

# New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 25

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

August 12th, 1968

# THE SECOND FRONT

After a week of provocation on the part of the police, the black community of Los Angeles has responded by going to the streets. The police provocation can be seen in relation to three incidents.

On August 5th, policemen Norman Roberge and Rudy Limas were driving down Adams Boulevard when they noticed a '55 Ford which they knew to be a Black Panther car. They have been keeping the Panthers under constant surveillance since they began organizing in Los Angeles. When the car, containing three Panthers, pulled into a service station, Roberge radioed in and said that they were "checking out a known Panther car".

Standing in front of the car, looking at the engine, was Robert Lawrence, 22. Seated inside the car were Thomas Melvin Lewis, 18, a Panther lieutenant, and Steven Kenna Bartholomeu, 21, Panther area captain.

Roberge emerged from the police car with service revolver drawn, and Limas covered with a shotgun. When Lawrence did not respond quickly enough to Roberge's order, Roberge shot and wounded him. As Bartholomeu emerged from the car, he was hit with pistol and shotgun shells which killed him instantly. Tommy Lewis was able to get out of the car and return the fire, wounding both pigs before being wounded in the stomach. An eyewitness reported that after being handcuffed behind his back, Lewis was kicked and stomped by additional pigs who came later. The beating caused internal bleeding and Lewis died on the way to the hospital, nearly an hour after being shot.

The second incident involved the shooting down of a suspected bank robber on August 7th after he offered to give himself up. Witnesses said that the suspect pleaded with the pigs not to shoot.

Third was a confrontation between police and community people attending the annual Watts Summer Festival, the celebration of the 1965 riot. Chief Pig Thomas Reddin ordered Will Rogers Park (the center of the festival) cleared at midnight. According to members of LA SNCC, the pigs began clearing the park shortly after 11 p.m. on the last night of the festival. Cops went through the park telling people to clear out and saying that they wanted to get their hands "on the nigger that shot the two policemen". When they arrested a black woman who they claimed was drunk, the people got upset and began throwing bottles and bricks. Police opened fire and a full-scale riot broke out. Police had been using continuous harassment throughout the festival. At one point they completely surrounded Will Rogers Park with patrol cars, four pigs to a car.

As we go to press, three more community people have been killed. The whole thing was an obvious case of provocation by the power structure. Governor Ronald Reagan dispatched Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch to Los Angeles from Miami where both were attending the Republican National Convention. Chief Reddin said that he saw no connection between the incidents in Will Rogers Park and the "shoot-out", and in response to a question stated that he saw "no grounds" for any conspiracy charges against the Panthers. He dismissed the Panther shoot-out as an unfortunate action between the police and the young men.

However, the massive police response following the murders tended to prove that the police were prepared to use the incident as a stepping stone to furthering their genocidal attack on the Los Angeles black community. Swarms of pigs were dispatched into the ghetto including helicopters, plainclothesmen, and shotgun-carrying cops.

Earl Anthony, Deputy Minister of Information for the LA Panthers, made a statement that seems to pretty well sum things up: "This is like the second front down here, the first front is Oakland and San Francisco. This is LA. This is the second front...and the pigs know that. They have their intelligence on it and they are going to try and move before we organize to move against them. But we are organized!"



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STORY PAGE 4

NEW LEFT NOTES  
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# STRUGGLE IN PUERTO RICO

Manuel de J. Gonzalez, President  
Federacion de Universitarios  
Pro Independencia

Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico  
July 5th, 1968

During the last month the colonial government of Puerto Rico—a direct representative of the Yankee imperialists—has initiated a systematic repression against the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) and the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI). The aim is to reduce to impotence this organization by imprisoning its ablest leaders and militants and by maintaining a constant persecution and intimidation of the rest of the militants.

To make evident this repression campaign, it will be sufficient to give a few examples. Last April 25th, arrest warrants against twenty-five university students were made public, among them

the leadership of the FUPI: President, Vice-President, Secretary of Finance, Secretary of Organization, et cetera.

