

New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 24

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

August 5, 1966

VIEW OF CHICAGO

By Mike Klonsky

HOT TOWN — PIGS IN THE STREETS ...



BUT THE STREETS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE !



DIG IT ?

The National Mobilization Committee held a guided tour of the area around the International Amphitheater, scene of the upcoming Democratic Party National Convention.

A group of us, Regional SDS and NO people, went along to check the place out. Some things happened along the way which might give some indication of things to come.

As we walked down the street which was the entrance to the Amphitheater, we were stopped by some of the workmen who told us that we had come too far and were trespassing on private property. They obviously knew who we were. There were about thirty of us ranging from hippie-looking student types to middle-aged wisp ladies. One of the women from the Peace Movement was offended at this abridgement of her civil liberties.

"This is a free country," she yelled back at the workman. "You can't do this to us."

He did, and we were turned away. Later, about a block and a half away at a small park which had been selected as a possible rallying point near the Convention, I was approached by a couple of young (fifteen or sixteen) guys who stopped playing ball because they were curious about this strange-looking group who were nosing around their white working-class community (called Canaryville).

"What are ya doin' here?" they asked.

Feeling awkward and out of place with so many Mob people around me, I answered: "Nothing much, just looking around."

"You here because of the Convention?" they asked.

"Yeah."

"Ah shit!" one said as they walked away looking pretty pissed off.

The meaning of all this has to do with the prospect of SDS dealing with what Tom Hayden calls "the drama" that is about to be unleashed August 25th by the Mobilization. It is a drama that we have no control over, one which possibly no one has control over. It's a case of "let's light the fuse and see what happens." The fact that thousands of people are going to be moving on the community around the Amphitheater without having done any preliminary community work, without having talked with any of the local kids, isn't vitally important by itself. The fact that the dynamic set-off by the non-violent white peace marches may very well have incredible repercussions in the heavily-occupied black ghetto is not by itself of primary importance. However these things together, seen in the context of an America moving to the right at the grass-roots level, bring to the surface once again the basic political contradiction within the framework of the politics of mobilization, which can be called "We are right" politics.

The underlying assumption behind "We are right" politics is based on a moral understanding that we (those of us against war, hatred, racism, et cetera) are on the right side, that the society we live in is basically just and that if we can only get all of our people in front of the TV cameras, looking relatively neat and well-groomed and speaking articulately, the people of America will hear us and wake up, using their power to correct injustice and wrongdoing.

The politics that arise from this drama will be controlled as usual by the people capable of moving in at the top of the mobilization action and interpreting the actions of the tens of thousands in the streets confronting everything that the ruling elite has to throw at them, from the 101st Airborne to the Chicago Pig Department.

(continued on Page 4)

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

Second-class postage
rate paid in Chicago,
Illinois

INKIES!
NEW WORKING CLASS: p. 2
ON MEXICO!
p. 3
Italian & English
Students... p. 8

NOTES ON THE NEW WORKING CLASS

by Gordon Burnside



Thus it is perfectly possible to maintain two propositions which, on a casual view, appear to be contradictory. Over the period from 1790 through 1840 there was a slight improvement in average material standards. Over the same period there was intensified exploitation, greater insecurity, and increasing human misery. By 1840 most people were 'better off' than their forerunners had been fifty years before, but they had suffered and continued to suffer this slight improvement as a catastrophic experience.

—E. P. Thompson: The Making of the English Working Class

It is a measure of the difference between counter-revolutionaries and revolutionaries that Time magazine was surprised to find the SDS Convention, coming as it did after the siege of Columbia and the French general strike, a rather gloomy affair. The opponents of revolution always seem to be much more impressed with its logic and imminence than are its partisans. The latter are more impressed with the possibility of things going all wrong. Thus 1968, which must already look like the year of the Red tide to many people, is in fact forcing many in the Revolutionary movement away from the barricades and back to their books and typewriters.

On the one hand, Columbia and Paris have proved, once and for all, that we have not been raging in the dark all these years, and that Daniel Bell is indeed full of shit. On the other hand, the co-optation of the grape-pickers by the Left wing of the Democratic Party, the ominous split in the black liberation movement between pro-capitalists and anti-capitalists, the general difficulties in organizing the underclass, the rise of the new McCarthyism, and, most important, the specter of a coalition between liberals and conservatives for the guaranteed annual wage for the poor (and for guaranteed physical repression for radical organizers)—all these factors tend to make us more wary as a movement than we were as a sect.

Our anxiety, quite as real as Time described it, and apparent in the increase of factionalism and drop-outs in our ranks, is not of course so much the result of the factors listed above as of the persistence of what they reflect: the New Left's unwillingness (or inability) to identify the Revolutionary agency and define what it means by "Revolution". Since these are such old problems I won't bother to review the debates around them; this much only need be said here: (1) The problems of agency and end are so obviously linked that they are almost one problem. To some extent at least (at the risk of sounding overly Hegelian) the Revolution will choose the kinds of revolutionaries it needs. (2) If, nevertheless, the needs of the Revolution are bound to be transparent some day, they certainly aren't now. (3) Until they are clearer we can expect no more than to make the grand tour "from protest to resistance to revolution" around full circle to protest once again. We may end up as the most militant group of Quakers the world has ever seen. ("Creer dos, tres...Summerhills!")

Because of our well-advertised fidgeting in the presence of ideology (Marxism) the Movement has tended to separate the problems of Revolutionary agency and Revolution in its thinking. Worse, whenever possible we've scrambled to put the cart squarely before the horse; we all have our candidate agencies; but rarely, except in the vaguest sort of way, does Brother X understand what Brother Y means when he talks about "Revolution". Recently it has become more acceptable to ponder the seizure of power in America. But seizing power is still not the same thing as making a revolution. To focus on the former and more or less ignore the latter is to create a level of discussion that is utopian, airy, open-ended—a bit too New Leftish, if you will. In our case such a focus has tended to lock on tactics ("mobile action" in street demonstrations, guerrilla warfare in support of blacks, "liberation" of the Pentagon parking lot, tactics appropriate for revolutionaries—and seemingly necessary, I hasten to add, to our own radicalization—but which, in America, often look suspiciously like

a substitute for Revolution) and, again, the agency of Revolutionary change.

The agency we seem to have tentatively settled on at this moment is the classical one, the working class. Putting aside temporarily the question of which working class, I think this decision represents a solid step forward for the Movement. But, once more, it appears to have been created more by the needs of the Movement, half hopeful, half bitterly frustrated, than by the needs of the Revolution, and to have been made precisely because it was classical rather than for any other reason. For the truth is that we, as American college students, must know less about workers than almost anyone else in the world. More important, we in fact know very little about work.

It is a truism that American socialists are intellectuals, not workers. Less remarked upon is the odd fact that these socialist intellectuals have written practically nothing about workers and work, the New Left being no exception. (Significantly, one of the treasures of our movement is the thinking of a Frenchman, Andre Gorz.) Some of the reasons at least for this seem obvious: disenchantment with labor organizations, which is much older than the New Left; the difficulties that "middle-class" people have in calling what they do "work" (or, as we shall see, "labor"); the historical absence of a solid and popular concept of social class in the body of American thought (which tends to dissolve thinking about the functions of particular classes); the overwhelming emphasis, in our national life, on consuming man over producing man. Because of all this novels like Swados's *On the Line* and Sigal's *Going Away and Weekend in Dinlock* appear eccentric—not, as critics say, because they are about Left-wing politics, but because they link politics and work. And because of all this even the Left has overlooked what little theoretical writing has been produced on work in America, notably Daniel Bell's *Work and Its Discontents*

(hidden away in *The End of Ideology* where we can be trusted not to look for it) and Hannah Arendt's chapters on work and labor in her *The Human Condition*. (It is worth noting that both writers, though well-known for their efforts in the service of neo-conservatism, retain a healthy respect for the liberating intelligence of Karl Marx.)

If man were not homo faber—man the maker, the creator of things—he would, said Marx, be less than human. Man's ability to understand the world comes from the fact that he made it. (This insight was not original with Marx. It was assumed by the classical economists, by Locke, and by Vico, the first modern historian. Vico held that history could be scientifically studied because we live in a world that is a world of artifacts, a world that we—generically—have made ourselves.) It follows that man must work, not only to survive physically, but to survive as man: should he be separated from his creativity, he will be lost, for he will be cast into a world that is entirely foreign to him.

