

SDS new left notes

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*all power to the people*

**BRING THE WAR HOME!**



WITH A DEFIANT SMILE, 5-YEAR-OLD MARION DELGADO SHOWS HOW HE PLACED A 25-POUND CONCRETE SLAB ON THE TRACKS AND WRECKED A PASSENGER TRAIN

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# WHY I QUIT

Mike Klonsky (NIC, Los Angeles)

After serving as a member of the steering committee for the SDS fall action for about three weeks with Terry Robbins, Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn, and the three national secretaries, I resigned and am presently working to build the fall action independently of the committee here in Los Angeles. Since my resignation there has been much confusion, much rumor mongering and speculation about the reasons for this break with the NO leadership over the action. I must criticize myself for not writing this sooner and clarifying our differences. I felt at the time that open ideological struggle around the action would be divisive and weaken the action. Because of recent developments in the direction of the action as well as in SDS in general I believe now that some sharp internal struggle must be waged to build the fall action in a way that will help build the mass anti-imperialist movement in the US and aid the struggle of the Vietnamese at this crucial period.

First, let me say that I would not split with the steering committee over a tactical disagreement or over personality differences. I feel that the leadership has broken from the strategy and tactics which were passed by the National Convention in Chicago. As one of the writers of the resolution TAKE THE WAR TO THE PEOPLE AND BRING IT HOME (NLN Convention issue), I believe that our primary strategic task is to win the masses of working people to a united front movement against imperialism, a movement which cannot defeat imperialism or build socialism in the US without the working class as its main component.

The convention resolution made it clear that SDS saw this goal as being of primary importance and called for literature to be printed by the NO which related the war to the oppression and exploitation of working people in this country.

There has long been a myth in this country of the "bought-off" working class in the US, fat and happy and living comfortably off the riches stolen from the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This myth of the affluent working class has been pushed by rich people in this country in order to pacify potentially insurgent forces. It is a myth that all too often has been picked up and carried by the student movement especially on the big university campuses and mostly by students who had never experienced the day to day oppression of working people in this country. It is a myth which must be destroyed if we are ever going to be able to bring the war to the masses of people in this country and show them that it is not in any way in their interest, either in the short run or in the long run. Working people, black, white, and brown, suffer from imperialism and the war in a thousand ways. Often false consciousness has led them to support the war both in uniform on the front line and on the job (loading ships, building missiles, etc...). However, it is plain that whenever they have done this, they have suffered as they have never suffered before.

To date there has been no literature produced by the NO that relates to the war in this way or that explains the action to working people in an attempt to win them to it. Now, it is clear that even if we did the best we could in this direction, and even though most of the working people in this country are opposed to the war, we still would not bring thousands of workers to the action. We still must rely on youth, mostly students, as the bulk of the anti-imperialist movement. This is in part because workers have much more to lose (jobs, etc...) as well as to gain by joining the anti-imperialist movement. We must win their confidence by struggling with them for their just needs (decent wages, housing, equality for women and for national

minorities, etc...) We must show them that we are on their side, that we are serious, that we are prepared to fight this struggle through to the end, and that we are not just a bunch of rich kids out to serve ourselves. It is also the case that the student movement in the past has encouraged individualism and empiricism (paying attention only to what is in motion now, not having a strategic approach), and has rejected Marxism-Leninism, the only ideology that can lead workers to power.

In the mass issue of NLN there is a story on the "Motor City 9". These SDSers from Detroit went into a classroom at working-class McComb Junior College, having done no previous work there, walked into a classroom, and barricaded the doors during a final exam, and allegedly proceeded to use the karate which they had learned during their summer in Detroit to beat up students who were male chauvinist, racist, or simply couldn't dig the line they were running down. The students then turned them in to the pigs.

Actions such as these, which the national leadership sees as "exemplary", should be fought against. Militancy should be encouraged and so should the will to fight the enemy. However the working class must be won over with patience and not arrogance. We must also realize that students from Ann Arbor can also learn much from working-class youth at McComb as infected as they might be with chauvinism.

On Thursday, October 9, the NO has called for an "attack on the schools" which means that demonstrators will mass outside one of the working-class high schools in Chicago and yell "Jail Break" and then invade the school "freeing" the imprisoned students. On Wednesday the action called for is a "memorial to Che Guevara". On Friday an attack on the courts under the slogan "SHUT DOWN THE COURTS".

Out of all the talk and planning two different lines are emerging. The two lines are characterized by the two major positions put forth at the convention, "Weatherman" and "RYM II". The position put forth by RYM II, the position I hold to, says that we struggle around reforms and raise anti-imperialist consciousness in the struggle.

"The anti-imperialist youth movement must serve the people. That means it must enter into the struggles of the people and help them to win."

This is a key part of building the anti-imperialist movement. At this point there are no proletarian organizations in the country actively supporting the action. In Chicago, the Panthers, the Young Lords, and the Patriots have all rejected the actions in part because the program does not speak to the needs of the people they work with. These groups get the impression that SDS does not care about the day to day needs of the people but simply is trying to use them to build their own thing.

RYM II puts forth the program of raising struggles around demands to transform the institutions to serve the people. For example, we put forth the program "The Schools Must Serve the People" in Austin. In this program

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Since the best answer to theoretical polemics is practice, people should look at the two articles in this issue on Denver and Detroit, to find out what really is happening with the National Action and adventurist, elitist, sectarian Weatherman organizing. However, it seems necessary to reply to some of Klonsky's most outstanding and outlandish points.

Klonsky gives three basic political reasons for why the conception of the National Action being implemented throughout the country is wrong:

(1) He claims that a militant, aggressive, anti-imperialist action will not build the "United Front Against Imperialism", supposedly the political conception approved by the Convention in June, and the one Klonsky himself subscribes to. It is true that this action will not build a "united front against imperialism". However, it is neither true that such a conception was approved by the Convention, nor that such a conception is in any way correct. By a "united front", we assume Klonsky means ("assume" because he nor anyone has ever been able to make sense out of it) an "anti-imperialist" alliance of workers, students, the petit bourgeoisie, and some sort of national bourgeoisie, leading to the joint rule of these groups and classes in some kind of twilight zone between the destruction of the imperialist class and socialism. This is pure dogmatism, applying the lessons and strategy of the anti-colonial revolutions in China and Vietnam to the imperialist mother country...and what this "united front" means concretely in practice is that we should involve everyone we can possibly get to walk in a peaceful anti-war protest and call it "anti-imperialism".

