

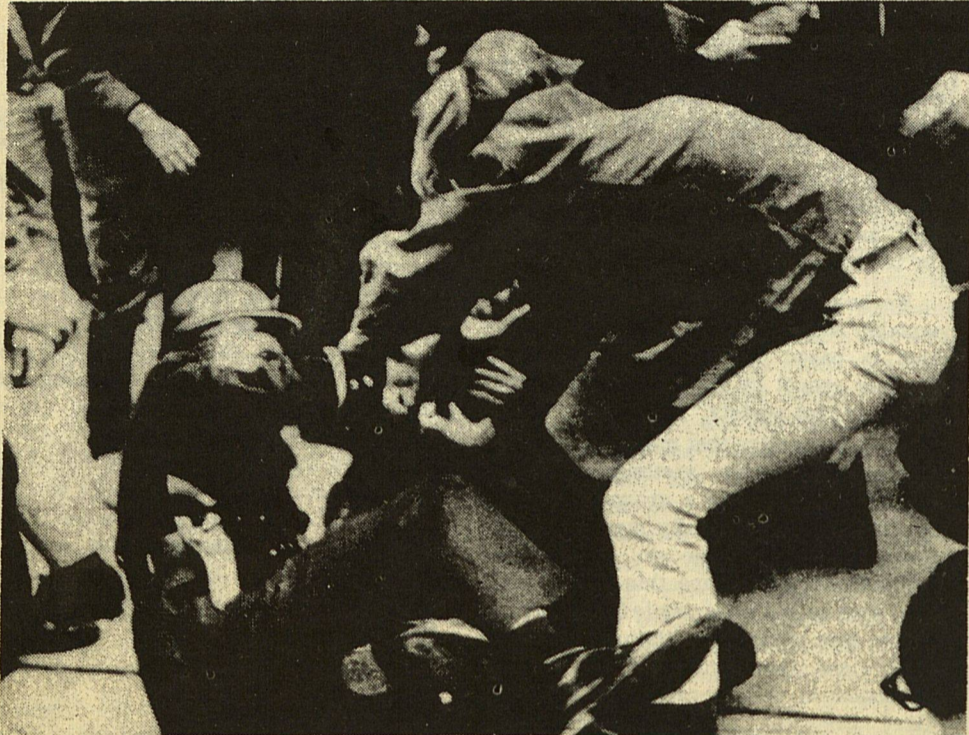
NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS · 1608 W · MADISON · CHICAGO · ILL.

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

November 13, 1967



NOTES ON THE BROOKLYN STRIKE

Jeffrey Gordon, B. C. SDS
and Progressive Labor Party

On Friday, Oct. 20th Brooklyn College was 90% closed down by a student strike. Three thousand students manned picket lines. Whole departments closed down tight. A mass rally of 5,000 (out of 10,000 day students) formulated the demands: no cops on the campus; dropping of all police charges against those arrested the day before; dropping of my suspension; no more arbitrary suspensions; etc. Speakers said that the issue was beyond the war in Vietnam to the war at Brooklyn College.

The strike ended the following Wednesday with all these demands met, plus more. The government could no longer carry on open recruitment from tables. No striking student or faculty member could be punished for any lost work. And the present undemocratic and powerless student government, which operates as an arm of the administration, was so exposed and under such heavy student attack that a mass rally called for its abolition and replacement by a democratic student union, totally free of administrative control and with power in its own hands.

What sparked these events was the college's refusal to allow SDS to set up a counter table next to a Navy recruiter's booth, and the subsequent calling of 200 police to enforce this decision. In a change from its normal emphasis on co-optation, the administration had decided to use force to try to stop the growing anti-war movement.

We entered Boylan Hall at noon on Oct. 19th to set up our table. We were met by a grouping of deans who told us flatly "No SDS table." After attempting to maneuver around them, I was asked for my "On-campus card". I refused to show it. They knew my name and that I was a student. It was an obvious form of political harassment. I asked them why they wanted to see it. The college "Safety" officer told me: "The administration doesn't have to tell the students anything!" The tenor of the day was so marked,

I was then told that I was suspended and therefore must leave the campus immediately. I again refused, saying that I was still a student and we planned to set up our table. A crowd was gathering. The picket line we had set up outside had come inside. The SDS leaflet "Sink the Navy" had said in opposition also to the Peace Corps which was on campus too: "In different ways both the Navy and the Peace Corps serve to reinforce U. S. domination and political control, i.e. imperialism." We explained this to those gathering around and said that we didn't believe in the "freedom" to recruit people to go and violate the freedom of the Vietnamese people. Freedom, we said, is not abstract, but related to the goals of the action to be taken.

But somehow this didn't convince the Deans. And so they called the cops to arrest me for trespassing. Everyone sat down to defend me from arrest. The cops made a quick move to get me. They reached me, but couldn't get me loose from the maze of interlocking arms and feet. They called for reinforcements. Meanwhile more joined us.