Now obviously there is work and there is work. The lives of Nineteenth Century Welsh miners or Twentieth Century Mississippi sharecroppers cannot reasonably be called creative. And in fact Hannah Arendt finds in all European languages words with distinct meanings (but often confused usage) corresponding to the English "work" and "labor". Rather than weave in and out of Arendt's philological tracings and philosophical arguments, it need only be said that "labor" has referred historically to productive activity that is forced (by physical need or ruling class or both); "work", on the other hand, has implied free production of goods or services, certainly activity that is more easily described as creative. Arendt notes that in recent centuries "work" has been used increasingly in conjunction with art.

(continued on Page 6)

A QUARTERLY ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The first issue of *WOMEN: A Quarterly of Women's Liberation* will be published in the fall of 1968. Poems; short stories; and political, literary, and scientific articles which consider the condition of women are being solicited.

The decision to limit articles written by men stems from a widely-discussed position held by many women today: for centuries women have been defined and discussed by men; the time has come for women to create a special publication in which they analyze and express themselves and their relationship to the social order. The publication rests on the assumption that women are best able to define themselves and to discuss their problems. Articles by men will be published on assignment only.

Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, on 8 1/2-by-11-inch paper. Self-addressed stamped envelopes should be enclosed. Articles which are not accepted for publication will be read carefully and suggestions for improvement will be offered. Material and monetary contributions should be sent to: *WOMEN, A Quarterly of Women's Liberation*, Dee Ann Pappas, 3011 Gullford Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

new left notes

New Left Notes is published weekly (except in June and July, 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

Mike Klonsky, National Secretary; Fred Gordon, Internal Education Secretary, Bernardine Dohrn, Inter-organizational Secretary

National Office: 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874)
 New England: 102 Columbia, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617-547-8260)
 New York City: 131 Prince, New York, New York 10003 (212-674-8310)
 Niagara: 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850 (607-273-0535)
 Philadelphia: 262 South 38th, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104 (215-382-8084)
 Southern California: Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90072 (213-667-2345)
 Texas - Oklahoma: Box 1941, Dallas, Texas 75221 (214-824-1837)
 Washington, DC: 3 Thomas Circle Northwest, Washington DC (202-332-1387)

HIGH SCHOOL

CONFERENCE:

CORRECTION

The High School Underground Conference sponsored by SDS and Liberation News Service will be held August 20th through 23rd (instead of 26th through 29th) in Eldora, Iowa at the Hardy County Fairgrounds. The purpose of the Conference is to organize a working news syndicate and a high-school underground. Carl Oglesby is one of the scheduled speakers. Everyone active in the high-school underground is urged to attend or send a representative. The cost is \$12 per person with all the money going to the underground and its expenses. Please notify Tim Wise, National Co-ordinator, National Conference of the High-School Underground immediately. He can be reached at 3 Thomas Circle, Washington DC 20005.



MEXICO EYEWITNESS REPORT

Ernesto Viva
The San Francisco Express Times

Mexico City, July 30th—The last four days have seen the most devastating manifestations of violence since the famous railway and electrical workers' strike which paralyzed the country for eight days in 1958. This time the fatuous and humiliating Olympic preparations provided a reason for the violence. A demonstration of solidarity with the Cuban revolutionaries on the anniversary of the 26th of July was the pretext, and the students in Mexico City were the main actors in the drama.

Ten year's ago the Nation's military force exerted immediate control and repression, the crime of "social dissolution" was created in order to send men like David Alfaro Siqueiros to prison, and Vallejo (the leader of the railway union) is still serving an indefinite sentence. Vallejo has been on a hunger strike since July 18th of this year, and the eve of the current violence found the School of Political Science of the National University in a sympathy strike with that political prisoner.

ANO DEL RIDICULO OLIMPICO

While many of Mexico City's neighborhoods are without running water, and the general living conditions in half of them are completely intolerable, the Country is spending millions of pesos in preparation for the 1968 Olympics to be held here in October. The constant show of ill-spent funds is a daily humiliation. Aware that several factions of the Left have demonstrations and other actions planned for October, repressive elements of the Government forced premature riots this week. A brief outline of events follows.

On July 26th, the CNED (Central Nacional de Estudiantes Democraticos), a Communist Party group, organized a march for solidarity with Cuba. The FNET (Federacion Nacional de Estudiantes Tecnicos), a Right-wing Government student organization, held its own march the same day. Their expressed reason for demonstrating was to protest an incident on Tuesday, July 23rd, in which a riot squad had entered Vocational School Number Five, injuring several students and teachers and killing one student. (Authoritative sources say that there had been some trouble in Vocational School Number Two and the riot squad was called to, and entered, the wrong school.) All informed sources, however, acknowledge the fact that the obvious reason for the FNET's march was to draw attention away from the march offering solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

Both marches took place in the center of Mexico City. Things progressed in a more or less orderly fashion, until a group of students from the National Polytechnical Institute decided to go to the Zocalo (central square bordered by the Presidential Palace and other public buildings) to protest more forcefully over the violence which took place at Vocational School Number Five. The FNET tried to control this, but the polytechnical students succeeded in getting to the Zocalo.

In the City's central square, the bloodbath began. Riot squads began beating the students, leaving many of them unconscious on the streets. Onlookers immediately took the students' side, and began throwing flowerpots and rocks at the police. This public solidarity with the students seems a constant as regards on-the-spot incidents (the witnessing of actual violence, moments in which cars were stopped and people asked for money and aid, et cetera). But the totally distorted press campaign now has the mass of public opinion against the student protest.

All during the afternoon of July 26th the students—in various groups—and the police and riot squads battled back and forth between the Zocalo and Hemiciclo Juarez, a monument on the Avenida Juarez, some fifteen blocks away. At one point a number of windows were broken in the elegant shops along the Avenida Juarez; some damage and looting took place. Later, near the Zocalo, the police confused a group of students leaving their classes at Preparatory School Number Three with demonstrators, and began stoning and beating them. The students took that as a signal to begin blocking the streets; they occupied city buses and forced them to park sideways, blocking off traffic on several main arteries. They burned two buses as well. The toll of the first day: five hundred students wounded, four in a state of coma, three dead, and three hundred arrested.

That night the School of Economics at the National Polytechnical Institute and Preparatory School Number Three went on strike protesting the brutality of the riot squads. It was too late for the event to have made the newspapers. The Government occupied the Communist Party headquarters, as well as entering many private homes and making indiscriminate arrests.

The morning of July 27th saw the beginning of what may be among the most completely fascist news campaigns in recent times. The newspapers—from Rightist to "liberal"—chalked the violence up to a "Communist plot", accused the Cuban Embassy of support,

and accused Cubans of having taken part in the demonstrations. All deaths were denied. The radio gave news of the violence, but also in a biased and partial manner. Vocational School Number Five joined the strike, and a great number of students from all over the City went to the Polytechnical Institute to discuss future plans, confiscate buses, et cetera.

Sunday the 28th saw no change in the situation, and no public action.

On Monday, July 29th, all vocational and pre-vocational schools (equivalent to technical and junior high schools) in the City joined the general strike. All the preparatory (pre-university) schools joined in too, with the exception of Numbers Five and Six. Preparatory School Number Seven blocked off the Viga, a main artery of the City, liberating twenty-five buses. Vocational School Number 7 sectioned off the whole Monualco area, and Preparatory School Number Three was also controlled by the students. A general meeting was called at 5 that afternoon in the Zocalo to protest riot-squad brutality. However the Zocalo was occupied by troops and riot squads, and the demonstration never took place.

The students, frustrated in their plans to demonstrate, began taking over buses and occupying—for brief times—different parts of the center of the City. Forty buses were liberated, streets were closed off, and a great deal of damage was done. It is interesting to note that, contrary to recent experience in France and the United States (as well as other parts of Latin America) the violence was squelched before any individual student leaders emerged. Different schools and groups followed their more militant leaders, but the violence as a whole wasn't allowed to run long enough to produce any outstanding spokesmen.

The night of the 29th, a clash between students of Preparatory School Number Three and riot squads in the Zocalo blew up into little short of war. Molotov cocktails, tear gas, rocks, clubs, sticks. A bus was burned. The battle lasted four hours, and at 1 in the morning the Army was called in. A bazooka was used to break down the door of Preparatory School Number Three, occupied at that time by the students. It was taken over by the Army. Tanks and bayonets were everywhere. By this time there were many seriously wounded among both students and authorities. Six hundred students were arrested that night alone.

