

NEW LEFT NOTES

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

November 6, 1967

The Promise of Oakland

THE PROMISE OF OAKLAND

October 16-20.

The newspapers throughout the world talked of the blood and clubs and prisons of Oakland as demonstrators passively clashed with cops at the Oakland induction center, by their emphasis perpetuating and reinforcing the white liberal myth that you show your revolutionary zeal by getting beaten and/or arrested. But the people who came to close down Northern California's center of induction into the war-machine weren't buying it, and in this lies the promise of Oakland, the hope for the movement.

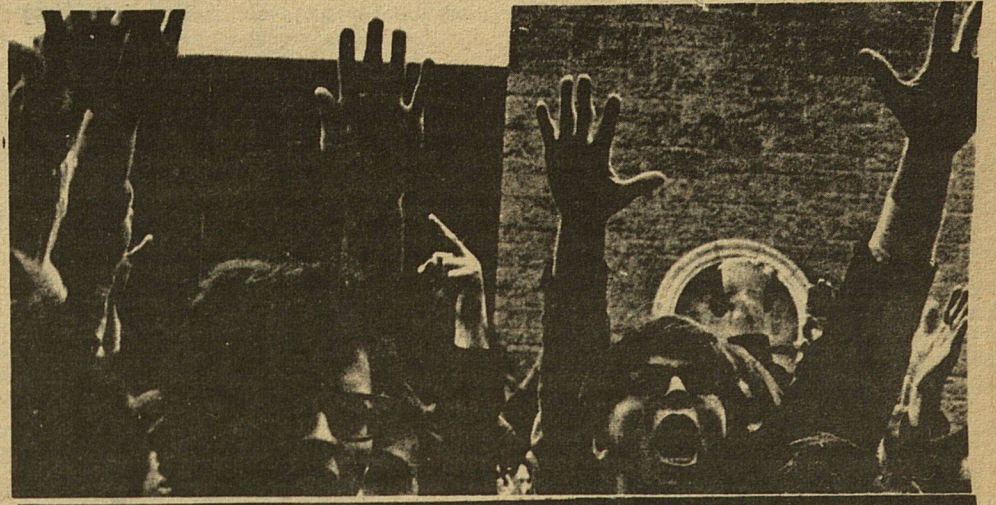
That the demonstrators took and held downtown Oakland for 41/2 hours on Friday, October 20, overcoming the bloody route on Tuesday, followed by two days of peaceful and frustrating picketing, was only the beginning of victory. The real success of the day lay in the de-mystification and de-sanctification of the middle-class hangups which had prevented us from functioning effectively until now. This is not to say that the Bay Area has leaped into the middle of a revolutionary upsurge, but that the groundwork has been laid to make revolutionary action possible.

The week of demonstrations, with a few exceptions, began like all others. Radically ahead of other parts of the country, the Berkeley Stop the Draft Week was discussing Shutting Down the Oakland Induction Center while others spoke of turning in their draft cards. But Oct. 16 witnessed a pacifist sit-in at the induction center, with demonstrators quietly and politely arrested. Administration ineptness led to a stronger spirit on Tuesday: an Alameda County injunction had been granted banning the use of the Cal campus for an all-night teach-in on the draft on the grounds that we would be advocating illegal activity. The obvious result was a doubling of the expected number attending the now "illegal" rally, and consequently those assembling before dawn to march on the Oakland induction center.

But the Stop the Draft strategists had miscalculated and underestimated their opponents, their constituency, and themselves. Expecting to be held away from the induction center by barricades, and planning activity around that, the marchers unexpectedly found themselves surrounding the induction center, with no barricades or cops in sight. The police were massed in a four-story garage diagonally across from the induction center, smiling and waiting. When the wedge of cops began the assault on the demonstrators who massed around the induction center doors, the people sat down, waiting (pleading) to be arrested. But the Oakland police weren't interested in arrests; they were out for blood. Clubs swinging, spraying chemical mace and tear gas, the police drove the demonstrators away by sheer brutal force. Anyone who sat or lay prone in their path was beaten mercilessly until they finally broke and ran. In anger and frustration, the remaining demonstrators poured into the streets, filling intersections and blocking up traffic for several miles, before returning home. The toll: about 50 seriously injured; over 50 arrested.

Wednesday demonstrators once again massed at Lafayette Park before dawn, this time deciding to maintain a peaceful picket line around the induction center. Some people were beginning to wear helmets (NBC supplied their camera crews with helmets; 8 newsmen had been severely beaten the previous day), some carried shields of plywood picket signs. Most returned confused; intent on avoiding Tuesday's mistakes, not knowing quite how. Staying on the sidewalks, continuously moving, the pickets were allowed to demonstrate relatively unmolested (arrests were sporadic, unpredictable, directionless). Police lines had to bring the buses in; provide walls for the inductees to be hustled through. Growing numbers of inductees responded to the demonstrators' raised "V" signs with the identical sign. The induction center still carried the foul odor of buteric acid which had been thrown through a window the day before. With a feeling of incompleteness, of frustration, some of the demonstrators went home for their first sleep in days; others went to attend the mass rally at UC Berkeley.

At the rally, the Stop the Draft leaders misread the tiredness, the fatigue, the frustration, and decided to call off any actions for the following day. But by 6 am Thursday over a thousand people



On page 6: Some Observations on Madison, Wisconsin

were in Lafayette Park, eager to return to the induction center, aching for more action than they had seen on the previous day. As a picket line formed around the center, people began asking "Will we take to the streets?" After much debate, the decision was "No, not today, we're not ready. But we understand where the people are at, and tomorrow we'll come back, better prepared, as militant as on Tuesday, but smarter." Grumbling, the people accepted that today (only today) they would not take the streets. Their demonstration was rewarded by several inductees; one broke another bottle of buteric acid inside the induction center; another tore up and burned his induction notice at the front door, before the eyes of all the demonstrators and cops; a third ran off the bus, through the lines of cops, and joined the picket line, first running to the rear and being safely masked by the crowd. The demonstrators left in high spirits, waiting for tomorrow.

Friday morning was dark, and cold, and tense. Thousands were pouring into Lafayette Park by 5 am. At least one in ten wore helmets, carried picket signs backed by reinforced plywood, wore vaseline on all exposed parts as protection against mace, carried wet cloths for the tear gas. A monitors' meeting at Provo Park, Berkeley, the night before had informed the crowd—over 200 showed up to be monitors—of these precautionary measures, and more: 8 groups would form, four to mass around the induction center, one each for the four key intersections surrounding the building. When the cops advanced, people would retreat by slowly walking backward. Under no circumstances was anyone to sit down. Mobility was the word. No sitting, no running. Be flexible, improvise, don't attack the cops, but be aggressively defensive.

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The Direction of Resistance: The Role of the Student Movement

by Robert Pardun

During the past years several trends have developed which are important to SDS. An understanding of these trends and the actions concerning them could greatly affect the direction of the movement. The experience of struggle in the many areas in which SDS has been involved has led to a more profound understanding of the nature of the enemy which we are fighting and of the nature of the struggle which we must wage if we are to defeat that enemy.

The long, hard, often embittering experience of white people in the black movement has led to some very important insights which at this point seem obvious but which were not always so. Many people now in SDS were tempered in the fight to integrate public facilities, to give black people the right to vote, to develop community projects in the South. In that fight they learned something about what liberation means and why it is essential that black people control the black movement. They also learned that the society they were part of was incapable of granting the black people's demands for liberation. We learned the lessons slowly because it was easier for us to empathize

with other oppressed people than it was for us to recognize our own oppression.

Slowly we have become a white movement which sees its purpose as organizing other whites into a movement for collective liberation. We have changed from a liberal concern with others' problems to a radical concern with our own liberation. We used the rhetoric of building a white movement while in fact we got bogged down in our own structure time and time again. We had not yet learned what it means to be part of a liberation force. We talked about the need to organize the working class while remaining in fact a campus-based group. It is important to understand why that happened.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF WHITE DISSENT

The consciousness of white dissent was and is concentrated in the student population. The possibilities for developing a movement there were much better than in any other segment of the white population. It was necessary for us to find a radical identity on the campus

before we could realistically think about moving into the community. However, the idea of moving out of the university community and into the poor or working class community has not yet developed a mass appeal within the student movement because people cannot have the confidence of being able to relate to essentially strange communities until they have the confidence that they can relate to their own community.

In the course of the development of this student movement many chapters have developed into very effective buffer zones for radicals to retreat into. Essentially we set up a barrier in our minds between ourselves and the people we were supposed to be organizing. We developed communities of people which could be self-contained socially and which in many cases ended up self-contained politically. We began to talk about "student power" as if it were analogous to "black power" and saw ourselves as organizing our own people; i.e. students to control their own institution, the university. From there we believed we could move into the community at large and effect change.