The arrest warrants came seven months after the incident, which occurred September 27th, 1967. That day the police attacked a student demonstration and starting a seven-hour confrontation of students and policemen in which four students were wounded and a worker was murdered by police bullets. The aggressor now blames the victim. In addition, the day April 25th was chosen in an attempt to boycott the student strike of April 26th by imprisoning the organizers. This was frustrated. We were finally arrested April 29th and accused of conspiracy, incitement to riot, arson in first and second degree, and malicious damage to private property. Together all these accusations add up to a possible sentence of seventeen years.

After this, several militants of the MPI were abducted by the police and kept under constant interrogation for

days. The police are trying to link this organization with a series of acts of sabotage against Yankee capital business that have been taking place in Puerto Rico. Other militants have been offered money or threatened with arrest in an attempt to force them to make confessions involving the directing leadership of the MPI. Last week, two militants of the MPI of the interior of the island were arrested and jailed, accused of burning a business of Yankee capital. No evidence was presented, but in spite of this a bail of \$40,000 was set for each.

An effective solidarity campaign, national as well as international, will help detain this wave of repression. The solidarity of the people of the United States, especially of its youth, will be of prime importance.

Taking for granted your solidarity aid to the struggle of our country, I greet you



## FRAME UP

(Thanks to Boston Free Press)

The Boston Establishment called out their pigs this summer to clear "their" historic Boston Common of the hip community. But despite a series of harassments, attacks, and arrests directed against them, the Boston Free Community fought to keep the Common (a park area in downtown Boston) and did not succumb to the illegal curfew restrictions imposed on them.

Matters came to a head last month when, after the arrests of more than a hundred for curfew violations, Ben Morea of Up Against the Wall Motherfucker SDS Chapter in New York was falsely arrested for assault. Ben was attacked. In fact, here's how Ben described what happened:

"When I was attacked, the police grabbed me. I told the police that six fellows had attacked me—one with a lead pipe, one with a board, and several with bricks. But they weren't interested in the six people who attacked me; they didn't look for them; they grabbed me."

# EXAMINER STRIKE

(Editor's note: The following article was written by Jim Fite, Los Angeles Regional SDS Office. It includes the text of a statement ratified by an LA Regional Council meeting August 4th.)

In the June-July 1968 issue of Challenge, there appeared a story on SDS participation in the Herald-Examiner newspaper strike. There were several factual mistakes in the article which need to be cleared up. The major of these is the Regional Office position, which is discussed later.

Thus far the two demonstrations supporting the workers have been called by the SDS Labor Committee. The conference which formed the Committee was not announced to the majority of SDS chapters or to the Regional Office until the day it took place. Because the Progressive Labor Party, which started and dominated the committee, did not work with or approach the Regional Office, the turnout was small and not many non-PLP elements were affected one way or the other.

The demonstration itself was not all the Challenge article cracked it up to be. Although it did raise the spirit of some of the strikers and it did show them a good guerrilla theater, the majority of the workers at the demonstration (about thirty-five out of a union of two thousand) did not understand why SDS was there or who they were. Several of the staff members attended the demonstration.

Dann says that "the LA SDS Regional Office opposed the demonstration. They sent representatives to Cal State and High School SDS, where they urged members to stay away from the demonstration...." This is not true. The Regional Office maintained a certain political position and insisted that our support arise out of a political program. We opposed supporting the Right-wing leadership who drew up the strike demands; we opposed keeping our position on racism quiet. As our position states we supported the workers in their struggles and have by our meetings with them and actions with them on the picket line tried to make our position known. This is our first experience with the practice of PLP in carrying out their "student-worker alliance". Their refusal to deal with the issues of the day, such as lack of worker participation, leadership sellout, and union racism have led us to question their concepts and strategy.

### SDS REGIONAL OFFICE POSITION ON THE HERALD EXAMINER STRIKE

Recently there has been much confusion surrounding the relationship of Southern California Regional SDS and the Herald Examiner strikers. Several slanderous misconceptions have arisen, including those saying that the Regional Office does not care for Labor or is anti-Labor. Because confusion within our own ranks

can weaken us in the battle with the US ruling class, we wish to state our position so that no confusion can develop.