In the National University, in the School of Humanities, a general assembly was attended by almost the entire student body. A stoppage of classes was agreed upon, with continuous debates, and the students asked their professors to give them lectures on the French uprising of

May and June, the Columbia strike, and other recent student revolts. Fighting commissions were formed; brigades were assigned to propaganda, finances, political action, medical aid, et cetera.

(Medical students at the University who tried to aid wounded students were clubbed and arrested for trying to interfere. The Red Cross workers suffered the same fate, and it is said one of them was killed. The repression makes absolute body-counts impossible; the Government seems at all cost intent on preserving its image of "a sunny Mexico" for its Olympic visitors.)

Although the press campaign has made it almost impossible for people outside the Capital City (to say nothing of foreign countries) to know the full extent of what has happened, word has been received that students in the State of Tabasco burned the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Mexico's official party) building in solidarity. Four bases of students from the State of Puebla heading for the City were detained.

The tone of the riots is totally anti-government. There are cries for "socialism" without much real knowledge of what that means.

Specific student demands are: removal of the police chief and disbanding of the riot squads.

Rumors involve students from France and elsewhere who, it is said, came to organize the riots. No evidence has been produced so far. A French student was seen in Preparatory School Number Three and helped maintain the Resistance there; he said he had been at the Sorbonne in May, but was in Mexico as a tourist. Several other foreigners have been arrested and are still in prison: William Rosado from Puerto Rico, Raul Patricio Poblete of Chile, and Mika Seeger (Pete Seeger's daughter) from the United States.

As far as informed sources can tell, seventy students have been indicted. A conservative estimate of the death tally puts it at twenty for the students and at least five for the police.

A general meeting of students was called for August 2nd. As of now there doesn't seem to be much support from workers, but the students are angry; all over the City they are shouting and painting their new slogans: "No Queremos Olimpiadas" (We Don't Want Olympics), "Prensa Vendida" (Sellout Press), "Granaderos Asesinos" (The Riot Squad Are Killers), and "Vivan Los Estudiantes".

In a city filled with secret police, students left the meetings and debates to make contacts and beg us to see that the truth of their struggle reaches their brothers North of the Border.

CONVENTION DISCUSSION

KLONSKY

con't

These interpreters of the mobilization inevitably end up being well-known anti-war moderate-liberals who are desperately attempting to hold the world together long enough to spend all of their money. Whatever the politics of New Left oriented Hayden and Rennie Davis may be (it is still unclear to many of us), it probably doesn't even matter. Inevitably it's the "You can't do this to me, this is a free country" people who end up running the show.

SDS has always stressed organizing above mobilizing. Once again a confrontation has been called which we are forced to respond to. Hundreds of thousands of people coming to Chicago to demand an end to war and racism creates a political situation which we, organizationally, are unable to ignore. Large numbers of young McCarthy volunteers are coming here, despite the wishes of the professionals running the campaign who are trying to keep things as quiet as possible. Like the Pentagon confrontation last October, the Army is ready, so are the Pigs. They have many tactical advantages and are prepared to inflict heavy damage on demonstrators who will be left virtually without any plan or equipment for self-defense. What does a radical organization do to respond to a situation like this? How does it make use of the situation for political gain?

It seems clear that any radical political message which SDS would want to put forth concerning the War and Imperialism would merely be blurred by the massive confusion surrounding the McCarthy Campaign. As far as the possibility of influencing the policy of the Democratic Party during this week, we are sophisticated enough to know that the important decisions which are made about our lives are not made on Convention Day or on Election Day. The possibility does exist to organize many McCarthy people away from the Democratic Party, possibly into SDS. For many, it is their last fling with national electoral politics.

The National Interim Committee (NIC) has decided to set up SDS "Movement centers" in Chicago. Groups of SDSers from different regions will come into town a few days before the Convention and work out a plan of attack. Our primary program will be educational, using the Movement centers, literature (which includes a special issue of NLN and the Rat as well as a daily wall newspaper), counter media, and guerrilla educational and agitational tactics. A pamphlet will be produced on "Why McCarthy Isn't The Answer", distributed along with a basic brochure introducing SDS. Workshops, rallies, and parties will be planned to get out the word on corporate liberalism. Teams of SDS organizers will make the rounds of other centers, rallies, and demonstrations, rapping to groups and putting forth a radical perspective on the Convention and the Party.

Through one-to-one organizing and small-group organizing, we hope to create a situation which can work in our favor. Many individual SDS organizers will be in the streets. Although organizationally SDS participation in non-violent mass parades is unfeasible, a potential does exist for individual organizers working in teams within larger groups to educate through confrontation and analysis, encouraging discussion of tactics and strategy.

Our basic concern has to be long-term organizing with an eye on the fall, when many of these same McCarthy supporters will be on the campus working in SDS. It will be then, when all the parades and conventions are over, that the Movement will have to reap what it sows, both in Canaryville and at Columbia.

ON MOBILIZATION PLANS

by Rose MacKerran
Mundelein College SDS

Since the NIC decision to concentrate organizing within the McCarthy ranks during the Democratic Convention, organizers should be aware of National Mobilization plans for that week. The Mobilization has planned a series of rallies, demonstrations, and Movement centers to answer the needs of the week as they see them.

Between thirty and fifty Movement centers will be procured throughout the City within the next two weeks, allowing Movement people continuous centers for obtaining information, for conducting radical education projects, and for planning tactics on a daily basis. The Mobilization has agreed to give five centers to SDS to staff and use for its own purposes.

Four other major provisions have been made for activities during the week. The first is for medical aid through the Student Health Organization. They plan to have four stationary centers in the City; the remainder of the SHO groups will be mobile.

The second major provision is for legal defense. Law students are researching statutes which may possibly be used against Movement people and are gathering information that could be of later use politically. They are organizing a Chicago Legal Defense Organization which will hopefully provide at least skeletal legal assistance full-time during the Convention.

Publicity plans are to hold daily press conferences to disseminate information on the day's events. They will rely heavily on daily reports from the Movement centers and give details on: (1) the plans of each Movement center; (2) comments on the latest statements made by the Establishment about the Movement and reports on the activities of the troops; (3) criticism of whatever platform the Party decides on; and (4) responses to the Nomination.

Defense for marchers also was discussed—everything ranging from requests to the cops to allow the Movement to police its own thing to plans for walkie-talkie communications and conventional-type marshals. It was decided that communication would have to be tight and marshals hand-picked and pre-trained.

They are also forming a steering committee which will co-ordinate the week's activity. Additional representatives will be added as the Convention grows closer; the steering committee will meet daily—more often if necessary—to plan and co-ordinate activity.

In addition to these plans, the Mobilization has outlined six activity filled days to occupy visitors. It should

be stressed, however, that the plans that are now in the making could be drastically changed, depending on the mood of the people and the Pigs.

On August 24th, the Mobilization figures that the number of folks in the City will still be small enough to concentrate on meetings in the Movement centers. A complete list of the centers and the strategic spots in the City will be published by Ramparts, which will publish daily Convention issues of a newspaper.

The 25th will also be concentrated around the centers. For the 26th the Mobilization is planning to deal with any type of requests that may blow their way from the Mississippi Freedom Party and the Poor People's Campaign, both of which should have heavy representation in the City by this time. Meetings will, on this day, move from the centers into three major parks; the Movement centers controlled by the Mobilization will become action centers and discussion points for everything from politics to tactics.

And just to make sure that none of you overlook the 27th, it's LBJ's birthday. Daley's planning to run a huge birthday celebration; the Mobilization's staging an un-birthday party for the entire day. The Yippies will have a Festival requesting that Johnson remain in the White House. There will be an exhibit (theater, art, film, photography, and sculpture) all centered on the glorious career of LBJ. Draft-resistance and clergy people are planning an Amnesty Meeting. There will also be a series of localized demonstrations at strategic points in the City—possible targets: Welfare offices, police headquarters, universities, Draft boards. Finally, in the evening, an indoor series of performances will be staged: MacBird, Norman Mailer reading a birthday greeting to LBJ, et cetera.

The 28th is Nomination Day, and there will be one massive demonstration from downtown Chicago to the Amphitheater. The Mobilization hopes to obtain "permission" for the demonstration.