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OAKLAND

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As the sky lightened, masses of demonstrators filled all the streets surrounding the induction center, some milling around, others marching in broad circles, many clapping rhythmically as they chanted, few singing. A faint, noxious odor began wafting down—an unseen gas which had no immediate apparent effect besides discomfort. Speakers repeatedly blared forth "This is an illegal assembly... clear the streets...we will use tear gas...." Those with shields and helmets formed the front lines at all intersections. When the police lines moved in, things went as planned. The crowd, at the monitors' commands, walked back down the streets they occupied, slowly, behind the lines of shields. Cops seemed more reluctant to use their clubs. At the intersections, the crowds held. The cops didn't press it—an impasse was declared, with cops and demonstrators glaring at each other.

It's difficult to say precisely when the change occurred. As people kept joining the demonstration, the crowd approached ten thousand. It was soon evident that there were more of US than THEM, and this combined with our mobility enabled groups of demonstrators to carry out actions unimpeded by the police. Trash cans and newspaper racks were pulled into the streets. Writing appeared on walls, on sidewalks. "Free Oakland", "Che Lives", "Resist", "Shut It Down". Soon, unlocked cars were pushed into the intersections, along with large potted trees and moveable benches. The sanctity of private property, which had held white students back from this kind of defensive action before, gave way to a new evaluation: official government cars were overturned, distributors and wires were pulled out. If the car were that of an individual, the air was carefully let out of the tires, no damage was done. If the owner came back and requested it, his car was pushed back to where it came from. As more cars and buses got tied up in the blockades, many were persuaded to leave them there. At least two truck drivers responded favorably, indicating they could always tell their bosses we had taken the trucks from them. Tow trucks that were brought in were quickly surrounded; there weren't enough police to spare from their weak lines to rescue the tow trucks; they finally backed away and left.

The real change came about when one line of demonstrators, instead of simply backing up before a line of police, dispersed to the sidewalks—then quickly, instinctively, converged on the streets again behind the line of cops. The cops suddenly, uncomfortably, found themselves surrounded. When the front line of demonstrators ceased backing, and held their ground, the cops were encircled by demonstrators. Nervous, demoralized, the cops stood there, shuffling their feet, looking worried and unhappy. Someone began explaining to them that the reason we were winning and they were losing was, like in Vietnam, that we believed in what we were fighting for and they didn't.

Word spread among the various bands of demonstrators who were now beginning to feel and even act somewhat like urban guerrillas. For the first time, you could look down a street and witness the incredible sight at the far intersection of a crowd of demonstrators slowly



backing, backing...then stopping, pausing, and moving forward! For the first time, demonstrators, unarmed, saw police lines retreat in front of them. It was our first taste of real victory. And it was mid-morning, with still no buses of inductees in sight. The Oakland City Hall read "Oakland is closed" and "First Liberated Zone of Oakland". Police strategy was obviously to clear one street long enough to safely bring in the buses; but there were too many of us, and they were meeting with no success. Finally, by retreating and withdrawing enough forces from most areas (leaving us in control) they were able to mass enough troops along the street in front of the induction center to guarantee relatively safe access for the buses. We held Oakland, they held the induction center's front door. At this point, the radio announced we had been officially declared a riot, and National Guard were due to arrive on the scene in 40 minutes.

This is when the most significant change in consciousness appeared among the demonstrators. Until today, our reaction would have been to stay, to fight it out with the guard, knowing (and secretly reveling in the knowledge) that we would be badly beaten and arrested. But during the past three days we had seen a great deal of blood, over 250 arrests, over 60 serious injuries. Today we had tasted something different—we had taken and held downtown Oakland for the past four hours, we had seen the cops back away from us, we had seen the dubious black community begin to overcome their original distrust of us and join in our action, and we no longer felt we had to prove ourselves by getting clubbed and busted. Our response to the radio announcement was to cheer with pride at having been dubbed a riot, and then declare, "OK, we've got a half hour to blockade as many more intersections as possible. Then let's split. We'll have a victory march up Telegraph back to Berkeley." Not only the sanctity of property, and the sanctity (invulnerability) of cops had been destroyed that day; we had begun to establish new goals, new criterion for success in what were clearly the early battles of a long, long war.

The University of Chicago will have 3 panels of discussion on THE UNIVERSITY AND THE MILITARY. Panels will be Nov. 10, 11, and 12 at the University. Speakers include; Carol Brightman, from Viet-Report, Judith Coburn, IPS, Carl Davidson, SDS, Christopher Lasch, NWU, Michael Locker, MACLA, John McDermott, Viet-Report, David Ransom, Mid-Pen. Observer, James Ridgeway, The New Republic, Dave Rudin, Cornell, Sun, and Sol Stern, Ramparts. For more information, write:

Mail to: University of Chicago SDS
Ida Noyes Hall
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Chicago, Illinois 60637

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National Liberation Front

By Marshall Bloom

LIBERATION News Service

WASHINGTON (LNS)—A Committee for Solidarity with the American People has been formed by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). The committee was founded on October 16, coincident with Resistance Day throughout the U.S.

In an act with little precedent within the history of warring nations, the NLF committee has set its goal as the consolidation and development of "friendship between the South Vietnamese and American people." The committee is based on the assumption that the Johnson government is the common enemy of both peoples, who otherwise would bear each other no enmities.

It sees U.S. imperialism as the enemy of all peoples, including Americans:

"The liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese people, the struggle of the American people against the Johnson government's policy of aggressive war and the world people's struggle against U.S. imperialism to defend peace are closely related to one another," according to the committee's appeal.

The committee indicates its admiration for the U.S. peace movement:

"The committee highly values the American people's movement against the U.S. government's policy of aggression in Vietnam, against racial discrimination, for improvement of living conditions and for freedom and democracy in the United States. The committee considers this movement as a coordinated action of the two peoples against their common enemy."

Appealing to the "urgent requirement of the present situation," the committee sets its aims as consolidating and developing those close relations and the solidarity and friendship between the Vietnamese and American peoples, and promoting and coordinating their struggle for the interests of the two peoples and for peace and security in the world."

Far from portraying American soldiers as stereotyped "yanks" who must be killed, the committee indicates its empathy with American GI's fighting in Vietnam. It is in marked contrast with, for example, the American author John

Steinbeck, who refers to the Vietnamese as "Charlies".

"Hundreds of thousands of sturdy, lusty American youths have been maimed or crippled for life, or have died an ignominious death on a land thousands of miles from their fatherland, causing bereavement to so many wives and children and dismemberment to so many families."

The committee calls on the American people and "on the forces in the world which stand for peace, independence, democracy and progress, in particular the peoples of South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand" (the countries giving military assistance to the U.S. in Vietnam) "to step up further their movement...against the mobilization of manpower and material resources for the dirty aggressive war."

Chaired by Mr. Ho Thu, a pharmacist, the committee is diverse in composition and includes a professor, two monks, a painter, a poet, a student, and an actress. Several of the small Vietnamese nationalities are included. The committee intends to establish permanent representatives in Prague, Algiers and Hanoi, with its present headquarters c/o Pham Van Chuong, Nekazanka 7, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

To implement its work, the committee has set itself six tasks, including material assistance to American soldiers and personnel in South Vietnam who wish to escape back to the U.S. or any other place. Its other tasks are as follows:

1.) To create "mutual understanding" between Americans and Vietnamese "in all spheres: history, literature, national art and struggle";

2.) To "establish relations with and contact all progressive organizations and individuals in the United States";

3.) To "encourage the South Vietnamese people to coordinate with the American people, in the interests of both";

4.) To help South Vietnamese individuals, intellectuals, and ARVIN soldiers "who wish to acquaint themselves with the American people's struggle";

5.) To expand relations with countries around the world "who sympathize with and support the just struggle" of both peoples.

new left notes

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From: Madison, Wisconsin
SCME OBSERVATIONS

I had never seen tear gas used until Wednesday, October 18. When I did, it was at first only a puff of smoke twenty yards away and a crowd of people running. At first it had something of the comical: like a flash of powder and a "pop" on the sound track of an old-time movie, the scene is flickering, disjointed and unreal. Fifteen seconds later one finds out what it is all about.

In granules or vapor, one is never quite sure which, the cloud at last drifted toward me. There was no sudden pain, no hurt comparable to that of being hit or having a tooth ache or being burned, or any of the other pains one is used to in normal life. There is simply a sudden total change of consciousness. From being a reporter trying to see what is happening and make notes, one is suddenly changed: nothing matters but eyes and nose and throat. Burning, tearing, corrosive — all are inadequate words for it; tear gas does not hurt or cause pain, but it has an absolutism, an ability to take over one's whole being that is shocking at the same time and puzzling afterwards. Fifteen minutes later one wonders what all the fuss was about, how any simple nasal irritant can have caused so drastic an effect. Three days later one's nostrils are still dry and sore.

A demonstration earns its name when it demonstrates something, preferably when it demonstrates something in a context that is not normally seen. In a society such as ours, where advertising, education, public relations, group dynamics, operations research systems analysis, and so on and so forth are all generally directed toward masking reality, demonstrations of reality are one of the most valuable institutions we have. At the University of Wisconsin, then, we have just had two of the most educational weeks in the university's existence.