Deans watched with true academic poise as the cops dragged girls down steps by their hair, crushed fingers in doors and kicked and punched students at random. Thirty students were brutally arrested in this second charge, but they still hadn't gotten to me. The student solidarity was growing stronger in the face of this terror, not weaker. All arrests that were made were on the charge of interfering with my arrest.

Finally, four hours after I had been told I was under arrest, I was taken into custody. It happened during a well executed two-prong police attack on the sit-in. It took four attacks on the sit-in to get me. But they still didn't have me out of the school grounds.

Conservative newspaper estimates have it that between 1,000 and 2,000 students

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Toward Institutional Resistance

Carl Davidson
Inter-organizational Secretary

The recent confrontations on our campuses between radical students and recruiters from the military and the war industries demonstrates the beginnings of a new phase of struggle within the anti-war movement. The resistance being offered campus officials and civil police by radical students is almost without precedent in the history of the American university. As radicals, we unequivocally celebrate the recent events at the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois, and at Brooklyn and Oberlin Colleges. But celebration is not enough. We must critically evaluate the present conflicts in order to draw lessons for the future.

The current battles are not without a history, however young the movement might seem. The first student protests against the Vietnam war go back to 1963. Beginning in the Fall of 1964, the Teach-in movement swept across American campuses for almost two years. Hundreds of thousands in the academic community turned against the government's policy in Southeast Asia. On almost every campus a dissident and active minority took root and grew. After an initial showing of 25,000 at the SDS April 17, 1965 March on Washington, a primarily campus based anti-war movement turned out over 200,000 demonstrators in nearly 150 cities for the Fall 1965 International Days of Protest.

Before the Spring of 1966, the campus was seen primarily as a haven and recruiting ground for the anti-war movement, with periodic public demonstrations and teach-ins continuing to be our principle tactics. During this period, there were only a handful of sporadic leaflettings and picketings of CIA and Marine Corps recruiters on campus. The issue of university complicity with the war was not raised until April and May of 1966. During that time, shortly after major escalations of the war, the student movement had been developing a program of opposition to the draft. Concurrently, the Selective Service System initiated requirements for the ranking of male students by their grade averages and scores on a National SSS exam, to be given on 1200 campuses in May, 1966. SDS attacked the exam, the draft, 2S deferments, the war, and, most importantly, university complicity with the war by ranking male students and holding the Selective Service exams. Demonstrations again swept the campuses. Thousands of students sat-in and hundreds were arrested at the University of Chicago, Roosevelt, Buffalo, Brooklyn College, University of Wisconsin, Cornell, Stanford, and CCNY. The government eventually abolished class rank and the tests, probably as a result of the sit-ins and the threat of more to come.

However, the issue of university complicity with the war remained in the consciousness of the student movement. Al-

ready alienated from college administrations as a result of the free speech and in loco parentis fights of 1964 and 1965 the radical student movement began a deeper probe of the university's connections with the military. In the Winter of 1966 the University of Pennsylvania students gained nationwide publicity for uncovering chemical and bacteriological war research for Vietnam on their campus. Ramparts magazine had already exposed Michigan State University's cooperation with the CIA in developing Diem's police state. Several SDS chapters had picketed and protested against military recruiters on campus. The first major confrontation occurred at Berkeley, early in December of 1966. SDS members on the campus attempted to set up an anti-draft table next to a Navy recruiting table in the student union. The administration called in the police and a massive sit-in began. To break the sit-in, over 100 police were used. Nine students were arrested and scores were injured. Over 10,000 students rallied and formulated the demands for a strike. Five days later, the strike was broken, although it had been 70% effective in the first two days.

While the students might have lost the battle of Berkeley, the event sparked the beginning of a series of similar conflicts across the country. From January to June, for the remainder of the school year, demonstrations and sit-ins against the presence on campus of recruiters from the military and related institutions were commonplace. Columbia University Iowa State, and the University of Wisconsin saw major sit-ins against CIA recruiters. Beginning in January at Brown University, recruiters from Dow Chemical company, manufacturers of napalm, were confronted on several dozen campuses. Major anti-Dow sit-ins occurred at the University of Wisconsin, San Fernando Valley State, UCLA, and Claremont College. At Claremont, students not only drove the Dow recruiter off campus, but literally chased him out of town. In April, 1967, Columbia University SDS organized a massive and significant confrontation with Marine recruiters, with 800 students almost physically removing the Marines from campus, while fighting off violent attacks from a smaller group of 200 right-wing students.

Finally, during the two days before the Spring Mobilization, SDS at the New School for Social Research organized an 80% effective strike against the war. While the New School Strike was a symbolic action without any specific demands of the college administration, it was an important event, indicating to the student movement that student strikes were a viable strategy.

