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NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS
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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

OCTOBER 9, 1967

Putting White Radicals to Work or Making Sure Our Friends Don't Become Our Enemies

Mike James
JOIN

Nowhere in this country have white "radicals" created operations that can put people to work. People come off the campus and say "I want to work with JOIN." We say start a project somewhere. Someone wants to be a teacher, and is told over and over, "set up a radical teachers project." People come out of SDS with good gut stuff, but little perspective, and get eaten up going into a city where they try and solve problems personally rather than politically. The movement now loses, and will continue to lose, too many people to middle class America, or the Haight. We have failed to create programs, much less models, that people can look to, think about, and then go to in order to live and work politically as radicals and maybe someday as revolutionaries. Potential comrades will become enemies, saying "I'm for freedom and peace, I'm against U.S. imperialism, but (locked in middle class hip/America) what the hell can I do?" Ten per cent of their income may soothe their consciences, help our pilot projects, but that income is available only by strengthening America, the enemy.

At this time, unfortunately, white "radicals" have not embarked on the task of building radical constituencies among poor and working whites that can someday relate to and be related to by, blacks. The student and peace movements are basically irrelevant to the struggle of black people in this country, and, in the long run, liberation movements in the third world. Black people increasingly orient themselves to the third world. Our failure to build a movement among white workers lends itself to the increased repression of the black people. One of our tasks at this time is to start to lay the groundwork for a working class movement, encompassing students and professionals as well, that can coalesce with blacks and the third world. When we talk of creating operations that allow people to work as radicals, it should be stressed that without serious attention to the working class (including segments of the "new working class", e.g. lower level technology jobs), motion among middle class constituencies could easily become reformist, not potentially revolutionary. Organization among middle class elements should flow from a working class perspective, from a view that we must work to control the institutions that will someday let us pull the American ogre down.

Newark and Chicago are the cities that come closest at this time in terms of conception and existing manpower, to being able to create operations that will allow people to work effectively as radicals. Let me explain, drawing on our experiences and current plans in Chicago.

We found that big civil rights (SCLC), church and labor groups were determining direction for most small community organizations just beginning to develop roots and perspective. Open occupancy marches (perhaps a necessary step) deterred black grass roots groups from making black power a reality with radical content; it

pulled them away from the cat on the street, leaving him to the manipulation and paternalism of OEO money. Finally, people who were about serious radical organizing in poor and working communities formed a Union of Organizers. Organizers were going to start making their own decisions, and the first was to create new community organizations throughout the city. The Union and the School continue. The first session put together a staff of ten black organizers working in the Englewood area. The school will move to another neighborhood, establish another staff, and then move again -- and again.

The Union also created a Center for Radical Research that involved 75 white students doing research to serve the current and perceived needs of community organizations. (see "A Role for Whites...", Rennie Davis, The MOVEMENT, August 1967.) The Center included a Free University (some white kids got some perspective), and has spun off groups of people trying to organize within the Independent Case Workers' Union, the AFT, and VISTA.

The Union and its school are now a completely black operation. That has imposed on white organizers the task of creating our own union, our own operation that can

in some instances (even now) work together with the black Union. We are now in the process of pulling together people who are already organizing, seeing where we are, and where and how we move. The group includes people working in poor and working class white neighborhoods, the CADRE draft resistance people, organizers from the 49th Ward Citizen's for Independent Political Action, the Center for Radical Research, radicals in the labor movement, teachers, case workers,

The NCNP Convention...

William Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band

Alan Jehlen

The National Conference for New Politics convention, held in Chicago from August 31 to September 5, set a new high for excitement in political conventions.

The crucial question was decided by 2 votes out of 28,000. A delegation with 5,000 votes staged a virtual take-over. There were walk-outs. It was the greatest show on earth.

lawyers, doctors, and students (both high school and college).

If we get "our thing" together, share some common experiences, we may well be in need of recruitment (always locally as much as possible) and training of 100 teachers or case workers, who can move their unions left, relate to community organizations, and work as radicals in the neighborhoods where they live, as well. The neighborhoods where they live will be

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LET'S GET TOGETHER

The pre-convention "drafting sessions" drew up three alternative "perspectives" resolutions to put before the delegates. One called for NCNP to coordinate and opposed a national third ticket on the grounds that it would distract people from building solid local organizations. A second perspective argued for a national third ticket, saying such a national campaign was necessary to "inject a radically different viewpoint into Presidential dialogue", and would strengthen local organizing. A third called for NCNP to establish a third party as a long-term alternative to the existing two major parties. The choice among these three resolutions was to be the key decision of the convention.