This is a line that we thought had died even before the Pentagon, when people began digging that anti-war marches weren't enough—even for the working class—and that the movement had to develop a strategy to fight and to win, not just to walk around the block. And further, the only political discussion on the Convention floor in June around the National Action

by Mark Rudd and Terry Robbins

resulted in the solid defeat of the paragraph in the Action resolution calling for a United Front. So much for lie number one.

(2) The second political pillar of Klonsky's attack is the belief that the main strategy of SDS should be to organize workers around their own exploitation and to link that exploitation to the Vietnam war. Such a belief completely rejects the need for a fighting, anti-imperialist youth movement, which itself not only raises the issue of imperialism, but also shows people how to fight back (in a way that leafleting at a factory gate never can), and by fighting back provides material support to the vanguard struggles of Third World peoples for national liberation.

According to Klonsky, working people in no way have an interest in imperialism, "either in the short run or in the long run". This particular piece of dogmatism ignores the reality of the material basis for both patriotism and racism within the working class of the mother country. Its result is a movement which does not stress the fight against white supremacy and national supremacy, but instead gets bogged down in reformism and rhetoric.



## GOODBYE, MIKE

There are two sides to the position of white mother country workers. First is the aspect of exploitation and oppression due to their being workers. But second, and at times the dominating force in their consciousness, is the privilege that white workers receive from imperialism. How can it be said that workers IN NO WAY benefit from imperialism, even in the short run, when a worker owes his skilled job to the fact that blacks are excluded? Or his relative security from heavy repression to the fact that he is not fighting on the side of black people and the people of the Third World? If people are not given an understanding of the fact that the fight against imperialism will be a long-range fight, that in the short run they will have to give up their privileges under imperialism, then why will people risk the massive repression that will be brought against any truly revolutionary internationalist movement in the short run, or risk being fired during the struggle for black self-determination and equality in the shops?

Short-run privilege has always been the basis of false consciousness (not just bad ideas, as Klonsky, along with PL, implies). The position of relative privilege must be taken into account, explained, and fought by any truly revolutionary movement.

What we have tried to do in the National Action is to apply SDS's Revolutionary Youth Movement strategy by building among working class youth, stressing concrete support for the vanguard of the world-wide struggle, the Vietnamese, black and brown, and all Third World peoples. Anti-imperialism is one key, not a peripheral issue tacked on to immediate reform demands of any workers you can come in contact with. The other key is building a movement that fights, not just talks about fighting. The aggressiveness, seriousness, and toughness of militant

struggle will attract vast numbers of working class youth, as did the Chicago demonstration last year—and it is the concrete way that white people reject white-skin privilege. By taking risks. By actually siding with the people of the world. This year our action will be even better—because of clearer, more out front politics and a higher level of struggle. (As for Klonsky's charge that we haven't produced any literature that talks about the oppression and exploitation of workers, he should read through the "Bring the War Home" shotgun or the "Occupation Troops Out" shotgun before he makes that charge again. Lie number two.)

(3) The third element in Klonsky's strategy is complete and total reformism. "We must win their confidence by struggling with them (the workers) for their just needs (decent housing, wages, equality for women and national minorities, etc...)". There are two fundamental errors in this notion.

The first is around Klonsky's failure to distinguish a strategy for the colony from a strategy for the mother country. The black liberation struggle makes demands for community control of police in black communities, black studies programs, etc. These, however, are not simply "reform" demands—they are demands for self-determination, for liberation from imperialism. They are demands to get the imperialists out of the colony. As such they are clearly progressive and go way beyond a reformist program.

The same is not the case in the mother country. Here the just struggles of the people do not necessarily raise consciousness or build a revolutionary movement. Much to the contrary, they often obscure the differences between the colony and the mother country, obscure white-skin privilege, obscure

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# COLORADO: We saw that this would not be a peace march but a war march.



explaining the march and the politics behind it, and in the future a second Denver collective may develop including many of these people.

This summer several organizers, most of whom had previously been working at the University of Colorado in Boulder, moved to Denver to build a revolutionary youth movement. Though the campus movement is important, we realized that there was virtually no white movement in Denver, a city with a heavy concentration of working class youth who never make it to college. At the same time we realized the necessity of building a city-based youth movement which could struggle alongside an active black movement, headed by the Crusade for Justice, and with the local chapter of the Black Panther Party.

When we moved in, we discovered that a peace march was being organized for July 4 that was expected to draw on young people in Denver that weekend for a rock festival. Unfortunately some of the organizers of the march had no politics at all, and two of them even split the day before the march. We made a mistake by dealing with the opportunist leadership of the march rather than bringing our politics to the youth who eventually joined it. Even so, the militancy of the people at the march assured its success. Over 250 (out of 1,000) Denver pigs were required to "handle" the march when it took to the streets, and the result was that the pigs tactically over-extended themselves. Although the Panthers expected that the Pigs might use the excuse of a Panther sponsored Black Pride Day on July 4 to try to vamp on them, the pigs were unable to deal with the people in their usual fashion. In addition we met new people at the march whom we have been able to work closely with since then, some of whom are high school students ready to work on building a city-wide high-school movement. Finally the march showed us both the potential and the necessity of building a fighting force using the July 4 march as a stepping stone.

The following day we held a meeting to discuss future actions in Denver. We set August 8 as the date for a march

which would be different from all previous "peace" marches held in the city. First of all we saw from the beginning that this would be not a peace march but a war march. Second, we understood that it was time to bring internationalist politics into the struggle. Instead of calling for an end to the war, we called for support of the NLF and withdrawal of all US troops from all Third World countries and black and brown communities within the US. Third, we dealt with the organizational weaknesses of the July 4 march by setting up a steering committee to deal with self-defense, propaganda, legal defense, and medical care. On the whole we were successful in this, although we still had problems in learning self-defense as individuals and as a group before the march actually took place. Fourth, we conceived of this march as part of an ongoing national and international struggle—national in terms of building a movement to go to Chicago October 11 and international in terms of creating fighting support for an NLF and Third World victory.

We decided to focus the march on three main issues: support for an NLF victory and withdrawal of all US troops; an end to tax systems like the surtax which rob the people; and freedom for all political prisoners, concentrating on Susan Parker, Landon Williams, and Rory Hithe. Landon and Rory are two Black Panthers held in Denver on phony murder charges stemming from the pig murder of a Black Panther in New Haven (the same charge Bobby Seale has just been arrested on). Susan Parker is a member of Fort Collins SDS who is being held in jail indefinitely because she has refused to testify to the Grand Jury. Friends of hers are accused of blowing up a power tower that supplies a defense plant, and she will be in jail for as many months or years as she keeps silent.

The march was set for Friday night, when downtown Denver is jammed with young people.