"Some people say the use of force is how we change the social course. The use of force, you surely know, is how we keep the status quo."

is a rhyme somebody made up about the time that goon squads were being used to break strikers' heads at Ford in the thirties. It is also a handy summation of what has been demonstrated at Wisconsin these last two weeks. On Tuesday the eighteenth, even before the clubbings and gassings, the company which makes the napalm used to stop Vietnam from falling into the hands of the Vietnamese carried on its recruiting of well-trained brains behind doors guarded by men with guns. And on Wednesday, when students made the statement, "I will put my body in the way of this process recruiting, interviewing, and the other genteel gun-protected processes that go into frying Vietnamese," these same men with guns used hands, fists, boots, clubs, and gas to make the counter statement, "That's all very well, but the genteel processes must be allowed to go on."

Like any good demonstration, this one, by the students and more importantly, by the university's liberal administrators, police, and the newspapers has a certain opalescence: one can examine its many facets: different ones sparkle as one contemplates it in different ways.

The administration, for its part, is not normally given to handing out stupid and unenforceable directions. In fact, the smoothness with which the university cooperates with Dow, the state government and the whole American machine is testimony that they normally have a good grasp of the world within which they have to work, and of which sorts of procedures and directives get things done smoothly and comfortably. Their basic mistake was in not know that there are people who do not think of this mode of operation as the highest ideal to which man can aspire. Because they are not so used to doing things efficiently and smoothly, they could not grasp the idea that there are people who think that sand should be thrown into a piece of fine machinery when that machinery is doing something evil. There has been a silent march to protest the use of clubs and gas by the police. But there has been little effort by those suit and tie wearing marchers to protest anything other than the alleged fact that policemen are animals. There are some among them who realize the essential idiocy of this supposition — the idea that if all policemen were nice guys who could keep their tempers then suddenly the world would be all right — but not many.

Soem few argue that the violence used by the police is a natural extension of the violence used by America against Vietnam, a tendentious and on the face of it foolish sort of analysis. It was interesting in the light of this thought to meet one of the riot police in his natural habitat: mixing milk shakes in his mother's restaurant. He joked with some of the demonstrators in the restaurant, rather as the Atlanta police chief joshed with Barbara Deming when she returned to visit him after spending some months in his jail, without any recognition that there had been a conflict between him and the kids he had used a club on. To him there had been simply a role to play which he had played out. By extension he assumed that the kids he had clubbed were simply playing roles rather than doing anything serious: thus when he met thme afterwards he expected the conversation to be green room chatter, the gossip of actors who have taken off their make-up after the show. There is certainly this same nuance in the attitude of all Americans to Vietnam. "Oh, come off it; you can't think the Vietcong really expect to beat us!" is the sort of thing one is told. The bombing is educational it is to inform them of the fact that America will win, to improve the morale of the Saigon government, to persuade Hanoi to negotiate. America being a country where the everyday realities are made up of evanescent images and myths convenient to their perpetrators, it is difficult for any American in a position of authority to conceive of a hard fact or an unpleasant reality. That a student may wish, deliberately, to do something that is not easy and convenient, or that the Vietnamese may have wants, beliefs and needs which resist American systems analysis, is simply beyond the capacity of the belief structure of liberal America.

It is difficult to tell why the police are the greatest issues involved in protest at Wisconsin: perhaps it is just that students and professors thing the only outrageous aspect of the whole affair is the fact that the immunity of the middle class from violence was violated. While this is of course bad, I mean, it's nice that at least a few people in the world are normally safe from violence of one sort or another — it would seem to be almost the least important question involved in the whole affair.

Dow Chemical, after all, has announced that a record 150 student asked for interviews with them. Presumably they have flocked to Dow because of the publicity the company has had — the psychology is the same as that of people who rushed out to be tattooed wit "Born to Raise Hell" after Richard Speck was arrested. One would think there might be some question about the adequacy of a university which turns out that kind of graduate.

The adequacy of the university is in question in some other ways too. This "sifting and winnowing" university has defined itself as impartial in the conflict between Dow and students who think Dow, and the war machine of which it is a part, evil. Yet there is a point at which impartiality — the willingness to give equal time to right and wrong — becomes

absurd and dangerous. As in Germany in the 1920's, the I.G. Farben and free enquiry could not coexist, so today in wartime, the university as an institution cannot exist if it tries in one fabric to contain mechanical engineering and classified research, social work and neutrality on open housing, arts and letters and the executives of the war machine.

To a Dean Kauffman, Chancellor Sewell, or President Harrington, the most important thing about this assertion is clear: if the university as an institution opposed the authoritarian state, racism and the bloated military it would suffer as an institution: funds would be cut off; politicians would attack; angry veterans and patriots might attack its employees and/or buildings. To which one says "Why naturally." We are of course in a war, in an insane society, surrounded by a large number of dangerous people. To oppose this state of affairs is of course dangerous and inconvenient.

Which is why the university as an institution is in favor of all kinds of abstractions but avoids any particular applications, leaving individuals to bear the risks of advocacy — when the university as an institution does not have them tear gassed or clubbed.

And which is why it's a little silly to bug the local police force, rather than protesting and replacing the men and structures of power whose will they carry out.

David Lloyd-Jones

reprinted from CONNECTIONS.

RESISTANCE

ON THE RIGHT SIDE : TO RESISTANCE

Marilyn Buck
Radical Education Center

October 21 — Confront the Warmakers — Exorcize the Pentagon. People speaking on the necessity to end the war. People marching to the Pentagon under banners oh hometowns, universities, Social Workers' Unions, Du Bois Clubs, SDS, NLF. TO THE PENTAGON!

People began to surge up the hill, over the already torn-down fences to the steps of the Pentagon. We faced the indentured servants of the warmakers, the young soldiers. But there were also the U.S. Marshals protecting them from us. —And they were not slaves. They were the henchmen of the Pentagon, of the whole Imperialist domestic system, from Mississippi to Detroit to Washington. They had clubs and all we had was civil disobedience and some of us had the concept of resistance.

By the time the crowd had moved close to the magic white line which was to protect the Pentagon from the people and the world, the U.S. Marshals decided that the white line was out and the line of marshals was in. So... they pushed forward against us, using billy clubs as their forward-thrust action squad. People started to panic and step on one another, moving down the stairs against a solid wall of people. Civil disobedience seemed to be fleeing in the face of the enemy.

Most people did not know how to defend themselves. They were not prepared for physical confrontation. What people learned in Oakland in one week, people in Washington had to start learning in an hour. People were ready to be led from the slaughter.

Some people had bullhorns, a sense of political responsibility, and a sense of resistance action. Tom Bell and Greg Calvert of SDS were able to talk to the crowd and to give them a sense of unity. People became aware of the need to work with one another so that they could maintain control of the area already occupied, the steps and area in front of the Pentagon. Resistance began to develop as a real kind of strategy and as a particular tactic. People linked arms and, after a brief period, sat down, — not to be moved. The sense of fear which had earlier pervaded the crowd had changed. People were still afraid of the billy clubs and the rifle butts, but at the same time they were not afraid to resist this aggression by the federal marshals and troops. Many of our brothers and sisters

did not go to jail or were not beaten because they were protected by their comrades. Due to the communications system, people knew what was happening and could then maintain a sense of solidarity among themselves, and with their brothers and sisters below them, on the other side of the wall, and even with those who were not physically present.

Because of the general feeling of group unity and strength, a victory was won for the movement. About 12:30 Sunday morning, the troops, spurred on by the marshals, advanced slowly in a wedge formation, which was designed to divide and break out lines. When people would not move, the clubs and rifle butts quickly came down on the heads of the front lines. But the lines did not break. The lines were pushed back only because those front lines were beaten and then physically removed, to the paddy wagons. The battle was fought. In terms of ground gained, we lost the ground and that battle. But in terms of building a real base of the resistance movement, we won. The victory was the people's. It was now the time to retreat, to go home and to organize around the real issue, the repression and oppression of the people by their government of imperialism. Those who remained remained for moral protest and groundless militancy.

The peace movement as such was beaten, nearly to the death. But in that defeat the resistance arose as a political force. The government seemed to be afraid, evidenced by its violation of the rules and boundaries which it had issued for their own benefit, not the Mobilization's. The resistance movement can and will feed itself on the fear and the consequent repression of its people. The people of the U.S. and the world will gain freedom only through struggle. The Cubans knew that and they are now free. The Vietnamese know that and they are defeating our Imperialist government. The Blacks in the U.S. know that and now we, the whites of America, are quickly acknowledging this fact. Imperialism can not be defeated by cardboard signs and flowers.

INTERVIEW

From an interview with Francisco Anado Franados, a leader of the MR-13 Movement by Adolfo Gilly. Reprinted in May '65 MR.