On the 29th there was speculation that McCarthy people would hit the streets. For this reason, the Mobilization is sponsoring a final assembly or people's convention in a park. There may also be a series of demonstrations at local Federal institutions.

These are the plans as of the August 4th Administrative Council Meeting of the Mobilization, which some SDS members attended. Specifics have yet to be worked out, and are tentative depending on unanticipated developments. Refer to another article in this issue for specific information on what Chicago Regional SDS is planning.

CHICAGO SDS REPORTS ON CONVENTION PLANS

by Wayne Heimbach

When it was finally decided by the powers that be that the Democratic Convention would definitely be in Chicago Chicago Area SDS started to plan a program for Convention time. After the NIC meeting it became clearer what kind of resources we would have to provide for out-of-town SDS people.

The National Mobilization Committee is planning to set up about forty Movement centers around the City where people will discuss actions they might want to participate in and conduct workshops and forums on various political subjects. The Movement centers will be of three main types: city centers (such as a Detroit center), subject centers (such as a Draft center), and organizational centers. SDS will have about five such centers. Chicago Area SDS will probably organize one of these centers, and we are working on ideas about that. People coming to Chicago should come with their own ideas about what to do with these centers.

One of the most important things that the Region is and will be working on is a leaflet program explaining our politics to McCarthy people and to Chicagoans. Our Chicago leaflet program will try somehow to counter the publicity that the news media have been feeding people here about the Movement coming. It's an up-tight city, brothers and sisters.

Although housing will be provided for a limited number of SDS people, we are not asking for a mobilization of SDS folks in Chicago. We want only those people who have the time and see themselves as organizers. Chicago will not be a fun place during the Convention, and only organizers are needed. To quote Jeff Jones, "We are coming as organizers, and not as cannon fodder."

I would hope, however, that wherever possible SDS people will organize support demonstrations with their local constituencies—especially if Daley's Pigs start rioting in the streets of Chicago. The Convention and the Movement activities here will be of national importance. The national mobilization is going to happen; our job is to organize nationally by organizing in our local communities and to build a base for the long struggle to come. (See Eric Mann's article in the August 3rd Guardian.)

SDS people coming into Chicago should phone HO 5-3170. (Do not call the National Office. The NO will be concerned with the NO and only with the NO.) They will then be directed to an administration center where they will be given housing if it is available and where preliminary meetings will be held. If you have sleeping bags or a car, bring them. You should also find out what your blood type is before you come and carry an identification card with that blood type on it.

CHICAGO IS A SUMMER FESTIVAL!

- Getcha NEW CHICAGO PIG POSTER (see Page 1)
 - PLUS a brand-new FAST BUTTON from SDS for just \$2 bucks / Proceeds go to surviving the Dem. Convention
- Order from 1608 W. Madison St., Chi., Ill. 60612. All orders must be prepaid. (FULL SIZE OF PIG POSTER: 18" BY 25"!)

CLEVELAND

by Cathy Archibald

It will be some time before any substantive, reliable information is known about the Cleveland revolt of July 23rd. During the so-called ambush of the police, allegedly led by Ahmed Evans, ten were killed, forty-five were wounded, more than fifteen thousand National Guardsmen were called up, and three thousand of them were actually dispatched. Stokes, trying to play both ends against the middle, pulled out the National Guard for one night and tried to have the Glenville area of the City policed by black cops and black community leaders. Looting did not stop, and for the protection of private property Stokes was forced to send the Guard back in to smash the people.

The skeletal facts of the July 23rd incident are now known. This article will try to provide information on some of the forces at work during the incident which made Stokes's "both ends against the middle" strategy fail. This failure of the liberal solution, the inability to hold the middle between "law and order" and revolt, is happening over and over again at the local city level.

PART OF A PATTERN?

First let's go back a step and talk about Nashville, Houston, and Chicago. We chose these cities because a similar pattern has emerged in them and because the McClellan Committee, focus for Right-wing forces at the local level, has chosen these cities. In all three areas the scenario goes something like this:

There exists a militant nucleus in the black community, not accountable to or controlled by big business or the political machine; the war on poverty representing the "liberals" marches into town; their program: containment, pacification. Black militants are hired by the program or funds are channeled through liberal groups to be used by independent black forces in the city. The professional politicians and the Pigs see the poverty



Pigs comes clearer in each round of the battle. In order to tie it together, to take the local cries of black conspiracy and liberal collaboration to the national arena, forces such as the McClellan Committee appear on the scene.

THE MCCLELLAN COMMITTEE

The McClellan Committee, constituted last year to investigate riots, has moved into Houston, Nashville, and Chicago. In each instance, they've taken a previous series of incidents as recounted by the cops and the local Right-wing forces. This testimony has been the basis for large-scale legal propaganda campaigns to re-play the scenario outlined above, to heighten white fears, to attack the liberal forces, and to hang the black militants.

In Houston, the case was the Fig riot at Texas Southern University (TSU) in the spring of '67. Using an OEO program of black pacification as their focus, the McClellan Committee hearings on Houston began last fall, just a few weeks before the TSU Five were scheduled to go on trial for murder. The propaganda against the black group in Houston was incredible; the timing of the hearings perfect.

In Nashville, they focused on Fred Brooks of SNCC and a liberation school he headed in the summer of '67. Linking the OEO-funded liberation school with black student revolts the previous spring and producing a "grand conspiracy", the Committee and local Right-wing forces unleashed another incredible propaganda campaign in the City. This set the stage for a reign of police interrogation and terror in the black community of Nashville that was unprecedented in the '60s. When the papers screamed "SNCC KILLS" after an ordinary bank robbery in which a local cop was shot, the City was ready to believe it. Students with Afros, militants, citizens off the streets were rounded up and interrogated, beaten, and held for days in jail. The black community was temporarily paralyzed by a wave of M-16s and Gestapo tactics. Later the police persuaded the National Guard to hold riot practice right in the black community of Nashville. Sorracel, the local head of the Pigs, had predicted a riot, and he would stop at nothing to provoke one.

In Chicago, the Committee, in league with the local Gang Intelligence Unit, a semi-autonomous part of the police force, zeroed in on the Blackstone Rangers. The Rangers represented a threat to the Daley machine in two ways: (1) They were receiving funds from the OEO in the only program in Chicago which Daley did not directly control and administer; instead, the money was funneled from Washington through local liberal church people. (2) The Rangers

themselves were not controlled by the Daley machine, representing a potential political threat because of their enormous grass-roots organization. (Chicago is presently at least one-third black.) In a city where the local machine is losing control of black votes and where white voters are fleeing the city to the suburbs, this threat looms large. So, as best we can tell, the local Pigs and sectors of the Machine made a deal with the McClellan Committee; Daley was warned not to approve a renewal of the OEO grant (which he had originally fought tooth and nail anyway), and this summer the McClellan Committee "revealed" the most incredible series of provocative lies about the Rangers that even this city has seen in some time. The stage is being set here to justify the ultimate police destruction of the Blackstone Rangers.

IS THERE A LINK?

Now back to Cleveland. The McClellan Committee hasn't moved in yet, but the same forces are at work. Liberal black mayor Carl Stokes has managed to put together an attractive "package" of programs for the black community. This program included a small OEO grant to Ahmed Evans to develop his cultural store in the black community. This package, even though wrapped in the rhetoric of false black consciousness, will not succeed, as July 26th and other incidents clearly show. Also clear is that the Right-wing elements and the Pigs were prepared to exploit any incident like that of July 26th.

So far, the following pieces of the puzzle have emerged:

Prior to the incident, police reported to Stokes that Ahmed was using his community store-front as an arms cache. Rumors "got" to Stokes saying that the police intended to raid the place and possibly kill the nationalists. Stokes tried to prevent the raid. The poor liberal mayor finally got permission from the landlord to search Ahmed's store. Police said it was too late, that the guns must have been removed, and refused to search it. When police were killed on July 23rd, Stokes was blamed instantly. Point One for the Pigs.