In the following weeks we paid

attention to who, where, and how we would organize. Who? Primarily young people—including many GIs, mostly from Lowry Air Force Base, workers, street kids, high school kids, and hippies. Where? Mainly downtown in the streets (usually at night) at youth hangouts—pool halls, hamburger stands, coffee shops. How? All of us made it a point to rap with each and every single person we gave a leaflet to, and this was probably a major factor in the success of the march. Instead of handing out leaflets haphazardly, we were able to establish solid contact with the people, and as a result people came to the march with a solid understanding of its politics, which were clearly not of a Mobe lowest common denominator type. We saw another thing—that everyone, from GIs to hippies, not only related to support for the NLF, but particularly dug the idea that this would be a fighting march and not just some pacifist walking down the man's sidewalk.

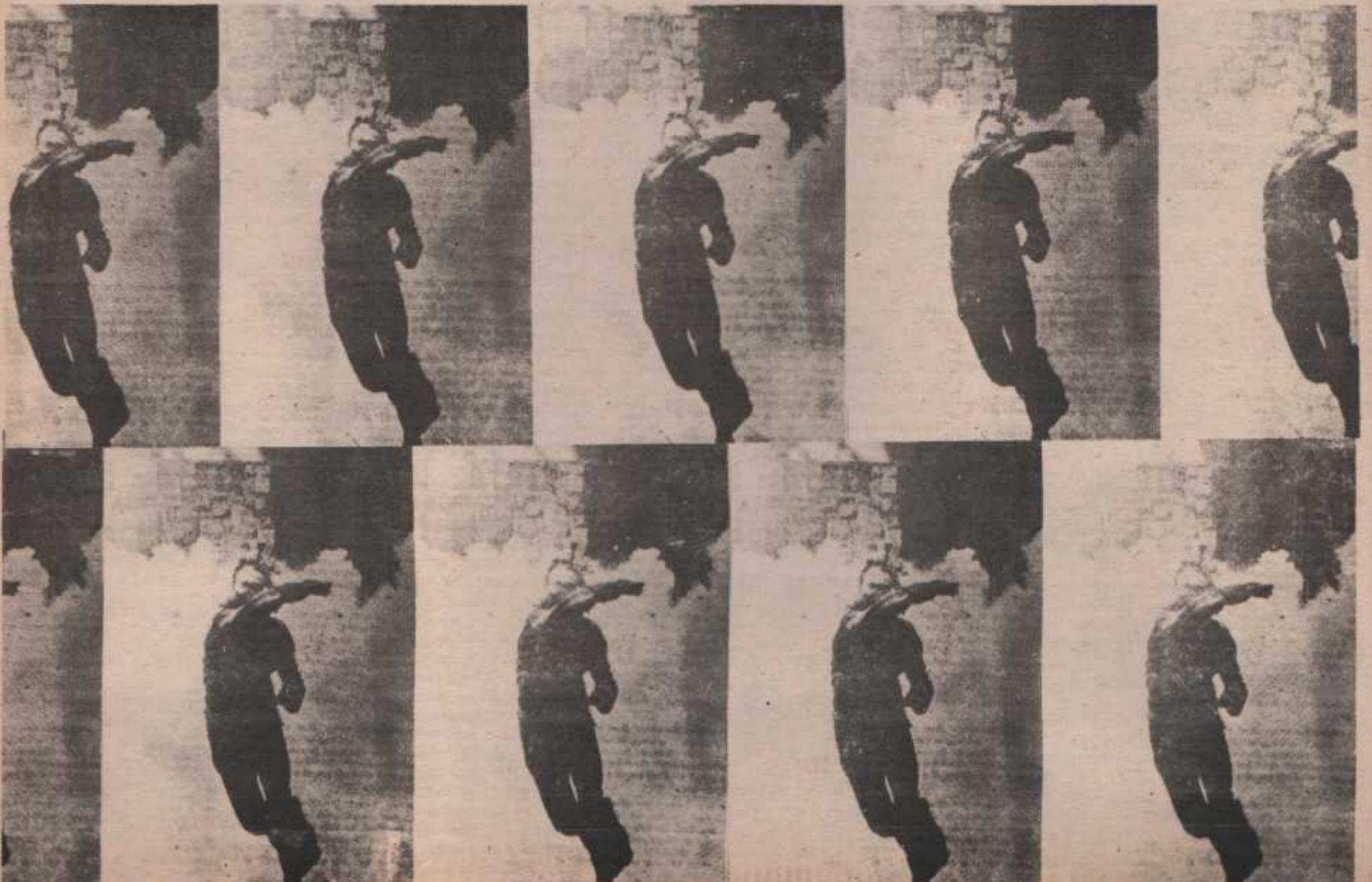
Two hundred people came to the rally and all of them were very together as they marched down the main street of downtown Denver, drawing in about 100 people on the way, and they stayed together even after the rally at the jail to march back through the streets again. A number of GIs were in the stockade at Lowry Air Force Base for spreading the word on the march, but some marched with us. A few dozen others, who may have been among the marines who received a general warning not to participate, marched along with us on the sidewalk and listened to all the raps at the jail. Representatives of SDS, the Crusade for Justice, the Black Panthers and Women's Liberation spoke about the three issues of the march. One brother from SDS was busted for "filthy language", and this provided a perfect illustration of the political prisoners issue.

The march accomplished several things. Again we drew in more people, this time more than on July 4. Some of them got together and drew up a leaflet

Preparations for the march brought into the open many concrete political differences among the people living and working together in Denver. Many people couldn't understand the revolutionary potential of a militant march with a relatively small number of kids. Long-term research, the vague idea of "organizing women" and organizing out of such groups as welfare rights seemed more sensible and safer. But everyone participated in the preparations and follow-up of the march, and the concrete results convinced most of the skeptics of the real value of such actions. Our lack of internal discipline and the need for a long-range analysis of the revolutionary potential of various types of people showed itself through the march. We are now building a collective around Weatherman politics, in order to build discipline, refine our politics and test them in practice, fight the liberalism which prevents us from making correct political decisions, and fight individualism.

In the future we will be putting our politics into practice in two upcoming national actions—the September 16 Chicano school walkout (see Round-Up) and the Chicago demonstrations October 8-11. We are working with the high school students who took part in the July 4 and August 8 marches to pull white students out of the schools, and to build a fighting force to aid the Chicano struggle for liberation as a colony within the US.

We also feel that from the Denver actions we now have a solid base for organizing people to come to Chicago October 8-11. We have learned that it would be criminal to conceal the politics of that march from the youth we've been reaching, because from practice we've seen that hundreds of them are ready for Chicago, and that our duty is not to hold them back but to show them through social practice that they are an integral part of the international liberation army to smash US imperialism.