Asked by Gilly why the head of the US Military mission was attacked in a convoy in Guatemala City, Anado Granados replied:

"We are not terrorists; we are against terrorism. We are revolutionary organizers, Marxists. When we carry out armed actions-terrorist actions, if you prefer to call them that- their purpose is to stimulate mass struggle, not to replace it. It was not the military attack as an individual whom we attacked, it was his role."
John Venezia

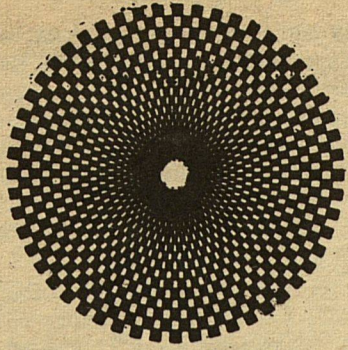
Printer--mechanic Will be prepared to travel, to help establish print shops, train printers, obtain equipment for SDS and other anti-war groups.

Write: Art Rosenblum
Box 57
Rifton, N.Y. 12471

NUMBERS GAME REVISITED

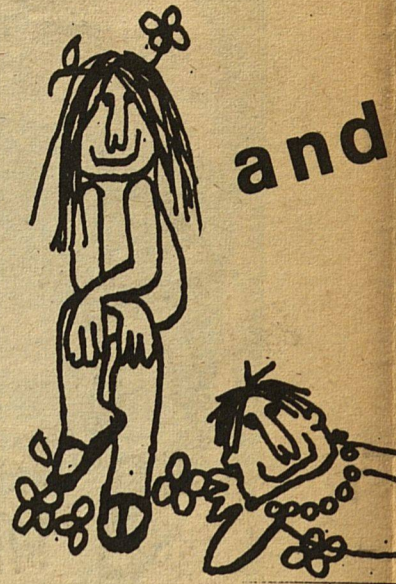
According to reliable sources, the "Numbers Game" story last week was a figment of someone's imagination. NLN is in the process of checking out that information.

—Ed.



HIPPIES

on the East Village



It is very difficult to try to classify a human being as a hippie; the moment you focus closely on a person you come up with precisely that—a human being, who has some things, though not all things, in common with several thousand other people floating around the country, facing similar problems jammed in on them by this materialistic, capitalistic, super-structure of carte blanche quickly becoming the total enemy of the entire non-white world, in symbol and in brash reality.

The word "hippe" comes from that early misunderstood Negro word "hip" which the jazz musicians invented in the thirties. The psychology behind it was very simple: it meant that, from a black man's point of view, "The white society pushes me to the margin of the world, and drains me of my status in terms of the social structure itself, so here is my substitute for all this bullshit: I AM WISER." It was a way of possessing a new kind of manhood, a black criteria. But as Otto Rank tells us it never fails: the majority in a society usually takes its social habits from the subculture. We had no exception. Hip—after all these years naturally dropped down into the heads of the young white children, who are far from black sweat, and took on such a vague, abstract meaning that the context in which it now exists seems to suggest a very, very white history.

One example of just how much time and energy there actually is between the hippies and the old neighborhood members—or call them immigrants—can be seen in something so simple as how they refer to their residence. The hippies call the area the "East Village" while the jammed-in people call it the "Lower East Side" and these people aren't on vacation. That point cannot be stressed too often. The most realistic thing about the situation here is, the hippies can always cop out and go back home to the city environs, or back to school, or join the Army and die in Vietnam; but these "natives," who took over the area at the turn of the century, when the blacks moved uptown to a place called Harlem, can't move even though many would like to.

They see the hippies moving about in herds and, to them, they seem to be aimless, vulgar, morbid, and freakish. These older people are looking out of their slum windows, and out from their sad, broken eyes, with a puritanically snowed mind, an immigrant perspective. Their essence is intrinsic in their outlook. Rarely can they laugh at these kids.

There are no social or public levels at which the old dwellers and the hippies meet, though they sit in Tompkins Square Park together. There is the obvious division of age between them, but this does not completely explain the hostility the old timers feel for the newcomers. Somehow the hippies represent, in urgent symbol, the absurd frustration of the even more absurd contemporary scene, in all aspects, in America.

They seem to be saying, when viewed by the old white dwellers, the blacks, and the Puerto Ricans, "We choose to be poor like you, because we hate our parents and their values." But the hippies are not of them. These jammed-in people, broke or poor, face the reality of these visitors with the grim despair and rage of strained monkeys that have been experimented on. The hardest thing in the world for them to imagine is that somebody would want to live in the old fire-trap buildings with rats, roaches, and bleakness surrounding them. The old timers, the niggers, the Puerto Ricans know that they would move out tomorrow if they could, being literally exposed to the bottom of the republic's life. The Polish, German, and Italians possess a hard-core amour propre realism that, in terms of American ghetto psychology, sustains them only very thinly; after being exposed daily to the

circumventing opposite reality of the plush world of THINGS presented through the mass media AS TRUE AMERICA. And no matter how much the hippies beg for dimes and quarters from obvious non-hippies on avenues B, A, and 1st, in Tompkins Square Park, on St. Marks Place, and on 7th Street, that bright middle class glitter in their eyes and the underneath glow in the personalities speak of a security these natives can never know, now.

So; the hippies have only skin coloring in common with the old dwellers, but what they share with blacks on the Lower East Side is more revolutionary. Often they meet and merge with the blacks, but the Negroes have something different going on. On the "down here," or downtown level, however, it isn't a hell of a lot. They have reached that static and socially psychotic level of despair and fear, a deep airless agony wherein a vacuum encloses them in white pussy, dreamless nights, and talking about what's going on uptown in Harlem. The niggers, in short, are black hippies, passionless and almost pointless. Hence they blend with the cats in Tompkins Square Park (chacun a son gout?) on all occasions, and the easy way to recognize them is by their beards and dark glasses, their white girl friends, who by the way, are often hippies or ex-hippies paying pale dues for the rest of white society.

Unlike the hippies, the blacks do not have the same caliber of social habits to get rid of. The hippies discover that their parents have been lying to them, and they go smoke pot, or take an LSD trip, or splurge in beer joints at the expense of some weak human urge, which has nothing to do with human power. They often self-consciously consider this "rebellion."

(Most of the blacks, in Harlem, on the other hand, are born disenchanting; they know what being black means in a white society, and it fills them with hatred for whites. This misery may be repressed but it exists in the deep wells of the black soul. Or it may be articulated and open. Indeed, it may empty itself in organized and armed self-defense.

(The hippies have not, in any real sense, reached the social consciousness of the blacks uptown. They know with human responsibility the nature of hell everyday.)

On the Lower East Side, the blacks, who for the most part have an orbit of their own, have no more a realistic approach to the true nature of the social, political and moral crisis in the city than do the hippies.

One could go on down the line and list many ways in which the hippies and the blacks below 14th Street are alike. One is white, the other black, and the distance between them in color exists but isn't nearly as great as the cultural stretch between the old timers and the "flower people" is. You have seen them: long hair, sandals, mod clothes. These subdued blacks and these lukewarm whites dress alike. The blacks are even imitating the whites imitate them. Nonetheless, people, black and white, find it more and more difficult to relate to each other. The morbid inhumanity of our times!

The Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are so remote from the old dwellers, the blacks, and the hippies that it isn't even funny. Sometimes the hippies will try to make a friendly link with the Puerto Ricans, but the language and cultural gaps draw a silent line. Puerto Ricans who are junkies, however, around the area of 3rd Avenue do communicate completely with hippies and blacks who are also junkies or prostitutes. The old timers aren't in on this soul connection because they aren't junkies; but that is another story.

The immigrants or their children have occupied the area longer than the new blacks. The Puerto Ricans came next,

then the spooks and finally the hippies. A coup de grace?

The Puerto Ricans are, in an uncivilizing way, the most oppressed victims of the area; they also constitute the largest percentage of the Welfare clients.

They have many problems the hippies could not know at first hand. Mayor Lindsay recently said in a PLAYBOY interview: "The schools contain more than 87,000 students who don't speak English."

I know Puerto Ricans who see the hippies as "nice kids...." I talked with a Spanish-speaking woman on 7th Street one day who said: "My husband gets drunk and goes to the park and plays his guitar with them. He likes them! I like them!" But this woman and her husband are exceptions.

Allen Ginsberg, on the night the Peace Bye Book Store reopened managed to make friends with some leery Puerto Ricans by going out onto the street and "grooving" (as the hippies say) with the kids, and the older folks eventually joined in. I know a young man who put himself into the blasting water from a fire hydrant with the Puerto Rican kids for fun and in this way struck up a brief friendship with them. Through the young we break new ground.

There are militant Puerto Ricans, like my friends F. and C. They don't know each other, but both are bitter, and have very little of that romantic Latin music in their souls. F. lives in a flophouse and works as a waiter and spends his money drinking. He spent several years in jail for participation in the resistance, along with his father. He has an understandable hatred for America for holding his country a colony. He says, "Puerto Rico must be free!" and he means it. He intends to return to help bring this about.

There are very few (judging from their actions) white kids in the hippy movement who feel things this deeply. They may sign petitions against the war in Vietnam but they don't know anything about the caliber of psyche pain F. feels. They may march with their black brothers in protest against racial oppression but they do not know how sad F.'s heart is when he is charged double prices because he's Puerto Rican. C., on the other hand, was born in New York City, and has never been outside it, not even for a vacation. He is twenty-eight years old and feels bitter, frustrated and allied with "my black brothers against the devil white man" and he spends his time in what the hippies call "spade hangouts." He aches for a revolution, and his eyes burn when he tells you about it. "It really broke my heart to see the Puerto Ricans uptown side with the Italians during the Harlem riots. They've learned their lesson, man. This will never happen again. The Italians are not our friends. We know this now."

