



WALLACE COUNTRY?

During "Shaft the Draft Week" April 22nd through 27th, young Alabamans staged anti-Draft demonstrations at all of Birmingham's Draft boards and at the Montgomery induction center. While in Montgomery, one group of demonstrators held an improvised happening in the State Capitol Building to protest the Draft, racism, and George Wallace.

April 27th was a dreary wet Saturday in Alabama. Most of the demonstrators arrived late for the anti-Draft thing at the Montgomery induction center. Nothing much was happening there. There were no inductees around, and only a few

inductors and Federal agents. The center was picketed and copies of AACD's "Open Letter to Employees of the Selective Service System" were distributed inside the building.

Some of the demonstrators decided to go to the Capitol Building; there would be more action there. Three carloads of demonstrators led three Feds a merry chase through Montgomery and finally arrived at the Capitol. The demonstrators entered the Capitol and left the Feds sitting outside looking bewildered.

The little old lady sitting behind the information desk freaked out when the

demonstrators walked in and declared the Capitol Building a Liberated Area. Picketing and leafleting began on the Capitol steps. The little old lady came screaming out, telling the demonstrators that they were illegal. They told her that the Capitol was public property, and they were the public. She said: "This is NOT public property; it is private property. The Capitol was bought and paid for by a group of businessmen." Everyone already knew that the Capitol belonged to the businessmen, but no one expected the State employees to admit it.

The demonstrators went back inside and started leafleting through the building. An old guard stamped up and bellowed that they were a bunch of Commies and they couldn't leaflet in the Capitol Building. He was asked if that was the law or his personal opinion. He said that it was immaterial. The demonstrators continued leafleting. The old guard grabbed a telephone and began trying to convince someone on the other end of the line that the Viet Cong had landed in Montgomery.

The demonstrators wandered around the Capitol for about an hour freaking everyone out, then met back on the main floor to pose for a group picture in front of George Wallace's portrait. Some of them gave the "V" sign. The little old lady from the information desk screamed that they said they were against the War but they were giving the Victory sign. It was explained that the "V" stands for the French "victoire" and that it was used by the French Resistance during World War II as a symbol of victory over the Fascists. The little old lady freaked out again.

The demonstrators led the three Feds and a State Trooper captain in an unmarked car back to the induction center. There they ran around scattering "Shaft the Draft" leaflets for a while, then packed it up and left.

Wonder what George Wallace thinks of all that?

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

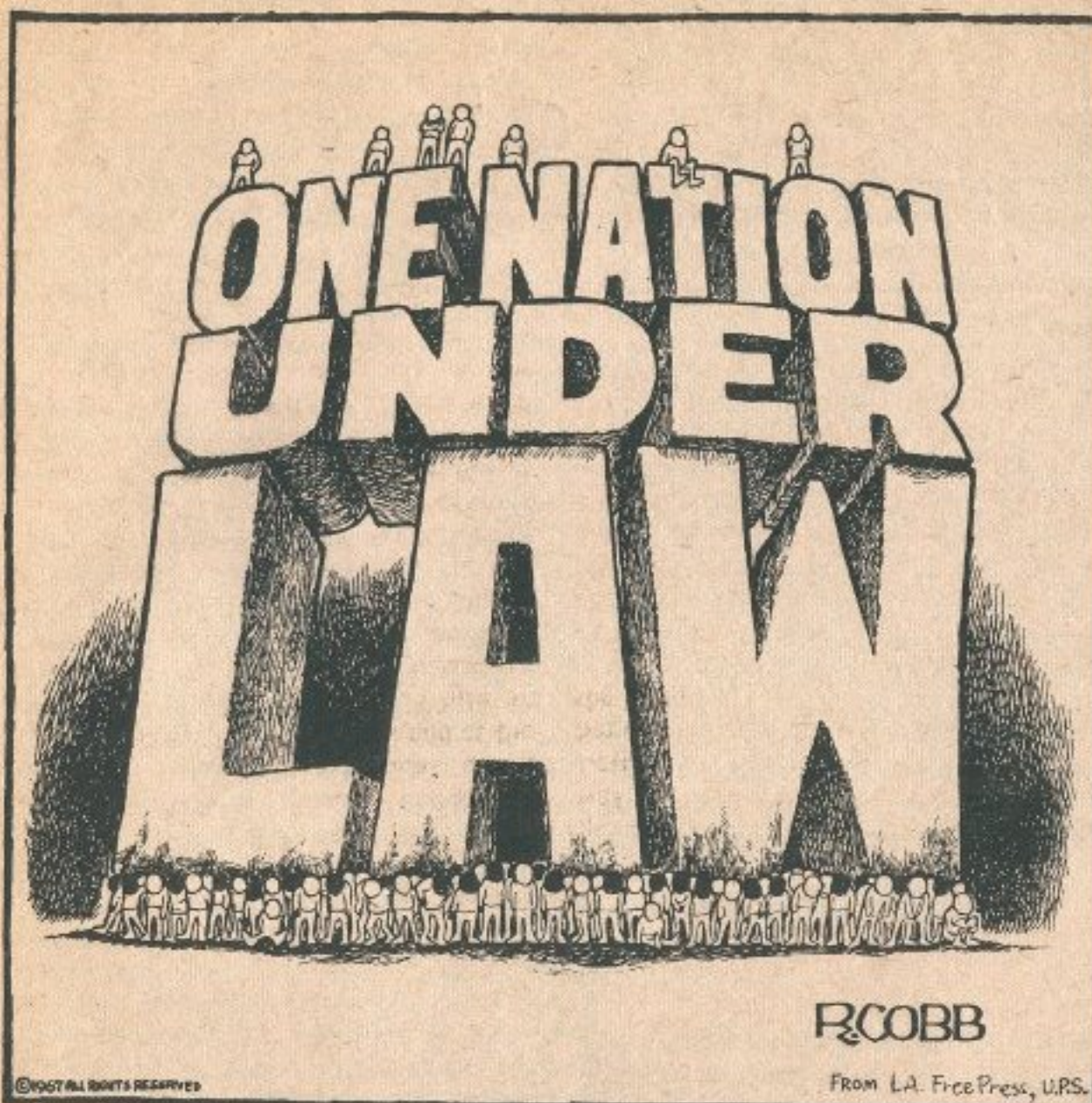
Chicago, Illinois

New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 17

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

May 13, 1968



Cops Hit L.A. SNCC Again

On May 3rd Los Angeles police broke into the house of a Los Angeles SNCC staff member and arrested seven people on frame-up charges of armed robbery. The seven are: Franklin Alexander, Deacon Alexander, Stanley Wright, George Hopkins, Betty Jo Allen, Thomas Valentine, and Mark Simeon. All seven, with the exception of Wright, are SNCC staff workers or volunteers. Wright is one of the TSU Five who was on the West Coast for a speaking tour.

The SNCC people had been scheduled to testify at an open city council meeting the next morning on the police murder of 18-year-old Gregory Clark earlier this year. Warren B. Carlson of the Los Angeles police force shot Clark in the back of the head as Clark lay face-down in the street with his hands cuffed behind his back. At a coroner's inquest, Carlson testified that he stopped Clark because "he just didn't fit the late-model car he was driving"! The inquest ruled that the killing was "justifiable homicide" even though six eye-witnesses testified that it was cold-blooded murder. The four-to-three decision prevented any criminal charges from being filed against Carlson.

But a "people's tribunal" composed of ministers, lawyers, politicians, and young militants from the black community met in March to review the incident. About a thousand people attended and approved unanimously the tribunal's verdict of guilty and sentence of death for Carlson.

The people's tribunal raised four community demands:

- 1) All police in the black community must be disarmed.
- 2) The archaic "coroner's inquest" system must be abolished and replaced with criminal trials of all police murderers.
- 3) All police must undergo intensive psychological testing.
- 4) The killer of Gregory Clark must be brought to justice.

Last week's arrests are just one more move in a long series of actions against the SNCC staff by the city cops. Since January 12th, the SNCC office has been under constant surveillance, with the police spotlighting individuals as they left for home at night. On April 5th, when the staff were attending memorial services for Doctor King, the police broke into the office and destroyed over \$5,000 worth of printing and other equipment. Apparently, too, they have exerted a great deal of pressure on the SNCC office's landlord; he has just informed SNCC that their rent has been doubled as of next month.

