students quickly forget the court cases left behind, and the euphoria of an outbreak turns sour in the hearts of those who go to court and jail alone.

When cops first come on campus, the liberals scream—but gradually the liberals get tired and go to sleep. Cops and courts never sleep.

The anti-draft organizations are in shambles. Individuals are left alone to face 3-to-5-year sentences for refusing the draft. Thousands of men have been driven into exile in Canada and Sweden. The bravest men in the army are choosing to go to the stockade rather than eat military shit.

Stockades, federal prisons and courts are full of men who have defied the military, and who now must face the music. Unfortunately, there is no orchestra playing behind them.

Add it up:

Cops and courts have tried to put the national black

leadership on ice, knocked the Berkeley white activist movement on its heels, over-ran the campuses, wiped out many longhair communities, muted the intellectuals, and given, with impunity, fantastic punishment to draft and GI resisters.

The pattern goes a long way to explaining the malaise so many of us feel. America got where she is by jailing and killing blacks and other colored peoples. If America's own children—the brats of her white middle class—insist on acting like blacks, well, shit, they will jail and kill us too.

.... America, like the Roman Empire, is falling apart. Repression reveals the speed of America's fall. When you challenge America, you soon find that underneath the pretty words about democracy lies a mad, arrogant beast who will tolerate no disrespect or opposition.

Living in Police State

I used to know all this in my head. Now I know it in my gut. In the past six months I've personally found out what it's like to live in a police state.

In 1964 and 1965 I was active in campus demonstrations at Berkeley, travel to Cuba, and anti-war actions like stopping troop trains. In those days America thought it could solve its problems with white demonstrators by quickly winning the war in Vietnam.

But we had other ideas, and so did the Vietnamese. The anti-war movement became part of a massive youth movement, student demonstrations spread across the country, and in the summer of 1967 America's ghettos burned. The solution for rebellion at home became for LBJ a military one, and his administration turned the problem over to the FBI, CIA, Red Squads, cops, and courts.

I guess I began really asking for trouble when, after working as project director for the siege of the Pentagon, I helped organize the youth festival and demonstration in Chicago in opposition to the Democratic Convention. The yuppies were the most public, anarchic and fearless conspiracy the world has ever seen.

.... On June 13 three New York narcotics detectives, carrying a mysterious search warrant, stormed into my Lower East apartment, angrily tore a Castro poster off the wall, and arrested me for alleged possession of three ounces of marijuana.

They spent 90 minutes in my apartment questioning me about Yipple plans for Chicago and going through my personal papers and telephone book.

The search warrant claimed that on June 10 an informer was in my apartment with me and he saw dangerous drugs there.

The marijuana charge against me is a felony punishable by 2-15 years in the state pen.

When I arrived in Chicago for the Yipple festival, I found three shifts of plainclothes cops hounding me night and day. It was typical Chicago police harassment. Round the clock they tailed the half-dozen people they thought were "leaders." They were there when we went to bed at night and they were there when we got up in the morning.

For me they cooked up a special treat. Daley sent an undercover cop, Robert Pierson, alias Bob Lavon, to infiltrate the yuppies, act as an agent provocateur, spy on me, and frame me on a serious felony rap.

At 10:30 p.m. Wednesday, Aug. 28, while looking for a restaurant, I was kidnapped off an empty downtown street in Chicago by four plainclothes pigs. I was threatened with beating and death, slugged, and told by the head of the Chicago Red Squad:

"You guys ruined our city. You, you Rubin are responsible. Do you like our city? We hope you do because we are going to put you in jail here for a long time...."

.... I was then accused of a wild assortment of charges and bail was set at \$25,000, more than the usual bail for accused murderers.

Two months later, on October 29, the Cook County Grand Jury returned an Illinois State indictment against me on two counts of "solicitation to commit mob action," a felony punishable on each count by 1-5 years in the state pen. Pierson's bullshit provided the basis for each indictment.

Pierson lied by saying that I shouted through a bullhorn, "Kill the pigs," thereby supposedly soliciting others to mob action the afternoon of Wednesday, Aug. 28 in Grant Park. The incident is supposed to have taken place after cops attacked the crowd when the American flag was lowered, during the rally preceding the Mobilization march.

Anyone who was there during that time, including people with photographs or films, and especially people who saw me during that time, please contact my attorney: Frank Oliver, 30 North LaSalle, Chicago, Illinois 60602.

Whenever I come to Chicago for court appearances the press treats me like a yuppie Richard Speck. The Judge has officially restricted my travel to Illinois. (Illinois?) The court system, of course, is under Daley's thumb. It all adds up to a one-way ticket for me to five years in the Illinois state pen and revenge for Richard J. Daley.