We firmly support the workers in their struggle against the Hearst empire for better wages and control over their own work. We believe in and are working toward a society where people control production. We support the workers in the battle against Hearst because (1) the Hearst editorial policy is racist and opposed to the liberation of man; (2) Hearst is a member of the class of people who own the means of production and control the work of several thousand men, a class who oppress all of mankind and with whom we consider ourselves in battle; and (3) Hearst is a trustee of the University of California at Los Angeles and has been vocal in trying to suppress SDS on campus.

In surveying the American Labor scene we wish to point to two things which we feel must be fought before organizing to take American Labor's rightful position in society. We believe that workers' racism and union leaders who make deals with management behind the workers' backs are two of Labor's worst enemies.

When discussing ways to support the strike, several members of the staff brought out the record of racism of the International Typographer's Union. The ITU 174 is almost entirely white; many of the scabs working in the plant are black; at a picket of Examiner-supporting stores, white pickets were told that until they had black representation in the Union and picket line, they could not expect people of color to respect the picket line. We felt that Union members who did not actively combat racism and who tolerated the leadership who worked against them were playing into Hearst's hands.

We decided that we should try to fight the above-mentioned evils by supporting the growing caucus of radical and liberal rank and file (helping them challenge the Right-wing leadership and provide leadership of their own); and combatting racism, because it divides workers who have common interests and because white racism hurts the most active working class elements, the black workers.

The main center of conflict between the Regional Office and PLP involved the question of unconditional support. In other words, we do not turn our backs on our allies in the black community, nor do we subvert our politics in order just to make a mechanical alliance.

The strikers have been in two actions with the SDS Labor Committee. They still do not know why we are down there or what we want. If the strikers get our support, they get it out of a political program. Let us hear no more bewildered cries that we will talk of racism after the strike is won. There is an excellent chance the strike will not be won. The success of the strike is dependent not on the support of SDS, but on how the rank and file handle their leadership and their racism.

This position was read and accepted by the Regional Council meeting of August 4th, 1968. The Regional Office was given a task of preparing a leaflet for the workers. We are encouraging rank-and-file members to support the Left caucus's proposal to guarantee some apprentice jobs for black and minority groups. This is admittedly not much more than tokenism. But we feel that this and an educational committee in the Union on racism are at least first steps in confronting racism. This coupled with the demonstration on August 10th, where SDS was to take the discussion further, is at least a beginning.

## UCLA SDS BANNED

The SDS chapter at UCLA has been banned from the campus for fifteen months following a run-in with the Administration - supported, reactionary Thomas Jefferson Club.

The suspension was meted out by an Administration-controlled disciplinary board because SDS chapter members tore down a racist display of pictures depicting war atrocities supposedly perpetrated by the National Liberation Front against the Vietnamese people. The display was put up by the Thomas Jefferson Club, a Right-wing patriotic group on the campus.

SDS ignored the disciplinary hearings and refused to recognize the Board's authority. Instead SDS held meetings explaining their position to other students and formed several frontgroups to insure the dissemination of SDS's ideas. Among the new organizations set up as an SDS front was the "Robin Hood Club".

Some SDS members (including SDS chapter president Jeff Schmidt) are presently being sued by members of the TJ Club for "criminal assault".

## new left notes

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### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

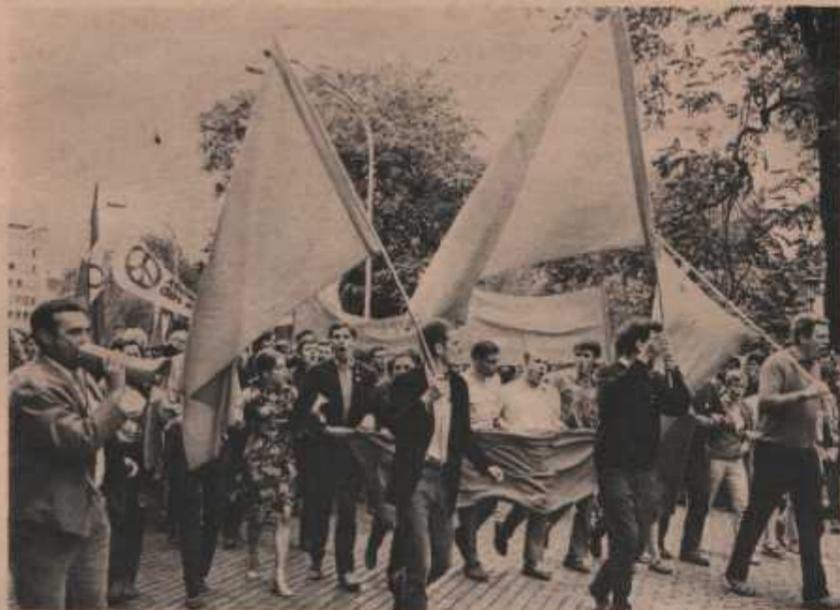
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### CHICAGO GOERS