Money is urgently needed for legal defense. Send funds and messages of support to LA SNCC, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Letters, telegrams, and phone calls should be directed to Mayor Samuel Yorty, City of Los Angeles, California (213, MA 4-5211, Extension 1175) and Police Chief Thomas Redding, 150 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California (213, MA 4-5211, Extension 3202).

DEADLINE!! articles
for N L N Convention
Issue Must be in
by JUNE 1st

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

PORT CHICAGO

APPEAL

May 1st, 1968

Brothers and Sisters:

Last month's emergency message from our persistent witness for peace was real. Our whole crew is now facing prosecution intended to close up the Peace Vigil. We have known all along this could be our fate, but it's hard to swallow the reality when it finally descends.

In particular we thought we were protected by our widely known and publicized policy of prohibiting marijuana smoking or possession, for the simple reason that we knew we were deliberately exposing ourselves to official resentment and could not afford to break any such law.

And how shocking to us, and how tragic, after months of strict enforcement of this "no possession or use" rule, that a raid on our premises should result in an alleged discovery of a small amount of evidence of one-time presence of marijuana seeds there. And such is the savage ferocity of this particular law that we now face up to five years in a state prison.

The irony is incredible. Our single-minded pursuit of a continuous direct-action project for peace has always precluded any peripheral dalliance of this sort. And nevertheless we're the ones who are about to be hung for it. The message is clear. It's not safe to raise your heads in a significant, persistent opposition to the war machine. They'll be lopped off. How badly we're waiting to see.

At this writing we are overwhelmed with legal costs of defense, for which we appeal for massive help. Good lawyers want \$25 per hour for anything they do. Specialists want much more. Home-owners can't qualify for help from public defenders here.

To date we have managed in spite of all this not to miss a single day of picketing calling America to close the hellhole of death at Port Chicago. Talk of peace means nothing so long as war is what is made. Shipments through the gates have not slowed down, indeed in the last weeks have perceptibly increased.

This is a desperate call for help. We have housed the picketers in our home for more than a year now. This may not continue to be possible, and a new home may need to be found and financed. Regardless of how recently or long ago you helped last, now is the time. The fate of America's longest direct-action peace project is in the balance. It's up to you.

For the Port Chicago Vigil

Jim Bernard
Canyon, California

(Port Chicago Vigil, Box 310,
Canyon, California 94516)

FAILURE OF SUCCESS

May 8th, 1968

Brothers and Sisters,

It seems clear that SDS has succeeded in inspiring and leading the revolution on campuses across the nation. What is also clear to me is that SDS has lost a great many of its constructive tendencies and has taken up a violent attitude. What we require now is a re-education on the necessity for non-violence within the Movement.

The impact of non-violent resistance is far greater than organized violent resistance. It's easier to shoot a gun than be willing to be beaten by a police nightstick, but to kill is destructive, and the destruction produces destructive ends. Violence will defeat the Movement faster and quicker than all the arrests

and beatings the Establishment can mete out.

It seems redundant to cite Gandhi as a valid example of non-violent revolution, but Gandhi certainly did succeed in destroying the power base of the British authorities. More obvious to us is the civil-rights movement in the South. Non-violence attacked the very root of prejudice and destroyed more obstacles than any violent movement in the North has yet to accomplish.

Let us be realistic. We cannot win an armed revolution—never. We cannot succeed where the forces involved are half violent and half non-violent. We cannot profit our country by ripping it apart. Indeed, we must resist, for conscience compels us, but the resistance must be productive, it must be sincere, it must not be brutal.

If we must be mauled by police at every peace march, then we must be willing to resist. But resist by kneeling down, not throwing picket signs; not by returning violence for violence.

There is one underlying current throughout any totalitarian organization from army to police force—the current is that authority and power are based on fear, fear for the oppressed people's lives. The demonstrators will run from a nightstick because of fear. The mature non-violent resister has learned how to control that fear. Gandhi went as far as to say that we must be dead bodily and alive in spirit.

This resistance requires education and commitment and courage. Do we have this in the Movement? Can we regain what we have lost in part?

This is the reality—we can't succeed with violence because our call for peace and love will ring rather hollow in the ears of bystanders who have seen us fight with police. We must be pragmatic and face a reality—but to lose our idealism will make us no better than the Establishment.

Yours in struggle,

Joe Bute
Lewis College

ZOW, MARK!

Dear Editor,

I just read the earth-shaking news that Mark Kleiman is giving up pot! It's ESCAPIST! IRRESPONSIBLE! And the "socialist" countries and "revolutionary" movements throughout the world prohibit "dope". Zow!

Well, Commissar Kleiman, the capitalist reactionary movements throughout the world also prohibit it. As they do ANY form of individualism. But you expect it from authoritarians. The Left, I had always thought, heard a different drummer. But some of us are really still in the middle-class bureaucratic bag. Big Brother knows that grass is bad for all his little brothers and sisters. Kleiman should put his talents to work for the dynamic DuBois Club,

whose members are distinguished from the ADA by their vocabulary.

I can just picture Kleiman's revolution: The cops change hats and become the People's Police, the bureaucrats switch lapel pins, "escapism" is prohibited. No more drinking, smoking, fucking, dancing, et cetera. We'll all be serious in the Crystal Palace. New bottle, but same old piss inside of it.

If Kleiman wants to have a style of life identical with a GM corporation exec, he's welcome to it. But don't call it revolution. Revolution is what you are and what you do with your own life. It is essentially anarchistic, sayin' and doin' what you please.

Martin Comack
SDS (NYC at large)
Insurgency Anarchist Association

P P ON P P P P

Dear Comrades:

Puritanism is the last thing SDS needs. Mark Kleiman's anti-grass argument (New Left Notes, May 6th) might be good for building an armed guerrilla band in Afghanistan, but its main result here would be the loss of our humor first and our sanity second. The resulting dogmatic sect would resemble the Trotskyites, prudish pioneers in purgative progressive purity.

Fraternally,

Jefferson Fuck Poland, Primate
Neo-American Church of California

CLEAR AWAY THE HASH

Dear People:

I dare say that the debate among us about hippies versus politicos is as old as the history of radical movements. Mark Kleiman's witness against grass is in an important sense a contribution to that debate (New Left Notes, May 6th), but one that confuses and alienates more than it helps. I think this is a case of excellent motives and level of political commitment leading to a false generalization: that grass smoking and responsible political commitment are mutually exclusive. But it is more than that. I want to demonstrate that Kleiman's article is absolutist and as such is typical of the kind of argument hippies and politicos should stop throwing at each other. There are substantive issues between the two groups, but we'll never get down to them until we clear away some of the hash.

To begin with let me set out two extreme stereotypes, and let me stress that labels like "hippie" and "politico" can only refer to stereotypes, and never to real individuals or to real groups in society. On one hand there are the life style and values of the politico which tend to the extreme of total self-sacrifice (and often the sacrifice of others as well) to the collective cause, fanatical and heroically single-minded dedication to

that cause, renunciation and denunciation of those personal gratifications which in his view do not directly service the cause, renunciation of the present in favor of the future, and asceticism in personal habits. On the other hand there is the hippie whose life style tends to the extreme of personal revolution over social revolution, personal pleasure now not later, eclectic epicureanism, anti-discipline and anti-category mind liberation, world-embracing communion through feeling, and many-mindedness over single-mindedness. There exist many historical novels on radical and revolutionary movements which flesh out these stereotypes better than I have here (Malraux on early revolutionary China in *The Human Condition* and de Beauvoir on the post-war French intellectual Left in *The Mandarins* are excellent in this respect.), and it is not by accident that they appear with such astonishing regularity, not just in the novels but in real history. Of course in real history these types appear not separately but as two poles of a continuum comprising as many different combinations as there have been participants in radical movements.

What can we learn from the regular juxtaposition of elements from both stereotypes historically in personalities of radicals? For one thing, we might conclude that some elements of both are requisite to being human, and remind ourselves that being human is crucial to being radical. For instance, maybe we ought to take seriously the dictum that men, even radical ones, are individual as well as social animals, endowed in consequence with both individual and social needs, and then try to go beyond the "either-or" logic of much of the hippie-politico debate to begin working toward effective combinations of compatible elements from the two life styles. Many a radical is doing this as a matter of course, but this does not prevent him from occasionally turning around and making absolutist attacks from his particular intellectual vantage point: putting the hippie on the block for his irresponsible surrender to the pleasure principle, or impaling the politico for his narrow devotion to the cause.