But I think about my hippy friend who used to visit me and say, "Man, I turned on today, and I was out of it for twelve hours. Wow!" and I look at him and realize that there is something strangely unreal about him. His human level does not go as deep as C.'s. His biggest concern was with staying out of the Army—he didn't want to die in the war. He had no other concern about the war. Couldn't he feel anything concerning the genocide of the vietnamese or black people in this country?

He wrote fairly good verse, and possessed a mild though laughable discontentment with the haut monde from which he came. He wasn't looking at all of the social implications, like one of my seventeen-year old black students in Harlem was, though he was weakly rejecting his parents' vision of the world.

Many of the zany hippies insist that there is nothing in the middle-class adult world from which they have stopped working toward worth growing up to accept. Many of them go through the changes of living in herds in dirty apartments, really quite happy even though they say they are not, in a world about to be destroyed.

But when they are in dire need they usually go back home or take a mainstream job in the white, seemingly safe, world of their fathers.

A Negro said, "Man you writing an article about them scabrous mother's, be sure to tell how they STINK!" This attitude toward the hippies isn't just a black product—a white girl, who maintains herself at a fairly high social level, said, "This is just a passing thing. These kids will all go back home to Mama. They have no fire in them—this isn't a movement! What does it mean to use LSD?" Another Negro said, "You think you've seen hippies here in New York, man, you should go to San Francisco, and really see the grotesque m.f.'s." An old Polish white man surviving on Welfare checks said "...I don't have nothing against them. One helped me across the street the other day. But all this long hair like girls and the girls looking like boys! I just don't know what's going on. It's a mess—the whole thing!"

These are just words, but people are for real. At the same time, there are at least two girls I can think of whose frustrations, plight from home, guilt for the white race, etc., who can be said to be typical hippies. One quickly got pregnant and had a Negro baby, later gave it up and returned to Boston. The other had a number of affairs with hippy boys but soon learned after much mental struggle that she was an invert. Last seen, she went THAT way. I am saying, really, that so often the quality of rebellion in these wandering youths, the children of the great white father, is so personal and narrow that it has no basis for corresponding to social values, except in the unworkable sense that all human beings are social animals. We can't do anything with such information.

The divisions between the peoples in this area I have constantly been trying to show can further be seen in the fact that, no matter how loud and happy the music and the hippies are, or how free the pot is or how reluctant the cops are to invade the scene in Tompkins Square Park,



the REVOLUTION



the old neighborhood dwellers will occupy their places on benches quite removed from the action. I don't mean that these people are necessarily too old to respond to the music or the smoke-ins because some of them are young mothers and young working men who go to work everyday and bring home an oppressive sixty-five dollars per week: these are the descendants of the immigrants who maintain the poverty-stricken ghetto tradition of their particular racial and cultural groups. These people have other things to do that turn them on. Their style of life has no nexus with the hippy life.

There is another group I want to deal with in relation to the "hippy movement": the older artists, writers, actors, etc., in the area. Some of them are established, most still struggling, and far more simply bullshitting themselves. These people have some opinions—they may not be worth much—concerning the hippies. A female poet said: "The entire concept of drugs as a middle class thing now and not just as a ghetto thing shows you that the hippy has broken new ground: you know, drugs as a new liberating force! and changing, at the same time, the society."

A painter said of the hippies not long ago over mugs of beer: "They're the only force we whites have. Otherwise we are dead."

I could go on quoting what these cynical victims of age have to say, pro and con, but it still wouldn't prove anything about the hippies. These people themselves are a drag, in many ways. When they aren't giving thanks for the hippies or damning them they are busy judging their friends by how much work—art work—they do. And since the hippies rarely produce anything the older creative people easily feel comfortable in their black robes of judgment. A false premise, but it keeps them going while. Of course, the whole



underbelly trouble here is the society in which these inventive people find themselves. It's a hostile world, where they will have to commercialize themselves or perish.

There is a radical potential inherent in the very nature of the hippy movement but it remains dormant because these kids, for the most part, recognize somewhere in the back of their minds, the authoritative frame of reference their parents visit on their heads. The very reason the hippy is here and not home in Rhode Island is because he thinks he wants to be totally free.

Not only do the hippies hold on to their parents' ideas often without being conscious of it, you can see signs of their inability to truly GET WITH IT, and be poor. They sport handsome dogs along the streets, though they themselves may be filthy. Or they will stop in some jive antique shop, say, on St. Marks Place or 2nd Avenue, and spend, without blinking an eye, fifty or sixty dollars for a couple of items so useless as a gold tinted bell or a dim mirror to hang in some dull corner. They have never really known money the way the poor knows money. These poor people down here know money as something else entirely different. A hippy thinks in middle-class terms of money while these people are struggling for their lives.

People who are white and sincerely rebelling against the mores of false social formations usually can be found in groups like SDS truly working to revolutionize the shoddy system. This may mean that they have never lived here or they soon move away.

notes from

Haight Ashbury

Notes from Haight Ashbury, the week, October 16.

I can only speak for myself, as anybody in all honesty really can, but I am here like many others for some of the same obscure reasons. H-A seemed like the last hope: an outpost of humanity in a land of deodorized plastic mannequins engaged in one way or another in the computerized annihilation of the Vietnamese people and the destruction of human emotion here in America.

Almost everybody here was at one time or another engaged in some form of political activity whether it be civil rights, anti-war or both. Yet long before it happened, it seemed to most of us that white middle-class America was charging down a blind alley that ended at the Army's bayonets and club-swinging Oakland police defending America's military establishment against the people for whom it was created to protect. The white man had put his hope in the black man to make his revolution, and the black man answered, "make your own, whitey; I'm through working for you." White political activists, unable to create a base in their own communities, were tossed out of the ghettos, ignored and abused. Peaceful demonstrations, civil disobedience, electoral politics: the tools of the brainwashed middle class that the authorities permitted them to use could change the course of the Vietnam war about as much as Senator Fullbright's speeches to a deaf Senate. But most of white America, inculcated with years and years of propaganda in their schools, were too numb and scared to admit the facts of reality. Pacifists chained themselves to a drafted brother in a vain attempt to arouse the consciousness of those who had none. The Great Society had whitewashed the mind and soul of the American people.

One night Carol Berge and I went to Headquarters theatre to watch the kids living on stage. On this East Village stage the kids had set up a typical hippy apartment. There was one black and three or four white boys and several white girls all living on this stage together. They were pretty self-conscious about the whole thing; they certainly weren't being natural, which is the way they were supposed to be acting. At one point a boy and a girl faked intercourse, but if they had had privacy they would have simply had sex. The very fact that something like this was presented at Headquarters is a good counterbalance to the humdrum of Broadway, but nevertheless reflects in an extremely vivid way the simmering fake quality of what, in human terms, East Village hippy-business men feel they must do with the glossy potential, human and otherwise, in the area. An old German or Puerto Rican around the corner might have had more imagination.

I've heard so many blacks down here tell me after they have lived with whites, male or female, that their "friends" turn out to be racist; and whites discover ugly things about themselves, too. Black men often take these white hippy girls in order to try to psychologically destroy them. A white boy married to a black girl told me he had thought himself a liberal until he had been married for awhile. A black girl felt that her white husband had tried to turn her into a slave, another one was worshiped. The black-white mating game is very much a part of the hippy scene. It is one of their most novel activities.

A white boy said recently: "We must

join our black brothers or leave them alone." The sad thing about all of us is when we talk about large groups of people we can mean only so much.

The Bohemians of the twenties and thirties and the Beatniks of the fifties were groups that were not necessarily composed of people under twenty-five. The hippies are very young, almost necessarily so. The name of the game is rebellion rather than creativity. There are many differences between the older groups and the hippies; for instance, they never panhandled. Bohemia was always freer, more alive than any other segment of the nation, but it was never quite so unproductive as it is now. But then the art of the hippies is perhaps a living arts, i.e., they aren't concerned with things, artifacts for museums but with performance, life.

Young people have for years complained that they could not identify with any of the so-called leaders or group movements, but now a young peoples' movement has opened arms for them all, rich and poor, dumb and smart; and they don't have to have any talent or glamor, just "rags and feathers" and "flowers and love" and a little courage, to join.

How human do we want to be? How revolutionary can the so-far shallow hippies become? Ezra Pound said the only way to judge humanity is by the "one at a time" method. I would like to try to hold to that, but how can I? You are going to run the risk of some pretty muddy duplications. Like the hippies, who are sadly running from Everything.

their dissatisfaction, their agonized torment. Something was really wrong with America that could not be cured by a new anti-poverty program, a peace offensive, or wage increases.

America had become a nation of scared individuals believing that they alone were insane with desires and feelings that must be suppressed in order to conform. Conform, conform, in your heart of hearts and obey. What other choice was there? The question created us and we created a choice.