# BREAK ON THROUGH

by Motor City SDS

"Bring the War Home" is a slogan not just for the national action but for here on in. Our aim is to create another front against imperialism in the white mother country itself. We will attack the beast from within as the peoples of the world attack it from without. We are building a fighting force of white working class youth who see the necessity of fighting with the Vietnamese and the blacks. Until imperialism is smashed and the rest of the world is free, we cannot achieve our own liberation.

The people of the world are winning struggles for self-determination and national liberation. American imperialism is in its death throes. In Vietnam, the United States has been forced to stop the bombing of the north, to change America's battle strategy from an offensive one to a defensive one, and to withdraw to the cities. But even in the cities, formerly strongholds of American influence, the Provisional Revolutionary Government has won tremendous support from the people for its 12-point program. By combining our attack here behind enemy lines with the military and political strategy of the NLF, we can force Nixon to withdraw all his troops from Vietnam and concretely aid our Vietnamese brothers and sisters.

Our overall strategy must be one of constantly raising the level of struggle in our fight to help destroy imperialism. Flexibility of tactics, creative tactics, and upping the level of militancy are essential. But we must understand that militancy is the key to heightening contradictions. Through struggle we strike concrete blows against the enemy and build revolutionary consciousness among people who are joining the struggle.

The national action—its slogans and tactics—is the embodiment of our politics and a critical part of our strategy right now. We are seriously building a city-wide movement among white youth from every segment of the working class around anti-imperialist, anti-racist, high-level struggles. In Detroit, Motor City SDS has built a solid base for a city-wide movement and is growing rapidly. We've been organizing for the national action through actions in Detroit—at schools, beaches, drive-ins, and rock concerts. The young people we're reaching out to—high school kids, freaks, community college people, bikers, greasers, almost all of whom work in factories around the city when they work, dig the Chicago action and are joining Motor City SDS through the struggles we have initiated. These people will not only come to Chicago, but will bring Chicago back to every city in America.

## ON PRACTICE

The "Metro Beach Riot" (as the papers called it) was the first action Motor City SDS undertook in organizing for the national action. Metropolitan Beach is located in one of the white working class suburbs that surround black Detroit, and is packed with young white kids. One Saturday afternoon in the middle of July, about 30 SDS cadre

and people starting to work with us swept the beach in a line distributing Chicago leaflets and carrying a red flag. When we planted the flag a crowd of about 200 quickly gathered. Loud arguments began in the center of the crowd, which included many Vietnam veterans. The reaction of the kids was a vehement defense of American myths. The arguments centered around communism, and especially the Viet Cong, upward mobility, and white-skin privilege. Many of us got into good raps with people on the fringe of the crowd who wanted to know what was happening. When we heard that the beach rent-a-pigs had called the sheriff's patrol, we moved to regroup. One Viet vet yelled "Let's get the flag!", and about 40 people charged it. Sticking together as a group, we fought the attackers to a standstill and left the beach chanting.

We created a tremendous impact on the beach because we confronted kids with the fact that it's a political world and that they have to deal with that. The main contradiction is between those who have it and those who don't—between white America and the colored nations of the world. By growing up in white America, we've been fucked into being oppressors, brainwashed and given privileges to secure us on the side of the white ruling class. The kids on the beach were confronted with the fact that we were taking sides with the Vietnamese and the blacks, and acted defensive, confused, sympathetic, and uptight in varying degrees and combinations. When they called us "Communists!" we talked about how communism is right-on, how people can co-operate to build a society that's good for everybody, where a few bastards don't get rich off the blood and labor of others. We talked about how we are oppressed in the schools, on the job, in the courts, and in the army, and how this fucked up capitalist system alienates us from our brothers and sisters.

## RESPONSE

We got a continuous response from the people who were at the beach and from everybody who heard about it. One of our people talked to a motorcycle dude who fought against us at the beach while they were both waiting in line to apply for a job at Chrysler. He had read the leaflet since the fight and dug on going to Chicago and bringing his friends. The action not only made an impact on the beach but initiated the city-wide fighting presence of Motor City SDS.

The McComb action, now known throughout the country, was an action taken by nine Motor City SDS women at a local community college. We gathered outside a sociology classroom of about 40 or 50 students who were taking a final exam. We entered the classroom chanting, and barricaded the door with the teacher's desk. One woman distributed Chicago leaflets while the rest of us lined up in front of the classroom, and we stopped chanting as one woman began to address the class. She rapped about how American imperialism fucks over the



people of the world, and about people's struggles for self-determination. Another woman spoke about how imperialism oppresses the black colony within America. When a third woman began to talk about the material oppression of women and the necessity to break out of subordinate roles and join the struggle, some men got uptight and tried to charge the door in order to get out and call the pigs. These pig agents were dealt with while a fourth woman continued to rap to the people in their seats about Chicago and the necessity to take sides with the peoples of the world. Somehow a teacher managed to get out a back door, and the administration called the pigs. Because of an unclear getaway, we were busted as we left the school on charges of disorderly conduct and assault and battery.

McComb Community College is located in an all-white working class community and trains the local white youth in the skills necessary for lower managerial jobs, positions that objectively oppress black people. By busting into a classroom during final exams, and by talking to people about what's happening in the world, we confronted them with their dual position in capitalist society. They are oppressors because of their acceptance of privilege, and they are oppressed because of their objective relationship to the ruling class.

On another plane, it was women who made the situation happen. Organizing women through exemplary action is key to the way we do work. It is necessary to struggle to raise consciousness of women's oppression and male supremacy in the context of world revolution. We do not just urge women to become fighters, nor do we just talk to them about taking sides. It is necessary to build a white fighting movement that provides material support for national liberation struggles in the black colony and throughout the

world. That force needs fighters—both men and women.