The most interesting aspect of the scores of similar confrontations between radical students and recruiters from Dow the CIA, and the military is that the

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Chicago Women form Liberation Group

To the Women of the Left:

Below is a Preliminary Statement of Principles used as a working paper by a group of Chicago women. Most of us, tho not all, are of the Movement.

A few, very few, are in SDS.

We have been meeting weekly for the last two months to discuss our colonial status in this society and to propound strategy and methods of attacking it. Our political awareness of our oppression has developed thru the last couple years as we sought to apply the principles of justice, equality, mutual respect and dignity which we learned from the Movement to the lives we lived as part of the Movement; only to come up against the solid wall of male chauvinism.

Realizing that this is a social problem of national significance not at all confined to our struggle for personal liberation within the Movement we must approach it in a political manner. Therefore it is incumbent on us, as women, to organize a movement for woman's liberation.

Women must not make the same mistake the blacks did at first of allowing others (whites in their case, men in ours) to define our issues, methods and goals. Only we can and must define the terms of our struggle.

The time has come for us to take the initiative in organizing ourselves for our own liberation. It is for that purpose that this group came together and this Statement was written.

While we welcome inquiries and assistance from all concerned persons this organization and its sister chapter now forming in New York are open only to women. Any woman who would like to join us or who would like help in organizing a local group should write or call. The liberation of women cannot be divorced from the larger revolutionary struggle.

STATEMENT OF RADICAL WOMEN

We recognize that radical change is necessary in the structure and institutions of this society before women will be able to function and fulfill themselves in every way as human beings. We call for concerted effort in the development of programs which will free women from their traditional roles in order that we may participate in meaningful and creative activities.

Specifically, it is imperative that we unite behind the following points as a beginning step towards full and equal participation of women in our society.

1. As women are 51% of the population of this country, they must be proportionally represented on all levels of society rather than relegated to trivial functions that have been predetermined for them. Particularly they must be allowed to assume full participation in the decision-making processes and positions of our political, economic and social institutions.

2. We condemn the mass media for perpetuating the stereotype of women

as always in an auxiliary position to men, being no more than mothers, wives or sexual objects. We specifically condemn the advertising concerns for creating the myths about women solely to profit from them as consumers. Furthermore, we call for a boycott of the thriving women's magazines, such as McCalls, Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle, Seventeen, Vogue, Glamour, Ladies' Home Journal and Cosmopolitan, for romanticizing drudgery and promoting a false mystique of emancipation.

3. There must be total equality of opportunity for education, at all levels and in all fields. Women should be fully educated to their individual potential instead of being subtly persuaded that education is of little value to their long-range interests.

4. Equal employment opportunities must be enforced. This includes equal pay for equal work, no discrimination on the basis of women's childbearing functions, and open access to all jobs, particularly managerial and policy making positions.

5. The labor movement and all labor organizations, unions and groups must admit women on an equal basis to all executive and policy levels while encouraging women to assume leadership roles in their organizations. There must be a concerted effort to organize and unionize those low-paying, servile occupations in which women are primarily employed.

6. Women must have complete control of their own bodies. This means (a) the dissemination of birth control information and devices, free of charge by the state, to all women regardless of age and marital status; (b) the availability of a competent, inexpensive medical abortion for all women who so desire.

7. The structure of the family unit in our society must be reconsidered and the following institutional changes must be incorporated: (a) a fundamental revamping of marriage, divorce and property laws and customs which cause an injustice to or a subjection of either sex; (b) the equal sharing by husbands and wives of the responsibility for maintaining the home and raising the children; (c) the creation of communal child care centers which would be staffed by women and men assuming equal responsibility and controlled by the adults and children involved in the center; (d) the creation of non-profit-making food preparation centers conveniently located in all communities.

8. We must fight against male domination in all aspects of society and correct the entrenched assumption of superiority on which it thrives, recognizing that the right to define is the most powerful characteristic of any ruling group. In particular, we must be on guard against paternalism, the potent weapon which through condescension and ridicule can reduce women's most legitimate demands to the level of domestic squabbles.

We recognize that women are often their own worst enemies because they have been trained to be prejudiced against

In the Nov. 6 issue of NLN three articles were printed without by-lines. The Oakland article on page 1 was written by Karen Wald, Berkeley SDS, Notes from Haight Ashbury was written by Gohn (no first name given) of San Francisco, & the article on hippies on the Lower East Side was written by Clarence Major of New York City.

NLN has received several calls from people concerning the Oct. 31 story, page 1, about the number of demonstrators in the Oct. 21 Washington March. It remains our firm belief that the story was a complete fabrication; that the D.C. police at no time estimated the crowd at the figure of 318,000.

themselves. Women must become conscious of the fact that they represent the largest "minority" group in this country and as such are subject to the same segregation, discrimination and dehumanizing influences as other dominated peoples. We know that to become truly free, we must abdicate the superficial privilege which has been purposely substituted for equality and replace it with an equal share of responsibility for taking power in our society.

