

NEW LEFT NOTES

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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

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THE NEW LEFT IN CAMBODIA

SPECIAL TO NEW LEFT NOTES
AND THE MOVEMENT

Steve Halliwell
NY Regional SDS

Cambodia is, as our people say, a trip in itself. Four New Lefties could hardly step off a monster jet in their overcoats in the middle of the tropical rain forest of Southeast Asia without undergoing the "cultural shock" version of the blown mind. The experience in Cambodia, however, became twice as intense when it became clear to us that our trip to North Vietnam was impossible; Cambodia was not then a way station but the real thing, part of Asia and all that that continent has meant to the American political scene in the past twenty years.

We began our trip with some knowledge of Vietnam and its history but deeply into that all-American ignorance of everything else Asian—at one point we had a twenty-minute debate on the existence of Burma (the decision was favorable). Though we were able in the course of discussions to put together some of the recent history of the country and its peculiarities within the Southeast Asian cluster of nations, what is written here on Cambodia makes no pretensions of being anything more than the direct perceptions of a young American radical on the loose in Cambodia.

Phnom Penh, the capital city situated

at the juncture of the Mekong and Ton Le Sap rivers, has all the characteristics of an Asian city that we have seen in travelogues and magazines: busy markets, streets filled with bicycles and rickshaws, people carrying goods on their heads, hundreds of children playing semi-naked on the streets. But there are some essential aspects of this society that don't come through in that kind of description. The most notable element is the tranquility of the people in the midst of all that bustle: we never saw any fights or arguments in the streets, babies very rarely cry, and in general people are very kind to each other. That kindness extends to the foreigners as well, and not strictly in commercial situations as might be expected. One night, for example, I wandered around in the poorest section of Phnom Penh I could find just seeing what people did in the early evening and, while walking past a group of guys playing a chalk game on the sidewalk, was invited to join in. The game, an expanded version of tic-tac-toe played on the inch-square tiles from which all the sidewalks are made, was watched by about twenty-five Cambodians; none of them spoke French, an unusual thing in Phnom Penh, and so we played along by ear. Throughout the game, I was advised, admonished, joked with, and corrected if I made a move that someone decided was stupid; there was no fear or hostility in their faces,

and none of that overweening respect that is common in hotels and restaurants.

Furthermore, the conditions of life are not remarkably advanced, but there does not seem to be any serious illness or hunger. The children in the capital all have vaccinations, they are well dressed for school and really seem happy. Once in a while you'll see some peasants selling things on a corner that look really down and out—dirty, forced to live in the streets—but they are rare. The central market is chaotic and smelly, but it is washed down daily and no one looks as though poor sales will cost them their lives. We walked around in some of the darkest back alleys we could find and the people who lived along them looked like the poorest. A family of eight may live in a single room, and trash is burned off in an empty lot, but no one looks terribly bad off.

I know that this can all begin to sound terribly patronizing—the colonialist's "they like being poor" syndrome—but it becomes understandable in the context of the tranquility that I spoke about earlier. That sense on the streets is overwhelming—people carry themselves with a relaxed manner and without the slightest indication of hostility or aggression. Life in Cambodia seems to fly in the face of our past analysis that the poor are angry because of their exploitation or so downtrodden that there is only despair.

There are several reasons for the apparent contradiction. First, there is the fact of fourteen years of independence from the French, an independence that Sihanouk has been able to make quite real to the people by his skillful maneuverings between larger powers. The primary aspect of his policies in recent years has been to deny American "aid" a role that would have undermined that growing sense of national integrity; in addition, he has been able to deal with the traditional tensions with the Thais and Vietnamese—as well as a strong distrust of the Chinese—in ways that have held the nation together and not antagonized any other nation too badly.

Furthermore, most of the city is only about ten years old—there are three-story concrete buildings along all the streets, no open sewers that we could find, and a great many open areas with grass and trees. It should be kept in mind that Cambodia is very much a tropical country, so clothing and shelter do not demand the kind of resources they did in Merrie Old England of the Industrial Revolution, and it is relatively easier to avoid the Hogarthian nightmares that took place there. In a country where you can go all year round without putting on a shirt, a house is just a roof and some privacy. Given the relative ease with which basic needs can be met, the squalor of the American-controlled

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Keeping Cool ————— When The Heat Is On

Staughton Lynd

Repression is frightening. But it can also be an opportunity. If we can keep our heads and our cool, repression can make the movement stronger, not weaker.

The opportunity is to reach new groups of people. For example: I live in a neighborhood part middle-class white, part skilled working-class black. Last night I was asked to speak about the indictment of Spock and Coffin before a neighborhood group interested in electoral action within the Democratic Party. By the end of the evening the Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority and the Chomsky complicity statement had been circulated, the group had made its office available three nights a week for draft counseling, it was agreed that a leaflet advertising the availability of draft counseling would be distributed together with the group's anti-war petition, two people had volunteered to become trained as draft counselors and two others indicated they were in need of counseling. This is not in itself resistance, but it creates a context for resistance. If the purpose of the Spock-Coffin indictments is to attack the liberal support for grass-roots resistance, as suggested by Bob Pardun and John Fuerst in the January 15 NLN, we can make use of the indictments precisely to attract those whom the government seeks to frighten away.

It is essential, as Fuerst writes, that the defense of the five men "also be a defense of the program they supported". One objective of government harassment is always to divert energy from social change to the protection and liberation

of arrested individuals. How many demonstrations in the South which began at lunch counters ended outside jails! The movement must translate the slogan "Don't mourn for me, organize!" into the concrete understanding: "The most important defense of arrested comrades is to continue their work." This is not to say that legal defense should be neglected, as I shall argue in a moment. My plea is that we make it clear among ourselves right now, before we know which individuals will be singled out by the developing repression and so before the complex guilt feelings which attend that process have had time to appear, that, whoever is attacked, we will not permit the organization of defense committees to take the place of other organizing.

In the context, then, of the perspective that repression creates new possibilities for movement-building, I should like to say something about the law, something about jail, something about morality, and something about militancy.

1. The law. Surely there are opposite dangers here. At one extreme is looking to the courts rather than to the movement for fundamental protection. At the other extreme is dismissing the apparatus of the law as "bourgeois legalism", a resource wholly in the hands of the repressors.

Law can be used to defend democratic values and to build the movement. It should not be necessary to write elaborate justifications in NLN whenever SDS enters a law suit. Of course one can become trapped by the law, relying on it for a security it cannot provide and trimming one's political sails to the

winds of prevailing constitutional doctrine. I found myself slipping into this latter temptation in my case against the Illinois Board of Governors. Because the Board has refused to hire me on the ground that I advocated civil disobedience, the easiest thing to argue was that advocacy is protected by the First Amendment. But what I actually believe is that a teacher should be free not only to say whatever he desires off-campus but to do whatever he desires off-campus, so long as what he does (legal or illegal) does not prevent him from performing his duties as a teacher. Similar pitfalls arise in all court proceedings. Yet it would be folly to let that danger blind us to their usefulness.

Resort to law does not mean surrendering the initiative. David Mitchell pursued the Federal government until, by indicting him, the government enabled Mitchell to introduce the Nuremburg precedent in American courts. If for the moment we can sit-in at draft boards without being inducted or travel without

jeopardy to Cuba and North Vietnam, it is thanks to legal victories in movement-instigated suits. Even when we come into court as defendants rather than plaintiffs, a defense can be developed which seeks maximal protection for individuals at the same time that fundamental political issues are aired. Thus the O'Brien case (in which draft card burning was held to be free speech) broadened the legal meaning of the First Amendment; likewise the Sumrall and Sellers cases posed the political issue of segregated draft boards in the course of defending particular men.

2. Jail. Resistance people who return their draft cards are condemned by SDS people for needlessly provoking imprisonment, while organizers for the Resistance respond that SDS organizers talk much and do little. This political one-upmanship obstructs day-to-day solidarity in the face of repression.

The tension between SDS and the

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ERRATA: The first sentence in the article, Resistance and Repression by John Fuerst (NLN Jan. 15, 1968) should have been: "Dr. Benjamin Spock's crime has already been committed by thousands in the anti-war movement." The headline on page 4, messed up because of a printer's error, was originally, "U.S. Vietnam Strategy Failing."

LETTERS

The December N.C. The Duty of the Chapter...

The Duty of the National Office-Leadership...

To the Editor of NLN

How distant can a person be from campus life and still provide good leadership for a student movement? What kinds of roles can SDS provide for people who leave the university for full-time political work? Can these roles be structured so that the person develops while making contributions to the movement? I came away from the December N.C. with a number of impressions which, if correct, point out that we must answer these questions soon.

Although this was never clearly stated the purpose of the Educational Conference was to lay the groundwork for a Spring Program to be presented to the N.C. None of this came off? Why?

On the night of December 27 I went to a meeting of resource people. After several hours of inconclusive discussion I went to bed tired and confused—no one had explained or even stated what the real assumptions and goals of the Spring Program were. But then I had not been in on the weeks of discussion beforehand, my shtik was community rather than campus work, and most everyone else seemed to have a sense of having been brought together by shared assumptions and guilty secrets to carry out a common task. Why pry?

By the next afternoon I felt that many of the resource people—the “cadre”—understood the program no better than I, or if they did they weren't telling. Upon a very careful (between the lines) reading of the “Workshop Leaders' Handy Dandy Guide” I conclude that it ran as follows:

1. While the student community is on the move, many (older and larger) SDS chapters are not. Some have found their own little communities and stopped reaching out and engaging in serious political work.

2. Chapters should be persuaded to choose targets around which they can mobilize their energies and reach out again to students and the community at large.

3. For reasons which have to do with the political education of the students involved, and the reaction of black and white working-class communities, the targets should be off campus and linked in with the national power structure.