There would probably be no H-A without the war and perhaps the anti-war movement would not have reached the cold brutal turning point from obedience and submission to rebellion and violence had there been no "hippies". The pre-hippies, hippies, and post hippies who marched, got arrested, sang, screamed and cried. Who philosophized, ignored the law, and were pushing, pushing all the time. Hippies are more than just people who walk down Haight Street with beads, bells, long hair, stoned on drugs. They are a concept, an act of rejection, a military vanguard, a hope for the future.

You might say that some of us were waiting, waiting to see if what has happened could ever take place. The law for most of us is the law of the men who control, dominate, and rule. It is broken every day without a thought. The only fear is that of being caught and ending up in jail. The law is made by the rulers, for the rulers, and in their interest alone. They violate it at will in a country where the people are allowed to dissent but never actually to act to bring about real change. White middle-

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An Analysis of the New School Strike Against the War

ANALYSIS OF THE NEW SCHOOL STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR

by Bob Terwilliger and David Gilbert

Introduction:

On April 13, 1967, approximately 65% of the 14,000 students and faculty of the New School for Social Research did not attend class in conjunction with an anti-war strike organized by SDS. That day culminated a week of anti-war and anti-imperialist education. When New School President John Everett tried to turn an agreed anti-war speech by US Senator Eugene McCarthy into an official school event which would beat the strike, both Everett and McCarthy were shouted off the stage of the school auditorium. The students seized the auditorium and used it to discuss future anti-war strategies.

Despite this superficial success, the strike must be viewed as basically a failure, a cruel mockery of what could have been. The strike failed because it created no mass organization, won no concrete victories, did little to develop consciousness on the part of even the organizers themselves. This failure, in the most general sense, developed out of our lacks of clear-cut objectives, year-long integrated strategy and education, and overall national perspective. We do not feel that our failure necessarily invalidates the student strike as a tactic. Rather, the strike should be carefully analyzed so that its full potential can be realized.

Initial strategy:

The strike was conceived as a method for achieving both unified and dramatic action within the institution that formed our community. In addition it was seen as a new tactic which might be integrated with the general anti-war activity of the Spring Mobilization. It seemed at the time a good way of combining local activity with the overriding issue of opposition to the war. It was also hoped that educational activity which accompanied this protest could raise the level of student consciousness from anti-war to anti-imperialism.

Our major tactic was to be a referendum of the student body, faculty and staff to the effect that the New School should be closed on April 13 as official, institutional protest against the war. The referendum was seen as giving "democratic" legitimacy to the protest. Even more fundamentally, referendum was a technique for involving the people at a basic level necessitating a minimum of commitment and action. Once they had taken the step of participating in the referendum, it seemed as though they would have a stake in taking more militant action when the referendum was disregarded—specifically to produce de facto closing of the school by a mass student-faculty-staff strike. Implicit in the strike and ref-

erendum strategy was the assumption that universities in general are a part of the military-industrial complex responsible for the war, and hence are legitimate targets for anti-war protest. Likewise implicit seems the assumption that only some form of student-faculty control of the university can end this war complicity. Our own lack of full consciousness of these implicit assumptions led to a great many of the difficulties which accompanied the strike.

General problems:

The immediate result of the referendum was that the university community became polarized about issues not directly connected with the war. Rather the issues rapidly became "academic freedom" and student power. In fact some segments of the community felt that SDS was using the war issue as a tool for gaining student power rather than being concerned with direct activity against the war. Since the referendum was conducted without the extensive prior education (and activities) which it needed, these issues were not seen in their proper perspective as tactics in an anti-imperialist struggle. Rather, they became political issues themselves. This distinction was not even clear in the minds of the organizers themselves at the time. Because debate tended to focus on these subsidiary issues, the strike lost immediacy and educational value as an anti-war and anti-imperialist mass activity.

Part of the confusion stemmed from the lack of a clear-cut analysis of the institution itself, of its role in society at large, and of the relationships among the various groups within it. Thus the referendum became, in effect, a request for administration cooperation in the anti-war activity, rather than a demand for institutional participation which challenged the imperialist social structure of which the university is a part. This lack of analysis vitiated any attempts at education concerning these issues. From our own lack of clarity sprang the opposition arguments about the ideal apolitical liberal educational institution. Arguments showing the class nature of the university administration were needed here. However, we were not prepared to give them with the clarity they deserve, nor was our audience prepared to sufficiently accept them, had they been given.

In effect the strike made no concrete demands. Hence the connection between the university and the multi-industrial complex remained unreal to people. Even in an institution such as the New School which has no direct military activities or research, a strike should have been

able to make demands concerning the ideological nature of education and the value to the ruling class of the "liberal" socialization which takes place at such universities. Without concrete demands, the strike seemed purposeless to many. Moreover, the administration was able to treat it as though it were indeed frivolous and without purpose. It was not a strike for anything.

In fact the strike was purposeless on another level. It in no way appeared to fit into an effective national strategy against the war. Insufficient attempts were made to connect the strike with the Spring Mobilization which was underway at the same time. No other schools were striking or accomplished anything related to which this strike could be tied. Furthermore, nothing was done to utilize the time and energy withdrawn from school. The picket lines and educational activities on that day were sparsely attended. People might have been more enthusiastic had the day of the strike been devoted to more direct anti-war demonstrations such as disrupting induction centers or picketing war industries. In addition, such off-campus activities could have made the point that as the war gets worse, our everyday activities have to be correspondingly replaced by political activity.

Even the concept of striking itself was never clarified. Was the strike simply another anti-war demonstration or a move for real institutional power which would imply compelling the school to close? Our own membership did not accept the implications of the latter position, hence the former prevailed. Thus during the "strike" most administration activities and some classes continued as usual.

Without a clear notion of the nature of a strike, the issue of negotiations became a problem—negotiations by whom, with whom, when? In principle we had decided that there would be no negotiations with the administration. Representatives could present demands and then relay the administration's response to the group as a whole. If the administration wanted to work out specific issues they would have to come to a general meeting or to the picket line. In practice, when certain "crisis" situations developed rapidly, some of us could resist neither the temptation nor the necessity of assuming the role of "leaders" and partaking in last-minute negotiations.

This situation was particularly serious because we developed neither a collective leadership nor an active base. These problems were partially a result of conditions peculiar to the New School, but were also related to incredibly basic mistakes. For instance, to avoid sectarianism in a school with various brands of conscious leftists, we blurred over the relationship between SDS and the strike campaign. While everything was officially initiated and sponsored by SDS, we implied that the overall "Anti-War Mobilization" was under the aegis of a sort of popular front committee, with SDS at the core. Since the whole thing was clearly an SDS project, the pop front rhetoric seemed hypocritical and some people grew understandably mistrustful of us. The short period of time between the development of the strike concept and the week of Mobilization did not actually permit the development of a genuine popular front. Considerations of time—which was needlessly short—necessitated that central planning take place. Hence the open meeting discussions unavoidably had the look of SDS "rail-roading" plans through.

Another problem was our failure to develop real organization among and ties with the faculty and the staff. With two both lovable and valuable exceptions, the faculties' sense of professionalism and their liberal concerns with "academic freedom" inhibited directly working with the students. Many professors canceled

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class America is allowed to protest the war in Vietnam, to fortify their ego, but never once will they legally be permitted to do anything that will actually alter its conduct or bring it to a halt. It seemed as if the youth of America just could not disobey their parents, their teachers, the "elected" masters; but we did, openly and defiantly, and we were the first!

To stop this war, this carnage, we must do what we are not permitted to do. We must break the law. The law we never made, but was made by people who told us they were our servants and have become our masters. Our masters ruling us for their own designs and destroying our lives for their own purpose. We have been exploited by our government and our social and economic system into working and dying for a cause that benefits only our leaders. We on Haight Street had openly refused to be used anymore, to be manipulated, coerced, and destroyed as human beings. And we told the whole nation.

Yes we are political, yes we are revolutionaries, yes we represent by the way we live a complete break with the American way of life. Yes, we stand for a new culture based on cooperation, love and peace rather than competition, hate and violence. Yes we are certainly helping to end the war here in America between man and man and the war there between two ways of life. Yes there is a revolution going on in the world and a fight to the death between two social orders, two ways of living and thinking. We have gone AWOL from the great American army that is our society renouncing the easy plush future that could have been ours, yes we have deserted. We had come to the conclusion that our society was corrupt, vile and heinous and that to obey any of its dictates, any of its concepts was to doom us eventually to a living death killing others as we died. Yes, we are committed, dedicated people choosing between two ways of life, two social orders, two concepts. We have renounced the meaningless morals and concepts of an evil society. We have abandoned it, physically, intellectually, emotionally, and economically.

But now the age of peaceful, lawful protest and dissent is over. With smashed skulls and blood white America has come to the conclusion it had sought to avoid at all cost. That we are living under a tyrannical, violent system of oppression that will stop at nothing to achieve its aims, and that if we desire to end the destruction of human life here and abroad there is no alternative but illegal and violent measures. This is the truth our government has sought to hide and conceal. This is the truth many of us have always known but were afraid to admit. This is the reality of America today which we must accept and alter our lives accordingly or else acquiesce, bow our heads silently in submission and take our place in the great American army set on death and destruction. And it is just this that is becoming more and more impossible for increasing numbers of Americans, and one of the many reasons is the long haired hippies.