We believe these minimal demands for equality and full participation in a society that is based on one group victimizing another cannot be met without a restructuring of that society.

We also realize that men are similarly subjected to this victimization. Our criticism of men as a group is based on the fact that historically men have controlled and continue to control the institutions that shape this society. Not just women, but most people feel powerless in the face of these institutions but do not understand their roots. Cries for full inclusion in this corrupt society are a first response of groups coming to awareness of their impotence and sensing their potential strength.

We are conscious that reform may not be the most direct route towards that social restructuring. However, women are a widely dispersed group with little recognition of their common oppression. We hope our words and actions will help make women more aware and organized in their own movement through which a concept of free womanhood will emerge.

Towards this end, we identify with those groups now in revolutionary struggle within our country and abroad. Until the movement recognizes the necessity that women be free and women recognize the necessity for all struggles of liberation, there can be no revolution.

West Coast News

Mark Kleiman

BERKELEY, NOV. 7—The University of California announced that the CIA had canceled their appointments at the University, and would contact interviewees individually and meet with them off campus. Dow Chemical held one interview Tuesday morning, then left. This followed Monday's demonstration, in which 400 students broke through a small police line, and picketed the placement center, where the interview occurred. Following this announcement, 150 students entered the Chancellor's office and presented him with a petition demanding that all war research be ended and that other firms, like Douglas, Lockheed, etc., not be allowed on campus.

SANTA CRUZ, NOV. 1—400 students prevented an Air Force recruiter from coming to UC Santa Cruz Wednesday. The students had known for 4 days that the Air Force was coming, and they turned out at 7 am Thursday morning to block the road leading to the campus. When the Air Force officer arrived in Santa Cruz, he received orders to return to his base rather than risk a confrontation with the students.

New Left Notes hopes to start a regular column of news briefs from chapters around the country. But this is only possible if those chapters let us know what's happening. (Surely the West Coast isn't the only place where it's at.) Fight isolationism and build solidarity! Become a part of history by appearing in New Left Notes when something happens.

Project Agile:

US GOVERNMENT'S WORLD-WIDE COUNTER INSURGENCY PROGRAM

A Pentagon-financed, world-wide counter-insurgency program is being developed in the nation's top universities and business laboratories to combat guerrilla movements and urban rebellions "wherever they might occur". Details of the Defense Department's Project AGILE are revealed in an exclusive report in the November 11 issue of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

GUARDIAN sources point to Latin America as the major new focus for counter-insurgency planning. A third of AGILE's \$30 million annual budget is still earmarked for support of the Vietnam war and \$10 million is budgeted for the Bangkok Research and Development Center in Thailand, but Project AGILE studies are now in effect for Peru, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Guatemala, Ecuador and Bolivia according to the GUARDIAN report.

Some of the universities, companies and researchers mentioned in the report have admitted participation in counter-insurgency research while others have refused to comment. AGILE Project Director Charles M. Herzfeld of the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) could not be reached before GUARDIAN deadline. However, Dr. Herzfeld recently told a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, "I think to some extent we are breaking ground here for a new way of looking at

insurgency, how to stop insurgency while it is so small. This is absolutely a major military problem for the United States."

Hans Weigert, of the Atlantic Research Corporation in Washington, D.C. told the GUARDIAN that work on insurgent and counter-insurgent operations in Ecuador and Bolivia are practically completed. Weigert is in charge of additional projects for Colombia, Venezuela and Guatemala.

Complementing this research into guerrilla counter-insurgency operations for Latin America is a classified project on Urban Insurgency Studies now being conducted by the Defense Analysis Corporation of Santa Barbara, California and other classified projects on urban population control underway at the Simulmatics Corporation in Cambridge, Mass. and in New York.

The GUARDIAN article points out that government sponsored counter-insurgency in the United States is not limited to Project AGILE nor to studies specified as in progress at Cornell, Michigan, Stanford and Northern Illinois, but has become "an everyday phenomenon" in American universities and businesses.

Since the source of the GUARDIAN material must remain secret, the author has used the pseudonym Roger Countill. Material from the exclusive report may be reprinted with credit to NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 East 4 Street, New York, N.Y. 10009.

new left notes

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INSTITUTIONAL RESISTANCE

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events were unplanned and uncoordinated on the National level. Furthermore, they received relatively little coverage in the National News Media. It seems that SDS's weekly newspaper, New Left Notes, deserves most of the credit for spreading the actions, since it covered the first actions against Dow and the military in detail. SDS chapters probably picked up on the strategy from there, and followed with similar actions on their local campuses. While the SDS national staff certainly approved of, and encouraged the confrontations, the major part of its time and resources during that period were spent developing a draft resistance program and organizing regional educational conferences. The idea of organizing a national movement to expel the military from the campus was never suggested as an SDS national program until late March of 1967 in an article in New Left Notes, by Todd Gitlin. The strategy formally became a major SDS national program at the June, 1967 National Convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

In the time between the confrontations ending with the Spring semester of 1967 and the present struggles this Fall, the radical student movement has gone through several significant changes. To better understand both the actions of our past activities as well as the direction of our present and future struggles on the campus, we must consider those developments.