4. The target should be softened up by solid propaganda work and attacked by militant demonstrations which attempt to compress a great deal of political education into a very short space of time.

I'm too far from campus work to judge the program, but clearly there is a lot of thought and analysis behind it. It could have been presented to the E.C. workshops as a programmatic framework for small group discussions—to be criticized, modified, accepted, or thrown out as the Conference proceeded. Instead it was hastily buried, never to be brought up at all. I think there are reasons for this besides the fact that some may not have understood it or agreed with it:

1. The national leadership group, the

N.I.C. and its allies, responsible for planning the E.C., did not have the nerve to present publicly their criticism of chapter work.

2. Much of the national leadership of SDS is too remote from chapter work to know if this program or another makes sense for any area, much less for the whole organization.

I think that the P.L. group, in contrast to the national leadership group from which they are tacit but very firmly excluded, came off much better. The reason for this is not so much that they read diligently the works of Chairman Mao (although that helps, no doubt), but they have learned from earlier mistakes in student work. During the brief but glorious existence of M2M we too had “cadre” who zoomed from one coast to another and back again theorizing all the while about the student movement and how it was comparable to this or that Black struggle or something else abroad. After some time we learned that theorizing not grounded in experience was barren and futile. Cadres who travel and theorize never get the experience, because experience comes from seeing a struggle or series of struggles through from beginning to end. This is how a person can measure the results of his actions, learn from his mistakes, and profit from the criticism of others.

National leadership is necessary because not everyone in SDS is willing or able to think about and work hard to build a national movement, plan an educational conference, travel to new chapters, maintain communications within a region and with the N.O., etc. Theorizing is productive when people grounded in different situations can come together and analyze and generalize from their experience. National programs, when based on careful analysis of national trends and local trends, provide an opportunity for SDS to act as one. But I think now that unless national leadership becomes rooted in local struggle we shall have more incorrect leadership, wrong theories, and bad programs.

I guess I think also that the notion of a regional traveller, a young person who offers up body and soul to the movement so he can go around from place to place with nothing specific to offer or to do, should be pitched out the window. The notion, not the people, for it is the notion which is destroying the people.

One more point. At the December N.C. there was a lot of backbiting directed at the N.O. It pissed me off. People who actually work in the N.O. work harder than anyone else in SDS. They were the ones who cranked out the material which made the E.C. a good one despite a lot else. If they are isolated it is because we have let them down. People who want to bitch against the N.O. should buy one-way bus tickets to Chicago so they can come and help.

John Maher
Boston SDS

Draft Resistance Resolution

A major SDS draft program beginning this spring is now feasible and imperative for the following reasons: The fatalism characteristic of youth facing the draft is now cracking. The anti-draft movement is growing in knowledge and numbers to answer this need; the new abolition of graduate school deferments makes the crisis immediate for college seniors and graduate students. Liberal forces gathering behind the McCarthy campaign threaten to divert tensions of this crisis out of radical channels; SDS must respond with program that directly attacks the gears of the imperialist structure that liberals defend. The goal of the SDS draft program is to further attacks of the resistance struggle against imperialism.

A national program designed to reach potential inductees should be organized by SDS, coordinated by the National Office, and planned as a programmatic alternative to the liberal McCarthy campaign. The program looks towards two streams of spring organizing—in schools and in communities—coalescing in the summer. College students who cannot during the academic year collectively resist their distant draft boards will be able to organize in their home areas in the summer. High school students and non-student youth will be able to ally with returning college students. Their common situation provides the basis for common summer program.

A. In high schools and colleges, SDS chapters and organizers should recruit anti-draft cadre before apolitical summer commitments are made by students. In poor and working-class neighborhoods, similar recruitment should prepare for intensive summer anti-draft action. This should compliment rather than compete with other aspects of student and community organizing.

B. Organizer lists should be forwarded by SDS chapters and field workers to the N.O., broken down by geographical area, and these local lists duplicated and distributed to all prospective anti-draft cadre of the respective localities. The N.O., regional offices, and local draft resistance unions should plan training sessions, where possible, should print advance publicity and anti-draft literature for the program, and should insure the presence of provisional leadership in all foci at the beginning of the summer. Support in the form of NLN coverage, literature, travellers, and financial aid when necessary should continue beyond the spring preparation.

C. Spring publicity in the schools should aim towards non-SDS people to draw them into action. Assemblies, rallies, literature,

dorm canvassing, newspapers and other media should be employed to inform seniors and graduate students in particular of planned SDS summer services.

D. Forms of coalescence of student and community cadres and of subsequent program shall be determined at the local level by those involved, on the basis of their own local needs and conditions.

E. Past forms of work should continue both in schools and in communities according to local needs and conditions. Draft resistance counselling should be expanded and draft resistors aided. Demonstrations, attacks on university complicity, and disruption of induction should be employed when they aid grass roots organizing. Those who want to enter the military for radical organizing inside, and those already in the service who refuse to fight should receive support through financial and legal aid where possible, publicity assistance, and delegations to court trials or demonstrations when appropriate. Anti-draft action should try to advance both draft-resistance and base building simultaneously.

INDICTMENTS IN IOWA

IOWA CITY, Iowa, Jan. 15 (LIBERATION News Service)—Seven people have been indicted for conspiracy and three others for resisting police officers by an Iowa City grand jury last week. The indictment and almost immediate arrests stemmed from a demonstration against recruiters from the Dow Chemical Company on the University of Iowa campus on Dec. 5.

According to the indictment, the seven had “conspired and confederated with a wrongful and malicious intent to do an injurious act to the police on or about Dec. 5.” County Attorney Jansan had termed the anti-Dow demonstration “a well-planned and well-organized disturbance.”

The Dec. 5 demonstration was the culmination of more than a week of antiwar protests, including a 15-day fast by nine people and a “baby burning” with simulated napalm. About 200 demonstrators tried to obstruct the Dow representatives in the student union building, but they were repelled by police.

Demonstrators did not confine themselves to the university campus, but for the first time in Iowa City they marched downtown using walkie-talkie radios to relay information on the whereabouts of the police who were chasing them.

The seven indicted for conspiracy were Paul Klienberger, a graduate student; Roth J. Peterson, a sophomore; Bruce Clark, an organizer for Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); Steven Morris, electrical technician; Dennis Ankrum; and Jean Gammon, a former student. The three indicted for resisting were Fred McTaggart, a graduate student; and Lory Rice and Roy Harvey.

The state penalty for conspiracy charges is three years in prison.

Klienberger and Peterson had been indicted and arrested for conspiracy on the day of the demonstration. McTaggart had required 37 stitches to close wounds inflicted by the police during the protest. Many others had been injured, and Mace, the nerve-attacking spray, had been used liberally. Klienberger, 23, of Silver Spring, Md., was fired from his job as part-time rhetoric instructor at the university as a result of the arrest, according to a report in the Washington Post.

Bail bond for each of the seven was set at \$1,000, and for the three others, \$5,000 each. Bail was raised the next day and legal counsel is being secured.

Authorities have put much emphasis on a long article, entitled “Pop Art Guerrilla Warfare,” which appeared in the local underground newspaper, Middle Earth, reprinted from The Movement, describing in detail the “mobile tactics” used by Oakland, Calif. demonstrators against the police during Stop the Draft Week.

The local press referred to the demonstration as a “riot” and said that the students used “urban guerrilla tactics worthy of the genius of Mao Tse-Tung.”

Women's Liberation . . .

Male Chauvinism . . . ? !

To the Editor:

At Bloomington, as has been par for the course, a Women's Liberation Workshop was held, a set of resolutions was presented, a series of motions were passed, without any amendment, discussion, debate, or (I would wager to say) understanding. Far from being good, I think that this is a very paternalistic way of not dealing with the question of Women's Liberation, which is a serious topic. We've been passing motions on this topic flippantly, as though they meant nothing—and any motion you pass in that manner does mean: exactly nothing.

At the next NC, if this comes up for rediscussion, (and I think it should) let's have a real discussion for once. What are the roots of male chauvinism? How does it manifest itself within the Movement? In the society as a whole? What can we concretely do to combat it? And lastly, what is the relationship (or should be the relationship) of attempts to combat male chauvinism to the movement as a whole? These, and other questions people have, should be debated, both in NLN and at the NC in order to bring people's views on this out into the open.

In struggle,

Bernard Farber
Chicago, Illinois

new left notes

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Rusk at the Fairmont-

A View from One Corner

by Karen Wald

Although the demonstration had been set—according to the leaflets which appeared only that morning—for 7:30, people began wandering up to the Fairmont at about 5:30, and by the time we arrived at 7:35, the action was in full progress.

Getting out of the car at the bottom of a steep hill 3 blocks away, we heard the roars—angry, startled—of the crowd. Panting up the hill to the Fairmont, we saw masses of people picketing and standing along the sidewalks in front of and across the street from the main entrance. And before we even became a part of the crowd, we saw police vans pulling into position and lines of helmeted riot-police making club-swinging charges at the crowd.

We couldn't understand it. No one knew Rusk was coming until yesterday afternoon. Leaflets calling for a demonstration appeared at the Huey Newton demonstration that morning, and that was the first most people had heard about it. We expected a small, liberal crowd of picketers to be parading around the building when we arrived. And looking at the crowd, our assessment of them wasn't far from wrong. Students, New Politics, Peace & Freedom Party people, school teachers, people on their way home from work, hotel guests, mothers with young children, men still in business suits, people who had been in SF for the day shopping—it certainly didn't look like a 'radical' crowd. Only one or two safety helmets were visible; no one carried shields, no one wore vaseline as protection against mace. No one seriously expected trouble.

The size of the crowd was impossible to assess. It looked and sounded to us like thousands, although local left papers later reported 4-500. Demonstrators mingled with hotel guests and passersby, and were never in one spot, but filled all the sidewalks and at times intersections on all sides and for blocks around the hotel.