Which brings me back to the question of grass. Kleiman argues: "The use of drugs is an individualistic form of escape, when the only real solution is collective action." He is therefore giving up grass and wants responsible political activists to follow suit. Sound familiar? The individual pitted against the collective... the path of escape versus the path of action.... We are back in the "either-or" bag.

If we are going to worry about escapism (and it is a legitimate worry), why pick on pot? The fact that imbibing chemicals is currently more fashionable a means of escaping political reality than a hundred other ways I can think of should not lead us to assume that grass and other drugs can be and are used only for escapist purposes. Grass smoking is no different from many other activities all of which give non-politically-useful pleasure, and are therefore potential escape mechanisms. By playing the guitar I expect I escape a lot of things including sometimes politics (I fear); on the other hand I've had some fruitful political discussions on a grass high, discussions that I might not have had otherwise. Shall I renounce grass and not the guitar? Or shall I renounce all pleasures that might conceivably become escapes? Clearly that logic leads to the stark, inhuman puritanism of the "politico" stereotype.

I think the real solution is for all of us to judge for ourselves at what point pleasure falls into escapism, or conversely, at what point political self-sacrifice ultimately merges into fanaticism, and try and save ourselves and our causes from both disasters. That is the real responsibility we must live with.

Karl North

Department of Anthropology
University of Rochester
Rochester, New York
May 3rd, 1968

new left notes

New Left Notes is published weekly (except in July and August, when publication is bi-weekly) by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874). Second-class postage is paid at Chicago. Subscriptions are \$1 a year for SDS members and \$10 a year for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of the writers. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor, Pat Sturgis. New Left Notes is affiliated with UPS and Liberation News Service

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Davidson, Inter-organizational Secretary; Robert Pardun, Internal Education Secretary; Mike Spiegel, National Secretary

National Office: 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874)
New England: 102 Columbia Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617-547-8260)
New York City: 50 East 11th Street, New York, New York 10003 (212-674-8310)
Niagara: 1504 East Genesee Street, Syracuse, New York 13210 (315-478-8239)
Philadelphia: 262 South 38th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104 (215-382-8084)
Southern California: Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90072 (213-667-2345)
Washington, D. C.: 3 Thomas Circle Northwest, Washington, D. C. (202-332-1387)

NATIONAL CONVENTION AND COUNCIL MEETING: JUNE 9-15, M.S.U. E. LANSING, MICHIGAN

The orientation of this year's National Convention is an attempt to devote as much time as possible to workshop discussion of the organizing needs of the Movement, with a minimum of time wasted on fruitless posturing over irrelevant political questions (the wording of resolutions expressing learning for Che, whether we think Albania is socialist or democratic, et cetera). For those planning to do organizing work this summer who have not had the chance to attend any preparatory conferences, we hope to partially fill a need. Workshop time will also be devoted to the "state of the Movement" at all levels. We have planned the Convention as early as feasible in the summer, to minimize interference with summer work.

The week consists of two basic parts: 1) workshops and the Convention, and 2) the National Council meeting. As the agenda now stands, there will be only one full day of plenary for the Convention. The Constitution explicitly defines the different roles which the National Council and National Convention are to play. In the past, the Convention has become needlessly embroiled in what is properly Council business. The Steering Committee will be responsible for determining which resolutions will be taken up by which body. The Steering Committee will be elected out of regional caucuses on the first day, each region sending one person to sit on

the Committee. The Steering Committee will be responsible for overseeing the technical operation of the meetings (agendas, credentials, et cetera).

CREDENTIALS:

TWO CATEGORIES OF CREDENTIALS ARE NEEDED—NATIONAL COUNCIL AND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONVENTION DELEGATES:

CHAPTERS HAVE ONE CONVENTION DELEGATE PER FIVE NATIONAL MEMBERS (WITH FIVE VOTES PER DELEGATE ON THE FLOOR OF THE CONVENTION). ALSO, INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WHO COME TO THE CONVENTION HAVE ONE VOTE ON THE FLOOR OF THE CONVENTION. NAMES OF CHAPTER DELEGATES SHOULD BE SENT TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, ALONG WITH THE NAMES OF THE FIVE NATIONAL MEMBERS FOR EACH DELEGATE NAMED (FOR CREDENTIAL PURPOSES).

NATIONAL COUNCIL DELEGATES:

CHAPTERS HAVE ONE DELEGATE TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL PER TWENTY-FIVE NATIONAL MEMBERS OR FRACTION THEREOF.

PLEASE TRY TO GET ALL OF THIS PRELIMINARY CREDENTIALS DATA

IN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. A SMOOTHLY FUNCTIONING CONVENTION DEPENDS ON PREPARATION FOR ALL INVOLVED.

Working papers and resolutions which are prepared and mimeographed ahead of time take the pressure off the equipment in East Lansing. We welcome lots of working papers, but please try to produce

them and bring a minimum of five hundred copies with you.

Plans are being made to have movies (primarily Newsreel project productions) going during a good portion of the time.

Provisions are being made for a day-care center for the kids.

Housing is being arranged, but people will have to feed themselves.

Probable Schedule

Sunday, June 9th

All day: registration at the Student Union. (This will remain the main information center for the whole week.) Evening: open meeting for technical info and movie.

Monday, June 10th through Wednesday, June 12th

Workshops (mornings on broad problems, afternoons on specific areas), panels, and movies.

Thursday, June 13th

All day: plenary sessions (constitutional amendments, election of officers, and business recommended to the Convention by the Steering Committee).

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Friday, June 14th through Saturday, June 15th

All day: plenary sessions.

Twin Lays Down the Law on Order

when the man says "law and order, he means...."

by Tania's Twin

In case you haven't been following the Man in Washington; in the military and police forces; and, yes, in the universities, the following sample of recent events should encourage you to do so.

"LAW"...

There is a star trio of committees which handles the bulk of legalized suppression which flows from Washington—the Senate Internal Securities Committee (SISC), the McClellan Committee (which "investigates riots"), and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). They ended last year by passing a revision of the McCarran Act—which everyone should read—that

revitalizes the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB).

The revision provides that the SACB must hold a hearing this year in which they must label at least one group as a "communist front or action" group. Such a group would then have to register all its printing facilities and preface all its written and oral materials and fund-raising efforts with a long statement to the effect that it "has been found to be a communist front...."

Further, the new legislation prohibits seeking relief in the courts before SACB hearings are completed; it makes demonstrating in or near SACB hearings punishable by a year in jail and \$5,000; it denies the right of invoking the Fifth Amendment at SACB proceedings; and you don't even have to be there to represent yourself for the SACB to successfully label you.

The current target for this year's SACB hearing is the WEB DuBois Clubs. If legal and lobbying measures succeed

in preventing this hearing, another target may be selected.

The new legislation was passed in the Senate by a vote of three Senators "for" and two "against" (The other ninety-five Senators were absent.) and signed by LBJ to get the New Year off to a good start. To follow up, Eastland and twenty other Senators have introduced the Internal Security Act of 1968, better known as the Legal Foundation for a Police State. It is literally impossible to even summarize here the details of this bill which outlaws virtually everything. But a few examples will give the picture.

—The Act makes theoretical advocacy of revolutionary change a felony subject to twenty years and \$20,000.

—It makes giving "aid and comfort to an adversary of the US" whenever our Armed Forces are involved (like the anti-war movement?) a felony punishable by ten years and \$10,000.

—It broadens the definition of "communist-infiltrated organization" so

that if one or more members of a "communist action or front" organization influence another organization, or if some policies of any group parallel policies of such "labeled" groups, the other groups are held to be "communist-infiltrated" also.

—If a local of a labor union is found to be "communist-infiltrated", the whole union organization is held to be likewise.

—Employers are permitted to discharge members of "subversive organizations" or employees who fail to answer questions asked by SISC or HUAC.