First of all, we have grown. The Vietnam war continues filling our ranks with fresh recruits. Not only has the left grown, but all sectors of the population have become increasingly dissatisfied with the war, especially the campus community. In addition to building our numerical strength, the war has constantly and consistently pushed us to the left politically, strategically and tactically. Who among us today would argue that America is not an imperialist power? Less than a year ago, only the "crazy left sectarians" used that language. Now even clergymen talk about imperialism. Draft resistance activity is commonplace. Less than two years ago, SDS went through a major political crisis over simply printing a PROPOSAL for anti-draft activity. We no longer talk about moving from protest to resistance. The resistance has already begun.

Apart from the war, the black ghetto rebellions this summer fundamentally altered the political reality of white America, including the white left. The black liberation movement has replaced the civil rights and anti-poverty movements, revealing the utter bankruptcy of corporate liberalism's cooptive programs. The events of this summer marked not only the possibility, but the beginning of the second American revolution. This second major factor has made more important than ever the organizing of white poor and working class communities by the white radicals. SDS is beginning a response to this situation which includes a major refocusing of draft resistance work away from the student community and into poor and working class communities.

Thirdly, in the past few months, SDS people have had to deal with an increasing repression, often violent, from the state and its supporters. Some of us have fared better than others, but no one goes limp anymore, or meekly to jail. Police violence does not go unanswered. Sit-ins are no longer symbolic, but strategic: to protect people or hold positions, rather than to allow oneself to be passively stepped over or carted off. The implications of this change, asserting itself for the first time nationally on the Pentagon steps October 21st are more important than one might assume. For instance, while the anti-recruiter sit-ins last Spring were primarily acts of moral witness and political protest, an increasing number of the sit-ins this Fall displayed the quality of Tactical Political Resistance. Their purpose was the disruption and obstruction of certain events and actions BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY. Politically, the occurrence of this kind of activity implies the prior dissolution of whatever legitimacy and authority the institutions being resisted may have formerly had.

This exceedingly important process of desanctification points to the weakening of the existing institutions of power as well as the growing revolutionary potential of those forces opposing that power.

The final factor we should take into account has been the development over the past six months of an analysis and strategy for institutional resistance. Near the end of 1966, SDS emerged from a dormant and disconnected summer with a mood and rhetoric of resistance. By the beginning of 1967, that rhetoric had little substantive content, except for an audacious but unimplemented draft resistance program. When the present school year started, we seemed to be somewhat better off. We had an analysis and strategy, at least in part. We had begun the task of developing a politics of anti-imperialism within a growing anti-war movement. We developed an analysis of the university as a "knowledge factory" adjunct to the multinational corporations of American capitalism. Our factories had the task of supplying an expanding but orderly flow of two valuable and strategic commodities into American business, government, and military institutions--manpower and intelligence. During the summer, our research into the penetration and use of the university by military and para-military operations revealed extensive connections with organizations like Project Themis, IDA, TRICAT, RAND, Project Agile, and CRESS, to name a few. All of these had, in one way or another, commandeered the work and energy of our schools and had put our resources to the ends of the present and future oppression and domination of the people of the world, both in Vietnam and in our urban ghettos. We found our own unfreedom in the face of those EBM bureaucracies tied to the oppression of people everywhere.

SDS had always urged powerless people to take power in those institutions affecting their daily lives. We now fully understood the impossibility of freedom in the university so long as it remained tied to the interests of America's corporate and military ruling elite. Secondly, we saw the possibility of engaging in a common struggle with the liberation movements of the world by confronting the on-campus sector of the same military apparatus oppressing them. Our strategy became clear: the disruption, dislocation and destruction of the military's access to the manpower intelligence, or resources of our universities. Our tactics: a varied series of local confrontations with campus military and para-military operations, hopefully escalating into student strikes, culminating in a national student strike, in the Spring of '68 against the military's presence on campus and against the war in Vietnam. This was by no means seen as our only program, even by the campus. But it was to be a major effort and experiment in a strategy of institutional resistance.

Thus far, SDS has confronted a moderate range of military and counter-insurgency operations on campus. The work of these operations falls into three general areas: (1) recruiting, (2) research and development or R&D, and (3) classroom training. In the area of recruiting, we have confronted, at a variety of levels, the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, CIA, Dow Chemical, Peace Corps, Vista, and ROTC. Concerning research, we have had little experience, the only major exceptions being the discontinuance of a CBW project called "Spicerack" at the University of Pennsylvania and the temporary disruption of IDA offices at Princeton University. In the classroom, we have disrupted or otherwise rendered temporarily dysfunctional a range of ROTC training sessions on several campuses, as well as regular foreign policy courses following the government line. One imaginative confrontation in this area was with a TRICAT (Triennial Civil Affairs Training, Army Reserve) counterinsurgency seminar of Greece at the University of Florida. Several dozen SDS pickets, complete with sound truck, calling themselves the Peoples Liberation Army made a surprise appearance at the Army's Saturday morning COIN lectures. After surrounding the

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building, they quickly leafleted the classes, gave short speeches over their PA system, planted an insurgent flag on top of the building and disappeared. Other confrontations involved a major resistance to and defeat of the ranking and testing process of the SSS and several successful occasions of resisting HUAC's overt attempts at gathering campus information on radical students.