No one really knows what started the police rampage. Someone said it was when police going by a line of demonstrators standing on a low wall directly across from the Fairmont began knocking some off the wall with their clubs. Mayor Alioto, who condemned the anti-war demonstrators as "neo-fascist student-types" and highly praised the police chief and his men for their efficiency, indicated that it was the blood thrown on the Fairmont door that triggered the police blood-bath. Apparently feeling this act on the part of the demonstrators justified full repression, Alioto was reported in the Oakland Tribune as saying "if charges of police brutality are brought up by any of those arrested...they would not have enough evidence to support such allegations." Noting the bags and balloons filled with blood, he said "any charge of police brutality in the light of this situation is totally false." (Oakland Tribune, Jan. 13)

The demonstrators' initial responses to the police action were shock, amazement, fear, then anger. People watched as a line of police would grab a single demonstrator, throw him to the ground, begin beating him with clubs and fists and kicks, then handcuff him and drag him to the awaiting van, spraying his face continuously with mace as they did so. When the shock was overcome, people began to scream. Finally, finding stones and bricks in the street, people began to throw anything they could get their hands on. In general, the fear was too great for any real attempt to rescue the one who was grabbed, although later there were a few scattered incidents of this.

After this (which had already begun when we arrived) the police began making planned, concentrated charges at the demonstrators, one section at a time. There were no leaders, no monitors, no one to give direction to the demonstrators. Most scattered and fled before the onslaught of police. Those who

couldn't move fast enough, or who tripped and fell on the steep hills, became the victims of the cops' insane wrath.

The victims were a combination of careful political choice and totally irrational, arbitrary chance. A high proportion of Berkeley (SDS) political activists were beaten and arrested—conveniently pointed out for the SF Police by the Berkeley Red Squad, which staked itself out at the corner the Berkeley carpools were leaving from, spotting the demonstrators ahead of time, then to the SF cops, saying "Get him!" But many others were new people, who had never been on a demonstration before; some who had just happened by; some who had thought they would go up to the Fairmont and join the picket line for awhile before proceeding to dinner, or the movies, or to wherever they were going. Several were people who lived nearby and made the mistake of walking outside their house, or who were waiting for buses at nearby bus stops.

"Congregating around 6 P.M. the 1,000 odd protesters were totally peaceful... at first. They picketed, sang songs and shouted slogans; but at roughly 7:15 the cops lined up at one corner and started moving. They walked slowly about 30 yards and then on the order 'now' yards and then on the order 'now', rushed the demonstrators swinging wildly against everyone, arresting whoever fell. They repeated this procedure for three hours, chasing people as far as six blocks down the dangerously steep hills and booking them (six blocks away) for failing to disperse. They roughed up anyone they caught, squirted Mace into every exposed face they saw.

(John Gerassi, Gaurdian, Jan 20)

The savagery of the police exceeded that on "Bloody Tuesday" in Oakland. As many people were hospitalized, and three times as many charged with felonies, in those few hours as in the entire STDW in Oakland. (Felony charges, for those not already aware, are what are handed out to people who the police beat severely, as a protection against police brutality suits. Charges of "rioting", "resisting arrest" and "assaulting an officer" help justify the brutality, and can frequently be traded off for a promise not to sue the police. An especially flagrant example of this was one young man who stepped out of his home a few blocks from the Fairmont, only to be knocked to the ground savagely by police who were chasing some demonstrators. When he attempted to get the cops badge numbers, one cop asked what for. "I'm going to sue the city," he foolishly replied. At that, the cop reared back, and slammed him with all his force over the head with a club, then arrested him.)

Having learned well in Oakland the beauty of demonstrating and resisting effectively without getting caught, and having just worked on the new issue of The Movement which editorializes on this very point, I came to the demonstration with the firm intention of not being busted. But the days are long gone when you had to be seeking arrest through passive civil disobedience, or flagrantly breaking the law and daring the police to catch you, in order to be busted. When a police bullhorn announced "Guests of the Hotel and citizens should go inside the Hotel" (daring demonstrators to move out into the street and face the line of cops) I quietly headed through the courtyard to go inside (I AM a citizen). But an SF cop grabbed my arm and began pulling me the other way. Realizing I was on hotel grounds, so that he theoretically (legally) needed a warrant to arrest me, I protested about being on private property,

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SUPPORT SNCC SUPREME COURT FIGHT

SNCC is circulating a citizen's petition asking the Supreme Court to strike down a lower court ruling that prevents its Chairman, H. Rap Brown, from leaving the bounds of New York City. The travel restriction was imposed as a condition of bail after Brown's arrest last summer for "inciting to riot" in Cambridge, Md. The travel ban amounts to preventive arrest and is a gross denial of the most elementary rights of dissent and free speech; in addition, thousands of people are prevented from hearing Brown all across the country. This technique of preventive arrest will probably be used against Movement people increasingly in the next months. Let's fight it now.

SDSers are urged to do the following in support of the drive as soon as possible:

- Invite Brown to speak on your campus.
- Circulate information on the case on your campus and activate other organizations.
- Reproduce and circulate the following Citizen's Petition on campus and wherever else possible.

NOTE: Send petitions and invitations to SNCC, 100 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. as soon as possible.

CITIZENS AMICUS BRIEF
IN SUPPORT OF H. RAP BROWN'S APPEAL
FROM HIS BAIL RESTRICTIONS

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1967

Misc. No.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ex. rel.
H. RAP BROWN,
Relator - Petitioner,
VS.
HON. RAYMOND FOGEL, City Sergeant,
Alexandria, Virginia,
Respondent.

We, black and white citizens of the United States, herewith respectfully request the Supreme Court of the United States to expedite its consideration of the petition of H. Rap Brown for a writ of certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit and, upon such consideration, to grant said petition.

As we understand it, the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Richmond Division, imposed upon Mr. Brown, as a condition of his release on bond, the restriction that he could not leave the eleven counties of the Southern District of New York, the district in which the office of William M. Kunstler, one of his attorneys is located, except in connection with litigation in which he was involved. Because of this restriction on his travel, Mr. Brown has been prevented from fulfilling many speaking engagements, both in the United States and abroad, and will be unable to meet similar commitments in the future.

In imposing this condition, the federal judge indicated that Mr. Brown was "not going anywhere to make speeches because he is going to have to stay in Mr. Kunstler's district except when going to and from trial and going to the defense of these matters."

The inability of Mr. Brown to fulfill his speaking engagements constitutes a subtle but potent threat to the free speech of every American. If he can be imprisoned in a geographical area from which he cannot emerge to articulate his views and those of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose national chairman he is, then bail is being effectively used to silence both him and his organization. While there may be many people who disagree with the views propounded by Mr. Brown, it is not in the American tradition to squelch them by conditioning his release on bond on his silence.

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HOW TO SELECT TARGETS TO DISRUPT THE EMPIRE

Edie Black and Lois Reivich

Intelligence may be distinguished from "academic research" by its orientation toward action. The academic researcher studies a subject for its own sake alone. The intelligence analyst, on the other hand, gathers data on institutions and persons in order to formulate a strategy of action. Such a strategy is often of a sabotage nature in that it attempts to disrupt the normal operations of the persons and institutions investigated. In order to effectively shake imperialist control centers in the U.S., intelligence data must first be gathered on the operations of and personnel involved in the institutions to be confronted.

One effective means of disruption is the tactic of exposure. For to delegitimize the public relations image of an institution or person is to undermine its or his most sophisticated technique of control—the concealment of its or his real motivations.

Three examples of such exposure tactics can be found in the demonstrations against Chase-Manhattan Bank, the recent demonstrations against Dow Chemical, and the November 1967 Foreign Policy Association demonstration. The Chase-Manhattan Bank was selected as a target for its participation in a consortium of American banks, which made available to South Africa a revolving credit fund. South African apartheid policies are condemned sporadically by American statesmen in the UN, but this verbiage will never be translated into action because South Africa is a haven for American foreign investment and involves the most powerful banks and corporations in America (i.e. Dillon, Read and Co., American Metals Climax, Englehard Industries, Chase-Manhattan Bank, First National City Bank—see Oglesby's chapter *Free World Empire*, pp. 97-101 of *Containment and Change*, for full account). The target was well-chosen. The vulnerability of the Chase-Manhattan Bank was exemplified by the fact that, according to inside sources, David Rockefeller worried about its public image for six months afterwards.

A season of demonstrations on campuses across the country against the Dow recruiters has sufficed to damage their image and put the company on the defensive. The bad publicity in the press caused a drop in Dow sales and loss of their ability to attract many of the bright young minds needed to do research for the company. The ability to discredit Dow to this extent was enough to cause the board of directors to spend long hours considering whether or not they would continue to produce napalm.

A third example involving a different kind of a target was a demonstration in New York this fall on the occasion of a dinner celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Foreign Policy Association. Charles Englehard, a major investor in South Africa, chaired the meeting, and Dean Rusk gave the keynote speech. The demonstration exposed the FPA as an opinion-shaping cabal which is controlled by the ruling elite—the men who profit by shaping a mythology about U.S. intentions abroad. Here too, the demonstration touched off a concern of the FPA administrators because of the potential damage to their public image. They sent a letter to SDS dissociating themselves from Dean Rusk and asked SDS not to focus the demonstration on the association.

Doing intelligence on possible targets for exposure is not as difficult as might be supposed. The sources are readily available because communication between high-ranking operatives of controlling institutions is essential.

U.S. Imperialism — What Is It?