OVER 20 PERSONS REMAIN IN JAIL

2 persons committed to St. Elizabeth's mental hospital
 11 persons sent to D.C. jail hospital
 2 women in solitary
 6 men in solitary
 3 persons non-cooperating--charged with contempt
 All either serving sentences or awaiting trial. Many privileges have been either denied or greatly restricted.

DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL THESE POLITICAL PRISONERS
 CALL: Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Hardy, Directors; D.C. jail and the D.C. Womens Bureau
 931-5111 D.C. jail:
 2000 19th Street, S.E.
\$\$\$FOR FINES STILL NEEDED
 Send to: National Mobilization Committee
 2719 Ontario Rd.,NW
 Washington, D.C. 20009

NON-STUDE STUD CUTS COLONEL'S MUSTARD WITH A BIT OF CUSTARD



New School Strike

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classes, but did so out of a sense of personal commitment rather than out of a sense of political organization. The gap between students and staff was even greater. Again two people worked very closely with us, but the staff in general felt that (correctly) we were asking them to risk their jobs to respect our strike while students were risking nothing themselves. Further, we had not worked with the staff in any way previously. The distrust was heightened by the whole range of student privileges such as 2-S deferments. Very few of the staff honored our picket line, and we didn't feel like pushing the point given the differential in risks. This breach served to undercut the spirit of solidarity of the strike.

Throughout all these difficulties runs the thread of a lack of strategic planning and tactical integration. We had little conception of how to build up to and prepare for major actions, where specific tactics were leading and how they were interrelated. Problems specific to the New School:

Many of our problems seemed to be specific to the peculiarities of the New School and therefore will only be sketched briefly for the purpose of this article. The New School is an adult, commuter school with a majority of non-degree students. Communications among students are almost non-existent, and the New School community is almost totally fragmented. People are often around the school only one night and rarely more than 2 or 3 nights a week; there are no school-wide publications. In this situation it was very difficult to develop a unified group of active workers and to communicate any projects and propaganda to the community at large. Out of the struggle, we developed our own newspaper, which was somewhat successful. But with much effort and expense, we could reach only about 2,000 of 14,000 students.

The New School has no student government, religious offices, or the like that could lend legitimacy to the referendum. In fact SDS is almost the only active student organization at the school. Some people were mistrustful of an SDS-run referendum on an SDS-sponsored issue. This may have been partly due to the "generational gap" since the average student is considerably older than the average SDS member at the New School.

The New School has a particularly left-liberal tradition and constituency. On one hand, these politics provided us with widespread anti-war sentiment and a tendency to respect picket lines. (It was this latter factor, rather than support for the strike per se, that accounted for

a large proportion of our success.) On the other hand, left-liberals tend to be very doctrinaire on the issues of "individual" and "academic freedom", and also tend to be very self-satisfied about their own current state of "radicalness". The concern with the liberal notion of academic freedom was particularly strong among the large segment of the faculty with European backgrounds and gave rise to a charge of "SDS fascism".

Another particular problem was the hours we spent trying to reason with "friendly administrators" who actually had no power and who eventually became defined by their structural roles when situations became sufficiently polarized.

Arguments:

Given a basically liberal constituency, the major argument against us was the appeal to the "liberal, apolitical institution". This means that the university should not take political stands because it is a haven for the development of different ideas. Closing the school to protest the war would be an infringement on the individual rights of those who supported the war. If the school took a political stand, it might help initiate a new McCarthyism through which the government might try to enforce political standards. In short, many concurred with President Everett when he said that the university must remain a "free market place for ideas".

We, of course, agreed that the university is a free market place for ideas; a free market is where the economically most powerful dominate. We tried to show that a university is inherently political. We described who the trustees were and what their interests might be in insuring that the New School performed a certain type of training and socialization. (There is no direct military research or training that we know of at the New School so that we couldn't use this argument.) Given the functional integration of the New School with the society that perpetrates the war, given the political and military execution of that war, "apolitical inaction" in effect supports the status quo.

These arguments about the societal function of the university and the equation of apolitical inaction with support of the status quo are crucial to the kind of consciousness we were hoping to develop. Unfortunately, the argument was not made with sufficient clarity nor closely enough related to people's experience to be very effective.

The other major argument we used was the analogy to Nuremberg. Would people support institutional opposition to concentration camps? Was Vietnam any different? Given a notion of criminal

A Marine Corps Colonel got a custard pie in the face, between 100 and 200 Berkeley freshmen got an unexpected show, and non-student man, clad in a black cape, orange T shirt, black tights, and gas mask got away.

All in a space of two minutes.

Less than 24 hours later the dashing champion of free people everywhere appeared in the BARB office for an exclusive interview, replete with costume.

"I'd been smoking and it hit me—I guess that's how non-student man was born", the muffled voice behind the gas mask told BARB Sunday.

When I read the announcement, non-student man and his cap-gun toting accomplice had mapped out approach and escape routes to Wheeler Hall, the scene of the incident. They enlisted the aid of 2 motorcyclists, and the plot was set.

At 4:15 on Saturday Col. Roy D. Miller was just warming up to the subject of ROTC program for freshmen. In midsentence he turned to see non-student man dashing onto the stage at his right.

"I took 10 steps," related non-student man. "He looked at me. First he just looked peeved. But then he saw the pie hurtling toward him. Shock and real terror appeared on his face."

According to an eyewitness account, "Miller put up both of his arms in this cringing, really flailing manner, which was the best part."

At that point the accomplice dressed in an army uniform shouted "Provo, Get him!", and chased non-student man from the stage with a volley of cap-gun blasts. In less than a minute the pie-thrower and his aide had jumped on the backs of waiting motorcyclists and cleared the campus.

Witnesses in Wheeler said a young man in the rear stood up and yelled "End the war in Vietnam" just after the pie was thrown. They noted quickly suppressed laughter from some of the freshmen.

Col. Miller "looked around for a half-minute or so to check the reactions of students," another witness reported. "Then he resumed his spiel in midsentence. His dignity had been assaulted and he wasn't going to show it. But he was standing with flecks of pie all over him."

Col. Miller later had "no comment" about the incident but wanted to know if BARB could identify his assailant.

The elusive provocateur described his highly successful debut as "only a beginning". He plans even more imaginative escapades to "turn on new people on the campus and keep administrators, military, and even radicals from being too overbearing."

In the last couple of weeks, sds people have been involved in a lot of action on campuses and in the cities. Unfortunately, NLN hears about this action all too often through the bourgeois media. If we are to serve as an effective membership-supported paper, then our reporters--each of you--have to be constantly sending us the info as soon as things occur, so that we can get them out to the membership. REPORT NOW!!!!!!

behavior, might not force and certain infringements on "personal freedom" be necessary? This second line of argument was somewhat more successful because it appealed to the "moral responsibility" of our liberal audience. We feel that this argument is useful only if it can be integrated into a clear-cut critique of the societal function of the university.—A critique which we did not do fully enough.

Lessons:

THE STUDENT STRIKE CAN NOT WORK AS A STRATEGY IN ITSELF, BUT ONLY AS A TACTIC THAT IS PART OF A LARGER STRATEGY. The larger strategy must involve this clear-cut institutional analysis and attack. The institutional attack must teach us about the nature of power in American society. Thus, the strike must not degenerate into simply another form of abstract and diffuse demonstration as it did at the New School. Rather it must be viewed as one tactic in an overall strategy of mass student organizing. The purpose of the organizing is to alter power relations in an institution which in turn possesses power within the society as a whole. The nature of power is revealed in the concrete struggle around specific demands, demands that relate the overriding concern of anti-imperialism with the immediacy of the university. The strike might be useful in attempting to win such demands, but other tactics also might be necessary.

The idea of a student strike then is useful insofar as it fits in with the idea of an overall strategy around institutional power, base organizing and the joining of concrete demands and overriding issues.

In terms of more specific problems, the New School strike certainly would have been more meaningful and generated more enthusiasm if it had been tied in

with a national strategy and program. Further, it required either a disciplined conception of a strike or a re-focusing of people's activities away from the school (to induction centers or war industries) or both. In order to win concrete demands, some sort of economic power will have to be developed, whether it be destroying the school's "image" with contributors, or building toward an eventual tuition strike.

But in reality, we cannot achieve all our concrete demands. It is impossible to build socialism on one university. The point is to engage in a struggle on a sufficiently high level of consciousness so that both partial defeat and partial victory can be used to further that struggle. Partial defeat can be used, if we have not organized people around false expectations, to define the nature of the enemy. Partial victory can be used, if we have not limited ourselves to reformist demands and conceptions, to reveal our power to continue to struggle for the total vision we have projected.