The tactics we have developed thus far cover a wide range, beginning with mild dissent and protest and reaching to forceful resistance. The selection of tactics naturally depends on one's strength relative to a particular opponent within the limits of the current political situation. In general, we have been underestimating our own strength and overestimating the enemy. The following list attempts to present a general outline of the tactics we have used and developed in the last two years of confrontations:

- 1) individual vocal dissension, questions, and speeches at recruiting areas.
- 2) attending, officially or unofficially, training classes and "teaching-in", either on a one-shot basis or for the duration of the course.
- 3) leafletting training classes with counter-information, counter readings, and counter-exams and/or holding counter classes.
- 4) leafletting recruiting areas and research sites.
- 5) exposing secret research and/or exposing clandestine connections of open research, recruiting, or training institutes in campus and national news media.
- 6) making appointments with recruiters in order to debate, harass, and/or take up their time.
- 7) obtaining favorable resolutions against current and future recruiting, research and/or training from student government, faculty senate, and other groups.
- 8) placing "war crimes" and other dramatic posters at recruiting sites or training classrooms.
- 9) setting up counter tables next to recruiting tables or outside recruiting offices.
- 10) picketing recruiting areas or training classrooms
- 11) staging "guerilla theater" with death-masks, posters, props and pictures in recruiting areas and training classrooms.
- 12) holding teach-ins before, during and after recruiting, training, or research work.
- 13) holding "war crimes trials" for recruiters, trainees, and researchers.
- 14) holding a "guerilla siege" of building(s) during counter-insurgency classes.
- 15) holding speaking forums, questionings, and rallies drawing sufficient numbers into recruiting or training areas in order to indirectly stop or disrupt the recruiting or training process.
- 16) holding non-obstructive sit-ins at recruiting sites, leaving a pathway cleared for recruits.
- 17) holding obstructive sit-ins at recruiting sites to prevent recruiting.
 - a) passive: recruitee or others can pass if they use force.
 - b) active: recruitee or others using force to pass will be met with counter-force by those sitting in.
- 18) holding obstructive or non-obstructive sit-ins at administration offices to

bring pressure for the cancellation of recruiting, training, or research.

19) holding obstructive sit-ins around automobiles and/or campus entrances to prevent recruiters and/or police from entering or to prevent police cars or paddy wagons containing arrested students from leaving.

20) tipping over recruiting tables and/or seizing recruiting literature.

21) removing recruiters and/or police from campus by force or threat of force.

22) organizing a student strike until administrators stop the activity of certain recruiters, researchers, training classes, police action, or their own reprisals.

Naturally, this list is not meant to be inclusive of all our tactics, only the most common. Also, there are no set formulas for deciding which tactics to use in any given situation. However, there are a few guidelines to keep in mind. First, and most important, don't become ISOLATED by using tactics likely to divide the participants in the action from their present and POTENTIAL constituency. But even our potential constituents are limited, and we shouldn't try to please everyone. The problem is not whether or not one makes enemies, but whether or not one has the right people for enemies.

Secondly, the tactics of the resistance struggle should result in two complimentary goals: 1) the weakening of the resisted dominant institution and 2) developing a consciousness of power among those resisting the dominant institutions. Towards this end, we shouldn't be afraid to proclaim a victory when we're ahead; and then retreating, rather than allowing a resistance struggle to degenerate into a symbolic protest and defeat. A perfect example of this situation was the Pentagon siege on Oct. 21st. The high point and victory of the resistance struggle occurred near dusk, after we had broken military lines, occupied THEIR TERRITORY, entered the Pentagon, and held our ground until the point where two of their soldiers came over to us. At that point, we should have declared a victory and marched away; rather than sitting there, hour after hour, in slowly weakening and decreasing numbers, waiting for our final symbolic defeat.

Final guideline, a corollary of the first, is that a resistance must grow; both in numbers, and in depth of commitment, if it is to survive and eventually win. Most important in this area is political education, for both ourselves and our potential constituency. For instance, WE may know about the CIA, but what about the rest of the campus? And the surrounding non-academic community? Before we use tactics like obstructive sit-ins, we must be careful to carry out extensive educational work, such as speeches, leaflets, rallies, or teach-ins, both on and off the campus.