U.S. manipulation of Third World societies is motivated fundamentally by the need of U.S. corporations to insure the maximization of profits and continued growth at home. Formerly, the Third World was exploited as a source of raw materials to supply domestic industry. For example, foreign investment in Latin America was concentrated in extractive industries such as copper in Chile, tin in Bolivia, oil in Venezuela, and in commodities, such as sugar in Cuba and the Dominican Republic and bananas in Central America. Production in these goods was geared by export only—not for internal consumption. But increasingly, since the late 1950s, the stagnation of domestic markets has led U.S. investors to exploit Third World societies not only as raw materials suppliers but also as consumers of manufactured goods. (The role of underdeveloped countries as consumers of industrial products does not eclipse their former role as suppliers of raw materials. In fact, with the depletion of domestic reserves, U.S. industry has become even more dependent on the underdeveloped world for its raw material supplies. Production for the aerospace industry has further accentuated this dependency.)

The mechanism through which U.S. investors secure access to foreign markets is the subsidiary incorporated

in the host country. For example, the automotive market in Brazil is dominated by foreign investors through their subsidiaries: Willys Overland do Brazil, Ford Motor do Brazil, Volkswagen do Brazil, General Motors do Brazil. The corporate liberal ideology which advocates rapid industrialization and development of Third World societies (as epitomized by Alliance for Progress rhetoric) reflects this shift in the needs of U.S. investors. For the reforms advocated by corporate liberal ideologists are precisely those needed to transform an economy dominated by extractive industries into an industrialized economy with a rapidly growing consumer market. The large number of projects conducted in the underdeveloped countries by public agencies such as AID and the World Bank and by non-profit organizations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations are designed to implement these reforms. For example, AID projects conducting "agrarian reform" in the Latin American countryside aim to overcome one obstacle to internal market expansion—the latifundia system of production which is unable to supply growing urban populations with foodstuffs. The "agrarian reform" carried out by these projects is primarily that of teaching technical and marketing skills to already existing land units; it is not also designed (as it is under revolutionary governments) to redistribute land.

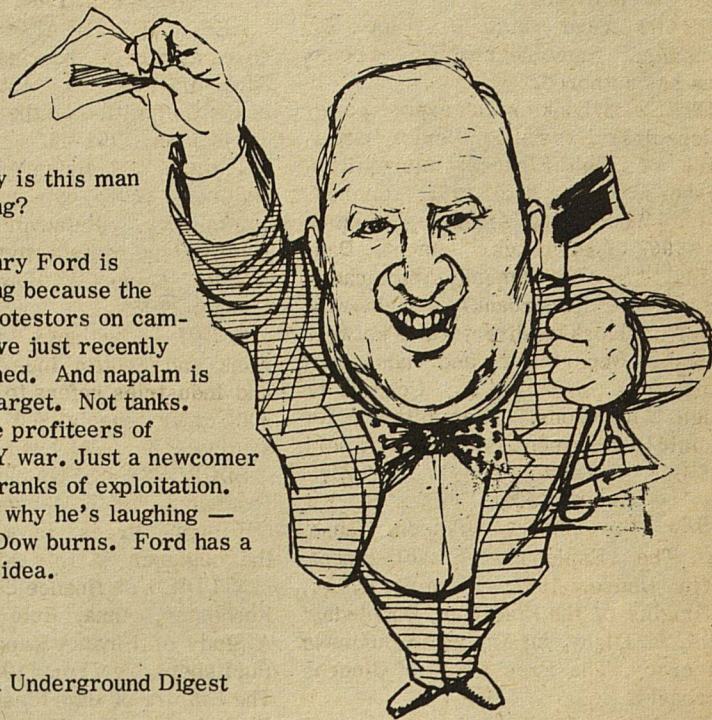
Infrastructure projects (highways, railroads, ports, hydroelectric generators) financed by World Bank loans plus social overhead projects (health programs, primary and secondary education) financed by AID and the Rockefeller Foundation are likewise geared to the needs of U.S. investors. The former build high-risk, low-return transportation and power facilities which service the needs of industrial growth. The latter provide a pool of skilled and healthy labor which can readily be absorbed by U.S. subsidiaries. Ford Foundation "university reform" projects in Latin America are attempting to restructure university curricula to give intelligent students the social conditioning necessary for managerial positions.

The dovetailing of the operations of business interests, foundation projects, and AID and World Bank projects in the Third World is further substantiated by the overlapping of personnel. For investigation shows that the same U.S. businessmen who control Latin American industry also sit on the boards of directors of the foundations which finance the so-called philanthropic projects in the Third World. Similarly, these same businessmen or their representatives stay in close liaison with public aid agencies through such organs as the Council on Latin America, the Commerce Committee for Alliance for Progress, and the Business Advisory Board of AID.

Why is this man laughing?

Henry Ford is laughing because the war protestors on campus have just recently awakened. And napalm is their target. Not tanks. Not the profiteers of EVERY war. Just a newcomer to the ranks of exploitation. That's why he's laughing — while Dow burns. Ford has a better idea.

—from Underground Digest



General Reference Sources

INDEXES: The following indexes are indexed by person, institution, company, and country: Periodicals Index, which covers popular magazines; Business Periodicals Index, which covers business publications; Public Affairs Information Service, which covers articles on matters and personnel relating to activities of public bodies; New York Times Index; Wall Street Journal Index.

Directory of Directories

PERIODICALS that tell it like it is: Fortune; Forbes; Business Week; Commercial and Financial Chronicle; Barron's Weekly.

BUSINESS LIBRARIES (on large universities) and other specialized libraries: The Specialized Libraries Association has chapters around the country which issue directories to the libraries in their areas. Look up Specialized Libraries Association in the phone book. Examples of specialized libraries: Petroleum Library, New York; World Bank/IMF Library, Washington, D.C.; Inter-American Defense College Library, Washington, D.C.

NEWSPAPER and periodical morgues: Such morgues store files and clippings on all subjects. Access to these is generally available only to those employed there. Examples: Time-Life morgue; New York Times morgue. There are also local newspaper morgues.

INTERVIEWS: Interviews are generally a very good source of information. There are two basic rules that should be followed in most cases. (1) They should be done after initial research, when you know what questions to ask and to whom you wish to talk. (2) The interviewer should play a straight role—i.e. as a student doing research for a course paper. If you conduct the interview in such a manner as not to threaten the person you are interviewing, you usually find that he or she will be more than happy to talk about his or her work.

"Know Your Enemy" Searches

WHO'S WHO gives short biographical sketches. Example: Who's Who in Commerce and Industry; Who's Who in America; Who's Who of American Women; Who's Who in Banking; Current Biography Yearbook (Each year features different villains. This book is indexed for easy use.)

STATE DEPARTMENT Biographical Register: short biographical sketches of persons in the State Department, AID, and other bureaucracies affiliated with the government (free; write to State Department).

Chicago Student Collective of the
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
February 9-10-11 presents February 9-10-11

OPEN MIDWEST STUDENT CONFERENCE

Friday night Feb. 9 8-11 PM: Recently returned PLP'er reports on China - tape
Saturday Feb. 10 9:30-10 AM: PLP analysis of American Imperialism
10-10:30 AM: PLP analysis of domestic forces and strategy
10:30-2:30 AM: Open discussion
10:30-2:30 PM: Open discussion

2-6 PM WORKSHOPS 2-6 PM

A) the working class
B) campus organizing
C) draft resistance
D) anti-war national spring & summer programs

Resistance, New Working Class, Student Mobilization Committee, SDS National Officers, Cleveland/Madison DRU, CADRE, and JOIN will provide resource people.

PARTY - SATURDAY NIGHT - PEOPLES THEATRE SKITS

Sunday February 11 9:30 Plenary: Workshops reports
10:30 PLP: Relevance of Marxism-Leninism
11:30 Open discussion
Conference ends 2 PM.

for more information write: PLP c/o Student Activities
Roosevelt University 430 S. Michigan
Chicago, Illinois
call: (312)548-7523; 528-7876; 664-3556

NO PHONEY REVOLUTIONARIES (eg.) YSA, CP) OR COPS INVITED

.....paid advertisement.....

CONGRESSIONAL Directory, 90th Congress (March, 1967): biographical sketches of Congress; listing of agency personnel.

DIRECTORIES of persons in certain fields: Examples: Martindale and Hubel lists partners in major corporate law firms; Poor's Directory of Corporation Executives lists officers and members of boards of directors of business corporations. It is cross-indexed by company or individual.

LIBRARY card catalogues: look for biographies, autobiographies, books person has authored.

INDEXES in books which expose power relationships: Examples: Perlo, Victor, Empire of High Finance, International Publishers, 1956, also 1967; Domhoff, William, Who Rules America, Prentice Hall, 1967 (paperback); Smoot, Dan, The Invisible Government, Americanist Library, 1962 (paperback), a right-wing study of interlocking directorates between the State Department and non-profit organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations, Committee for Economic Development, Business Advisory Council, Foreign Policy Association; Wise, David, and Rose, Thomas B., The Invisible Government, Random House, 1963; The Espionage Establishment, Random House, 1967; Fleming, I. F., The Origins of the Cold War, Doubleday; Boltzel, E. Digby, An American Business Aristocracy, The Free Press of Glencoe (paperback).

HISTORIES of interest groups and families: Examples: Hess, Stephan, American Political Dynasties, Doubleday, 1966; O'Connor, Harvey, Mellon's Millions, 1933; O'Connor, Harvey, Steel Dictator (on the Carnegie family), 1935; Morris, Joe Alex, Those Rockefeller Brothers, Harper and Brothers, 1953; Josephson, Matthew, The Robber Barons, 1861-1901, Harcourt, Brace (paperback); Birmingham, Stephen, Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York, Harper and Row, 1967; Lundberg, Ferdinand, America's Sixty Families.

GUIDES to books on American History: Examples: Zerkovitz, Herbert, and Marlin, Bernard, A Guide to Reading in American History, Signet, 1966; Harvard Guide to American History.