Immediately after the shootings a mass of propaganda appeared. Stokes had "protected" Ahmed. Stokes had okayed \$10,000 worth of OEO funds which Ahmed used to buy arms and to set up a "conspiratorial" organization in various cities which planned to start several revolts all at the same time. Point Two for their propaganda campaign. And what is the source of these claims? The origin of the conspiracy theory came from the FBI and from Cleveland's red squad. The head of the red squad is one Sergeant Ungvary who was formerly with the FBI and also formerly an assistant to the

Senate Internal Securities Committee, a close Congressional working cousin of the McClellan Committee.

a "conspiratorial" organization in several cities which planned to start several revolts all at the same time. Point Two for their propaganda campaign. And what is the source of these claims? The origin of the conspiracy theory came from the FBI and also formerly an assistant to the Senate Internal Securities Committee, a close Congressional working cousin of the McClellan Committee.

Adding additional pressure to Stokes was the attempt to pull out the white police and Guardsmen, letting the "black community" rule themselves. The Guard was called back in again to protect private property. The cry went up: He should have done it before; this coddling cost us a fortune; even a black mayor can't control a black community. Finally a police-initiated petition to recall Stokes appeared "spontaneously". Score Three and Four.

Will the McClellan Committee come into Cleveland? We will see. But it's not necessary. All the Stokeses, all the Ford Foundation and OEO black pacification money, and all the Washington cover-up won't put Cleveland back together again. The Cleveland Pigs have asserted their independence; the Right smells power. A new coalition of old Stokes supporters and black community leaders and militants have re-grouped to hold the center. There is no clear Left alternative that has a base in the City—black or white. A few seeds exist, but not much more. The liberals, black or white, must accommodate the business interests and give concessions at a superficial level to the black community. The forces of law and order will prevail—under Stokes or, if he can't hold it, under a more openly Right local government.

A LARGER QUESTION?

We have heard much of late about the split in the ruling class between the liberals and the Right Wing. Opt for a resolution of that split to the Left, the corporate liberals advise us; only the liberals can stem the tide of militarism and fascism, they say. But we can see clearly that in the long run the liberals will have to use the weapons of the Right (the police and the Guard and the Military abroad) to protect their interests.

But knowing that the corporate liberals have no other long-range alternative does not answer the key question we face. What alternatives will the people have? Will we continue to be able to furnish a Left alternative, a revolutionary alternative that is not tied to the hope that the liberals will always buy us time? As their time runs out more clearly each month, the urgency of our task becomes more pressing.



EVANS & STOKES BEFORE RIOT

program as a threat to their hegemony, as coddling "trouble-makers"; they predict dire consequences; they say the militants are using government funds to spread trouble, Black Power, and communism. They have a two-pronged attack: get the liberals and kill the militants. While all this is happening, there are incidents of violence and harassment against the black community initiated by the local Pigs, and the black community responds by defending itself in one way or another.

The liberals are forced to call on the Pigs (and maybe even the Guard) to defend law and order and private property; the Right-wing forces scream that such measures should have been taken earlier, their predictions are realized. The discrediting of the liberal solution, the increasing strength of the Right Wing and independence of the local

NEW WORKING CLASS

CON'T

So much for the recondite. Though he had a more vigorous respect for philology than we do, Marx seems not to have separated "work" into its two parts, at least not consciously. Nevertheless, the working class appear in his work in mutually contradictory guises: as generic creators they are closer than any others to an understanding of history, and thus of the prerequisites for human freedom; but also they are the social class that is being pushed further and further into sheer physical drudgery—labor, not work—and whose humanity is not enhanced but robbed by their contact with the production process. Revolution, for Marx, meant the abolition of man as laborer and his liberation as a worker, the moment when he "recognizes himself in a world he has himself made". But the focus of his work was not in fact on the making of revolution, but rather on the collapse of capitalism (something altogether different), which allowed him to avoid the question of how precisely the laborer is to transform himself into the worker.

This was the problem, disguised as backward Russia versus industrialized Western Europe, that Lenin took up. No matter how awful the misery or wild the rage of the working class, it could not, said Lenin, make the socialist revolution alone; rather it would—must—opt for those reforms ("economism") that made life a little more bearable. To steer the workers away from economism and toward the true revolution Lenin equipped them with a guide, the vanguard party, made up, as it were, by a mixture of skilled workers and intelligentsia.

Lenin plus October did not, needless to say, solve the dilemma; surely Soviet Russia is little deserving of the title "communist". For if laboring man is to become homo faber, more than the collectivization of the means of production is needed. In the end nothing less than the replacement of laborers by machines—cybernation—will allow us to create the sort of communist society Marx had in mind. This is a common enough proposition, and one shared by many liberals as well as radicals. It is at this point, in fact, that liberals say to radicals: "You see? We both want essentially the same thing—and it's inevitable. No muss, no fuss. Sit back and enjoy the ride and quit making me nervous. We are indeed at the end of ideology, the end of politics. There is no need for a socialist seizure of power because capitalism will itself carry us 'from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom'."

But the truth is—and this is what separates liberals and revolutionaries—that a capitalist-cybernated society would be an unmitigated disaster for the mass of human beings. Since capitalist cybernated factories would, like capitalist manual-labor factories, be dedicated to the production of goods rather than the needs of people, not only labor but work as well will be abolished. We will be free—free to drift in a world we cannot possibly recognize as our own, a world we had no hand in making.

This bleak utopia is of course still a good way off in the future—through no fault of capitalism, which plows cheerfully and mindlessly, but steadily, toward it. Glimpses of it are caught from time to time by people like Wirth, Kerr, Brzezinski, and (with a grace-saving shudder) Arendt, who tell us that the age of the producer is drawing to a close and that we shall all have to live as full-time consumers. That, they think, should not be too difficult—and besides, it's what we all want anyway. They remind one of the revisionist sociologists and economists who have discovered that Nineteenth Century workers did not really suffer as much as we have been taught because, after all, they were dragged out of those benighted agrarian communes and stuck in civilized urban factories. The quote from Thompson that heads these notes may seem fatuous to some, implying as

it does a comparison between the first working class and the last (especially since, taken as a whole, the world's workers are still much more like the first than the last), but there is a poet's justice in its use, and a psychologist's: social change that "objectively" seems to raise the quality of life may in fact poison it. That was the case with Thompson's English working class; it will be so with capitalist cybernation.

Of course we take it that the obverse of that proposition may also be true: social change that seems to be catastrophic—revolution—may in fact be liberating. And nothing is more surprising to the neo-conservative or liberal apologist for capitalism, marching with his face set toward utopia, than that he is beginning to encounter—in the pre-cybernetic West, where he least expected it—a movement for social revolution. He is surprised because he has not noticed that capitalism, in the short run, is following an odd route. It is abolishing work, true enough, but it is not yet abolishing labor. On the contrary, contemporary capitalism is making it possible for more people, proportionally, to labor than ever before. The United States, which has always thought of itself as a nation of entrepreneurs, and probably was once, is today a nation of laborers, blue and white collar. (Arendt calls Americans the most laboring people in the world. France is perhaps the European country most like the US in that it has a strong tradition of small-enterprise worship and resistance to finance and corporate capitalism; its middle class too is being

rapidly proletarianized.)

Forgetting for the moment the lot of the industrial working class, which doesn't much benefit from it, old-style entrepreneurial society is one pitted with a lot of breathing space. Though socially atomized and anxiety-ridden, perhaps, small shop-keepers, artisans, and farmers approximate homo faber: they live in a world of their own making, much under their control. There is that much truth in the American myth. Their relative freedom in decision-making infects the whole culture. (Auto workers, for example, dream out loud to sociologists about buying a chicken farm or gas station, realizing only too late that the assembly line has chewed up their lives.) Laboring society, however, is increasingly repressive: the ruling class is interested only in production and markets, and it no longer has populist farmers and merchants to oppose it. Politics, education, and popular culture are fitted, more securely than ever before, to the needs of the factory. Labor is physically easier to perform than under classical capitalism, and is more highly rewarded with consumer goods. But it is clear that these goods are not meant primarily to satisfy needs: they are meant primarily to pacify the laborers, and are dumped on them in the same way American wheat used to be dumped on foreign countries—to clear the market for more production. The highest—and most insane—level of Keynesian economics, it turns out, is internal imperialism.