DID YOU EVER HAVE TO MAKE UP YOUR MIND?

Saturday evening the perspectives plenary opened, with the black caucus not participating. The small labor caucus, the Du Bois Clubs, the Communist Party, the California delegation, and other new politics electoral groups supported the third ticket perspective. Members of the radical white caucus backed the local organizing perspective. Some speakers for local organizing attacked all electoral activity, local or otherwise, even though the perspective did not, and the radical caucus had not.

The initial vote on perspectives was about 11,000 for the third ticket, 10,000 for local organizing, and 3,000 for the third party. (According to the convention rules, delegations were entitled to as many votes as there were active members in the organizations they represented.) The convention then recessed to see if any compromises could be worked out.

The local organizing caucus then approved a compromise whereby most of the third ticket perspective would be added to the local organizing perspective, but the decision of whether to run a third ticket

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to GOVT REPRESSION
of MOBILIZATION**

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LETTERS TO NLN

Brothers and Sisters,

Here is a short analysis of future anti-draft organizing, sent to the Draft Resistance Clearing House.

Anti-draft organizing can be viewed as a three-step program, in which young men are informed, organized, and then they act.

The masses of young men that we are trying to reach can be reached through various types of leafleting. Our leaflets should do two things. First, they should help guys dodge the draft. Second, they should proselytize, but they should not emphasize morality as a reason for not going. Personal and political reasons are valid for not fighting, and these (especially personal) are the reasons that guys who really face the draft will decide not to go. Counseling should be aimed along the same line.

Once we have helped guys get out, or indicate that we can and will, then these guys are interested in joining or forming anti-draft unions. Some join because they are convinced that resistance can work. Some join because they want to do for others what the ADU did for them. These new guys must be organized to protect themselves, your original members (so the relationship of the original resisters is not patronizing), and any others who face the draft. They should also be organized to inform and organize just as you do.

At this stage it is important to broaden the perspective of the new draft resistance group. The draft should be tied into their other hassle, and it should be explained as part of a system, a part which cannot be abolished in itself.

The third part of building an effective anti-draft movement, or an effective movement through anti-draft organizing, is action. Early actions, such as closing induction centers, are important in revitalizing the spirit of resistance as long as such actions are understood in the context of building a movement, not as a crisis.

Eventually, if we build an anti-draft movement originally in self-interest but introduced to a broad radical analysis, our actions may be big enough to precipitate radical social change.

Leonard Siegel

Brothers and sisters,

John Veneziale is completely off-base. He wants us to move off the campuses and be "educated" by the working class in preparation for revolution. He obviously hasn't noticed that the greatest revolutionary potential today lies with the student and intellectual communities in this country. The working class has unfortunately been duped into believing that they live in freedom and democracy. As Carl Davidson pointed out in the adjacent article, people have been conditioned to accept their "responsibilities" in the system, as they continue to elect "home room officers" in national politics. Apparently, only the academic community has been

able to see through the fog and realize that an economic and political bureaucracy is molding and directing our lives. (I am not referring, of course, to the bourgeois phonies, who are trying to fit their niches in the system.)

Freeing the campuses from the system should be one of the most important objectives of the liberation movement. Gaining control of the universities from the big business and government interests can cut their leadership potential drastically. Also, little is mentioned about the possibilities of subversion from within the bureaucracy, so that we can break it down from within as well as hit it from without.

If we allow ourselves to be "educated" by the working class, we will be sucked back into the system. We should be the leaders, not the followers of mass apathy.

I joined this organization with the idea in mind that the working class is no longer in a position to lead a movement for political, economic, and social democracy. Several of us at the Defiance College are in the process of organizing a chapter, but I would hesitate to perpetuate an organization that would follow the advice of one who would plunge us back into conditional mass mentality.