Company Searches

INVESTMENT GUIDES: These volumes contain company histories and lists of subsidiaries and partially owned firms and where they are located, boards of directors (members), officers, and financial information. Examples: Standard and Poor's Corporation Records; Moody's Industrial Manual; Moody's Utilities Manual; Moody's Banking and Financial Manual; Moody's Transportation Manual; Moody's Government and Municipal Bonds.

SECURITY AND EXCHANGE Library in Washington and its local branches (New York, Chicago, and San Francisco have complete libraries. Atlanta, Boston, Denver, Fort Worth, and Seattle Regional Offices have libraries with reports only on companies in their regions.) contain files on every company registered on the New York Stock Exchange. The files include annual reports, proxy statements (which give the stock ownership of the members of the boards of directors and any other individuals owning over 10 per cent of the stock), bond prospectuses (which give information on each bond flotation including the purposes for which the bond was floated and the investment companies which underwrite it).

STUDIES on interlocking directorates: Don Villarejo, Stock Ownership and the Control of Corporations, in New University Thought; Interlocks in Corporate Management, a staff report to the Antitrust Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, March 12, 1965, U.S. Government Printing Office. Both studies show that interest groups control the major corporations in America, contrary to the Berle thesis which holds that the corporations are subject to inside "management control" (Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Power Without Property, Harvest, 1959).

CONGRESSIONAL studies on the degree of economic concentration: Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) reports compiled during the late New Deal (1939-1941).

PATMAN HEARINGS on interlocking directorships of banks: Subcommittee on Domestic Finance, Committee on Banking

and Currency, House of Representatives: (1) Twenty Largest Stockholders of Record in Member Banks of the Federal Reserve System, Volumes 1-5, 1964; (2) Chain Banking: Stockholder and Loan Links of 200 Largest Member Banks, April, 1963; (3) Bank Stock Ownership and Control, Dec. 29, 1966; (4) Control of Commercial Banks and Interlocks Among Financial Institutions, July 31, 1967; (5) Acquisitions, Changes in Control and Bank Stock Loans of Insured Banks, 1967.

KEFAUVER HEARINGS on economic concentration: hearings before the Subcommittee on Antitrust Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senate, Parts 1-5a, 1964-66.

Patman and Kefauver reports can be obtained free by writing respective committees. Kefauver hearings are summarized in Kefauver, Estes, In a Few Words, Monopoly Power in America, Penguin, 1965.

SPECIAL business indexes: Example: Funk and Scott's Index of Corporations and Industries refers to brokers' reports and other specialized publications not available in usual business publications.

SOURCES of business information: Example: E. T. Coam, University of California Press, is a good source for the beginner in this kind of research.

STUDIES of finance capital: Examples: Rochester, Anna, Rulers of America—A Study of Finance Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1956; Perlo, Victor, The Empire of High Finance, International Publishers, New York, 1956. Use index for references to specific companies.

HISTORIES of specific companies: Example: Tarbell, Ida, The History of the Standard Oil Company, Harper Torchbooks, 1966 (paperback). Use card catalogue (under name of company)—most references you will find there are company histories written by the p. r. men for propaganda purposes, but may nevertheless contain useful information.

HISTORIES of industries: Examples (for the oil industry): Engler, Robert, The Politics of Oil, Macmillan, 1961; O'Connor, Harvey, World Crisis in Oil, Monthly Review Press, 1962; O'Connor, Harvey, The Empire of Oil, Monthly Review Press, 1962. Use card catalogue, looking under name of industry. Note: write to companies requesting information on their activities, annual reports, pamphlets, clippings, and propaganda on specific aspects of their operations. Sources of Information on the U.S. Government

U. S. GOVERNMENT Organization Manual 1966-67, Office of Federal Registrar: available through the Government Printing Office for \$2.00. It describes the activities of different government agencies and gives names of agency personnel.

TELEPHONE directories of the following agencies are available through the Government Printing Office (possibly others also): Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, U.S. Senate, Goddard Space Flight Center. Most of these directories contain organizational indices as well as alphabetical listings of individuals.

Government publications are distributed through two main agencies, each of which has its own catalogue: (1) Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. issues a monthly catalogue for \$4.00 a year and also issues free a bi-weekly leaflet called Selected Government Publications. (2) Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va. issues a quarterly catalogue for \$6.00 a year.



HOW TO SELECT TARGETS TO DISRUPT THE EMPIRE was presented by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) at the December Educational Conference. (Also, see special NACLA supplement in the Dec. 25 NLN). NACLA publishes a 10-issue-per-year newsletter containing research, reprints and translations of interesting articles, reports on NACLA conferences and lectures, staff and contact reports from Latin America, and suggested reading lists. For a subscription to the NACLA newsletter, send your name and address and a minimum contribution of \$3.00 to NACLA, Box 57 Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025.

Non-Profit Organizations

A. Foundations (such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and Carnegie Endowment Corporation):

THE FOUNDATION Library Center, New York City, contains: (1) Internal Revenue Service 990a forms which foundations must file in compliance with law (lists organizations to which the foundation has contributed); (2) annual reports (these sometimes include securities held), reference works, biographies of philanthropists, and histories of foundations (these may also be found in regular libraries); (3) card files of foundation grants under categories such as "religion", "science", "humanities" etc. Each card states the recipient institution and the grants it has received.

FOUNDATION Directory, published by the Russell Sage Foundation, 1967, is cross-indexed by foundation and members of boards of directors. The book is organized to show foundations state by state.

AMERICAN Foundation News Service is issued periodically by the American Foundations Information Service, 527 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. with news releases on foundation grants. Each release catalogues grants according to project type, such as "education", "religion", etc.

PATMAN HEARINGS on foundations, conducted by the Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives: (1) Tax-Exempt Foundations and Charitable Trusts, Their Impact on Our Economy, Dec. 31, 1962; (2) Tax-Exempt Foundations, Their Impact on Small Business, July 21/3, Aug. 10/31, Sept. 1/4, 1964; (3) House Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations (1953).

B. Associations: There are three general categories: (1) opinion-making organizations: examples: Council on Foreign Relations (CFR); Committee for Economic Development (CED); Foreign Policy Association (FPA); National Planning Association (NPA). (2) trade organizations: examples: American Manufacturers Association; Investment Bankers of America; American Banking Association. (3) research institutes: examples: Brookings Institution; RAND Corporation; Hudson Institute; Battelle Memorial Institute.

General sources of information on associations include:

BOOKS which expose power relationships: example: Smoot, Dan, The Invisible Government, Americanist Library, 1962 (paperback).

CARD CATALOGUES: (1) histories of associations: example: The Brookings Institution—A Fifty-Year History, written by the Institute as propaganda; (2) publications by the association or institute: examples: Foreign Affairs, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Great

Decisions, published by the Foreign Policy Association; (3) publication indexes: example: RAND Corporation Index of Selected Publications.

ORGANIZATION directories: examples: Encyclopedia of Associations, Gale Research Company, Book Tower, Detroit, Michigan: includes descriptions of 13,000 national trade, professional, and other organizations; Intercom Guides, Foreign Policy Association, July-August, 1966, \$1.00: guide to U.S. national organizations in world affairs; Business and World Affairs, Foreign Policy Association, May-June, 1964, \$1.00: guide to non-profit organizations composed of "business men interested in world affairs"; Directory of Social Science Research Centers, Social Science Data Archives in the U.S., 1967, Council of Social Science Data Archives, 605 W. 115th St., New York City.

STATE DEPARTMENT guides to research centers and research in the Third World: examples: External Research on the American Republics, Office of External Research, Department of State, 1966: a list of current social science research by private scholars and academic centers; Research Centers on the Developing Areas, prepared for AID by the External Research Staff of the Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research: lists both profit-making and non-profit institutions carrying out research on the Third World and describes projects they are undertaking and sources of funds for the projects.

TECHNICAL Assistance Information Clearinghouse: The Technical Assistance Information Clearinghouse of American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 280 Park Avenue South, New York City, publishes a directory entitled U.S. Non-Profit Organizations in Technical Assistance Abroad.

Note: When investigating organizations it is always important to scrutinize their annual reports, financial statements, propaganda, newsletters, etc. This type of material can usually be obtained through a polite letter or phone call to the organization being investigated.

C. Universities:

For a methodology paper on researching military contracting, see "Campus Reconnaissance", by Michael Locker, in the December, 1967 issue of VIET REPORT.

When you want to research connections of the university with non-military centers of imperialism:

(1) Secure names of board of directors from university catalogue: (a) obtain a copy of the university security portfolio (stocks and bonds held) from the financial office; (b) find out who are the main contributors to the university (those on the board of directors usually are, but there are others such as a local corporation which may need a certain quota of specialists each year); (c) use indexes to find articles about university fund-raising campaigns; (d) consult biographical sketches of principal administrative officers (issued by many universities through their public relations offices); (e) now use sources listed in preceding sections to find out more about the persons and institutions you have identified; (f) consult university histories (look under name of university in card catalogue).

(2) Consult general sources: examples: Curti, Merle, and Nash, Roderick, Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education; Beck, Hubert, Men Who Control Our Universities.

Servicing fundation of the university Department of State, as of June 30, 1967, available from AID; AID-Financed

san francisco thing

continued from page 3

demanding to know if I was under arrest. Once we were out on the street, he said yes. I was in no mood to walk quietly into a police van, so he called several of his buddies to come help him. With my arms pinioned tightly behind my back, and not being very large (5'1") one other cop could easily have grabbed my feet and they could have carried me to the van with little trouble, no matter how militant my outlook. But after several had grabbed me, another proceeded to empty his can of mace in my face—at close enough range that it hit in liquid form, leaving burns and blisters that lasted for days, a dose lethal enough to blind you if it hits your open eyes—apparently fearing that the four large cops would not be able to contain me.