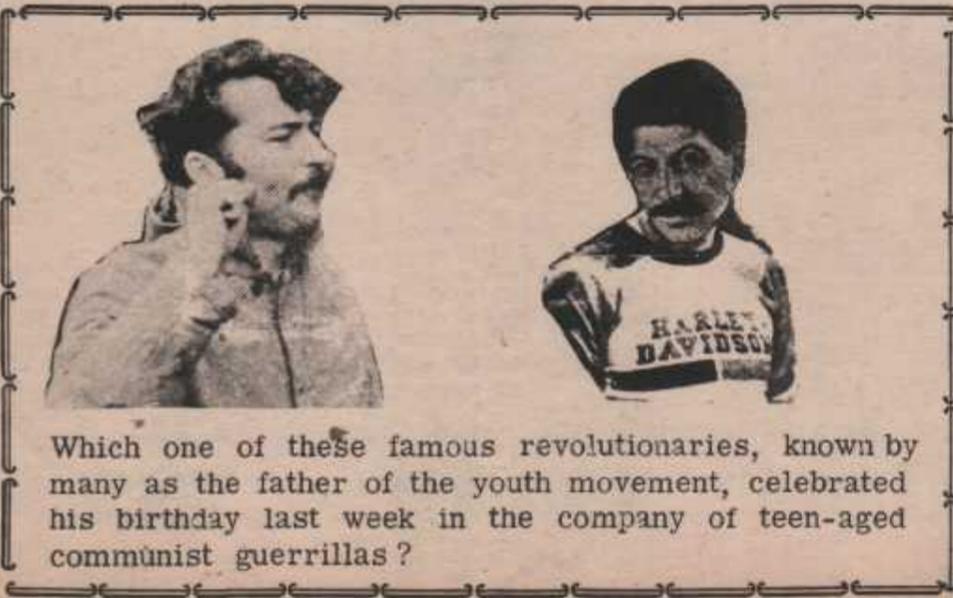
All over the city people talked to us about McComb, and wanted a McComb to happen at their school. Our action spoke to the new role that women have to play, and has helped bring women from McComb and around the city into our fighting movement.

We planned an action at the Henry Ford community college—Ford's fanciest factory. At Henry Ford we got a chance to talk to a lot of working class kids and many Vietnam veterans on pensions to learn trades. Most of the kids who attend the college are at least partially funded by the motor companies and are trained for lower managerial jobs in factories.

When we reached the school we divided up into small groups and went into every class to announce an SDS rally that afternoon. After all the classes had been covered we regrouped and went into the student union. People there were already talking about our presence on the campus. Within a few minutes the union was transformed from a passive scene with separate groups of individuals to a heated political struggle involving everyone in the room. We moved from the union to the center of campus, bringing with us many kids whom we had involved in conversations, and were met with more kids from the classrooms. We spent the whole afternoon rapping about the national action, imperialism, and SDS in the Motor City, and later that week people came to a meeting we called about Chicago, and they are now organizing for the national action and to join our actions around the city.

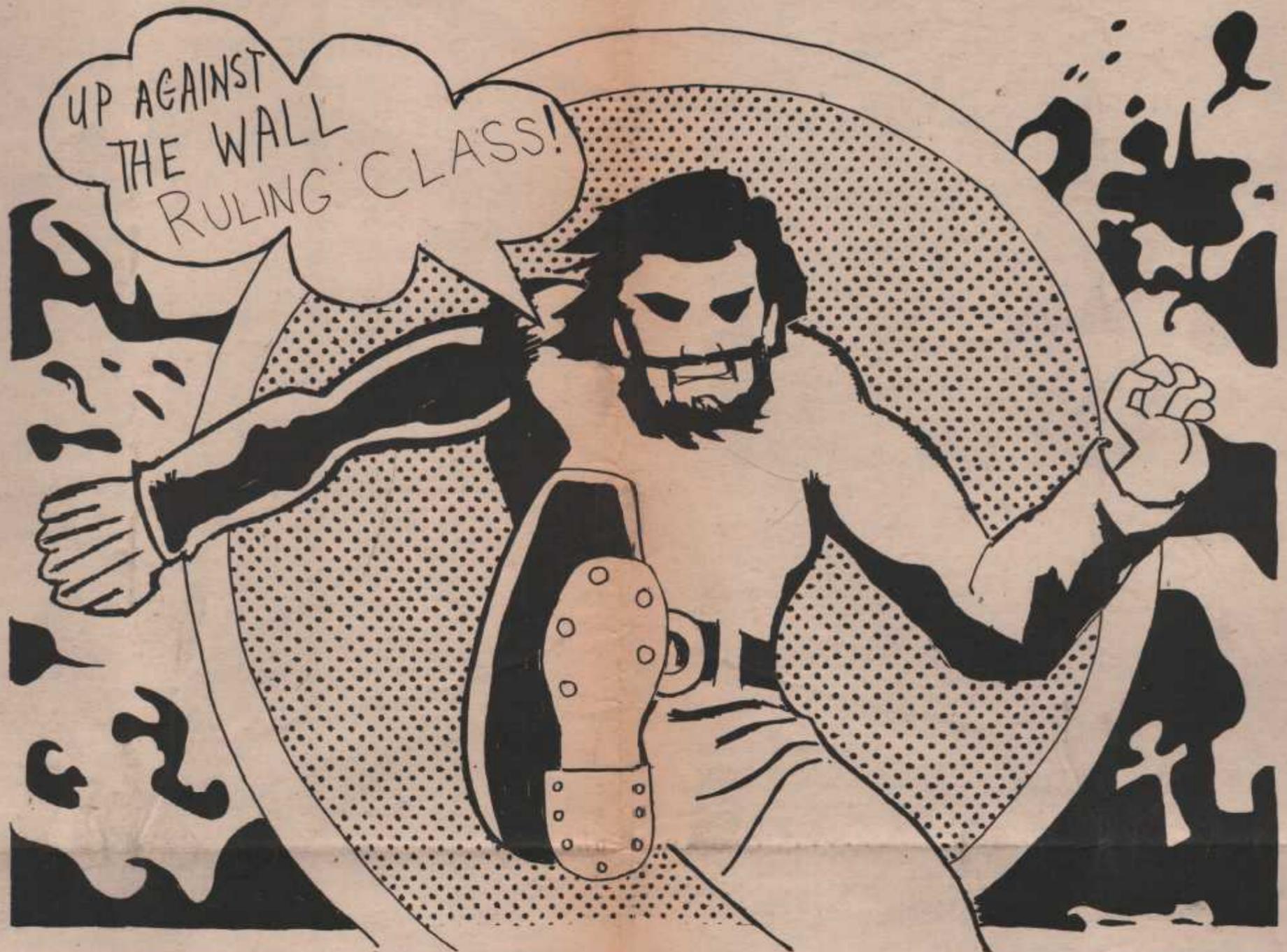
## ROCK CONCERTS

Huge rock concerts happen all the time in the Motor City. Hip culture is part of the lives of all white working class youth. These concerts bring together thousands of freaks, bikers,



Which one of these famous revolutionaries, known by many as the father of the youth movement, celebrated his birthday last week in the company of teen-aged communist guerrillas?