But, like old-style capitalism, one-dimensional totalitarian capitalism appears to have its internal contradictions too. Remarking upon the Marxian vision of the abolition of forced, alienating labor, Arendt writes: "The spare time of the (laborer) is never spent in anything but consumption, and the more time left to him, the greedier and more craving his appetites." But today we have unmistakable signs that there is a point where that craving turns to a dull heartburn and men learn that they are not really able to digest all that crap. Moreover, they sense that they are paying for what they really don't want with huge chunks of their lives. Anyone who has spent the past few years as a line worker, say, or construction laborer, will recall the beauty of those days when he was out on a wildcat—a strike, that is, not for more money or longer vacations, but for a slower line or more smoke breaks: more control over one's working time and one's work.

Labor sociologists tell us that it is the more skilled, prestigious (sic!), and higher-paid sections of the industrial working class that are, as over against the thirties, now more rebellious and militant. But still more militant, and even revolutionary, are the people we have begun to call "the New Working Class". The latter, children of the old "middle class", students herded into the trade schools we persist in calling universities, are those that really bother the liberal capitalist ideologues. Sick to puking with endless consumption, oppressed with meaningless training for purposeless labor (when they had

them out of his mind. But the engineer or the professor will rather be angry that he cannot make his labor work. Far be it from me to deny that the labor of the old working class is miserable; I'll never go back to it again. But the fact is that the New Working Class, sitting in clean offices or cool labs, can experience a more radicalizing alienation than the old; unlike industrial workers, who were only promised labor plus consumer goods, the New Working Class was promised work and got labor instead. Moreover, American industrial workers, unlike Europeans, have no tradition through which they may criticize the juncture of political economy and culture. The New Working Class does not have much of a tradition either; but the university provides some critique, and that is proving to be useful. (In America, for example, Marx has survived only in the universities. Let's say that much for our trade schools.)

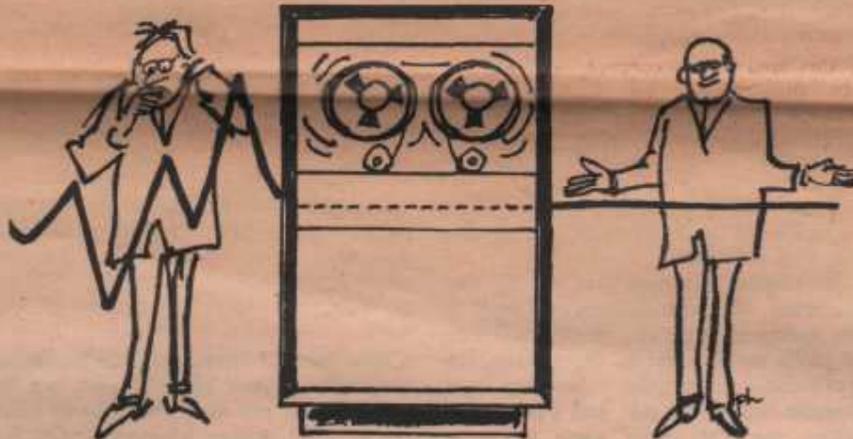
It happens, though, that the New Working Class does not yet perceive its problems very clearly. Its political arm, SDS and the rest of the New Left, does not really see itself as a working class movement. "A successful working class movement," writes Jacobs, "must present alternatives for workers that deal with problems beyond the immediate work situation. Otherwise the strategy may degenerate into a defensive form of syndicalism." Jacobs is not particularly friendly to the New Working Class concept, but even those who are, like Greg Calvert and Don McKelvey, tend to stress the organization of workers around issues like consumer resistance, community control, et cetera—issues "beyond the immediate work situation".

I think that's dangerous. A revolutionary movement is, it is true, about people's lives—about all facets of people's lives. A revolutionary America, it is also true, demands that people in natural communities control their schools, police, local merchants. And organizing around these issues can itself be revolutionary activity. But, like the liberals, we seem bent on separating people from work, and thus from the only world we have to live in. If we are to be serious revolutionaries we must see that there are no issues "beyond" the work place; others are, in the end, subsidiary.

Furthermore, I think that we must, again contrary to Jacobs, become strategists of syndicalism. Not defensive syndicalism, but rather a syndicalism that, unlike old styles, is naturally revolutionary. We all agree, I'm sure, that the French Communists and the CTG leaders are cowardly finks, if not worse. But they continue to hold the allegiance of millions of French workers, and not just because French workers have no better leaders. What we forget is that the workers suffer more than anyone else in a general strike, and are sure to suffer most if they attempt a revolution and it fails. Those consumer goods that are increasingly detestable to us, are not yet so to them; they've had so few. To New Working Class people the problem is not more goods, but rather how to reverse the oppressive fragmentation of human sensibilities that is part and parcel of modern capitalism.

Now, I suppose this will be an unpopular argument. It will be described as elitist, and as tending to put down the poor. But the fact remains that the New Working Class is a radical force in the West. And if makes no sense, historically, to talk about the New Working Class if we don't talk about it as a precursor class. It would help us a great deal, I think, to stop shambling guiltily around in the presence of the revolutionary poor. And it would help them if we would approach their struggles, not as historical freaks, drop-outs from the bourgeoisie, but as a class with its own reasons for being revolutionary. It would help everybody—to go to heretical extremes—to admit,

(continued on Page 7)



expected purposeful work), extremely sensitive to the poisonous effects of a laboring political economy on its popular culture, this new class is not only revolutionary; it is potentially the most revolutionary class in human history.

Jim Jacobs, in a critical review of Gorz's Strategy for Labor, writes:

"Are the types of alienation experienced by the young engineer working on a sewerage system for a town he has never seen and the automobile worker turning three screws on a moving assembly line every forty-five seconds for eight hours similar? Compare the feelings of a professor who believes his university's involvement in secret research for the Defense Department makes him further estranged from the society with those of a female textile worker who must watch eighteen threading machines for a mechanical breakdown and immediately repair any mechanical difficulties before too much thread is ruined. Isn't the textile worker experiencing a greater meaningless activity and strain than the university professor, and more important will not these feelings of the textile worker result in a greater radical consciousness?" (from Our Generation, Volume 5, Number 3)

Well, yes, she is; and no, they probably won't. If Jacobs will recall his own experiences on the assembly line he will remember that his reaction to those eight-hour chunks of his life—the endless, futile labor; the heat, the noise, the motion, all seeming to hang just above his eyebrows—was to block

HUEY IN COURT

While the Black Panther Party was making plans to bring the Huey Newton case before the United Nations General Assembly, in New York, Huey's jury was selected inside the Alameda County Courthouse.

Nearly a hundred prospective jurors were questioned about the Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders, the death penalty, "Pigs", and the Black Panthers. The final result was a jury reflecting the mainstream of white, bourgeois, racist America. Blacks and whites opposed to capital punishment were systematically excluded by the prosecution.

Huey's attorney, Charles Garry, challenged the entire panel, asking that they be dismissed. The challenge was based on the de facto exclusion of blacks inherent in the use of voter registration lists for panel selection and the panel's reflection of the racism that is America.

After testimony by sociologists proved the racist nature of the jury selection process, seventy-two-year-old judge Monroe Friedman repeatedly attacked the credibility of any studies made outside of Alameda County because national studies included such hotbeds of racism as Mississippi and Alabama, which, according to Friedman, are fundamentally different from Alameda. He dismissed Garry's motion.

The jury has a token black man seated on it. He is a lending officer for the Bank of America and a former Air Force

staff sergeant.

In New York, the Panthers' central committee appeared at a press conference and revealed plans to take the case before the UN and ask for non-government recognition by the international body.

The conference was called to "warn" the American people that if Huey is not set free "there is little hope of avoiding open armed war in the streets of California and of preventing it from sweeping across the Nation."

"Will you try to free Huey if he's convicted?" a newsman asked Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Education for the Panthers.

"We might not even wait until then," Cleaver replied. "We are not going to allow Huey to be railroaded through the court."

Outside the courtroom in Oakland on Sunday, July 28th, a mass rally was held in support of Huey. Speakers included SDS National Secretary Mike Klonsky; Reies Tijerina, leader of the Chicano land-grant movement in New Mexico; and Panthers Cleaver and Bobby Seale. A platoon of Panthers have posted a guard outside the courthouse each day. They stand at parade rest with "Free Huey" flags in hand through court proceedings.

As the trial drags on, demonstrations are being planned by black and white groups who understand that there cannot be a fair trial for Huey in Alameda County and that it is the people who must set Huey free.

SEGAL IN JAIL

(Editor's note: Following are excerpts from recent letters sent by SDSer Jeff Segal, who is now serving the third month of a four-year sentence for draft refusal. Brothers and sisters should send letters to Jeff in care of the NO.)