A lesson about mace (already learned by many, I'm sure)—The police talk about mace as though it were some sort of psychedelic wonder drug. They maintain that it is harmless, and that its effect is to temporarily destroy the victim's will to resist. It does destroy your will to resist—but not by paralyzing you or by somehow altering the brain cells relating to resistance. Once your face has been sprayed with mace, you can't think of anything else but the anguish of the pain. Every sense and nerve in your body becomes concentrated on your face, and on what you can do to relieve the pain. You don't want to move a muscle, feeling that the slightest motion will increase the pain. If the chemical comes out as liquid because it is sprayed from too close—and they do this intentionally—it can cause blindness. The only thing that helps is the water that is unavailable; the worst possible thing you can do is rub your eyes. But one girl, screaming in pain from the mace as she was being carried to the van, heard one of the policemen repeat several times, "Don't worry, just rub your eyes." And they know the effect of that. Another demonstrator reports one of the cops beating him kept trying to open his eyelids as they sprayed the mace at him.

A few comments about jails and judicial systems

None of us had any illusions about police justice when we went into the jail, but the flagrance with which they can get away with lies and trumped up charges was still frustrating and enraging.

TARGETS

continued from page 5

University Contracts, Contract Services Division, Department of State, as of June 30, 1967, available from AID (access by country or by organization, university, non-profit organization, etc.).

The authors of this guide had no experience with industry contracting: research for developing technological innovations for industry. The university contracting office will probably be quite willing to talk about what it considers "non-sensitive" corporation contracting. University staff newsletters may also list research contracts with industry.

The Science Complex: The odds are that the administration of any sizeable university will be collaborating with state and local power elite figures in an attempt to cultivate what has come to be known as a "science complex". A "science complex" comes into existence when a critical mass of university industrial services and technology-based industry are brought together. What you get are research and development centers for large corporations, "think tanks", "non-profits", "soft-warehouses", and "spin-offs". Examples of "science complexes"—the wedding of the multi-university to super-technology turned to the purposes of the ruling class: Cambridge, Mass., Ann Arbor, Mich., Palo Alto, Calif. There are many smaller "science complexes" already in existence and still others in the process of formation.

Some policemen came up and began looking at us, trying to pick out the ones they had arrested. They clearly couldn't do so by sight alone. They called us over and began asking questions, about what we had been wearing, what we were doing and where we were, whom we were with, etc., when captured. They at no time told us we didn't have to talk or we had the right to a lawyer, and at least one girl gave them the information they needed before we had a chance to warn the other girls that they shouldn't and didn't have to say anything. It was clear that they were trying to identify us by our own admission of where we were, and that on their own they could not have identified us. Some of them were still unable to pick out the one they had busted, and we could overhear them in the hall with their sergeant being "assigned" to one prisoner and being told "You busted —; she was doing — at this location." I overheard the "assing officer" and the one who was supposed to have arrested me arguing over where I was supposed to have been arrested. Yet we know perfectly well that in court, the cops will take the stand, and with utmost certainty, point to us as the one they arrested, and repeat the lies about what we were doing, where, and when—and be believed, because they are cops.

There are many parallels and similarities between the NY and SF Rusk demonstrations. In both cases, it was the high-level emotional response to Rusk—who is easy to identify as the enemy—which brought out masses of people beyond the usual hard-core demonstrators. In both, he was speaking at a great, fancy and exclusive hotel, a symbol of the corporate elite fed by the imperialism of which this war is a part. In both cases, blood was used as a symbol, and real blood—our blood—was the response of the cops. In NY the people had longer to prepare and were somewhat better organized, but, in both, real direction and effective and safe tactics were missing.

In SF there was somewhat more excuse for the lack of direction and coordination in the extremely short period of time we had to prepare the demonstration. But those of us who have been active—especially those of us who were active in Oakland in STDW—really shouldn't hide behind this. In the day or day and a half we knew of the demonstration (or at least, that Rusk would be here and there should be a demonstration), we made no attempt to get together and discuss strategy or tactics. Someone in the Peace and Freedom Party put out a leaflet, encouraging people to come and to be prepared, and the rest of us just sat around and decided to do no more than show up at the demonstration. And even most of us who knew better were ill-prepared personally. A few of us wore helmets. None carried shields. None wore vaseline or wet cloths (although a few had gas masks). There were no monitors, and at a stage in the struggle where monitors have passed from being the person who tells you to keep your line straight to the person responsible for protecting you and coordinating your movements to be safe and effective, monitors are indispensable.

New York had a well-developed, anti-imperialist perspective to their demonstration which was totally lacking in SF. This is somewhat more excusable due to the lack of time for theoretical discussion and leaflets. Given the choice, our time should of course have been spent on preparation for self-defense. But we did neither. It can be argued that given the short notice, no adequate preparations could have been made. But it is then up to us to discuss whether in fact preparations cannot be made in that time period, and if so, whether it is not our responsibility to try to prevent semi-spontaneous demonstrations of this type under those conditions. The battle is too serious, the cops too blood-thirsty, now, for us to chance letting our people go out into the streets unprepared, simply because a handy target appears. Each one, from now on, must be carefully worked out in advance, if our resistance movement is to survive.

Only in Oakland have I seen any signs of the movement being together enough to protect and rescue our people from the cops. In SF people watched helplessly as the cops—who are well-trained and almost always operate in a body—beat their brothers mercilessly. In a few instances demonstrators reacted with more than shouts. In one case, a demonstrator seeing a brother from Berkeley clubbed to the ground, unconscious, and then still beaten, found that someone had handed him a brick, and struck one of the attacking cops in the face visor with it. He escaped three others who ran after him, drawing them away from the attack also. In another instance, a demonstrator was able to fell a cop who was chasing a girl, alone, down a street. There were several other cases of demonstrators using bricks and bottles to prevent or limit the bloody beatings (the mayor and police now say, of course, that the bricks and bottles thrown in response to their brutality instead caused it). But in general, this wasn't true, and it must be. We must learn to separate cops as they separate us, and to surround and stop those who attack our brothers.

TH* NATIONAL OFFIC*
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AND L*TT*RS GIVING
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SUPREME COURT FIGHT

continued from page 3

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee cannot afford to obtain national television and radio time for the expression of its views. It must depend on their articulation by Mr. Brown's ability to obtain and fulfill speaking engagements throughout the United States and, in particular, at the many colleges and universities that are eager to provide forums for him. Since the travel restrictions were imposed upon him, he has had to cancel such engagements at such institutions as Colgate University, Oxford University and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

We call upon the Supreme Court of the United States as the ultimate guardian of the First Amendment to consider his petition for a writ of certiorari promptly and upon such consideration to set aside the restriction on his right to travel. Only by such action will the rights of all American citizens be protected and the voice of dissent kept alive in the land.

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY & STATE
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
etc.		

SDS BROTHERS AND SISTERS, YOU SHOULD HAVE RECEIVED YOUR SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE FIRING LINE BY NOW. WE HOPE THAT SDS FOLKS WILL LEARN MORE ABOUT THE NCU AND WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH IT.

Southern Caucus Resolution

BE IT RESOLVED:

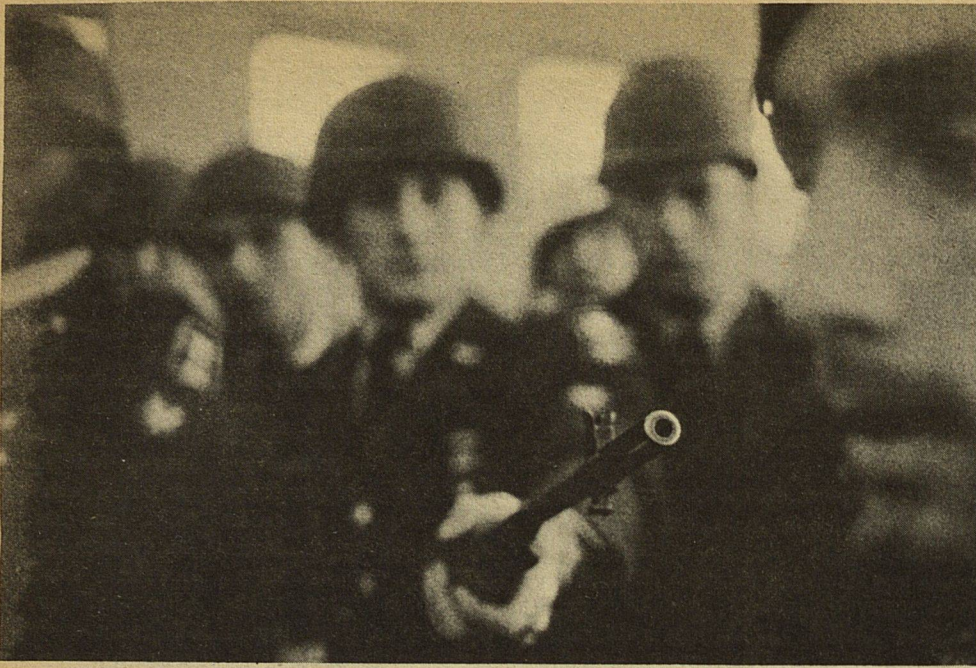
- 1) That the National Office appoint at least one Southern-born and Southern-raised agitator for the DEEP SOUTH.
- 2) That before the National Convention, this traveler should organize a Southern Regional Planning Conference somewhere in the South. We ask the National Office for what financial support it can give.
- 3) That the NC recommends to the National Convention that in the future the NIC be elected from regions, with all sections getting one representative; other representatives to be elected at-large.
- 4) That the spring and summer programs against the draft realize that the "New Militancy" of the past 6 months has not done that much and, from now on we realize hard work has to be done in the communities with high school and college age working class kids, as we do on the campuses. A real analysis should be developed of the political effectiveness of the New Militancy.
- 5) That the programs against the military-industrial complex be relevant by bringing real pressure from the community and the working class.
- 7) That the REP, REC, and NO realize that most existing literature and research is absolutely useless in the South, and begin to print and circulate literature and research done by the Southern region, specifically oriented to our problems and programs. An alternative to this would be for the REP, REC and NO to subsidize the printing of these materials by brother organizations in the South, such as SCEF. One particular demand is a pamphlet for the poor white people, written by a working class person, to prepare for action by poor black people this summer.
- 8) That at least a draft of the new manifesto to update the Port Huron Statement be distributed to the chapters before the Convention. We ask Greg Calvert to tell us now what the progress on this manifesto is, and to answer questions on the manifesto.
- 9) That any program for the Spring and Summer of the NC complement, not damage work of radicals in the South.
- 10) And, finally, we appeal to people in other neglected areas — the upper plains, northwest, and mountain states, to join us in asserting regional interest and demanding a voice in national propaganda and programs.