# THROUGH TO THE O



people of the world, and about people's struggles for self-determination. Another woman spoke about how imperialism oppresses the black colony within America. When a third woman began to talk about the material oppression of women and the necessity to break out of subordinate roles and join the struggle, some men got uptight and tried to charge the door in order to get out and call the pigs. These pig agents were dealt with while a fourth woman continued to rap to the people in their seats about Chicago and the necessity to take sides with the peoples of the world. Somehow a teacher managed to get out a back door, and the administration called the pigs. Because of an unclear getaway, we were busted as we left the school on charges of disorderly conduct and assault and battery.

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## ROCK CONCERTS

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and greasers, digging the music and each other, and turning on to dope. Coming together conscious of their alienation as a group, the kids who go to these concerts are aware of the pigs and ready to fight if they get hassled. We go there and talk to them about the need to organize ourselves as a fighting force against the man, taking sides with the people of the world.

Our political objective at a rock concert is to rap with as many people as possible and to get out mass propaganda about the national action. We have been distributing at least 10,000 leaflets every weekend, which talk about Chicago and city-wide SDS meetings. We have made a political presence at almost every large gathering of youth this summer, and many of the kids at our city-wide meetings have been people we met at these concerts. Many of the kids we have rapped with are coming along with us on our actions, and some have become full-blown organizers for the national action.

## WHITE CASTLE

Drive-ins in Detroit are one of the few places where kids can hang out. We've spent many weekend nights at drive-ins around the city. Our favorite drive-in is the White Castle near the

East Detroit Line, which is always packed with about 200 kids from different areas of the city—high school and even junior high school kids, vets, and young freaks. The energy level of the White Castle is high, and the pigs evidently feel that they have to keep it under control. The pigs succeed in making their presence known to everyone. No one is allowed out of their cars for very long, and the parking lot is cleared frequently.

The first night we went to the White Castle, a small group of us started leafleting cars quickly, trying to get as many leaflets out as possible. The drive-in kids helped pass leaflets from car window to car window. While one of our people was passing out literature, the pigs came over to try to stop him. Ignoring the pigs, he finished giving his leaflets away and split out of the parking lot, outrunning the pigs. Kids in the lot jumped on top of their cars, and one group started to chant "Power to the People!" The kids in the lot then helped us find our brother, who by this time was in a side street blocks away from the White Castle.

Before we split the area we talked to the kids who had helped us out. They were into the fact that the pigs were especially uptight about us since we had been passing out SDS leaflets. We exchanged names and phone numbers,



# TO THE OTHER SIDE



and greasers, digging the music and each other, and turning on to dope. Coming together conscious of their alienation as a group, the kids who go to these concerts are aware of the pigs and ready to fight if they get hassled. We go there and talk to them about the need to organize ourselves as a fighting force against the man, taking sides with the people of the world.

Our political objective at a rock concert is to rap with as many people as possible and to get out mass propaganda about the national action. We have been distributing at least 10,000 leaflets every weekend, which talk about Chicago and city-wide SDS meetings. We have made a political presence at almost every large gathering of youth this summer, and many of the kids at our city-wide meetings have been people we met at these concerts. Many of the kids we have rapped with are coming along with us on our actions, and some have become full-blown organizers for the national action.

## WHITE CASTLE

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and they told us to come back to the White Castle soon.

We went back the next week, and this time we brought many more people, including kids we'd met on other actions and on the first White Castle action. We swamped the parking lot with national action leaflets, running from one side to another in a pack, giving war whoops and chants. The pig scene was heavy and some pigs tried to prevent us from getting back through the parking lot. We had to knock a few down to make it back to our cars. Kids followed us out of the lot, asking for more leaflets to give to their friends and shouting their names and phone numbers.

The next time we went to the White Castle, we decided to work under cover in order to have as much time as possible to talk to people. We knew that the kids had read our leaflets and had a sense of who we were, but we still needed to get into real political discussions of the questions they had. We split up into small groups and drove to the White Castle in a number of different cars. This time we went out from our cars in groups of two to go to other cars and rap. City pigs constantly patrolled the area while we were in the lot, and when we walked up to cars the kids were hip to the fact that the pigs were watching us. Some invited us to sit inside and rap, and we covered every car in the lot and talked to everyone in the drive-in.

The kids we talked to had lots of questions—about the war, about communism, about why we're for black people. Answering these questions is the crucial part of our organizing—when our politics make sense to people they can move with us. The actions we took at first set a struggle tone for the talking we did later, and this combination of tactics is crucial for organizing new people into the movement.

In our first actions we encountered tactical problems which impaired our ability to move. At Metro Beach, at one point, some of us made the decision that the group should leave the beach. Those who had made the decision tried to communicate it to all our people, but some people didn't hear the change in plans and didn't notice the group leaving. Much confusion resulted, and it became obvious that the danger of somebody becoming isolated and left behind, with the resulting immobility of the whole group, had to be overcome. It also became clear that situations could frequently arise where there would be no time to discuss changes in plans. In other situations where we had to be able to move quickly together because of pigs, we found it imperative to know the turf. At McComb, since we didn't look over the area thoroughly before our action, we didn't have getaway routes planned, and that resulted in a bust.

Through criticism and correction of these problems, we developed a general method for handling actions tactically. Before any action, two or three people are chosen to be tactical leaders. They scout out the chosen area and develop a comprehensive plan for the action. Immediately before the action a planning meeting is held; for security reasons, only those going on the action can attend the meeting. The tactical leadership explains the plans, using maps which they have drawn up, and our forces are divided into affinity groups. Each group sticks together, protects each of its

members, acts as a fighting unit in case of confrontation, and functions as a work team. In a large crowd, for example, each affinity team may be assigned a specific section of the crowd to leaflet and talk to. The tactical leadership operates from a central place, co-ordinates the action, and makes all tactical decisions. Tactical leadership communicates its decisions to the leaders of the affinity groups by signals (whistles, etc.) or runners if the area is large. Immediately following every action an evaluation meeting is held.

Follow-up has been crucial to all of our actions. We have returned to the scene to rap with kids about what came down and why we had come to their school or drive-in or beach. On our actions and often during follow-up work, we have met kids who want to work with us on Chicago and join struggles all over the city. The first form that we brought our contact into was a regular Monday night meeting. We made sure that every piece of literature we handed out announced open meetings on Monday nights at a set time and place. These Monday night meetings have grown over the summer to about 80 people. They always include some form of political education—films, raps on Cuba and Vietnam, and discussions on Chicago and the politics of the national action. Question and answer sessions usually turn into general political discussions involving many of the people at the meeting. At the end of the meeting we continue talking in smaller groups to get a better sense of who people are, where they come from, and to talk directly to the questions that individuals have.