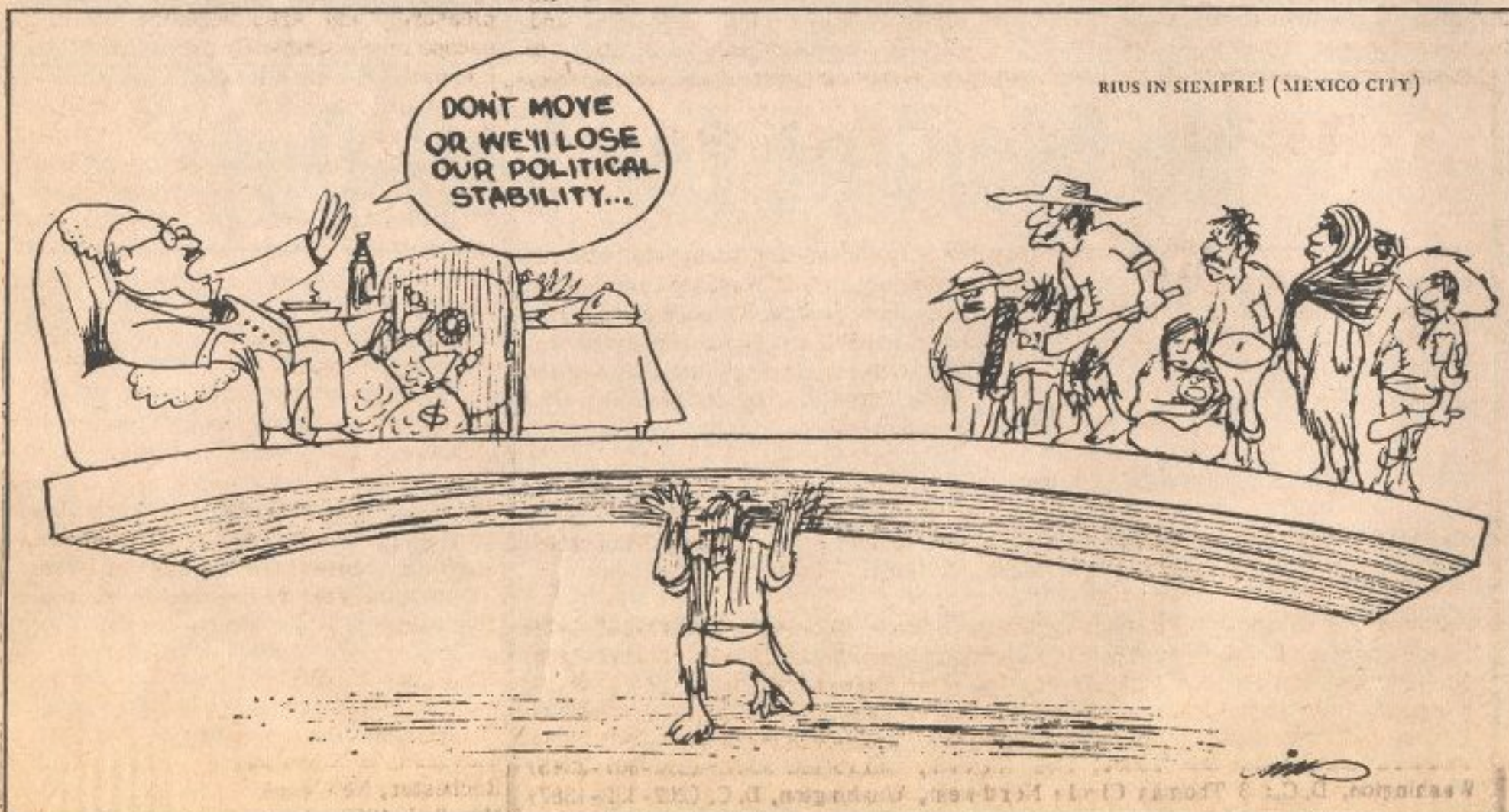
And that is only a small sample. To date there has been little publicity about the bill, but the possibility of its passing is a real one.

In addition, the so-called civil-rights bill contained an anti-riot provision which is now law and punishes "intent" to incite, organize, promote, participate in, or carry on a riot when traveling interstate, using the mails, telephone, or telegraph. A riot is defined as a "public disturbance involving an act...of violence by one or more persons part of an assemblage of three or more persons, which act...shall constitute a clear and present danger of, or result in, damage or injury to the property of any other person...or a threat of the commission of any act of violence." Punishable by five years and \$10,000.

And last week the House passed a bill denying Federal aid of any sort to students who participate in activities which "disrupt" the university.

Meanwhile HUAC and the McClellan Committee have been investigating the "riots". HUAC has concluded, in a report just released, that black militants, SDS, and assorted "communists" have caused the trouble. They've called for putting such trouble-makers into detention camps which exist NOW under that McCarran Act we suggested you read. They've also recommended that ghetto residents be given ID cards listing name, address, and occupation to aid law-enforcement agencies in "pacification efforts". The

(continued on page 8)



telephone strike

RANK AND FILE CONTROL

by Joe Poole and Fred Swartz

The most important aspect of the current labor unrest is that the most militant and vocal protesters are not union bureaucrats, but rank-and-filers. For the first time in twenty years the nation is faced with wave after wave of crippling wildcats aimed as much at sell-out leadership as they are at management. The recent Communication Workers of America (CWA) strike against the AT&T monopoly, although not a wildcat, involves just this dual focus. It's time for the "New Left" to recognize the important struggles in the labor movement which surround us. We can no longer avoid directing our attention to an ever-more-radical working class.

Each wildcat stemmed from discontent with local leadership and from contract violations.

This history of rank-and-file disaffection from national leadership pervades the recent national strike. CWA leadership has gained very little for its members. A recent government study showed that in order to live an average moderate life in the Bay Area, a worker needs approximately \$9,000 per year. Pre-strike wages for CWA workers were:

Operators (\$2.18)	Before Taxes	Take Home Pay
	\$ 87 week	\$ 69
	\$ 348 month	\$ 278
	\$4176 year	\$3341

the greatest victory telephone workers have ever won—about a 19.5% increase over three years. In 1967, however, the cost of living rose 4%, and taxes are going up soon. Telephone workers will be damn lucky to have any real wage increase by 1970. Workers were asked to ratify this agreement without a chance to even read it. One worker was forced to steal a copy of the agreement from his local office. He and his brothers in the local turned it down three to one. Across the country thousands of workers voted against ratification. Western Electric workers as a whole refused to endorse the contract and are still on strike.

The telephone company has pursued a consistent policy of racism. Grievances

No arrests were made when the police noted the size of the demonstration and the protective presence of Black Panthers.

In San Jose there have been dozens of such incidents, and the arrest toll is approaching twenty. One picket was knocked down by a company car and arrested on charges of obstructing traffic. Police threw him to the ground, breaking his arm. He was handcuffed and taken to the city jail.

Across the United States large areas have been left without telephone service as lines have been cut and installations sabotaged.

Throughout the rank and file there is increasing agreement that the AT&T and the union bureaucracy are equal enemies.

One of the most promising signs for the radical movement has been the co-operation of groups like SDS with the rank-and-file strikers. Both Berkeley SDS and San Francisco State attempted to encourage practical support for the strike and to publicize the issues on their campuses. At Berkeley and SF State SDS began "Dial-A-Scab" campaigns. Students were urged to dial 411 on the public telephones and to then donate the dime to the strike fund. SDS discovered that perhaps 30% of the campus didn't even know what a scab was. The most important aspect of this campaign was the attempt on the part of SDS to make a case for the relevance of labor struggles to the student movement. Questions from students like "Aren't workers all bought off anyway?" and "How can you support strikes when unions are all racist?" brought the issues into the open.

It is quickly becoming clear to ever greater numbers of radicals in the Movement that even a firm coalition of students and black militants will not be strong enough to make the changes that have to be made in this society. It is also becoming clear that the only way to end racism in this country will be for blacks and whites to ally themselves on the basis of shared interests. In the shop or factory this common interest is apparent. The Movement prides itself on having begun to graduate to an anti imperialist perspective, yet too many of us have neglected to define imperialism. When we realize that imperialism is basically the extension of the exploitive profit system to overseas labor, then we will also begin to see more clearly the exploitive conditions under which our own labor exists.



CWA - SDS PICKETS OUTSIDE THE BERKEKEY TELEPHONE CO.

The CWA is a fairly new union. It was formed out of the National Federation of Telephone Workers in 1947 when CWA president Joe Beirne led a large group of workers out of the old CIO union. This defection from the more militant CIO into the arms of the craft-oriented AFL set the tone of the CWA for many years. Immediately after leaving the CIO the CWA launched a forty-four-day national strike. Despite its hard-won gains due to a high level of rank-and-file militancy, the CWA leadership quickly entrenched itself.

Today Beirne is still the International president. Only recently have there been grass-roots attempts to dislodge him. A close ally of LBJ, Joe Beirne runs a top-down organization. Even local shop stewards find it impossible to get copies of the CWA constitution. Delegates to National Conventions are given explicit directions what and whom to vote for. Local meetings at which convention delegates are elected are not well publicized and always result in the selection of members who are trusted by the leadership.