Fraternally,

Steve Shank
Member-at-large

Which Side Are You On? a critical analysis of the resistance

Baxter Garcia
Gerald Gray

Our main aim in writing this article was to present a critical evaluation of some of the more important aspects of the Resistance program, rather than a comprehensive analysis of its philosophy and strategy, in an attempt to stimulate further discussion on a broader basis. For reasons which are set forth in the article, we feel that it is urgent that such critical dialogue on the question of the Resistance, and its relation to the larger anti-war effort, begin immediately. We also feel that a prevalent misconception of the nature of the Resistance position has, in part, prevented the initiation of that dialogue. This misconception is that the Resistance consists of a group of individuals who have united because they share common goals, and a common commitment to non-cooperation. This, we assert, is not the case. The Resistance purports to be a genuine political movement—thus Oct. 16 is seen not as the first and final confrontation, but as the catalytic action which will generate a series of waves of non-cooperation, of progressively increasing intensity. The Resistance program is not merely an attempt to gather together people who have previously made personal commitments to non-cooperation. It is an attempt to convince people that their moral responsibility compels them to

*Adventures of a
Farm Boy*



A stirring non-fiction account of life on the Nebraska prairies and party life in the C.P.U.S.A. in the 1930's.

On the theory we should not allow the traditions of the Old West to be usurped by drugstore cowboys like the Goldwaters and the Reagans, the author recently competed in the Deadwood, S.D. to Sidney, Nebraska endurance horse race.

A paper back in preparation will sell at \$2.00 postpaid. A few mimeographed first edition will be sold at that price.

Send orders to: Paul Burke
201 South 32nd Ave.
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

In the September 25, 1967 issue of New Left Notes a grave mistake was made. The ad which is shown above carried a picture of someone other than the author. The ad now stands corrected, with a picture of the author, Paul Burke.

make this particular commitment, and to participate in this particular program. We therefore took as our starting point the assumption that it would not be relevant to debate the commitment of the individual. It is relevant, however, in order to clarify the basic position that the Resistance is advocating, and in order to understand some of the implications of that position for the larger anti-war movement, to critically discuss the use of non-cooperation as the basis for the organization of a mass political movement.

Before beginning an analysis of the Resistance political program, we must first attempt to define that program clearly. In this regard, it is significant that the Resistance has displayed a consistently ambivalent attitude on the question of prison. Although its members stress that prison is the risk that individuals must accept if they participate in the Resistance program, they have not been consistent in asserting that they will accept prison. In fact, while one segment of the Resistance leadership states unequivocally that the members are going to prison, another segment states that their policy is to support individuals who seek an alternative to prison. In a recent statement issued by the Palo Alto Resistance, we read: "That stance's initial step (non-cooperation) is a refusal to cooperate with conscription. This means going to jail for up to five years." But in a similar statement issued about the same time by the Berkeley Resistance (at that time, national headquarters); "...all must be willing to risk prison... We realize that some will change their minds after these actions or decide that prison would be too harmful to them. In such instances, we will provide means to leave the country or go underground."

The two approaches outlined above are to a certain extent contradictory and mutually exclusive. On the one hand, the position that entails prison involves continuing public defiance of the government, a continually stated readiness to accept prison (on a philosophical level, a tacit recognition of the government's power—but not its authority), and the eventual acceptance of prison sentences. The alternate position involves open confrontation with the government, and continued public defiance up until the point of indictment or threatened imprisonment, and then subsequent evasion of prison. This position clearly contradicts the basic intent and purposes of the former one.

The basic question we must ask is the

political feasibility of designing a tactic at this time which will result in the eventual imprisonment, or forced exile, of many young men. However, several practical consequences must be considered by those individuals who choose to evade prison after participation in the Oct. 16th action. These are; 1. such action will diminish the effectiveness of the Resistance program, since the Resistance will be projecting two conflicting conceptions of the meaning and purpose of its action. Further, such action might precipitate the internal dissolution and fragmentation of the group. 2. this may have the effect of jeopardizing the legal status of those in the Resistance who choose to work through the courts and accept prison. There is a high probability that bail would be raised significantly, or that it will be eliminated altogether, should people under indictment attempt to avoid prosecution. 3. individuals who break the law voluntarily, as the Resistance members intend to do, and subsequently attempt to evade prison, must be aware of their responsibility to those people who will extend aid to them. For instance, a Selective Service violator is liable for a maximum of 5 years prison, but people who assist the violator, e.g. by hiding him or helping him escape, can be prosecuted for conspiracy and are thereby liable to between 10 and 20 years in prison. As to Canadians and others, they are already overburdened with deserters and draft-refusers who had to break the law and ask help to avoid prison.