America used to use HUAC to shut people up, but HUAC can only silence a movement that is afraid of itself. Pierson appeared before HUAC in October and said I told him that the yuppies were planning to "assassinate Daley and the other national politicians" and overthrow the government "within a year". He sounded like he was on an acid trip.

The yuppies love HUAC. For us it is a co...he bail:

a chance to project to the children of the world our secret fantasies, a la McLuhan. What a gas it was to see the headline: "HUAC BARS SANTA CLAUS." HUAC is all bullshit; it has no power.

.... The New York cops, using an illegal search warrant and phony drug possession charges; the Chicago cops, using an agent provocateur and spy; the Department of Justice, using bugging; and the Chicago courts, using frame-up felony charges, \$25,000 bail, and travel restrictions, have joined together in a criminal conspiracy to deprive me of my civil rights. That's about all the shit they could throw at me in six months.

I've got to raise a lot of money to stay out of jail: for everything from lawyers' fees to organizing a propaganda fight against Daley's Neanderthal Republic. A Jerry Rubin Defense Committee is being organized. Please try to help. Make contributions to "Rubin Defense Committee" and mail to 5 St. Marks Place, Apt. 16, New York, New York 10003.

These are days when one asks himself the most basic questions about the movement: Is it real or transparent? Does it just concern issues, or is it a whole new life style? Could the government break it apart with concessions?

Are we creating a New Man, or are we a reflection ourselves of the bullshit we hate so much? Are we a new brotherhood, or are we just a tangle of organizations and competing egos? What will happen when we reach age 30 and 40?

I am not sure myself, and what I think often depends on how I feel when I wake up in the morning. And this is one of the differences between the black and white movements. For blacks the liberation movement is a struggle against physical and mental oppression. For whites the movement is an existential choice.

One way to feel whether or not we have something real is to see how people relate to one another in trouble. In the past the movement has left the casualties of the last battle to their own individual fates as it moved on to the next dramatic action.

Many activists have been forced to turn to their parents for help, rather than to the movement which is trying to overthrow their parents' institutions. How can we ask young kids to take risks in a movement which doesn't defend its own? My brother is 21 years old, and his eyes often ask me that question.

.... Our collective identification becomes the greatest challenge to the cops and courts:

MESS WITH HIM AND YOU'VE GOT ME TO DEAL WITH TOO.

If 1968 was "The Year of the Heroic Guerrilla" then 1969 will be "The Year of the Courts." We must attack the myths surrounding the courts as ferociously as we have attacked the American myths of war, apple pie, your friendly neighborhood cop, and "free elections." Maybe Pigasus should become a judge.

The Nation's Toilets

America's courts are the nation's toilets. And in America's jails, human beings are forced to live like animals.

.... The police, district attorneys and judges use arrests freely: to get activists off the streets, to tie us up in endless judicial and legal procedures, and to serve as a warning to others. Arrests become a form of punishment and detention.

To challenge the courts is to attack American society at its roots. In campus rebellions, the most revolutionary demand, the demand that can never be granted by the administration, is the demand for amnesty. Attacking the society's mechanism for punishing her citizens is attacking the society's very basis for control and repression.

An offensive against the courts and jails—including direct action and direct legal and financial aid to the victims of the system—would be the most immediate link that a white movement could possibly make with blacks and poor whites; the country's shit-on, the "criminal element."

As a beginning let's organize massive mobilizations for the spring, nationally coordinated and very theatrical, taking place near courts, jails, and military stockades.

The demonstration should demand immediate freedom for Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Rap Brown, the Harlem 5, the Harlem 6, all black prisoners, Timothy Leary, the Oakland Seven, all drug prisoners, all draft resisters, Benjamin Spock, Jeff Segal, Martin Kenner, me, the Fort Hood 43, the Catonsville Nine and the Milwaukee 14, and all white political prisoners, and amnesty for deserters and draft evaders.

Remember the legend of Spartacus. The Romans slaughtered all the slaves, but the moral example lives on.

When the Roman Army came to kill Spartacus, they faced a mass of thousands of slaves. They demanded that Spartacus step forward.

"I am Spartacus!" shouted one slave.

"No, I am Spartacus!" shouted another.

"No, I am Spartacus!"

"No, I am Spartacus!"

"No, I am Spartacus!"

With love,

Jerry Rubin

(with a little help from my friends, Nancy Kurshan, Martin Kenner, Arthur Naiman, Stew Albert, Gumbo, Jim Petras, David Stein, Sharon Krebs, Robin Palmer, Ken Pitchford)