Sell-out contracts and lack of union democracy have led many locals to open rebellion. The Pennsylvania locals have threatened to withdraw en masse from the International organization. Joe Raddoc, the leader of the Pennsylvania faction, has complained of threats upon his life.

In the San Francisco Bay area, Local 9415 has had three wildcats since 1967.

Linemen (\$2.30)	\$ 92 week	\$ 74
	\$ 368 month	\$ 295
	\$4416 year	\$3533

It's hard enough for a single person to make ends meet on such an income, let alone a man and woman with a family. During the strike a lineman in 9415 applied for Welfare and found out he could get \$20 more per month from the State than he was earning working a 40-hour week at Pacific T&T. The new settlement with AT&T is touted as being

have been filed continuously on the local level on discriminatory hiring practices. In 9415, for example, there are no black PBX men or repairmen. Both jobs rate higher pay. Individual instances of racism on the part of supervisory staff also are frequent. When a young black girl picket was insulted and run down by a white supervisor, the CWA called for a mass demonstration in Oakland. The police finally arrived to find a Telephone Company car, tires slashed and windows broken, in the middle of the street.

No Market for Sell-Out

Below is a strike memo sent out by the International Brotherhood of Telephone Workers (IBTW), an independent union of some 13,000 phone employees in New England (where the memo was circulated).

LOCAL #1—STRIKE MEMO #3

Yesterday was a day of tragedy for the telephone worker. "Sell-out Bernie" and his stooges have foisted on their membership a labor contract that, were it not so tragic, would be laughable. How the ratification was arrived at is one of the great mysteries of the Twentieth Century. More than a few questions are being asked by CWA members who feel that they have been flim-flammed.

While this travesty has its effect on us, it cannot and must not deter us in our fight for a fair share of what we have earned. We must strengthen our resolve to continue our fight. We must stand ready to make whatever sacrifices are necessary. The days ahead will test our resolve and dedication. Let us as union people stand equal to these demands.

Our economic fate lies solely in our own hands—how well we fare will be determined by ourselves. Let every member of this union show by word and deed that our determination has not lessened...that we still stand firm, united, and dedicated...that we will continue the fight...that we have only just begun the fight.

Reports from tapes around the country indicate the following locations are not recognizing the CWA ratification of the contract:

Michigan	CWA	16,650
Pennsylvania	Ind.	12,030
Philadelphia	CWA	600
New Jersey	IBEW	8,300
Illinois	IBEW	11,325
IBTW	Ind.	13,350
TOTAL		62,255

Columbia in Crisis

Kirk Talks

(Editor's note: Grayson Kirk, president of Columbia University, appeared on the CBS network news show "Face the Nation". Since Kirk's point of view helps to outline the real conflicts involved in the Columbia student struggle, Liberation News Service has excerpted some passages and presents them here. The interview took place May 5th, 1968.)

QUESTION: Governor Rockefeller said if we had a better understanding of the students in the Columbia situation earlier a proper action taken a long time ago could have prevented the rebellion. He said what we have to work for is fuller understanding. How would you respond to that?

KIRK: That's a very complex question, and I don't think you can give a simple response to it. Certainly some students did wish and expressed themselves about their desire to have a greater share, honestly to have a greater share in the making of university regulations that affected their student life. We had moved pretty far in this direction; we were preparing to move further. We have been negotiating for some weeks about the appointment of an all-university Director of Student Interests. That appointment was made, quite by coincidence, during these past few critical days.

QUESTION: Would students have had any say in that appointment, in choosing the person?

KIRK: No.

QUESTION: No?

KIRK: No. But I must insist upon the fact that some of these student leaders are interested only in that kind of reform that will destroy the American university and the American college as we have known it in the past.

QUESTION: All this leads to I suppose what is the basic argument on your campus. The students and a number of your faculty simply say that under the present arrangement, while they can talk, their words are rarely listened to. In regard to discipline, your faculty, your official faculty committee, has made a recommendation, yet four or five days after that recommendation about dropping criminal charges, there is no response. Again, it is, as they would say, an authoritarian decision by the trustees that all responsibility, somewhat automatically, belongs to you and belongs to the trustees and that at this point, in 1968, this is out of date, that the students and teachers must have more to say in the schools. That is not the university as we have known it. Do you think it is the university as we should have it?

KIRK: This is, of course, a very good question. There is a limit beyond which the trustees could not divest themselves of the ultimate authority and control over a private university without changing the charter, which has not been changed since 1810....I must observe that I wish some of my faculty colleagues who are so excited about this had given some indication of concern about it before the crisis erupted.

QUESTION: Well, your faculty says, in fact, that this past week represented the first and second time that the entire Columbia faculty has ever been called together, that the administration has never tried to call them together, that this is one of the problems, that they have been relatively frozen out, as well as students, from the fundamental decision-making processes at the university, that this is what is wrong.

KIRK: And this is not because of any desire to divide and rule. This is—such a view is complete nonsense. We have fifteen faculties. We have no place at the university where all of the faculties can be accommodated in a single room....

QUESTION: What are you re-thinking in terms of the students? How much power should students have at Columbia? How much power should students have at any modern Western university?

KIRK: I think it depends upon the area of interest you're talking about. Certainly they should have and do have a great deal of control over their individual lives, those who live in our residence halls, they should have over all things affecting student welfare.

this is, in some sense, a departure from the normal spirit of a university. I would add that this particular one, concerning the Institute of Defense Analyses, is largely a phony issue in this respect because the university does not—IDA does not contract with the university. It merely uses the opportunity to invite individual scholars to work on special projects.

QUESTION: Certainly it is under the aegis of the university. You sit on IDA's board, do you not, sir?

KIRK: Yes, I do. Yes, I do.

QUESTION: How is it phony, then?

KIRK: It is phony in the sense that this is

McCarthy's Voting Record

Did you know that Eugene McCarthy:

- Voted for every appropriation for the Vietnam war.
- Voted for the Tonkin Gulf resolution.
- Voted in 1966 to kill a proposed amendment that would have prohibited the use of draftees in Vietnam unless they volunteered.
- Voted consistently against admission of China to the UN.
- Voted for the 1962 "Cuban" resolution authorizing the President to take any necessary action to get "offensive" missiles out of Cuba.
- Voted during the crisis in 1955 to authorize the President to use U.S. forces to "protect" the islands off the coast of China.
- Voted for every contempt of Congress citation of HUAC witnesses, including Arthur Miller and Carl Braden, during his time in the House of Representatives.
- Voted for HUAC appropriations in 1956.
- Voted for Student Loyalty Oath Bill in 1959.
- Voted against withholding of federal school aid from segregated schools in 1961.
- Voted in 1954 for Dies motion which made membership in the Communist Party a felony.
- Voted for admissibility of evidence gained by wire-tapping in 1954.
- Voted in 1963 for federal aid to church-supported colleges, and against permitting taxpayer suits to obtain judicial review of constitutionality of law.
- Voted to raise pay of all military personnel except privates, in 1958.
- Voted to exclude about 1,000,000 additional workers from minimum wage coverage in 1960.
- Voted for compulsory arbitration of two major issues in railway dispute in 1963, and for prohibition of strikes on secondary issues for 180 days.

QUESTION: Should they appoint a Dean of Students or should they have a voice in drawing up a new charter or constitution for the university?

KIRK: I am old-fashioned enough to believe that it is important that the governance of an institution of this kind remain, insofar as decision-making is concerned, in the hands of those who have been at it for many, many years, faculty and administration, and that the advice of students on such matters should be sought, but that it would be fatal if the student views were to be predominant.

QUESTION: Let's carry this, again, a step beyond the university, though we begin on your campus. One of the reasons that this rebellion began, in addition to the gymnasium matter, which is more parochial, was that students argued against the participation by Columbia University in secret defense research. And it raises a question for you and for all university presidents: Would a university in its search for truth and dissemination of knowledge, which is its proper role, at the same time perform secret research for the Department of Defense?

KIRK: The universities all over the country are disinclined to do this because

not an issue of basic importance.

QUESTION: ...To the student, though, sir, there is a fundamental difference between their actions and yours and they feel that you had a choice, the administration had a choice to make between property rights and human rights, and in calling in the police to protect the university's property—and for seven days the students really didn't hurt anyone, that they were there—they felt that you opted for property rights and the subsequent brutality against the students.