AMENDMENTS:

- Points 4, 5 and 6 were tabled.
- 8) Calvert complied with the request without a vote. Point 8 PASSED.
- 9) Motion to table defeated.
- That any program for the spring and summer of the NC attempt to complement and not damage the work of radicals in the South, West, Midwest, East, or North. PASSED
- 11) That if these demands are not implemented, the East and West Coasts be blown out to their respective oceans. DROPPED AS NOT IMPLEMENTABLE. Motion by Jane Adams that the analysis section be printed in NLN as a preamble to the resolution, with the change that "brothers" in the first paragraph read "brothers and sisters". It is to be considered only as opinion of the southern caucus, not necessarily of the entire National Council. PASSED (Ed Note: see Jan 15 NLN)

RESOLUTION PASSED AS AMENDED

Photo by Henry Wilhelm



KEEPING OUR COOL IN THE FACE OF REPRESSION

continued from page 1

Resistance is a tension within the draft resistance movement, not between "real" draft resisters and others who seek to mislead them. For example, the Chomsky complicity statement exhibits both attitudes. On the one hand the statement says, in the spirit of the Resistance: "If they are sentenced, we too must be sentenced." On the other hand, leaning toward SDS, it affirms: "If they are imprisoned we will take their places."

A draft resister's ambivalence about jail-going has an objective basis. Because the draft picks men off one by one, collective resistance requires us to contrive occasions of solidarity: pledges, the mass return of draft cards, temporary obstruction of induction centers or draft boards. These actions are admittedly artificial. But how else can a movement make individual anxieties communal, and turn to political effect the sinking feeling in the stomach which grips each of us when the mailman brings a letter from Selective Service? This means that individuals with 1-O or 2-S or 4-D or 5-A deferments risk jail "unnecessarily".

Somehow during the past year a valid criticism of the tendency of pacifists to seek martyrdom has been inflated into the thesis that truly canny political activists never go to jail. Risking imprisonment has been confused with courting imprisonment. But risking prison is unavoidable, if only because the shrewdest calculator cannot always accurately predict whether or not the government will decide to consider a particular action an offense, and whether or not the courts will agree. In reality, the problem of prison is not a choice between two total political lines, one "correct" and the other not. It is an existential dilemma which must simply be over and over again resolved in practice.

3. Morality. Lately it has become fashionable to contrast "being moral" and "being political". I find this distinction unconvincing. For instance, why not sing "We Shall Overcome" at a rally protesting government indictments? What was the song but a way of saying we were not afraid, and what is the purpose of the rally if not that?

Participatory democracy ought not to be dismissed as a product of middle-class affluence. I first encountered it in SNCC. There it was a response, not to ease, but to danger. It did not signify a lack of discipline, but a particular kind of discipline appropriate to a situation of repression. The unspoken assumption was that when decisions have life-and-death consequences, no man or majority of men should decide for others how their lives are to be risked. The possibility should be considered that those qualities which have distinguished the New Left—flexible, decentralized structure; friendship and trust as the basis of organization; movement-building by the contagion of personal example—will be more rather than less needed as conventional political activity becomes increasingly difficult.

There may even still be something to be said for nonviolence. Adopting a vocabulary drawn from guerrilla warfare when no white radicals are practicing it is to incur all the liabilities of violence

with none of its advantages. Our black brothers have not asked us to imitate their rhetoric, but to organize white America. The same repression which pushes black radicals to violence seems to me to create new opportunities for white radicals to work nonviolently with other whites. For the time being, at least, it might be politic to be moral.

Let's be honest. Is there a single one of us (I am talking about white American radicals associated with SDS) who keeps going because of hatred, or a theory of history, or political analysis? When we lie awake at night wondering about prison, does theory provide the sustenance for faith and courage? Isn't it rather that we are committed to certain ethical values, and analysis gives us the hope that achievement of those values may be possible? And if these things are true would we not be better off to admit it? and to use moral resources rather than be ashamed of them?

4. Militancy. Militancy, too, is better practiced than talked about. But just a few words. It takes militancy, and manhood, and grace under pressure, to be beaten, or to return a draft card; and it takes exactly the same qualities to get up the next morning and do a systematic day's work. As a movement we have repeatedly demonstrated a capacity for what might be termed (without wishing to demean it) one-shot militancy. But why is it that so many of us burn out? What is the secret of endurance as a radical?

The problem is to translate the single dramatic confrontation into a pattern of daily life. I recall that when full-time draft resistance organizing was first envisioned, we assumed that the best organizer would be the man who turned in his card and then used the time before

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we made the news today

by Karen Gellen
Chapter Correspondent

oh boy..

compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travellers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN: Wednesday afternoon, January 17, sds members at WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY sponsored a rally in support of Spock, Coffin, and the other three men indicted for their "conspiracy to aid draft evasion." The well attended rally was addressed by Mike Spiegel and Greg Calvert. On Wednesday evening a rally was held in Central Methodist Church...over 350 people attended, and a large number of complicity statements were signed...speakers included Dave Wheeler and Ben Wood of the Detroit Draft Resistance Union, and Greg Calvert of sds...about 75% of those present were young people new to sds and draft resistance work...many new adult supporters also attended.

UTICA, NEW YORK: An all day teach-in on the war and the draft was held at UTICA COLLEGE OF SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY. The program of speakers and films attracted a serious audience of between 200-300 townspeople, faculty members, and students from local high schools, UTICA COLLEGE and MOHAWK VALLEY COMMUNITY COLLEGE. Albert J. Bushong, USAF-retired spoke in favor of the war, telling the audience that "we must impose freedom on the Vietnamese!" Bruce Dancis of the Ithaca Resistance spoke on the draft... his talk was well-received and seemed to spark plans for future activity.

TUCSON, ARIZONA: On January 15, the Tucson march in support of the Rankin Brigade March on Washington began with a rally of about 100 people who were to form the bulk of the demonstration. The rally was initiated by a group of women who had planned the entire demonstration, and who called themselves the "UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA WOMEN'S BRIGADE". The first speaker, Dave Rehfield, called for support for draft resisters, and read an indictment against the U.S. government for the illegal and immoral war in Vietnam. The demonstrators then picketed and handed out anti-draft leaflets at Selective Service headquarters... The group then marched through the downtown section and on to the county courthouse, distributing literature along the way... A few days earlier local provos had used iridescent red spray paint to draw a giant N-D symbol on the sidewalk at the entrance to the Selective Service headquarters... Picketers outside the building were treated to the amusing sight of many police working furiously with acid to remove the symbol. Two days of work finally reduced it to a barely visible smudge.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: The U.S. Marine landing on the campus of the UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-CHICAGO CIRCLE CAMPUS on January 16 touched off the first real motion of any sustained nature since last year's student power/free speech fight. On the first day, the Marines found their recruiting hampered by a general student mill-in. On the second day there was a more effective obstruction of recruiting, with students sitting on top of and around the booth reserved for the Marines. On the third day there was a spontaneous proclamation of victory by SDSers who had, as a result of the demonstrations, not only hampered the recruiting but also entered into a dialogue on the war with many of their fellow students who had crowded into the lobby of the student union...as the demonstration continued, a black student who was just watching was grabbed, hauled off, and beaten by four campus cops... 150 blackbrothers and sisters on campus responded to this incident by holding an all-night sit-in on the 27th floor of the administration building at the office of the University chancellor... They demanded that the four campus cops be fired immediately. (More on what happened at CIRCLE CAMPUS next week.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.: On Friday, January 12, about 150 people demonstrated in front of the Justice Department while a group of eight met with Justice Dept. officials to ask for the dismissal of the charges against Spock, Coffin, M. Goodman, Ferber and Raskin. Four of those inside turned in their draft cards. The group then moved from the Justice Department to WESTERN HIGH SCHOOL where they talked and debated with students. Leaflets were distributed while several of the demonstrators spoke to the people gathered over a microphone.

* * * *

"resolved: 1) that each chapter be requested to submit to NLN at least one article each month, dealing with the most significant activities in the chapter, campus or community; 2) that supplementary material from the chapter newsletter or local press be included if possible" from the resolution on news collection passed at the December NC. PLEASE SEND US CHAPTER NEWS!!!!

CONFERENCES TO PLAN APRIL DAYS OF RESISTANCE

Regional conferences called for the purpose of planning regional actions for the April Days of Resistance will be held in Chicago and Detroit in February.

The Detroit meeting will be held on February 3 and representatives from SDS chapters and draft resistance groups in Michigan and Northern Ohio are expected. Among proposals for regional action during the April 21-30 period is the possibility of an action directed against the Fort Wayne induction center in Detroit.

In Chicago, an area-wide student conference is planned for February 16-17 to be held at the

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle (UICC). The conference is being called by SDS and the Student Mobilization Committee. It will include a Friday evening (February 16) session beginning at 6:30 with a showing of Felix Greene's new film on North Vietnam, followed at 8:15 p.m. by a series of educational workshops. On Saturday, proposals for the spring action will be presented.