The strike, then, can not be a terminal event leading nowhere, but only a possible (not necessary) tactic in a series of tactics that fit in with an integrated strategy. That strategy must place primary emphasis on revealing the class and ideological functions of the university and responding to that institutional power with mass organizing of a student constituency. By locating power, by relating that power to our own lives, by organizing those in the same situation as us, we can begin struggling for our own personal liberation in the process of struggling against the institutions of power in an oppressive society.

Direction of Resistance

continued from page 1

The struggle on the campus was and still is of vital importance to the development of a movement in this country but in many ways our view of its relevance is changing. We know that socialism in one university is impossible. We also know that we cannot control the institution politically or administratively and perhaps we don't want to any longer. When a group of black people was asked what they thought of black people controlling the ghetto they answered that they didn't want to. The ghetto is the colony in which black people must live. It does not represent liberation but only colonial control. Rather than control the ghetto they want a new society. Our view of the university has changed also. We see the university for what it is—a tool of regimentation. We don't want to control it. We want to use it to make a society where a new form of university will be relevant. We must make the free society before we can have the free university.

FROM DISSENT TO RESISTANCE

The role of the student movement in the struggle for radical social change is becoming increasingly clear. The student movement is the primary instrument of political confrontation and propaganda in the white community. Its increasingly radical militancy is evidenced by the role of students in Washington, Oakland and Madison. The student movement is beginning to take an active political role in the country. It is beginning to take itself seriously.

An underlying assumption of the movement is that consciousness changes. It is important that students understand their responsibility to the rest of the movement. We cannot afford to set up barriers between ourselves and our potential allies. By that I don't mean that we should stop our radical activity because it might alienate people but rather that we shouldn't put people into ready-made bags (e.g. frat rat, red neck) which keep us from reaching them. Those who are now hostile must be reached. Their consciousness

about the nature of power in America must be changed so that they won't fight with the enemy but will stand beside us in the struggle. The artificial security of the radical student community cannot be an excuse to stop reaching out. The role of an organizer is to constantly reach out to and develop new constituencies. We must continue to enlarge the sea in which we swim and to develop more fish as well. The only way we can show our ideas to be correct is to advocate them. We cannot afford to be afraid of the people!

Student Movement action must have a political direction and must be aimed at exposing the nature of the society to people. We moved from civil rights activity to other activities partly because we found that black liberation cannot be seen as a thing in itself. The entire economic, political and social nature of the country is involved. The same is true of campus activity. The fact that we are against American suppression of national liberation movements and that we are for black liberation and increased labor militancy begins to tie issues together for other people. If the student movement begins to see that it can play an important role—as a student movement—we will have begun a resistance and we will develop long-term radicals from the realities of the struggle.

On campuses where it is possible the student movement must view itself as a guerrilla striking force, moving when least expected on unexpected targets, retreating, and moving again in unexpected places. The campus should be seen as a liberated zone where non-students can come to talk, get help, etc. and from which activities can be launched. We must begin to develop an understanding in the student movement of what resistance means and of what role the student movement must play.

THE DUTY OF THE "TROOPS"

We as students must develop the mentality that we are the "troops" of the movement and that we must initiate action with that in mind. The possibilities for

student action relevant to other groups in the society are almost unlimited. When workers are trying to unionize, students should be ready to give support. In Boston students supported the unionization of hospital workers by picketing, building community support and supplying the technical skills to pull it off. When the auto workers strike against Ford, student support of the auto workers might not involve demonstrations at the plant gates but instead a sit-in at the Ford Company administrative offices.

When restaurant and hotel workers in Austin, Texas tried to unionize two years ago, they ran into problems which students could have helped solve. Shops where there was a majority for unionization were destroyed by the firing of the sympathetic workers. A few students were involved in the effort but no major student support was ever given. If students had seen themselves as the troops who could help unionize by their action the situation might have been very different. There were a couple of restaurants which were crucial in the unionization process. If the union could have been established in those places it would have spread. Students should have been prepared to close down a restaurant until the union was recognized. They should have been developing support among the people in the community so that there would have been unity about the issue. The issue should have been debated on the campus so that students could see what the struggle was all about.

Students can help to initiate a new militancy in the labor movement. When the railroad workers were given an injunction against striking, students should have searched out the people who wanted to defy the injunction and helped them in their efforts.

With the war affecting young people and with more of them being disillusioned with the military, students can act to spread draft resistance into the community. Students could march to the draft board or induction center and announce that they will help anyone in the community who wants to resist the draft. They should announce that they are going to use the campus to help these people and that

anyone interested should come to the campus for help. They should assume that the campus is a semi-liberated area and that they can use it as a base for their activities. Along with the group at the draft board there should be squads of people in the community interpreting what is happening. We should stop depending on the bourgeois press to publicize what we are doing. Groups of five people should go to the high schools, the neighborhoods, and onto the campus to spread the word about what is happening and why.

These are only a few examples of where students can move to begin to legitimize their role to other people. It is essential that we not moderate our positions when we talk with people who are not students. The theory that first you get people into liberal action so that next time they will be ready for more radical action ignores the fundamentals of a movement for radical social change. If the organizing is done seriously a base in the community as well as an expanding campus base can be established. This may well be essential when the university responds to the pressures of established power and decides to suppress radical activity on campus.

There has been talk on many campuses since the Berkeley rebellion about "another Berkeley". The element that was always forgotten was that suppression at Berkeley came because of action around civil rights in the community. The issue there was not over some violation of bureaucratic rules but was over the rights of students to organize in the community. The issue was clear in the students' minds—it was political suppression. As we begin to expand both on and off campus we can expect the same kind of suppression and hopefully an expanded form of resistance to it.

NAC Minutes

chicago s.n.c.c. 306 E. 43rd Street is in dire need of a car. Please write or call 373-9025 if you have a car, or have information about one.

Submitted by Robert Pardun

1) Lyn Kempf was hired as assistant editor of NLN. Mike Kempf and Wayne Heimbach were hired as part of the print shop staff. Since all three had been doing much needed work in the office the NAC decided to formalize it.

2) The previous NAC policy of not allowing outside groups to use the printing equipment was reaffirmed with respect to the REAL PRESS, an underground paper at Northwestern University. Experience has shown that allowing people to justify their own copy, lay out their own papers, etc. with our equipment is just too much of a hassle.

3) The Chapter Contact List will be made available for \$10. The list appears in NLN periodically but we get wierd requests from time to time and we felt that outside groups should pay to use our list.

4) We are again faced with the necessity of raising bread for the office—this time to help finance the big press we want to buy. Any money we can raise now is just that much less money that we have to pay interest on to the bourgeoisie. We felt that we should try to raise as much of that money from the membership as possible. IF EVERYBODY SENT IN \$1 WE'D HAVE IT MADE ON THE PRESS!!!!

However, we decided to try several other things too. A committee was set up to deal with specifics about getting ads in the Guardian, Ramparts, The New Republic and the Nation. If possible they will run for more than one week (the

bourgeoisie has found that the second week is twice as effective as the first). The committee will also deal with about \$20 worth of ads in the classified section of the L.A. Free Press. Special appeals for fund raising will be sent to selected people around the country on the hope that they will get off their asses and raise some money for the N.O. on the local level.

5) The Special Issue of NLN will be sent out in quantities as large as are ordered. So—if you pay postage you can get bundles of the Special Issue to use on your campus for organizing.

6) The NAC recommends to the NIC that a political insert be drawn up explaining the historical position of the Port Huron Statement and explaining that it no longer represents SDS's view of the society. The dialectic applied to consciousness seems to be at work within SDS.

7) A new literature policy was set. Chapters may now order \$25 worth of literature at the 50% discount rate on consignment. If the \$25 is not then forthcoming no other literature will be sent to that chapter on consignment. This is primarily meant as a service to poor and new chapters. Chapters which are established and which have the bread should pay in advance. The N.O. has better things to do with money than lose it on literature which could be paid for if the people would hustle for a couple of hours to get the money.

Organizers will be given \$20 worth at 50% plus 100 posters. This is to help keep them alive as they travel from place to place.

The NAC reaffirmed the policy for regional offices of 25% of full cost in advance and the other 25% later.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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REMEMBER: Chapters get lit at 50% discount. We want the lit used but we expect you to have the consciousness to remember that all the lit you get from us without paying for it cuts into everything else the N.O. does.

8) FINANCIAL REPORT:

Tuesday, Oct. 17 to Monday, Oct. 23 (67)

INCOME:	
Dues & Subscriptions	516.70
Literature	97.61
Contributions	259.01
Pledges	6.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
Sales	6.20
Exchanges	69.60
NLN Ads	00.00
Printing	411.00
Loans	00.00
Chapter Tax	00.00
Journal A	00.00
TOTAL	\$1416.41

Exchanges	65.00
Postage	45.60
Petty Cash	67.11
Printing Supplies	245.10
Typesetting	38.66
Subsistence	262.00
Office Supplies	74.91
DEbts Paid	50.00
Telephone	274.62
Water (REC)	8.25
Furniture (REC)	45.00
Travel	120.00
Fire Insurance	76.50
Miscellaneous	2.00

TOTAL \$1374.75

Net Profit - \$41.66