KIRK: I think that it is an unfair dichotomy because it is not a question of human rights versus property rights. What about the human rights of the other students who wanted to continue in classes and what about the human rights of the professors who wanted to continue work in their own classrooms and laboratories?

QUESTION: Dr. Kirk... (the students) have asked for your resignation. Do you intend to resign?

KIRK: ...I am not going to resign under fire because that would be a victory for those who are out to wreck the university and I cannot let down my good friends.

Student and Working-Class Programs

CDRU

by Tim Hall

The Cleveland Draft Resistance Union is the New Left's second effort at organizing in Cleveland. (Two ERAP projects, which closed in 1966, were the first.) The Union, with the addition of some ERAP people, has developed into a multi-issue student-worker group, while other ERAP people have helped form a middle-class organizing group.

A few words about the Union's development: We started in April 1967 as a group of community organizers with a vague working-class perspective. During that spring and summer we counseled and involved counselees in action; demonstrated at and disrupted the induction center; propagandized about the Draft and imperialism; began defending and helping to organize anti-war GIs; participated in two strikes; leafleted at plant gates and agitated in a few plants; formed an autonomous black local, Blacks Against the Draft; and formed an SDS in a white working-class high school.

From September to February we built a number of large (for Cleveland) militant demonstrations involving confrontations with Right-wingers and the cops and disruption of the induction process; counseled many community college students and involved them in the action; expanded our contact with servicemen; and tried to get something started on the campuses.

In late winter and early spring, high-school SDS spread a network across the city (which has not yet been pulled together and organized); campus SDS and anti-Draft groups began forming; a Union member entered the Army and organized with some success; and using the New Rank and Filer, a labor paper out of Detroit, we pulled together some of our young worker contacts. Feeling our lack of political education, some of us began studying Marxism while trying to turn the Union into a more functional multi-issue group with a working-class perspective.

We have the beginning of this group now, with three areas of work: high school, the Draft, and labor.

High-school program: During the summer we will work through a poverty job program among poor whites and Puerto Ricans on the cops, recreation, and the Draft. In the fall, we will pull together a city-wide SDS.

Draft program: A store-front counseling center will be opened, with three local Board-area 1-A programs. We will use the Draft to spread a "We Won't Fight Our Black Brothers" position and prepare white response to riots and rebellions.

Labor program: A number of people will move into selected shops to work with present contracts or start afresh on union (or unionization) issues first, and then to bring the most conscious workers into contact with other rank-and-file militants and possibly to work on community issues. They will become a part of certain working-class neighborhoods. A number of ex-students will go to work as case workers (There is a rank-and-file revolt starting.) and as teachers on the white West Side.

General program: Since our group is mostly white now, we see as a primary role the turning of white students and workers consciously against the police, the Government, and the ruling class as the enemy. This is our response to reformism, imperialist wars, and the black revolts.

People interested in working in Cleveland or Northern Ohio for the summer or longer should come to our conference May 31st. Contact the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union, Room 310, 10616 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio (721-1869).

" IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST "

REPORT ON THE STOCKHOLM CONF.

by Sue Munaker

"We live in the belly of the beast." With that statement, James Forman, International Affairs Director of SNCC and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Black Panther Party, summed up the differences between the US colonizing of black people and of the Vietnamese at a conference held April 16th and 17th in Stockholm, Sweden.

The Conference, sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and organized in the US by the WEB DuBois Club, was to give the nine Americans, two Vietnamese from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and five delegates from the National Liberation Front an opportunity to exchange views on recent events in the two countries.

During the two days of formal meetings each delegation presented brief statements on our respective activities, and then entertained questions.

Most of the American questions dealt with the military and political situation of the War, with emphasis on the Tet Offensive. Contrary to US Government reports of Tet being a last-ditch effort, the Vietnamese see the Offensive as a great victory. They say that only peripheral troops were committed; proof of that will come with future offensives.

The NLF representatives said the Tet Offensive proved that the NLF has the full support of the people in fighting US aggression. Tremendous co-operation in outright aid as well as secrecy was

state that in many areas revolutionary committees are in control (which means that the people are in favor of the NLF although the puppet officials may still be present), and in every city where Tet offensives or uprisings occurred, a revolutionary committee has been established.

Concerning the possibility of peace talks, the Vietnamese reaffirmed the four points: "Our objective remains the same: an end to the bombing; withdrawal of all US troops; recognition of the NLF; and self-determination for all Vietnamese people." When we asked what they thought of Johnson's March 31st announcement, they answered that he was arrogant: "Although he asks peace, he does not renounce US aggression." Johnson offered a bombing pause rather than a bombing halt, even though the Vietnamese maintain the offensive everywhere in the South. At the same time he called for 100,000 more troops and an increase of \$1,400,000 in supplies for 1969. We asked then why at this time—while the Vietnamese maintain the offensive—did they accept the offer for peace talks. They answered that this affirmed the good will of the Vietnamese people. But the four points do not change; the people of Vietnam have struggled for too long.

The presentations of the American delegates revealed the basic tendencies in our movement. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and whites each spoke of the work being done in their constituencies. Jim Forman outlined the unique position of black people as a people who were

representing the National Mobilization Summer of Support Projects—talked about the proposed summer projects of community Draft-resistance work with the National Guard and the Army; People Against Racism projects with leafleting and talking to workers; armytown coffee house projects; and "work-ins" in factories and working-class communities.

The first question asked by the Vietnamese revealed their concern with

political discussion. My outstanding impression is of the warmth, sincerity, and bravery of the Vietnamese people. Although there is camaraderie and sacrifice among Movement people, meeting with the Vietnamese revealed to me how far we have to go. Every crisis throws us into a fervor; we've not learned to live with death, to accept its inevitability as part of our work. In closing, I'd like to share part of



KEN CLOKE, OF THE LAWYERS GUILD, TALKING WITH MEMBERS OF THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION.

the fragmentation of our movement: "We know there are differences in the anti-war movements in the US. We would like to hear about the possibility of strengthening co-operation."

While I could speak briefly about the possibility of initial co-operation between the Resistance and SDS, community-based organizers and mass mobilizers, there was an explicit statement by the blacks that joint efforts between blacks and whites were not possible at this time. There was a request that in the future black prisoners be released to the National Black Anti-Draft, Anti-War Union (NBADAWU) rather than to white peace groups. The Mexican and Puerto Rican delegates requested the same. Then a suggestion followed that a release of prisoners be made consisting of minority groups—black, Puerto Rican, and Mexican—to show that the Vietnamese understand the problems of minorities in the US. In small discussions with the Vietnamese I felt that they were very uncomfortable with the apparent lack of concern among blacks for oppressed whites.

Other key questions from the Vietnamese can serve as a guide for many of us in our discussions: What do the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns mean to the Left in the United States? What is the response of your revolutionary movement to the elections? What did the American people think of Johnson's announcement on March 31st and the Vietnamese response April 3rd? What were the reactions of the different strata—students, workers, intellectuals, farmers, and professionals? What are the contradictions between monopoly groupings in the United States as reflected by the elections? What is the prevailing tendency? What crisis will develop in the US after the elections?

Because our time was so brief, there was little chance for any in-depth

one discussion with a Vietnamese fighter, Tran Van An, thirty-four years old. While he was an apolitical student in Saigon in the early 1960s, his family's village was burned by the Americans and his family were killed. Tran Van An left school and joined the Liberation Army.

Question: How has the NLF gained the trust of the people and how can you roam so freely in the countryside?

Answer: It was not always so easy. We called the '50s the Dark Days. Then there were areas where it was difficult for the guerrillas to travel; the people didn't trust them everywhere. After 1954, when Diem came to power, he placed people in concentration camps; there was terror and consequent uprisings; the guerrillas began their work. By 1960 there was enough support to form the NLF, our united front, to set up self-government for the Vietnamese people. Now we can go to the villages freely and are warmly welcomed. All of the people are our forces. The Americans are afraid of the people, so they put them in concentration camps which they call strategic hamlets. That is why more people have moved into the jungle.

Question: Can you relate some stories which show how the people helped the guerrilla army during the Tet Offensive?

Answer: (Tran Van An was very perplexed and asked me to repeat the question several times.) But the people are the army. In the countryside it is the peasants who are the guerrillas. In the villages you can just ask for help and gain it from the people. We have hundreds of stories which relate the dedication of the people to the struggle.

Other participants in the conference were Jarvis Tyner, National President of the WEB DuBois Club; Carlos Russell, Chairman of the Black Caucus of the National Conference for New Politics; Clotilde Blake, Vice-president of the Black Students Union in Los Angeles; and George Bauer, a SNCC organizer in Philadelphia.