In addition to the criticisms inherent within the above tactical guidelines, there are several other political criticisms

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Resistance & Bourgeois Civil Liberties

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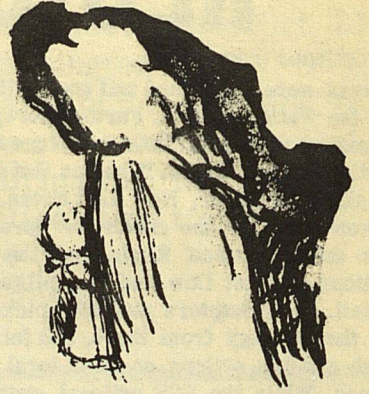
to be made of our past actions from which we can draw certain lessons. First of all, with many of our anti-Dow actions, we have limited our criticism of Dow to the MORAL question of complicity with war crimes. While this is certainly the case, we would do better to make a fuller political critique of Dow. For example, rather than urging chemical engineering students not to work for Dow because of the immorality of napalm, we should also argue that Dow (and other companies) render their workers powerless, without control over the uses and ends to which their work is put; that Dow in fact, makes him UNFREE as well as helping to oppress the people of Vietnam. This is not to say that everyone in an anti-Dow coalition should take this position. Perhaps student religious groups should limit their criticisms to the moral questions. But SDS should be as explicitly political as possible.

My next criticism deals with those anti-military protests on campus that have contained their objections to the work of the war machine within the limits of academic policy. While it is true that, say, secret research is poor academic policy, we are not opposed to it because of its cluttering up academia, but because it is directly a part of the apparatus dominating and oppressing most of the world's people. To limit our opposition to recruiting and research because "they are disruptive of the academic and educational atmosphere" is to enclose ourselves within the elitist ivory tower academies of the past centuries. We are interested in building a movement of ordinary people, rather than one of academics still swayed by such arguments.

A third question, rather than criticism, we have been forced to deal with by recent events is the issue of civil liberties. Objection after objection has been made that by obstructing recruiters, we

have been denying others--the recruiters and those who wish to see him--the right of free speech and assembly. In a sense, this is true. As I mentioned earlier, the institutions our resistance has de-anthified and delegitimized, as a result of our action AGAINST THEIR OPPRESSION OF OTHERS, have lost all authority and, hence, all respect. As such, they have only raw, coercive power. Since they are without legitimacy in our eyes, they are without rights. Insofar as individuals, such as recruiters, continue to remain in association with those institutions, they run the risk of being given the same treatment. Most people agree with this position IN PRINCIPLE. There are very few who would argue that we should not stop, rather than debate, individuals who might have recruited for the staff needed to operate Hitler's death camps. The question we are asked to answer, rather, is by what criteria do we determine whether or not an institution or individual has lost their legitimacy. There are two kinds of answers, one within bourgeois thought, the other without. For the first, we can assert the Nuremberg decisions and other past criteria of war crimes as the criteria by which we, in conscience, decide whether or not an institution and individuals associated with that institution have lost their legitimacy and their rights. Our second answer rests in a revolutionary critique of the institutions and society we are trying to destroy. Our critique argues that the social order we are rebelling against is totalitarian, manipulative, repressive and anti-democratic. Furthermore, within this order of domination, to respect and operate within the realm of bourgeois civil liberties is to remain enslaved, since the legal apparatus is designed to sustain the dominant order, containing potential forces for change within its pre-established and ultimately castrating confines. As a result, it is the duty of a revolutionary not only to be intolerant of, but to actually suppress the anti-democratic activities of the dominant order.

There are other answers as well as these two. One is that the recruiters haven't come to debate, only to recruit, hence free speech is not the issue. Most



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recruiters will help you out on this one by refusing a public debate. After he refuses, we can make the point that he decided himself that free speech wasn't the issue. No matter what they say, however, we are bound to find much opposition on this issue. Which is often good, since it raises substantive questions that work toward the deobfuscation of the reality of American power.

While it remains an important strategy, institution resistance to the military presence on campus is not a panacea for revolutionary change in the United States. It is not even a complete strategy for an anti-war movement, but only one facet. However, it seems to contain within it, not only significant lessons and possibilities for the student movement, but also ideas that might be central to the development of analysis, strategy, and tactics for other battlefronts within the American Leviathan as well.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

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were blocking the paddy wagon's exit.

Finally they decided to move the wagon through the students. And they did! With swinging clubs. They entered the crowd, jumped a student, beat him senseless, and then threw him out of the way. They then went on to the next. Picked him up by his hair and clubbed him in the back of the head. They threw girls against cars and punched their faces in. But it wasn't quite that easy. Many students, not accepting that they were wrong, fought back—and not non-violently.

Over 40 students and three faculty members had been arrested. B. C. students jammed the court that night. And the next day we closed the school tight.