In light of the above considerations, it appears that it will be difficult to justify participation in the Resistance Oct. 16th action, without a firm prior commitment to the program which includes prison.

The Resistance, as a movement, purports to offer a viable political program involving a sustained organizational thrust and ongoing political action. Again, in judging the feasibility of this program, we must weigh the possible political effectiveness of its strategy and tactics against the price of prison or exile which individuals, and the larger anti-draft and anti-war movement, will be forced to pay as a result of those tactics. This requires consideration of the whole question of using non-cooperation as a basis for organization of a political movement.

Non-cooperation is defined as the complete refusal to cooperate in any manner or on any level with the Selective

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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 35 let the people decide

OCTOBER 9, 1967

SDS & Oct. 21st: Repression and Resistance

Certain events within the last few months have added a new dimension to the struggle of Americans against the war in Vietnam. Beginning with the attack of the Los Angeles police on 10,000 anti-war demonstrators at Century Plaza, a new and significant wave of overt government repression against the anti-war movement has been emerging. Since then, several other major attacks have occurred. On August 5th, ten draft resistance community organizers were beaten and arrested in San Francisco's Mission district. A few weeks ago in Washington, D.C., a non-violent demonstration and direct action led by the Women's Strike for Peace was brutally attacked by police in front of the White House. In the last two months, a whole range of attacks by both local and state authorities has been waged against a variety of radical groups in the South, including SSOC and SCEF. The Southern repression, especially in the case of SSOC, can be understood by taking into account the increasing effectiveness of these groups' work against the war.

Last week in Texas, SDS, SNCC, and the Dallas draft resistance movement have come under heavy attack by Joe Pool, HUAC, the Dallas press, the Texas American Legion and the infamous Dallas police. Pool has announced that the normal investigation into the activities of the anti-war movement has been intensified; and, furthermore, that plans are being prepared in Washington for a general nationwide public investigation of the anti-war and draft resistance movements. Fat Joe Pool explicitly named SDS as the prime target for his harassment. Pool also mentioned that he would attempt to introduce legislation into Congress requiring all colleges and universities receiving federal funds to force SDS chapters off their campuses or lose their government money. At present, Dallas SDS people are holding together, despite police harassment, vicious publicity, and various threats from all quarters.

Finally, the most recent and significant repressive move on the part of the ruling class deals with the National Mobilizations on October 21. The General Services Administration (which includes all police and other administrative bodies in the District of Columbia) notified the Mobilization that unless the Committee explicitly disavowed and disassociated itself from any acts of civil disobedience during the October 21 action, then all permits would be denied and any anti-war action (including legal protests) would be declared illegal for that day. The GSA also hinted that unless the Mobilization met its request, all future actions in Washington by themselves and other anti-war groups would be declared illegal. Washington officials have thus far indicated that any "illegal" actions would be met with repressive force and have even mentioned the possibility of bloodshed.

In its seven year history, SDS has not had to deal with political repression on this scale and with this degree of seriousness. Because of this relative inexperience and of the damage done in the past to radical movements in America through repression by the government, it is important that we develop an effective and offensive response to this situation. Moreover, we should understand clearly the reasons for this repression at this point in our history.

First of all, the government is increasingly frustrated over the war in Vietnam. All indications point out that the NLF is winning on all fronts, mili-

tarily and politically. The war is being waged at tremendous costs, disrupting an already stagnant economy. The country is divided on the war, with increasing numbers coming over to our side. The effect on the black population is even more significant, especially since this summer's ghetto rebellions. In order to maintain its rule, the US government has been reduced to the sheer desperation of overt repression. The bankruptcy of the ruling class's corporate liberal facade has been revealed in the recent wave of anti-strike, wage freeze, anti-riot, and now, anti-civil libertarian administrative and legislative measures. Although the government has made what is on the surface an anti-civil libertarian move, it is important to realize that at its core, the issue is a political one and not an issue of freedom of speech or right of assembly. The move against the Mobilization is an act of political repression against a force for change in America; to discuss whether or not the government can legally do so is to engage in co-optive debate—since that change must come about, despite whatever "legal" machinations the government uses in attempting to maintain political stability.