Our contacts are also involved in the total action process. They plan actions with us, participate in them, and are involved in the evaluation sessions (criticism and self-criticism) held immediately afterward. This process is crucial to political development. People must learn to plan and initiate struggles and learn the need for self-conscious criticisms if we are to be better and more effective in future political struggles. During each action, the new people who come with us actually do organizing work themselves. By trying to explain our politics to other people, their understanding of our politics has deepened.

We are bringing people away from waging struggle only at their particular institutions—their high school, their community college—and their neighborhoods. We are building a mobile city-wide group which will be the fighting force in the opening of yet another front against imperialism in the Motor City. Our contacts will also be involved in the planning for Chicago. Many of them from Detroit will be coming to the Cleveland conference with us.

We've become fighters this summer. Our study of karate makes us strong, and our practice makes us real to young people. Fighting understands winning. Our words have content because they are backed up by a growing base of power. Opening a new front here at home can only be achieved by striking blows at the enemy and building a movement that understands that to aid the Vietnamese and blacks we must develop a white fighting force that FIGHTS!

We are making over-extension a reality—the United States cannot contain rebellions in Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Venezuela, Guatemala, and ten cities at home, but that's what they will have to deal with. Chicago is the beginning stage of a fighting movement in this country. We're bringing the war home October 8-11, and then back to every city in America. The thousands of Motor City kids who come with us to Chicago will know just what business needs to be done when they get back to Detroit.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
BRING THE WAR HOME!



## Klonsky

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we demanded such things as an end to tracking, an end to racist ideology, etc. Now if the schools shut down in the process of struggling to change them, that is one thing. Our demands cannot be simply "Shut Down the Schools" or "Jail Break". First of all, the high school kids don't need us to break out of school. They are going to school ("bourgeois" as they are) to get a job. Until they see alternatives to that, any attempt to shut down the schools attacks working people. We must first expose the class nature of the schools and make the people see the lies being run down on them. Likewise, we aid welfare mothers not just to "smash the state", but also to get their welfare rights.

The "Weathermen" on the other hand have rejected struggles for democratic rights, saying that they only increase the "privilege" of the workers. At the NIC, they characterized such struggles as "serve the people shit". This is because the line they hold to says that the working class benefits from imperialism because they share in the profit stolen by the imperialists. This is similar to PL, who won't fight to open up the schools because winning this reform would only make the blacks more bourgeois.

For this fall action to be successful, we must make it relevant to the masses of people in this country. Our approach should be one of transforming the mass discontent with the war into action, not just on the part of the elite revolutionaries, but mass action. We must present a program of action so that we can win proletarian organizations such as the Panthers, Lords, etc. to help build it. Read the latest poster turned out by the NO (in the centerfold of the mass issue of NLN) and see if workers or for that matter anyone but college students could relate to it. Its basic theme is that imperialism kills lots of people (moralism) and does not in any way relate the war to the needs of the people.

The break came in the form of a debate over a proposed article publicizing the action. One of the struggles was over a paragraph I wrote critical of the old peace movement leadership. Once we were clear that it was not a matter of wording but a

matter of principle (they claim that the "old Mobe leadership were basically good but made some mistakes just like us"). At the same time that they attacked my criticism of the old leadership, the NO has completely split with the Mobe organization, who are now also not supporting the action. This liberalism toward revisionist leadership on the one hand and strong sectarianism on the other are simply two sides to the contradiction that is the Weatherman line.

Now many people around the country, reacting to the sectarianism and the adventurism of the leadership and the fact that they have broken from the program put forth at the convention, have become angered and frustrated to the point of not working hard enough to build the action. We must not give up the action but should instead wage an internal struggle to build the action in a revolutionary direction. We must unite all those who can be united, wage internal struggle, and not let the action turn into an ego trip on the part of a few "super revolutionaries". Aside from not aiding the struggle of the Vietnamese or building the mass anti-imperialist movement in this country, the line and program of the Weatherman can only strengthen PL, who are banking on a big flop around the action.

Also at this point, no propaganda or literature or programs directed at GIs have been turned out by the NO. At this time there are massive rebellions going on in forts throughout this country as well as in Vietnam. We must see relating to these struggles as a primary task at this time.

RYM II in Chicago are writing a pamphlet, "The War and the Workers", trying to build rallies in working class communities which people have been working in for some period of time, building boycotts of the high schools, tying spontaneous struggles going on in these schools to the war and repression in the ghetto and trying to bring working people contacted during strike support action to the mass march on Saturday the 11th.

In the various cities throughout the country, meetings should be called with every group that can be won to the anti-imperialist struggle, especially working class organizations. This is the way the action can be built, relying on the people and not just ourselves, and serving the people, not just ourselves.



## response

continued from page 2

internationalism. The history of revolutionary struggle in this country has been a history of white people fighting their "just struggles" at the expense of solidarity and material support to black and brown people and to the oppressed people of the world. How does a wage fight challenge a worker's support of the war? How does decent housing for the white working class challenge white supremacy, when the reality of this country is that it is predominantly black people who live in slums, when it is predominantly black people who have bad jobs or who are unemployed, when it is predominantly black people who fill the prisons and jails, victims of the racist repression of the state?

This is not to say that there are no "just" struggles of the people. It is to say that the most important struggle of the people in the mother country is that of making the revolution—and not just a revolution for them, but for the people of the whole world.

If winning people's confidence means fighting with them in struggles that do not forward the revolution, then that "confidence" is worthless and the time spent on it wasted.

The second error in Klonsky's assertion is that it implies that we CANNOT win people's confidence by fighting imperialism. That we must first prove to people that we like them, and are nice people. Revolution, Mao reminds us, is not a dinner party, and the ties to revolutionary struggle between the people had better not be simply because we're "nice"—but because we are fighting the enemy, and holding a strategy that can win. The "serve the people" strategy, by assuming that white people cannot be won to anti-imperialism because of the content of the revolution, but only by some magical acts of trickery, is a strategy to lose. The same strategy as the old "ERAP" projects, where organizers served the people by hiding their politics, never challenged the consciousness of the people, and never made it possible for the people to change through struggle. It is also, in many ways, the strategy of the Worker Student Alliance, where students join in the struggles of workers to prove that "we're not just a bunch of rich kids out to serve ourselves" (from Klonsky's article), along with the dogmatic idealization of the white working class and rejection of the primacy of anti-imperialism. Who does an anti-imperialist youth movement serve? Rich kids.

If we are really engaging in anti-imperialist struggle, the question of who we are serving will be clear—the people of the whole world, including the American working class. And we

serve them, as well as ourselves, by building a movement engaged in concrete struggle in support of national liberation for oppressed peoples, a movement oriented toward power for the oppressed people of the whole world.