STRIKE The three day strike that ensued was probably one of the broadest ever on a U. S. campus. Because the police brutality, under direct administration orders, had not been simply against the left, but had been against everyone around, witnessed by thousands, the impact was tremendous. Sorority girls carried signs demanding an end to police brutality. Thousands shouted: "Don't scab on your fellow students. B. C. on strike." Solidarity gripped most of the students. And it went beyond just being about students. I received an ovation from 500 evening school students when I said that while we had been beaten pretty badly for white college students, it's nothing like what they give workers, especially Black workers.

And the key thing about all this was that it was Brooklyn College, not normally considered a hotbed of radicalism.

But we had been steadily building the work at B. C. The smoldering discontent over the way the school was being run, nurtured in recent struggles over the library, etc., and the growing opposition to the war came to a head when the cops tried to stop our anti-war activity. Our job now is to do the hard follow-up work. The whole struggle has made many receptive to our ideas. We must build projects that will educate and involve them. While other blow-ups may be in store, we can't build our movement centered just in dramatic action after dramatic action. Those movements in the past have always run out of steam and collapsed.

What follows is a discussion of some of the questions raised in and by the struggle.

SIT-IN vs TABLE Several people had suggested that we sit in when the Navy came. Their many arguments were that we must do it for moral reasons and in solidarity with other campuses. A number of us argued successfully that we had done just that in the past. They still came back. But more importantly we were becoming isolated from the rest of the campus on this issue. Even some of those very much against the war believed in the "freedom" of the recruiters and the potential recruits to carry on their business. This is the same case at many other schools, even the most militant.

We could have gotten 100-150 people to sit in. But our goal was to win over thousands of other students to our position. One of the ways to do this is to carry on an educational campaign beforehand. But we wanted more.

We felt that the "freedom" argument was on the wrong foot. It was the Navy and the school administration that was interfering with freedom—the freedom of the Vietnamese and American people which can never be had under imperialism. Dean Rusk's recent speeches and the actions of other colleges' administrations proved to us that the ruling class would reflect its suppression of the Vietnamese's freedom on those who opposed them.

We wanted to expose this to the college. The table, not the sit in, offered us this chance. This is not to say that sit-ins are bad. They are good. But not in and of themselves. Only when they relate to a strategy for winning over many more of the students. The recruiters could be forced off campus by 50 students. But so what. Nothing is necessarily changed. That should be our goal.

VIETNAM ISSUE IN THE STRIKE The struggle had been initiated as an anti-war protest. But the administration-cop reaction had quickly brought in a few thousand students who weren't prepared to act against the war. A decision had to be made. Should we try to have a several hundred strong anti-war protest or a several thousand strong militant struggle, against police brutality, demanding political and social freedom on campus, aimed at the administration? We and the student body decided on the latter. In the process of the struggle thousands began to learn about the operation of the administration, the press, the cops, the student government (Mao says in On Contradiction that you only learn about something by trying to change it.).

STUDENT GOVT — BARGAINING — CO-OPTATION B. C. Pres. Kilcoyne admitted to the NYTimes (10/26) that the "established student government was 'blitzed' and made 'totally ineffective'" and that they had told him that "the play was substantially taken away from them." In effect they were exposed. Most students didn't like them anyway. The president and vice-president are elected, but most of the Student Council is made up of club reps. It is isolated from the student body and a joke. It specializes in teas.

A lesson we learned was that due to their ties with the administration, they were in a position initially to try to sell the strike out. They became the "negotiators" and signed an "agreement" which was then leaked to the press. Student signatures on an administration document confused the issues. Later the student body at a rally of 5,000 turned down the "agreement" and demanded more concessions. This time a strike committee was chosen.

The rally called for the end to the present student government and the setting up of a student union. This must be fought

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through now. The attempt will now be made to co-opt the whole deal. A new and seemingly democratic student union, without radical content, could be an even better cover for the administration than the old student government. While Kilcoyne isn't a believer in the subtle approach, Mayor Lindsay and others are already stepping in. They would like to smother the whole thing in fancy, funny words. Two different approaches—the same end in mind.

SDS ROLE SDS played a major role in this whole struggle. Five of the 15 members of the Strike Committee were in SDS. The administration tried to split the strike on this point. Many students felt uneasy. They wondered if we weren't "using" them in some way. The campus paper ran article after article about how SDS was manipulating the whole show. SDS was omnipotent in their eyes. But

this did not work. The strike was run democratically and remained pretty unified. SDS now has more support and respect on campus than ever before.

FUTURE We are setting up four projects to get involved with many new people on different levels.

- 1) Graduate student organizing project. Many grad students became involved in the strike, who did nothing before.
- 2) New campus newspaper. Initially an SDS project, its editorial board will be broader than SDS. It will give us a major and honest voice on the campus.
- 3) Strike aftermath project. To see to it that the strike concessions are actually carried out. And to fight for a radical line in a student union. This may involve some sharp confrontations.
- 4) Anti-war project. To include university cooperation and anti-draft work.