As well as the current political crises in the national government, we should examine our own development. In the past few years, the movement has grown qualitatively as well as quantitatively. The Peace and Civil Rights movements have moved together and transformed themselves. Where we once spoke of civil rights, we now speak of black liberation. Where we once spoke of peace, we now speak of anti-imperialist struggle. The word "revolution" is heard again and again, with a growing coherence. We have moved from protest to resistance.

In this light, we must move forward. When we are attacked, as we will be, we must counterattack with a response concurrent with our present level of political development as well as the nature of the attack. This means that we must not fall into the trap of retreating to civil libertarian defense committees, containing our attacks within the courts, laws, and constitutional structures owned and controlled by the same enemy attacking us. We must call the shots, rather than some Johnson-appointed federal judge. Throughout the history of radicalism, civil libertarian defenses against political repression have served to confine forces for change within the limits of the political thought and action of the status quo, thus rendering them impotent. Our defense must be an offense. Furthermore, we must observe two principles: (1) we must not retreat from anything we have accomplished or advocated thus far, and (2) we must not be divided by red-baiting, black-baiting, irresponsible-baiting, or whatever. An Injury to One is an Injury to All.

Considering the current situation, the SDS Fall National Council, meeting at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, agreed on two responses. In relation to Joe-the-fool-Pool's attack on Texas SDS draft resistance programs, the NC issued a press release attacking the war, the draft and HUAC. Also, the NC supported the work of our brothers and sisters in Texas as well as reaffirming our participation in and support of draft resistance across the country. The N.O. was instructed to give full support, financial and moral, to our brothers and sisters in Texas. Robert Pardun and Marilyn Buck have left Chicago for Dallas to

assist in the struggle.

Secondly, in relation to the National Mobilization Committee's current crisis, the NC sent a telegram urging them to reject all the demands of the Washington D.C. authorities concerning the Committee's plans for mass civil disobedience and other actions on October 21st. The following day, the NC reviewed its past relations with the NMC and decided within the limits of SDS's political criticism of the Committee, to call for and urge a significant turn-out of SDS members for the Oct. 21st action.

Previously, SDS has criticized within the anti-war movement those groups advocating periodic mass protest actions as the main tactic for organizing against the war in Vietnam and American Imperialism. While not rejecting the tactic of demonstrations in certain situations, SDS has devoted its main energies to organizing on the local and regional levels permanent, multi-issue, radical constituencies with a capacity for resistance rather than protest. National SDS still maintains this position and its criticism of the NMC flowing from this position.

However, due to the current crisis in the anti-war movement vis-a-vis the Oct. 21st action and due to the systematic repression of the anti-war movement by the US government, the NC resolution instructed the 11 SDS national officers (NIC) to plan, direct, and lead an SDS contingent during the October 21st action in Washington D.C. The NIC was mandated to set up a tentative gathering point for SDS people near the reflecting pool between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. If the situation changes, the NIC is empowered to select an alternative site and to inform SDS people of the change by whatever means feasible. The NIC was also instructed to supply the contingent with banners and placards. The National Interim Committee, meeting after the NC, instructed the National Officers and regional staff in New York and

Washington to actively participate in the ongoing deliberations in and around the NMC concerning the Oct. 21st Confrontation, as well as to develop and implement the necessary logistics for the SDS contingent.

The SDS NC and NIC strongly urge all SDS members and organizers to participate in the October 21st confrontation in Washington, with the exception of those individuals and chapters for which participation would be detrimental to their engagement in ongoing radical organizing on the local or regional level. Again, we must emphasize that this is not a reversal or alteration of the 1967 SDS Convention's resolution giving critical support to the NMC and should not be taken by the NMC or any other group as such. The situation is unique and important. SDS is making whatever efforts are necessary to meet that situation. We strongly urge that the NMC and those groups supporting it will confront the situation with the same degree of commitment. To stand aloof or retreat in the face of this initial repression would be disastrous.

SDS people should be informed that events in Washington on October 21st are not likely to resemble a Sunday picnic. Those people coming should plan ahead for cold weather, the need for a source of bail, and the occurrence of police harassment and violent attacks. Also, if the authorities decide to cancel special trains and buses into Washington, SDS'ers should plan alternative means of transportation. Whatever the decisions of those in power, we should be there to meet those decisions with the necessary resistance to hold back and eventually revolt against the system oppressing us all.