WITH (R TO L) REPRESENTATIVES OF THE US-VIETNAM SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, THE NLF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE RUSSIAN W F D Y AND THE YOUTH MAGAZINE, DRV.

needed to supply food and guide the armies through strange cities; targets were largely supplied by the local population. Further proof of the loyalty of the Vietnamese people to the NLF is clear from the number of spies operating in Saigon who were not able to learn of the imminent attack on the US Embassy. The Vietnamese said that there were spontaneous uprisings in almost a hundred other cities and villages at the time of the Offensive.

According to the Vietnamese there are basic contradictions in the American political and military positions in Vietnam which prevent the very programs the Americans are attempting to carry out. The major American political program is pacification, calling for the troops to be among the people. But because the Americans are primarily an occupation force and lack the trust of the people, they must be isolated on bases. Their vulnerability comes from bases scattered throughout the country, because most are surrounded by cities controlled by the NLF. The Vietnamese, on the other hand, have the entire country as a base. Clearly, this is one way in which they maintain the offensive.

In terms of concrete gains, the Vietnamese claim that 40% of the puppet army disintegrated after the Offensive; 200,000 troops deserted to the Liberation Army; and territory with a population of 1,600,000 was liberated. Further, they

"taken from their native land and brought to the land where they were to be colonized. Black people do not have land for which to fight in the classical colonial sense, which is why there must be a Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Black people are forced to concepts of self-determination, separation, and absolute destruction of the United States due to the lack of their own land for which to fight. It may be difficult to reconcile that separation with struggling together, but ours is an international struggle against imperialism, racism, and capitalism. Blacks form the revolutionary vanguard and are part of the revolutionary world force. Our assignment at this particular time is to neutralize and weaken as much as possible the US. Blacks are at war." (For a full description of our discussion of blacks in Vietnam, see The Guardian, April 1968.)

Luis Valdez, a Mexican organizer from the United Farm Workers, said that since 1946 through 1948, when the US took half of Mexico, Mexicans living in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and Texas had been colonized on their own land. He added that there are untold horrors by the US Government against his people, and that there has been a guerrilla war going on for a hundred years.

The whites—Ken Cloke, a lawyer specializing in the Draft, and myself,

In the May-June

Radical America

An Overview/Essay on New Left Development, 1960-1965. STAUGHTON LYND on radicals' use of history. Gorz' STRATEGY FOR LABOR and its Marxian roots. Andre Schiffrin on SLID (SDS' predecessor) and student politics in the 1950's. Review of Z: AN ANTHOLOGY OF REVOLUTIONARY POETRY. 50¢/copy or \$2/year for National SDS Members (\$3 for others). 1237 Spaight, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

We Made the News Today, Oh Boy!

by TANIA

(collected from chapter and regional reports, travelers, liberation news service, and organizational newsletters)

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN: the prime minister of thailand was awarded an honorary degree at MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY last week; msu sdsers took the opportunity to picket the ceremony and leaflet the campus about their university's AID-sponsored contract with thailand to develop an "educational" program for the country designed to combat the developing thai liberation movement. remember the early '60s and this same university's counter-insurgency program in vietnam which helped pave the way for full-scale US military operations there?

NEW YORK CITY: the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY strike continues with liberation classes for many of the students still remaining at school. administration officials have even given up their public-relations pretense of continuing "regular" operations for the remainder of the year.

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA: sdsers at SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE held a rally may 1st to support striking telephone workers. CWA members welcomed students to the picket line.

LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA: students at FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE worked on a variety of actions during the past month, including a vigil of two hundred after the king murder followed by a teach-in on white racism; a small rally in support of the international student strike; and a spring celebration to welcome lancaster into the twentieth century. the celebration concluded with a trip downtown to the local draft board, where two draft cards were burned; then on to the offices of the local news monopoly (three papers, a radio station, a tv station, and the cable tv company), where \$2 bills were burned. welcome into the twentieth century, lancaster!

THE STATE OF MAINE: ten days of activities at the UNIVERSITY OF MAINE included teach-ins on american foreign policy and racism at the university campus in ORONO, and a draft-board demonstration in BANGOR which prompted the head of the local chamber of commerce to write a confidential memo to the local press before the demonstration. the few salient quotes which follow demonstrate another victory for "freedom of the press": "i would ask you to give serious consideration to whether or not you would want to 'cover' the demonstration...i think you should have your news people and photographers there 'in case an incident should arise', but that the demonstrators should get no coverage...you know that i am not telling you how to run your business—i am merely asking for your serious consideration on a little innocent matter that could lead to something far and beyond the realm of innocence in the future....regardless of what decision you might reach, there must be 100% participation."

illinois has come alive this week;

CHICAGO: ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY students began a campaign to force the school to follow faculty and student recommendations to hire history professor staughton lynd. roosevelt officials, who had vetoed lynd's hiring, called in the police twice during the week of pickets and two days of sit-ins. more than twenty were arrested, and the university has announced the expulsion of sixteen to date. other issues in the strike action are amnesty for students involved in the actions, no police on campus, elimination of administrative veto over faculty and student decisions, and making medical services available to all employees of the university, including cafeteria workers. meanwhile black students have presented another list of demands to the administration and have demanded immediate action. the struggle continues.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WINDY CITY: students at LOYOLA UNIVERSITY pulled off a 70% effective cafeteria boycott against low wages paid to food service employees and linked the action to loyola's recent refusal to hire staughton lynd. about seventy students at GEORGE WILLIAMS COLLEGE walked out of a speech by everett dirksen at the school. meanwhile at the ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY black and white students demanded that the university end police harassment of students and residents of the surrounding ghetto community. other demands included the removal of all constructed barricades separating it from the surrounding community, the opening of campus facilities to the community, recruitment of 25% of the freshman class from neighboring black high schools, the establishment of a black studies department staffed by black faculty members, and recruitment of black faculty members throughout the school.

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY black students demanded university action on the following demands and won representation on a university committee to implement the demands: student and faculty selection of afro-american history and culture courses and courses on white racism, a center for afro studies and social life, and a scholarship program for black students. EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY black students acted on similar demands.

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA: students at STANFORD UNIVERSITY had several days of mass action which began around the suspension of students who participated in a cia demonstration last november. the disciplinary action was taken after the judicial council had acquitted the activists. protests of the suspensions began with a rally which demanded that the suspensions be revoked, that there be a new student-faculty judicial body which could not be over-ruled. almost seven hundred students took over one of the administration buildings when their demands were not met. during the three days of occupation large numbers of students participated in rallies, seminars, leafleting campaigns, and meetings with the faculty. student demands were supported by the faculty, and it now seems that the administration will acquiesce.

Poor Folk March Starts

by Martin Jezer
Liberation News Service

Washington, DC, May 2nd—For the past three days, about a hundred representatives of America's poor have been meeting with Cabinet and other Federal officials to demand a major economic restructuring of American society.

The representatives, the first of thousands of poor people to come to Washington for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Poor People's Campaign, included members of the black, white, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian communities.

The confrontations, which included meetings with Cabinet secretaries Rusk, Clark, Udall, Wirtz, and Freeman, were marked by angry and heated speeches by the delegates as they demanded a re-ordering of American priorities. "We've not come to ask for what's ours," said a black lady from Baltimore. "We're here to take."

After three days of lobbying in the Capital, the residents returned to their communities to organize caravans of their constituents which will begin arriving in Washington May 12th. Separate caravans of poor people will leave from Memphis May 2nd and Edwards, Mississippi May 5th; a mule train and Freedom Train from Marks, Mississippi May 7th; a Midwest caravan from Chicago May 8th; an Eastern caravan from Boston May 9th; a Western caravan from Los Angeles and an Indian caravan from Seattle May 10th; and an Appalachian caravan from West Virginia at the end of May.

In Washington the poor people will build a "shanty town" in a conspicuous location to serve as a base for what SCLC President Ralph David Abernathy calls "militant non-violent action". The demonstrations will continue indefinitely into the summer if the demands of the poor are not met, Abernathy says. Reverend James Bevel will direct the non-violent action.

SCLC has called for participation by college students after the school term.

The first three days of the PPC indicated that the campaign would succeed in uniting the poor in community, and breaking down the racial barriers that

have long prevented America's poor people from joining together in common cause.