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

I finally got out of the semi-segregated admissions unit and am now living in the dorm area with the rest of the regular inmates. Adjustment for the last couple of weeks has been pretty easy, and I have been able to model a schedule and program for myself to use this time as profitably as I can. I've been reading on the average of one book every two days, and as soon as magazines and newspapers begin to come I should be able to really start studying.

It's been quite an experience being here and has enabled me to work into a number of important questions and problems. It didn't take me too long to spring back to my normal self, and I have been hopping along keeping occupied and doing a lot of good things. I just finished reading a very interesting book last week—an informal biography of Lenin written by N. Krupskaya....

Things down here have been like things are in prison....Received a letter saying they hoped I "was over my illness and not in too bad pain". Please let folks know I am not now sick, I never was sick, and don't intend to get sick. In the

words of Mark Twain "The accounts of my death have been greatly exaggerated."

I live in what they call the Prison Camp which is where they house the cons they send here to help administer the hospital. There are now a hundred and seventy-five guys in the PC, and about half of it is made up of draft cases—mostly Jehovah's Witnesses, but also a small handful of Black Muslims, several COs, and me—the only PO (political objector) in the house....I have been working now for about a month as the clerk in, of all places, the Protestant Chaplain's office....I am still reading like a fiend and have been combing the library with a fine tooth comb. Have found some interesting things like a novel on the Shay's Rebellion, a book on Revolution and Counter Revolution in Spain, and many others. What with this reading material and a chance to continue to think out some of the political problems, I have also been doing some theoretical practical work. Lots of new ideas floating in my head, and would like to talk to you about some of them.

Give my love to everyone and tell them all that I think about them and worry too. And would like to stay in as close touch as possible.

Hasta la victoria siempre

Jeff Segal
9689-PCS

MORE BURNSIDE

tradition. These universities produce an elite. On the other hand, the art schools, teachers' colleges, and polytechnic institutes produce the mass of technicians, teachers, and other highly-educated workers. The latter are divorced from the liberal-arts tradition, are often very rigid about exams, rules, et cetera, and have students of a class background somewhat lower than that of the students in the elite schools.

The split means that the tensions between the elite liberal-arts values and the practical training of the non-elite reality do not, in England, occur in the same individuals or in the same institutions. The inculcation of skills and the inculcation of values which conflict with those skills are separated. The elite thus come to feel moral anger at the War in Vietnam, racism, and other things which do not directly affect them. The pre-worker types feel simple self-interest problems not related to the

external problems. The two kinds of movements do not merge.

If this analysis is correct, one might guess that hopes for a New Left movement of the type we are familiar with might lie in the "red brick universities", the new universities designed to bring an American-style university education to great numbers of people. There have, indeed, been stirrings in some of these universities, but so far they have not shown distinctive trends in style. In some, the leaders are International Socialists; in others, the leaders are quite suspicious of the IS.

The student-power and pure Left groupings have many elements in common, in attitude if not in idea. They both feel that power is diffuse, reflecting their inability to identify power in their society. Thus, to the International Socialist groups, the enemy is now "fascism", as if they were searching for a concrete form to give the unknown

enemy. To the Hornsey sit-inners, avoiding political analysis, power lay in a diffuse hierarchy of academic and government officials.

Both groups are similar also in their attitudes toward violence. They appear, to the American, very gentlemanly, in spite of the influence of American direct-action tactics. They see little reason to expect violence or to provoke it. As someone at Hornsey told us: "Why, if the Government cut off the power to get us out of the building, it would be a national scandal!"

Also, the notion of organizing in the American sense does not seem to have been grasped. Thus, leafleting plant gates is called organizing by the student Left. And the student syndicalists fear a one-man, one-vote system in the university because they "might lose". Neither group seemed to have any idea of changing the consciousness of someone who has not yet been convinced.

Finally, there is a third tendency on the Left, represented by the New Left Review and by the groups around the "New Left May Day Manifesto". These people are the only ideologically recognizable New Left, but are almost negligible as activists. They represent primarily an intellectual trend. They recognize the importance of student syndicalism, but have few links to it; they understand the idea of organizing, but have little experience. This group does have weak links with the Hornsey sit-in and links with a neighborhood organizing project in Notting Hill Gate in London.

It should be noted that each of these groups is involved in efforts directed toward co-operation of different groups. It may be that through one or another of these efforts a cross-fertilization can occur and a New Left synthesis, in action as well as in theory, can take place.

EUROPEAN STUDENTS

CON'T

The place to begin organizing the syndicates is inside the universities, where our movement is naturally strongest. Radical students tend, at the moment, to think of themselves as free-floating bodies, and not as chemist-, or anthropologist-, or teacher-revolutionaries, whose politics has a base in the work-lives they will lead. If they had their own syndicates inside the more general student movement it would be easier for them to criticize their particular training within the context of the university-trade school and American political economy as a whole. Also, the syndicate would help end the pernicious splitting of one's student life from one's "adult" life.

These last notes, on syndicalist strategy, have been especially sketchy. If they are at all useful they will have to be rounded out by the whole Movement. How one transforms physics in a Westinghouse plant from labor into work, I don't know; nor do I know how to organize Westinghouse physicists into a syndicate. Both are up to the physicists.

To state the issue again: I am not arguing for more "radicals in the professions". To the extent that there are many true professionals still around, there is no inherent reason for them to be revolutionaries. We should address these people—from professors to skilled factory workers—for whom the questions of meaning in work and personal integration are increasingly pressing. Some students will leave school to organize for worker's control on the old assembly line. But we must face the fact that most will not. They must, I think, create at least that Movement for a Democratic Society, not as a conglomeration of "adults" embarrassed in the presence of "students", but as a federation of new workers' syndicates. In a hospital I know there are radicals laboring as janitors, nurses, cafeteria workers, and computer operators. What is needed is that they organize themselves into a syndicate that does several things: gives them a sense of the workplace as a totality, and of their roles—and potential roles—in it; involves other

workers in political talk that in fact cuts across old political lines—parties, race, et cetera—and across old trade union lines as well; prepares, from its own particular knowledge and through its own particular strategy, for workers' control. Similar syndicates can be set up wherever the New Working Class is to be found, within General Motors and inside the UAW. The syndicates can function as caucuses on the line, in the office, and within the old unions. (Many in the old unions are more than ready to talk about workers' control.)

Finally that the New Working Class has a lot to teach the old working class and the poor, as well as the other way around. If we don't do that—that is, make alliances more honestly than we have in the past—the ruling class is going to find it a lot easier to set us against each other, and, eventually, rob us all of our work and of our meaning as workers.

But I do know that capitalism will not be overthrown by revolutionaries whose lives are only half-political, who are at best outraged consumers. They must be workers as well, able to understand the essence of capitalism, and to strangle it in its own back room.

The Movement, as said before, is beginning to think about the seizure of power. It must if it is not to remain mired in perpetual protest. But the seizure of power is much easier to think about if it is seen, not as a leap into some nameless dark chasm, but as the logical culmination of forces already—historically—in motion. The vision need not (and cannot) be rigid and stifling. Nor should it be even more mysterious than that of liberals. I will, for the present, set my sights on a revolutionary general strike of syndicates and radicalized trade unions; but that's my thing. What I think we must—again—agree upon among ourselves is that if it's untrue that "the international working class will free the human race"—then there will be no freedom.



European Student Movement: Part 2: ITALY & ENGLAND

by John & Barbara Ehrenreich

ITALY

As in Germany, the movement in Italy grew out of a combination of discontent with the university and concern for the problems of the Third World. The struggles in the Third World initially affected only the already-politicized students, giving them a new sense of urgency and a new militant style. From Guevara they learned their lessons—"two, three, many Vietnams" and "the duty of a revolutionary is to make a revolution". The Vietnamese struggle also helped wean them from any lingering attachment to the reformist Italian Communist Party (PCI). While the students were proclaiming solidarity with the NLF, the PCI adhered to the "peace in Vietnam" line.

Meanwhile, the discontent with the university had been smoldering. Economic pressures and boring lectures kept most students away from the university except for exams. This is fortunate, since university facilities could not accommodate the increasing number of enrolled students if they actually showed up. After graduation, students discover that their training is inadequate for most available jobs. Industry tries to compensate with extensive on-the-job training for newly-hired graduates. For several years preceding 1967 the national student union had pressured for reforms in the university, but even when its actions were militant it remained a bureaucratic organization, trying to mobilize students by calls from above, without discussion or initiative from the students. Most students were totally apathetic toward the student union and its activities.