When you come into Chicago for Convention activities, do not phone HO 5-3170 as was suggested in last week's New Left Notes. Instead call either 927-3184 or 973-0759. Do not call the National Office.

# YOUTH FESTIVAL



by Allen Young

Sofia, Bulgaria. Dissident leftists from several capitalist countries and rebellious Communists from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia provided an element of spontaneity and political debate at the Ninth World Youth Festival in Sofia—July 28th through August 6th.

The official Festival program, sponsored by the Budapest-based World Federation of Democratic Youth, was based on the slogan of "Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship" and the theme of solidarity with Vietnam. There was a heavy emphasis on cultural events and comradesly fraternization.

Debates on political strategy and programs designed to focus on disputes within socialism were considered outside "the spirit of the Festival", according to Lewis Taper, national chairman of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America and head of the delegation from the United States.

In fact, the vast majority of the delegates were not even aware of the internal disputes taking place in Sofia between Communists and non-Party socialists. Most of the delegates spent virtually all their time attending mass rallies in solidarity with Third World liberation struggles and against neo-fascism in Europe, and participated in hundreds of cultural programs and sporting events pervaded by a spirit of internationalism.

The delegations met with the Vietnamese to express their solidarity in accordance with the Festival theme, though some of the Left dissidents said this kind of solidarity was "ineffective". Confronted with this critique, defenders of the approach said that the Soviet Union was sending considerable material aid to Vietnam.

The Left dissidents were primarily from Western Europe and were led by about a dozen members of the West German Socialist Students Association

(SDS). These students represented a minority in each delegation, since virtually all of the delegations were organized under the supervision of the Communist Parties in each of the respective nations. This does not necessarily mean that the official delegation organizers kept out non-Party people; in many cases, non-Party elements felt that the Festival was not especially important or that political debate would be restricted, and they therefore did not get actively involved. China, Cuba, and Albania did not attend the Festival.

It was essentially an organizational problem which led the Cubans to decide not to attend the Festival, though this was related to tactical differences. The Cubans wanted to add "Revolutionary Struggle" to the motto of "Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship". According to Cuban officials in New York, the Cuban organizations' decision was based on a dispute the Cubans had within the International Union of Students (IUS) concerning the seating of certain Latin American delegations. The IUS, which is controlled by Moscow-oriented Communists, favored the accreditation of Latin American delegations which placed restrictions on student groups favoring the Guevara-oriented "many Vietnams" approach of the Latin American Solidarity Organization. Because of the earlier dispute, the Cubans walked out of an IUS meeting in Mongolia several months ago, and the decision not to come to Sofia was an extension of this incident.

Indeed, Che Guevara was the favorite symbol here of the revolutionary Left dissidents, or deviationists, as some might call them. The first sign of conflict came July 29th, when German SDS organized a demonstration near the US Embassy despite warnings from official Festival authorities that the demonstration should not be held. Bulgarian militia protected the Embassy, and the demonstrators snake-danced around the

downtown area chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh", "Che Guevara", and "Hey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?"

After a while, two groups of singing and chanting Bulgarians—later referred to as Spontaneous Bulgarian Workers—came and broke up the dissidents' demonstration. This was done without violence, though not without tension.

The Left dissidents, or revolutionary socialists, as some of them described themselves, failed to present a clear statement of their aims. Only general lines emerged—that is, a critique of the Soviet Union and most Communist Parties for their reformist and non-aggressive postures. This was refuted by Communist statements affirming support for national liberation struggles.