This ecumenical spirit was the theme of the kick-off rally held at the John Wesley AME Church in Washington April 29th. Speaker after speaker, representing all the different communities of poor people, described their surprise and happiness in discovering, many for the first time, that others shared their plight, their demands, and their militancy.

At one point in the rally a white woman from Alabama, who is now organizing what she called "white niggers" in the North, was given a loud and boisterous ovation from the black people in the audience. She described how poor Southern whites "do only what they're allowed to do and from birth we know we are allowed to kill niggers." The woman told how she lived in Montgomery during the bus boycott and considered Martin Luther King "an uppity nigger for wanting to sit in the bus with us." But, she continued, "killing black folk didn't put food in my belly or pay my rent. We're done with that." And to the white rulers: "We ain't going to do your dirty work any longer."

An American Indian told of his joy in holding hands for the first time "with my black brothers, my Mexican-American brothers, my Puerto Rican brothers." Another Indian described the Indian people as still docile and not yet awakened to the possibility for change. But, he roared: "A quiet Indian is a sell-out. We once owned the land; now we get agricultural commodities. The land is in the wrong hands. It's ours."

But the poor people were not in the mood to make speeches. "This talk, too much talk, ain't getting us anywhere. We need action," said Mrs. Alberta Scott, an old black woman from Baltimore. And from Rudolph Gonzales: "They want us to believe that power doesn't come from the barrel of a gun. They better show it to us."

For the United States: another chance. This is how Manuel Ortiz, a young New Yorker who left the city as a "representative of the Puerto Rican community" but after a day with his fellow poor decided he could best be described as a "representative of the New York poor", put it: "We are not coming to Washington again. This is the last time."

OUR GENERATION

THE LARGEST DISSENT QUARTERLY IN CANADA
the leading new left journal in North America

analyzes, reports, reviews, theorizes about:

- the movement for educational and university reform,
- the black power and human rights movement,
- the peace and anti-Vietnam war movement,
- the anti-poverty and community organizing movement,
- the movements for independence in Quebec, Canada,
- the tactics and strategy of the 'new left' in the USA and Canada.

contributors include:

Carl Davidson, Todd Gitlin, Rich Rothstein, C. George Benello, Jim Jacobs, Mike Goldfield, Arthur Waskow, Christian Bay, and Dimitrios Roussopoulos.

Sample issue: \$1.50 Subscriptions: \$5.00 (4 issues)
3837 boul. St. Laurent, Montreal 18

We need ads for the Convention issue of New Left Notes — Specifications next week, but the DEADLINE IS JUNE 1st

Law & Order Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

submitted by Jeff Segal, NIC

(continued from page 3)

McClellan Committee has played a less-publicized role by holding hearings on "riots" in places like Houston and Nashville and giving local officials there additional weight in their campaigns to arm police, crush activists, and generally terrorize the communities.

...AND "ORDER"

The Army will shortly add ten thousand men to its specially-trained anti-riot units. The Public Safety Director of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recommended tripling the nation's state police to provide cities with a "riot control" force. A series of ten one-week courses on prevention and control of civil disorders began in Athens, Georgia last month for police officials from around the country—sponsored by the Justice Department and International Association of Chiefs of Police. The civilian police recruiting program of the Defense Department has been expanded. Military personnel are being authorized discharge from service up to ninety days early, provided they go to work for the police.

And in our universities....In addition to "social science" research projects which do everything from identifying by name, occupation, and opinions every black resident of a community to locating all firearms in a city, institutions of higher learning are working on the following:

—The University of Illinois Extension Division, Champaign-Urbana, is holding two special courses for police officers during May and June. (Contact the Illinois Police Training Institute, 608 1/2 Green Street, Champaign, Illinois.)

—Professor Allen P. Bristow, of California State College at Los Angeles, has researched a police training film: "The Use of Fire Hoses Against Riotous Mobs".

—Eastern Kentucky University's School of Law Enforcement—with the help of the FBI, Kentucky State Police, Lexington and Louisville police departments, and National Conference of Christians and Jews—held a quarterly police training conference in Richmond, Kentucky May 2nd on "The Root Causes of Riots and the Language Used by Policemen".

—Two engineers from the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, Buffalo, New York, presented a paper at the Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology in Chicago last week on an experimental radar technique which can detect and track a bullet. Potential uses include locating snipers during "urban disturbances".

THIS IS JUST A SHORT SAMPLING. WHAT'S HAPPENING IN YOUR BACK YARD?

YOUTH WILL ORGANIZE FOR FREEDOM

a new pamphlet of organizing ideas aimed at young people who will be working this summer full-time and part-time, whenever they can and wherever they can—in the community, in the shops, on the streets—around the Draft, racism, and community issues (15¢)

DON'T MOURN: ORGANIZE

reprints of articles that have appeared in the Movement and New Left Notes on anti-Draft organizing, community organizing, the issue of racism in white-community and working-class organizing, and white response to black rebellions (50¢)

ARTICLE III, SECTION 2 TO READ:

A chapter may be chartered by the regional council of the area in which it is organized or by the National Council. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification of election of officers and national or regional council representatives. Chapters may be provisionally recognized by one of the four special secretaries or an appropriate regional officer pending the meeting of the NC or regional council respectively.

ARTICLE IV, SECTION 1 TO READ:

All or some of the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a region of SDS. New regions shall submit their constitutions and shall be recognized by one of the four special secretaries pending the next regular meeting of the NC. All disputes over regional boundaries shall be resolved by the NC.

ARTICLES VII AND VIII TO READ:

Article VII: National Organizing Committee

Section 1. The National Organizing Committee (NOC) shall be a body of nineteen members who shall serve as the national officers of SDS. It is to be made up of four special secretaries—a general secretary, an education secretary, an inter-organizational secretary, and a staff secretary—and fifteen field secretaries. They shall be ex-officio members of the National Council.

Section 2. In order to be elected to the NOC an individual must have been a member of SDS for at least six months prior to the election. Election to the NOC shall be by a plurality vote, and individuals shall be elected on an at-large basis.

Section 3. The NOC shall be responsible for seeing that organizational and political policies are carried out, co-ordinating and implementing national programs, and sending formal delegations to other organizations; have emergency decision making responsibilities between meetings of the NC; and be the national spokesman for SDS. All duties and responsibilities that are assigned to specific secretaries shall be seen generally as collective responsibilities of the NOC.

Section 4. The NOC shall meet at least four times a year, once prior to each meeting of the NC. Meetings may be called by the four special secretaries or by petition of any of the five NOC members. A quorum for a duly constituted meeting shall be nine.

Article VIII: Duties of the Secretaries

Section 1. The General Secretary shall be responsible for the functioning of the National Office and such housekeeping functions as are necessary for the co-ordination and implementation of national programs; national fund-raising and the development and co-ordination of a national financial structure; and relations with the press. He shall be

a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions, with the approval of the NOC.

Section 2. The Education Secretary shall be responsible for the operation of the SDS literature program and production; national printing operations and the co-ordination of regional printing operations; the development of both an internal and an external educational program; and the publication of New Left Notes. He shall be a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions, with the approval of the NOC.

Section 3. The inter-organizational Secretary shall be responsible for maintaining liaison with other organizations—national, foreign, and international—and informing membership about them; and dispatching delegations to these organizations. He shall be a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions, with the approval of the NOC.

Section 5. Field secretaries shall be responsible for organizing and agitating work designed to co-ordinate and implement SDS programs and help build chapters and regions; and liaison between chapters, regions, and the National Office. They shall be paid full-time staff members and work out of various locations throughout the country.

Vietnam GI Needs Coin

Over 2,000 GIs in Vietnam are receiving VN GI every month free. We receive more than 50 letters a WEEK from Vietnam asking for our paper.

This project is real and needs the support of Movement people to stay alive. The best way to reach GIs is through guys who have already been to the Nam (that's us).

Please send money, stamps, etc. to:
VIETNAM GI
P.O. BOX 9273
Chicago, Ill. 60690

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
RETURN REQUESTED

Second class postage
rate paid in Chicago,
Illinois

moving this summer...

SDS, 1608 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO 60612, ILL.

OLD ADDRESS:

Name _____
Street & City _____
State & Zip Code _____

NEW ADDRESS

Street & City _____
State & Zip Code _____

Send this form
about a week or
two before you
move,
to:

The Glad Day Press offers its printing facilities and extensive catalogue of articles dealing with our nation's violence to concerned individuals and groups. Please write or call for further information: The Glad Day Press, 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535).