Carl Davidson,
Inter-Organizational Secretary
Mike Spiegel,
National Secretary

CUBANS INVITE SDS TO ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Carl Davidson,
Inter-Organizational Secretary

The Cuban government has extended an invitation to SDS to send 10 to 20 people to Cuba from December 21 to January 10, the anniversary of the revolution. The trip is scheduled to include a tour of the island, meetings with various government officials, and attendance at anniversary celebrations. A resolution of the National Council mandated the NIC to select people to attend, leaving it to the NIC to decide what process and criteria would be used.

At the NIC meeting following the NC, it was decided that not only should chapter members be encouraged to apply, but also that part of the process of selection should take place at the local level. The result was a decision that local chapters should elect their applicant and that the NIC should select a minimum of one-half of the delegation from this pool of elected chapter people. This will permit the NIC to have a large number of people who are active at the local level to choose from, rather than selecting only from those people known to the NIC members.

Those who are elected applicants will have to raise their own transportation costs—and hopefully chapters will be willing to aid with expenses if they have taken part in choosing the delegate. At this time, the specific means of travel is not known, and thus costs cannot be accurately estimated. It will, however, probably be more than \$500, although that is not certain. People should be aware of

the fact that travel to Cuba is severely restricted, and some sort of legal action could be taken against them.

The rest of the delegation will be made up of those selected by the NIC from regional travellers and staff, people active in movement newspapers or community projects, national officers, etc. Regional distribution, the individual's relationship to his or her constituency, national perspective, the maintenance of a fair representation of both women and men, and potentialities for long-range development will be taken into account in selecting the delegation. As we have discovered in many different situations, however, there is no scientific method of dealing with people as human beings, and selection can only follow guidelines rather than be strictly determined by any set of factors. In submitting an application, there should be included a couple of paragraphs giving a history of the applicant's activity in the movement, the criteria the chapter used in electing the person, and how he or she fits those criteria.

Due to the state of the Cuban bureaucracy and the date of the next meeting of the NIC, at which time the delegation must be selected, the election of delegates should take place as soon as possible. In order to give the NO a bit of time to find out who those elected are and what they are into, applications should arrive in the NO no later than November 2.

Viva Che! Viva la Revolucion! Venceramos!

Announcement on Tribunal

Any person who has served in Vietnam in military or civilian capacity, and is able to testify concerning American war crimes in Vietnam; or any person who has contact with such persons; or any person who has documentation of war crimes based on research or investigation, please contact Steve Halliwell and Karen Wald, SDS Regional Office, 41 Union Sq. West, NY, NY 10003, as soon as possible.

White Radicals: A Positive Program

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where people who are their "students" or "clients" also live, whether they be poor or working class communities. We will need recruits to work in lots of other areas as well, whether it be neighborhoods, factories, doing draft resistance, as doctors, or as lawyers, working full time in the movement, taking offensive or just disruptive action, rather than just helping out after regular hours.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE NCNP:

The NCNP convention has been reported a lot of other places. What's important here is that there was a "white radical" or "local organizing perspective" caucus, that found a lot of white people starting to think about where and how they work. They elected six temporary delegates and six alternates to the NCNP board. Most of these people come out of SDS and are involved in local organizing, whether it be poor, labor, or middle class settings. At a recent meeting in Washington, expanded to include SDS National Officers, and some people from Vietnam Summer and California New Politics, two views of how we move

Resistance Analysis

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Service System. It is distinguished, therefore, from the act of refusing induction, and from the decision to accept or refuse prison. Resistance members undertake non-cooperation for three basic reasons; to disassociate themselves, individually and collectively, from a system which conducts an immoral war; to achieve the practical effect of denying the military the men it needs; and to produce a new alignment of political forces—a fusion of diverse segments of society, white middle-class, black, white working-class youth, etc. around the issue of the draft.