In Turin, in November 1967, militants decided that the time had come to ignore the student union and go directly to the students. A meeting of the faculty over a proposal to build a new campus outside Turin was the occasion. When a petition to this faculty meeting was ignored, the students decided first to disrupt the meeting, and eventually to occupy the university. This first occupation lasted a month, and was followed by further occupations which have kept the university closed for almost the entire winter and spring. The movement spread rapidly. In Florence, in January, demonstrations over university problems were brutally disrupted by the police. A sympathy demonstration in Rome led to the occupation of several faculties of the university there. Throughout the spring direct action escalated, creating a mass student movement, especially in Turin, Rome, and Pisa. The actions included demonstrations on Vietnam, solidarity demonstrations with the French and Germans, and demonstrations on local university problems.

The Italian students are careful to justify their struggle in the university in terms of a wider struggle. "What does the university teach?" they ask. "To command and to obey." The university divides the student body into a tiny elite (who will command) and a mass of highly-skilled workers (who will obey). For both kinds of students, the university role is not to teach skills, but to instill the authoritarian and hierarchical ideology inherent in capitalism. They say that the university is a "class institution". That is, its primary function is the reproduction of class society. It follows, in their argument, that the struggle for university reforms is itself anti-capitalist, as long as these reforms challenge the university's role

in re-creating the class system. The Italians see the University as only one of the institutions that must be attacked, and even then, only in the mechanisms through which it preserves class structure, such as examinations (which channel the student into either the elite or the upper-level working class). True revolutionary change must occur throughout the entire society, with the industrial workers playing the leading role, they believe. But at this stage students are seen as having the special role of theoreticians and organizers. Within the university, they have the possibility not of creating a new university, but only of "demystifying" the old.

As to relations with the workers: the students face a working class organized into reformist parties and unions, despite the verbal class-consciousness of these organizations. (Note: The Communists' adoption of Gramsci leads the students to see Gramsci's thought as reformist. In particular, the ideas he developed toward the end of his life seem to lead directly to a strategy of working within the system.) Already worried that student militance will spill over to the factories, trade-union leaders are trying to either use or isolate the students. The students, on the other hand, insist on mass interaction with the workers themselves, not just relations with the union leaders. In dealing with workers, they try to attack the authoritarian and bureaucratic union structure without threatening the union itself as a protective working-class organization. Practical attempts to build relationships with the workers are still primitive, but far from discouraging. In Rome, students are developing contacts with younger workers and with university personnel. The students have little interest in white-collar workers or in organizing people where they live.

The style of the Italian movement is anti-authoritarian, but not anarchist. The structure of what they call "the Movement" is loose and geared to action. At various times, various divisions into commissions have been made. In Rome there are now commissions on the university, on relations with high-school students, and on relations with workers. But decision-making rests entirely in the general assemblies of the Movement. All the bureaucratic trappings of existing parties are avoided—leaders, committees, membership. However, as the Movement grows, the need grows for an office, a newspaper with some continuity and with power to make its own editorial decisions, et cetera, and some loose structure may develop. Despite the anti-authoritarian formal structure, the Italian movement is far from practicing internal participatory democracy. General meetings tend to feature series of lengthy speeches, with little or no exchange from the floor. Mechanisms for deepening the politicization of the "mass" of the students who have been awakened by direct action have not been developed, although the need for them is felt.

The cultural elements familiar to the American movement are almost entirely absent (at least in Rome and Turin—Florence and Venice may be exceptions to this discussion). There is no youth sub-culture or hippy movement. The intensity of activity in the spring months has led to much camaraderie, but not to a markedly new life style. People described radicalization as entirely a moral and intellectual process, without

using psychological terms such as "alienation". Similarly, although they see all institutions of society as relevant to attack (an understanding they claim derives from the Chinese cultural revolution), cultural institutions are, in fact, not on their list. Thus the provo actions taken by a group of artists at the Venice Biennale were dismissed as trivial by the Romans: artists should work directly for the Movement or not at all. The Italian students have done little by way of analysis of the role of culture as a mechanism of social control. Marcuse's influence is more talked about by the bourgeois press than felt by the students. All forms of psychological and sociological repression are summed up as "mystifications". That is, they are neither analyzed nor considered interesting; it is merely assumed that they somehow reflect and hide the class structure of the society.

Finally, direct action is seen less as a mechanism for attaining any particular end than as a mechanism for exposing the latent violence of the society (an idea which they may have picked up from the German SDS, which has been very influential on the Italians). The actual stimuli to direct action were the struggles of black people in the US and the struggles in the Third World. In Italy as well as in Germany, direct action exposed capitalist violence even more clearly than the students expected, and they are now looking for forms of action which do not guarantee wounds and jail terms.

After the heady days of the spring, the Italian movement is now in a state of retrenchment. Much of its style is still a militant reaction to the reformism and parliamentarism of the Communist Party (and to a lesser extent of the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity—"PSIUP"). Now they must pass from rejection to development of alternative forms of action. The students needed little practical analysis and little subtlety of strategy for their struggle in the university, and they are little prepared to carry their struggle beyond the university doors. Even within the university, their following is exhausted by the strenuous spring, and the Movement faces the need to consolidate its strength. It may provide some perspective on both the French and the Italian movement to guess that in many respects the Italians are now where the French might be had not the workers joined in in France.

ENGLAND

The English student Left is split into three main tendencies, none of which corresponds fully to what we would call a "New Left" in other countries. None has, as of yet, succeeded in mobilizing any substantial student movement.

First there are the pure student-power people, typified by the students who occupied Hornsey College of Art in Northern London this spring. The occupation began after a protest over fairly trivial student complaints, but it rapidly escalated into a wholesale attack on the traditional ways of teaching art, entrance requirements, examinations, the creation of narrow specialists by a rigid curriculum, et cetera. Radical in its syndicalist critique of the art schools and in its demands for student power, it scrupulously clear of "politics" and more-or-less clear of the organized student Left. The Hornsey students saw

these issues as divisive, essentially because—and it took us awhile to realize the full implications of this—they believed they could win. The reforms they were asking for seemed to them to be in line with official reform proposals, so why alienate support from outside by tacking on irrelevant issues? Student-power demands, direct-action tactics, and the endless talk about community (the London papers called it the "talky-talky revolution") characterize the Hornsey militants. Although the talk drifted constantly toward political analysis, it shied from extensive links to external political programs or issues. Outside of Hornsey, student-power militance emerged in numerous other art schools and polytechnic institutes around England this spring.

Second, there is a group which we will call "pure student Leftists". This tendency is centered in the International Socialist groups outside the universities and in many of the socialist clubs in the universities. Until relatively recently, these groups were not interested in either student issues or students as a mass base. Their issues were Vietnam, racism, working-class living standards, and the threat of fascism, and their proposed political base was the working class. More recently they have come to see that they could gain adherents by adding student power to their programs, but it still sounds like an afterthought. As far as they are concerned, students are valuable as agents for activating workers, and student issues as such are basically bourgeois.

Although these "pure Leftists" were leading spirits in the occupation of the London School of Economics last year over student-power issues, some of them now feel a little embarrassed over that event—as if they went too far. They have contempt for the occupiers of Hornsey since the Hornsey demands are "non-political". This attitude may reflect their own failure to gain adherents at Hornsey, which, however "non-political", had obvious political possibilities. In style as well as theory, the pure Leftists differ radically from the student-power types. They have little interest in "community", and little faith in direct action. Generally they believe that "given the correct line, the correct tactic will follow". This rather limited vision of the interaction between action and consciousness takes the place of any characteristic New Left ideas on confrontation.

We believe that this split between the groups involved in politics on non-university issues and the groups involved in pure student syndicalism can be traced to a split in the British educational system. On the one hand, Oxford, Cambridge, and a few other elite institutions such as the London School of Economics are the repository of the classical, humanistic, liberal-arts

(continued on Page 7)

Need Money?

Be a sales representative for a socio-political-satirical new poster line. Ideal for individuals and organizations. Write for complete poster profit kit:

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, Box 427, Wayzata, MN 55391.