Klonsky's attack on the Macomb action in Detroit, as well as his charges of our failings in relation to other "proletarian" organizations, both stem from the errors of the United Front, Serve the People strategy. With the Macomb action, he fails to see the value of challenging the students about the bullshit they're being fed in school, as well as the value of challenging and undercutting the teacher's role as an authority. Equally important, he misses the entire thrust of the world-wide women's liberation struggle: becoming a fighting force against imperialism. In terms of other proletarian organizations, he fails to critically evaluate the position of the Young Patriots (see last week's NLN), as well as failing to recognize that, because of the separate nature of the black liberation struggle, as well as the different levels of struggle, it is appropriate for the Panthers and Lords not to engage in the National Action—but to build the struggle for liberation in the colony, while we engage in the strategy for revolution in the mother country.

Finally, Klonsky's break with the National Action staff did not come only over his ad-hominem attack on the leadership of the Mobe—that they were people "who only wanted to hold the world together long enough to spend their money". Before he left we engaged in struggle around the entire conception of the action. Klonsky argued for a one-day march, organizing for the action through a "united front", and limiting the overall militancy of the action itself. In essence, Klonsky's plan was to replace the old United Front (MOBE) by building a new United Front with the same tactics, and essentially the same politics, and naming it "anti-imperialist".

And here's where the attack on the MOBE comes in. If you're doing approximately the same thing revisionists are doing, you have to do something to show that you're not the MOBE or the CP. So you spend a lot of time attacking them. The National Action staff, on the other hand, guaranteed that revisionist politics would not define the action by allowing the MOBE in only if they agreed with our slogans and tactics. They refused, so they split.

In the end, practice will prove what's what. Klonsky should go out and hold rallies in working-class neighborhoods, and Weatherman people should continue organizing a fighting anti-imperialist working class youth movement. Enough said.

## New Left Notes



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We are trying to schedule fall speaking tours for the national secretaries and national action staff members at this time. Chapters that want an n.o. speaker in September-October should write or call us immediately.

# PEOPLE'S WAR



**THE GREATEST INVENTION  
OF THE 20th CENTURY**

CHICAGO-OCT.11

# ROUND-UP

## SDS LEADERS BUSTED

CHICAGO: Three national officers and two members of SDS were arrested last Saturday and held briefly on a total of \$2500 bail. Jeff Jones, Inter-Organizational Secretary, was busted for illegal possession of firearms, and NIC member Bernardine Dohrn was held on a phony narcotics charge (for some prescription pills). NIC member Howie Machtinger of Chicago was held for disorderly conduct, as was John Jacobs, and Gerry Long of the Chicago region was held for illegal possession of a knife. You can jail revolutionaries, but you can't jail the revolution.

## HUNDREDS FIGHT FOR JOBS



PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA: Hundreds of demonstrators demanding more construction jobs for black people in Pittsburgh battled with the police August 26 as they marched through the city. A hundred and seventy five persons were arrested after police attacked the crowd, which had only rocks to defend itself. The Black Construction Coalition, which has called the demonstrations, has vowed to close down all construction projects in the city to get more blacks employed. Currently only 2% of Pittsburgh's 30,000 construction workers are black.

## DALLAS VAMPS ON SNCC

DALLAS, TEXAS: Dallas has temporarily put SNCC out of action without a single overtly political arrest. Members of Dallas SNCC are being held in jail for charges ranging from armed robbery to vagrancy. A total of at least seven SNCC organizers are being held in Dallas jails, and according to several eyewitnesses, a local ex-campus security chief in Dallas has three bullets that he carries in his gun, engraved with the names of McMillan, Johnson, and Harris—three of the more important SNCC organizers in Dallas.

## PUERTO RICANS REBEL

NEW YORK (LNS): Hundreds of angry Puerto Ricans protested against the dirt of the slums on August 17 by piling all the rubbish on several streets into the middle of the street, overturning abandoned cars, and lighting them on fire. When the pigs came and busted Ildefonso Santiago for suspicion of burglary (they found a screwdriver in his car), the people retaliated by filling the streets with more trash, cars, old refrigerators, and anything else they could find. Members of the Young Lords Organization, who for weeks asked the Sanitation Department to provide brooms and trash cans to clean up the streets, led 300 "Power to the People", "Off the Pig" chanting people to the police station to demand Santiago's release. The Young Lords made a series of demands including regular collection of trash in the slums, at least 10 brooms and trash barrels per block, the hiring of more Puerto Ricans by the Sanitation Department, and higher starting pay for sanitation workers. Right on!

## FRAME-UP IN CLEVELAND



CLEVELAND, OHIO: A second racist frame-up trial has been held to assign blame on the people for defending their lives against the pigs of Cleveland. Lathan Donald, a 20-year-old black activist, was found guilty by an all-white jury of seven counts of first and second degree murder in the Glenville incident of July 23, 1968. Donald was sentenced to 100 years in jail, with no parole. The incident occurred when two carloads of drunk pigs opened fire on a group of black people, who defended themselves quite vigorously and managed to off four pigs. Ahmed Evans has already been sentenced to die in the electric chair (despite the admission of the assistant prosecutor that "There is no direct evidence that Evans killed anybody." Three more people have trials coming up.

## YOUNG LORDS OPEN DAY CARE CENTER

CHICAGO: The Young Lords in Chicago celebrated the opening of a day-care center at the YLO church in Chicago with a street fair and pig roast August 16, but the man didn't figure there was too much to celebrate. The pigs came down on people dancing to the bongo drums and arrested five people. The crowd looked ready to fight, so the Lords went down to the pigpen and got their brothers released.

## CHICANO SCHOOL WALKOUT

### IN SEPTEMBER

DENVER, COLORADO: 1500 Chicanos meeting in Denver earlier this year have called for a nationwide walkout by Chicago high school and college students on September 16, Mexican Independence Day.

# WARNING:

## SDS's Semi-Annual PURGE Is Coming!

EVERYONE WHO IS CHANGING ADDRESS THIS MONTH MUST NOTIFY THE NATIONAL OFFICE NOW—FAILURE TO NOTIFY US OF (1) YOUR OLD ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE, and (2) YOUR NEW ADDRESS AND ZIP CODE WILL FORCE US TO TERMINATE YOUR SUBSCRIPTION. BE SURE TO INCLUDE BOTH OLD & NEW ZIP CODES

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

OLD: STREET ADD. \_\_\_\_\_

CITY STATE ZIP! \_\_\_\_\_

NEW: STREET ADD. \_\_\_\_\_

(DORM # IF ANY) \_\_\_\_\_

CITY STATE ZIP! \_\_\_\_\_

DATE EFFECTIVE: \_\_\_\_\_

SPREAD THE WORD: DO IT NOW!