Let us examine these reasons separately. The first, non-cooperation with the draft in order to disassociate from an immoral system, fails because acceptance of prison negates the original purpose of the act. This happens because the prisons are part of the established institutional system, and as such, are but another instrument for the suppression of dissent. The members of the Resistance who voluntarily accept prison and thereby remove themselves from the sphere of ongoing political work for a protracted period, allow the prisons to perform their repressive function efficiently. While the intent of the Resistance is to deny the authority of the government, they are not disassociated from it so long as it can manipulate them for its own ends. By accepting prison, the Resistance has neither influenced the power of the government, nor undermined its authority. (We have dealt here only with the original and 'genuine' Resistance position; i.e. which includes prison—but the same arguments can logically be extended to cover the cases of those who opt for Canada, or choose a similar alternative.)

The second reason for non-cooperation is to have the practical effect of denying men to the military. This effect can obviously be achieved by different means—it does not require organization for prison. Further, the longer men stay out of prison while staying out of the military, the longer can they help other men to stay out. And if they choose exile instead of prison,

NCNP

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would be made separately for each state by the organizations in that state. With the understanding that amendment would follow the vote, the local organizing perspective won the run-off — by 2 votes out of 27,036 cast. The plenary then amended it in line with the proposals of the California delegation, and everybody went home. at about 3 AM.

SAY THE WORD, AND WE'LL BE FREE

Late Friday night, the black caucus presented a 13-point resolution to the convention steering committee, and threatened to walk out if it were not passed by 12:30 the next day. The first point said the black caucus should have half the votes at all committees and commis-

sions of the convention. One of the other points read. "(We) condemn the imperialistic Zionist war; this does not imply anti-Semitism." Other points "strongly suggest(ed) that white civilizing committees be established immediately in all white communities to civilize and humanize the savage and beastlike character that runs rampant throughout America", supported "all resolutions issuing from the recent national conference on black power in Newark", and pledged the convention to "make immediate reparations for the historic, physical, sexual, mental, and economic exploitation of the black people." Further, the black caucus insisted that the convention had no right to amend its resolution.

developed. There are not distinctly separate, and though they will undoubtedly overlap if they materialize, they do have different emphases, including class. Briefly, the first, to be attempted within the structure of NCNP, reflects the need some people feel to put travelers on the road, helping to get existing organizers and activists together, basically to service existing organizations, such as the Vietnam Summer structure, middle class peace groups, the Appalachian Volunteers, insurgents within the professions, etc. The program would include education (move people to a multi-issue orientation), train organizers, develop literature and educational materials, and perhaps raise money and recruit organizers.

The people who tended toward the second view felt that this proposed service program was important and should happen. Our reservations are that it is basically middle class in orientation, and tends toward reform rather than revolution. We feel that the time has come to start new projects in cities or regions of the country where there are concentrations of poor, transitional and working class whites. Hopefully these new projects, or more correctly their seeds, will evolve into operations or programs that will put

they can work with other American exiles to help still others in their position. There are exile groups establishing credit unions, job and housing co-ops, encouraging and aiding deserters, and so on.

With regard to the third reason for non-cooperation, that of producing a new political alignment, it suffices to say that what will determine the response of a particular element of society to the issue of the draft will not be the 'external' stimulus provided by the white middle-class members of the Resistance, but internal conditions and circumstances peculiar to that element. Here we encounter a paradox in the Resistance position, for how is it possible to speak of an alignment of different segments of society, when the white middle-class itself cannot achieve such an alignment within itself—and in fact is split on the very question of the Resistance? This raises the more fundamental question of the establishment of community in the middle class. The Resistance has placed

emphasis on building community, and expressing brotherhood. Yet while they affirm community in the abstract, they negate the concept in action. The very fact that the Resistance can develop a tactic which entails going to prison voluntarily is an admission that no community exists among the middle-class, and in going to prison the Resistance precludes the formation of that community. Black activists, to take the easiest counter-example, do not advocate going to prison precisely because they are members of a community to which they are responsible; prison would prevent them from working on the problems of that community, including the war. Indeed, it is a dangerous, and romantic illusion, to suppose that the bonds of community must be formed in prison, as some members of the Resistance have maintained. The creation of community will be accomplished not by working towards prison, towards isolation, but by engaging in a continuing effort to build that community.

Feelings ran high. Speakers were interrupted by jeers and shouts. The proposal passed by about 17,000 to 6,000,

people to work, as was described above for Chicago. Our concern is mainly how these operations flow from, or are oriented toward, a basically working class perspective.