Preliminary meetings in Chicago have produced a tentative schedule of activities for the ten days revolving around three target areas: the university, the draft, and local political machinery of the Democratic Party.

Report on Cambodia

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sections of Asia (Vientiane Laos is supposed to be particularly bad) is even more striking.

The key though to all of this is the strength of the natural economy. One fourth of the arable land in Cambodia is under tillage, a consequence of the underpopulation of the country (India has about 270 people per square mile, and Cambodia about 80). The country is so rich in fish, rice, and fruit that the urban population is able to live with apparently little monetary resources. No doubt government controls on the big rice and fish merchants is an important part in this, for the entrepreneurial exploitation of those resources could have just as easily led to a landlord/merchant system like in South Vietnam and an impoverished countryside. But it seems that for much of the population of Phnom Penh, money remains primarily a means of exchange of basic goods and makes possible some additional conveniences like manufactured clothing, cigarettes, kerosene lamps for markets that are not electrified, and bicycles.

At the same time, there is a striking contrast between the stability and relative ease of the natural economy and the role of foreign currency. Many of the shops in the downtown area sell things like French books, jewelry and watches, sunglasses, leather goods, and imported clothing. There are almost no customers in those shops—the European colony was

REPRESSION

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jail with the intensity lent it by that action. Perhaps this was psychologically superficial. It is hard to work patiently when you don't know how much time you will have to work. It is hard not to let your energy be consumed in worrying whether what you did was right, and in wondering whether you will be able to deal with the consequences when they come. Men who have said "No" to the draft need other things to which they can say "Yes." Probably the full-time draft resistance organizer will prove a transitional type, and give way to the man who, after returning his card, or after getting out of jail, creates a free school with the youngsters he counselled about Selective Service, or in some other way takes nay-saying to the draft for granted while putting his main energies to other ends.

Draft resistance will remain essential as the characteristic act of initiation. It is the movement's equivalent to a college commencement. Whether the five indicted men go to jail will depend partly on the strength of protest during the next few weeks, but also partly on what the thousands of SDS members who will leave the campus in June decide to do with their lives. Hence the counter-commencements at which graduating seniors will return draft cards are as important for the resistance movement as the ten days of April. Returning a draft card will be for some men a declaration of intention to choose radicalism as a vocation. In the long run, what will make or break the American resistance movement is the number of persons who discover how to make militancy not only a tactic but a way of life.

Remember "Talking Union"? The song of the 1930s which said that if you don't let goon squads break you up, and if you don't let Red-baiting break you up—and so on? Maybe I can sum up what I have tried to say about keeping cool in the midst of repression with the help of that song:

That if we can use the law
without relying on it,
And if we can risk jail
without courting jail,
And if we can become more disciplined
without becoming less human,
And if we can escalate our militancy
At the same time that we settle in
for the long haul,
Then (as the song says) "we'll win;
What I mean is: take it easy,
But, take it."

estimated at about 2,000—but the number of these shops is incredible. Sunglasses alone, which almost none of the native population can afford, are on sale in shop after shop. The existence of those shops indicates both their irrelevance to the basic economy of the city's population and the power that foreign currency exercises, for it is apparently worthwhile to have many people virtually unemployed in the hope of making a few sales a day.

The role of foreign currency should not be understood in terms of its power over others but in terms of the number of people who can afford to spend their time trying to get some of it. There are not only many shops for the foreigners, but also overstuffed hotels and restaurants, many more pedicabs than can be continually employed, and children hawking cigarettes, magazines, and newspapers.

That economic circumstance makes it easy to understand the colonialist frame of mind that mistakes the interest of the pedicab driver in the fare for the interest in the person. But though that is readily overcome by New Lefties in Asia, there are still many ways in which a kind of honky arrogance goes with them, and much of learning about Cambodia was learning about that arrogance. We were surprised, for example, when having told someone we were "from America", he asked with a straight face if that was North or South America. I was surprised when a young night clerk in the hotel didn't know the postage for a letter to Germany because he didn't know what continent it was on, but then I recalled the discussion on Burma.

In subtle ways, we were still thinking of the rest of the world as teeming hordes madly trying to ape Western technology and style and assumed that the doings of the West were somehow central to their lives. And it is even possible from reading the reports of revolutionary governments like Hanoi to think that the Third World sees success or failure in Western terms. The lesson of Cambodia is that this simply is not so. Asia understands the West because it was colonized by the West, and it understands perhaps better than we do ourselves the aggressiveness and arrogance that underlies our culture. But it rejects that aggressiveness for itself and looks to the West only in terms of how it might harm the way of life that already exists in Cambodia.

The war is only forty miles away from Phnom Penh, and at night you can watch the fires caused by shelling along the border. There are constant declarations from the government about the war and the American plans against Cambodia—one of the rumors circulating in Phnom Penh during our stay was that the Americans planned to bomb Sihanoukville (Cambodia's deep-water port on the Gulf of Siam) on the pretext of stopping arms shipments to the NLF (Sihanouk responded to Westmoreland's charges by suggesting that if the US was serious about stopping arms flow, they should bomb the USSR and China). While we were in Phnom Penh, the papers announced the beginning of a program in all provinces for training guerrilla regiments; at the same time, the papers were running a serialized history of national insurrections (guerrilla movements) in Cambodia in the last century.

And the people will respond to the government's call if the invasion comes, but in a way the proclamations are as irrelevant to the people as the sunglasses in the shops. They understand the danger of the West in a much deeper sense than any government statement could suggest because they have seen Western colonial rule and know that living in this world is like living in a house with a lunatic on the loose. We knew they understood the insanity of the West when we watched the NLF guerrilla dance troupe perform a skit for an audience in Phnom Penh that showed American GI's trying to seduce Vietnamese village women defending their homes by doing the twist—the audience roared with appreciation. Western genital arrogance, Western cultural depravity, Western military brutality all flowed together in the skit and struck home with these

KENTUCKY CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM AND THE DRAFT
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
FEBRUARY 9-10, 1968

A statewide conference for students and community people, sponsored by the Univ. of Ky. chapter of SDS, the Americans Friends Service Committee, Southern Conference education Fund, and local peace groups.

There will be a Vietnam Forum on Friday evening February 9 in Memorial Hall. Speakers include Gen Hugh Hester and Rennie Davis.

Saturday will include keynote address by Harry Caudill, workshops on the Draft, U.S. Foreign Policy, and local organizing. For a program write John Lewis, Conference Coordinator, 304 1/2 S. Limestone, Lexington. Ph. (606) 252-6224. Possibly we could have a discussion on Sunday about organizing an Ohio Valley Region of SDS if people are interested. Write SDS, Box 5026, Univ. Station, Lexington, or call (606) 2784526 if you would like to have such a discussion.

people. As I sat there, I thought back over the countless arguments with liberals I had been through when I tried to counter those neat "spheres of influence" type arguments in which Cambodia is just another space where someone places a pawn and realized that it is enough to know that those people in Cambodia understand their lives in a very different way. In the long run, their perception is much more important as a factor than all the slick theories produced in US academe.

It seems clear now that the US will move against Cambodia, though it may delay until the International Control Commission has done some of the reconnaissance and cleared some helicopter landing areas. But the force that will move people to defend themselves in Cambodia is prevalent throughout Southeast Asia. Thailand now has twelve provinces under martial law, which means population relocation and police terror is underway; Laos is faced with a 30,000-man Pathet Lao force (according to the New York Times even) that has been taking concerted actions in spite of the continual bombardment from US planes. The NLF continues to make incredible offensives in the South, moving now from the central highlands into the Mekong Delta and the coastal plains in the North, areas that Westmoreland was claiming two weeks ago were beyond NLF control.

Cambodians have not undergone the struggle for independence that the Vietnamese have been forced to undertake. But they share with the Vietnamese a sense of their own stability and identity. And as the West disintegrates politically,

psychologically, and militarily, that sense of stability, expressed now as a non-aggressive way of life, will become a major resource for struggle. For that stability springs from an understanding of the terms upon which life is bearable; an enemy can be quite clearly defined against that understanding and fought with a tenacity unknown to men hired to do a job. The jungles of Cambodia are no less impenetrable than those of South Vietnam and the people who rise to fight imperialism in Cambodia will be cut from the same kind of cloth as the NLF.

KANSAS CITY

STUDENT MOVEMENT WORKSHOP

Saturday, February 24, at UMKC
All midwest regional chapters are invited.
A regional meeting will follow on Sunday
Contact: 4812 Harrison
Kansas City, Missouri

GRAD STUDENT PROGRAM AT SASKATCHEWAN

If you are going to be a graduate student and want to work on movement problems concerned with communication, you may be interested in the ... very fluid ... graduate program in communications at the University of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada. If so, drop a line for details to Bill Livant, Division of Social Sciences at the University.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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NAC MINUTES

January 16, 1968

Submitted by Clark Kissinger and Boe Shomer

Members present: Mike Spiegel, Clark Kissinger, John Rossen, Earl Silbar, Bernie Farber, Karen Gellen, Youngblood

Absent: Carol Neiman, Bob Pardun, Carl Davidson

Others present: Vicki Smith, Boe Shomer, Norrie Davis, Vernon Urban, Joe Horton.

1. Matthew Ahern, "Leader", of the New World Party was denied the chapter contact list to protect chapters from junk mail.

2. OUR GENERATION, a Canadian quarterly journal, was given the list.

3. Spiegel reported that a new lease for the NO was negotiated. Effective January 1, 1968 we will pay \$200 a month for two years, with a two-year renewal option even if the building should change hands. (The increase of \$75 a month is the first since we moved to this office, and we have had three more rooms than the original lease actually included.)

5. Discussion of the tax problem. The IRS has visited the office and there is a possible government investigation of our tax status.

6. The NAC decided to make a final decision on the installation and financing of the new press at the meeting after next.