SOME THOUGHTS ON STARTING NEW PROJECTS:

How do we go about creating new projects that will eventually have the pulling power to recruit people to a city-wide or region-wide organizing operation that includes work in factories (within old unions or starting new ones), as well as in communities (the draft, schools, housing, credit, co-ops, etc.). The answer will be awhile in coming; what follows are some of the thoughts of people who have been involved in frequent and intensive discussions around the country during the past three weeks.

1. Intelligence: We need to know where white America works; demographic information (just where are poor and working whites located); what are migration patterns from rural to urban areas, as well as projected investment patterns for cities where whites might be organized? What corporations are involved in decision-making by city or region (why take over a city council if it won't make any difference), etc.?

2. Pre-organizing: The recruitment of sophisticated (and, if possible, experienced) people who might make good organizers. Example: 5 to 10 people are recruited from, or sent into Youngstown, Ohio. One works as a teacher, another as a lawyer around draft stuff, another as a professor, another with church social agencies, and, most importantly, several people go into shops. All live in working class neighborhoods. They begin to develop networks and contacts, both at work, and in their respective places of residence.

For the first few months, there is a training program, where once a week somebody comes through town and talks at length with the new group, which should start to include new local re-

cruits. It might be a left union guy talking about the local union leadership, and how the local scene relates to the national union picture. Somebody might talk about credit, another about working class culture, another about international finance, another third world moments, another the draft, another about what's going on among teachers, etc., etc. The "teachers" should be experienced and knowledgeable hard-working radicals.

3. Perhaps in a year there will be some motion in the city. Assuming the student movement is preparing people in their heads that their radical work is only about to begin, then they can go to that city and fit in somewhere, whether it be in a factory, as a lawyer, teacher, or whatever.

4. Training programs would be developed for new people (most recruitment should attempt to be from the region or city itself.)

There are a lot of questions to be asked about the working class as well as every other aspect of these thoughts. However, middle class professional organizing will happen, and without serious attention to perspective, organization will draw class lines, being basically self-interest in nature (as the New York city teachers' strike, where teachers failed to see their destinies as being tied to the destinies of the people they teach.) People having control over the decisions that effect their lives, does not mean that they will worry about the lives of poor and working people in America, or the millions exploited by US imperialism—the reason people have all those "good things" that keep them from becoming radicals in their work as well as in their rhetoric.

There is now a greater need than ever for both a student and peace movement based on anti-imperialism. But unless our movement can move into non-white collar segments of white America, our movement could become the biggest reform movement in the history of this country, and we will reap the material benefits of repression everywhere else.

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with the black caucus not participating in the vote.

After the vote, Eric Mann of the Newark Community Union Project said that he had voted against it because he wanted to treat black radicals just as he would treat white radicals, and if a group of white radicals presented me with a 13-point resolution to be adopted without amendment, I'd tell them to stuff it, sight unseen." In general, the vote seemed to cut across liberal-radical lines, with perhaps more radicals voting against it than liberals.

I WANT TO HOLD YOUR HAND

The black caucus decided to interpret the previous 13-point resolution as giving them, as a caucus, one-half of the votes in the plenary session. This was again put before the plenary session, with the black caucus still not participating.

Arthur Waskow summed up the views of many who opposed the demand. "There are 1,000 good liberals in this room who think the way to become a good radical is to castrate themselves, but after you castrate someone, you don't sleep with him."

The announcement of the vote caused pandemonium in the hall. The leaders of the black caucus promised to cooperate

with the whites in the best interests of NCNP and the movement. The things quieted down, the black caucus announced approval of the compromise on perspectives accepted narrowly the night before.

For the future structure of NCNP, the black caucus proposed the creation of two 12-man committees, one to be concerned with helping local organizing, and one with electoral politics and third presidential tickets in those states which wanted them. These two committees would be the NCNP executive board. Julian Bond and Sy Cassidy, this year's NCNP co-chairmen, were later added to the new board.

KEEP YOUR HEAD

And when it adjourned, as Clark Kissinger pointed out, it left NCNP as four letters, an executive board, and a \$15,000 debt. It is hard to say what will come out of the convention, because so much of what the convention did made no sense in relation to current political realities. People should have gone to the convention to work out a framework that would help their organizing work. Too few did.

Maybe the lesson is that, for a while, whites and blacks must organize separately in order to organize at all.