Part of the problem of dealing with the Left dissidents was related to the fact that they were led by West Germans, Bulgarians and most Eastern Europeans have had little contact with West Germans until very recently, and there is still a large amount of mistrust if not outright hatred. The style of the German SDS—forthright and militant and bordering on the self-righteous—also irritated the Communists so that they were reacting to more than just the stated political positions.

Relations between the dissidents and the Communists worsened when several delegates representing the National Union of Students of France (Union Nationale d'Etudiants de France—UNEF) were refused delegate status, and when the Confederation of Iranian Students-National Union (CISNU) were granted ten places instead of the two hundred requested. Several CISNU people were roughed up at the opening-day parade, and another Iranian was expelled after he translated a speech from German to Bulgarian at the "unofficial demonstration" on July 29th. UNEF and CISNU formally withdrew from the Festival.

In the officially-planned program, the dissidents found it difficult to obtain an opportunity to express their views. At one seminar, Karl D. Wolff, president of German SDS, criticized the Festival organization, and was assailed by a Bulgarian speaker who said: "Thirty years ago in Germany there was a man who said: 'If you tell a lie a hundred times, it will become the truth.'" This comparison of SDS to the Nazis (the quote was from Joseph Goebbels) angered Wolff—who tried to grab the microphone, but was beaten and dragged from the room by about a dozen Bulgarians.

After some discussion, and after the Bulgarian failed to apologize, the Germans walked out of the seminar with the support of representatives from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, while the vast majority of the audience applauded the Bulgarian speaker vigorously.

This attitude was a reflection of comments made at the very beginning of the Festival by the Bulgarian Festival authorities, to the effect that CIA agents, provocateurs, and ultra-Leftists would attempt to disrupt the Festival.

Eventually, with the assistance of

Jim Levenson, Downers Grove High School, Downers Grove, Illinois

## SUMMING UP THE CONFERENCE:

"An important realization surrounding the conference is that there is a high-school movement, and it must be expanded. Problems and workable tactics vary from school to school. Those participating in the conference found,



the dissidents were given a hall in which to hold free forums, in which there was participation of

Communists, non-Party communists, and other elements such as pacifists, liberals, and "third-campers".

In a separate though not unrelated matter, delegates from many nations who did not meet Bulgarian standards of personal appearance were denied entry to the country. An incident involving a group of several dozen Czech students was reported by the Bulgarian Press Agency:

"This group were dirty, they had long and unkempt hair, their faces had not been washed for weeks, their clothing was greased, and they were rude and provocative...It is only natural that a country has the right of not allowing people to its territory because they could carry contamination and disease."

Long-hairs did manage to attend the Festival, however, and were especially noticeable in Western European delegations.

Hundreds of Czechs were here, though a considerable amount of their literature was confiscated at the border, according to officials of the Czech student union. The Czech controversy was a frequent topic of conversation, though the official program never focused on it.

The ten-day Festival opened on Sunday, July 28th, with a colorful and impressive parade through the streets of Sofia, with twenty thousand young people from a hundred and forty-two nations. A million Bulgarians and tourists lined the streets of Sofia, cheering the delegates.

The American delegation, with seventy members, were warmly greeted by the multitude. The Americans chanted "Hell No, We Won't Go" and "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" as well as "Mir i Druzba" (Peace and Friendship).

The Bulgarians joined in the chants from time to time, and occasionally they chanted "sen-ne-dy", which visibly confused and annoyed the American Leftists for obvious political reasons. The Bulgarian interpreters explained later that there was sentimental feeling for the Kennedys because of the assassinations and because they were presented in the local press as liberal forces within the United States.

In any case, as one of the Americans said: "It was nice to be in a demonstration and have people applauding instead of saying 'Go back to Russia.'"

The American delegation had a very emotional meeting with the delegates of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam—the largest gathering of radical Americans and Vietnamese in history.

The Vietnamese extended a separate invitation to those members of the delegation identified with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and there was a separate meeting of eleven Americans with a small group of Vietnamese. A frank interchange of ideas and information about the Paris talks and the anti-war movement inside the US took place. The Vietnamese stressed their hope that Americans would not let up their fight against the War.

## NIAGARA— CONFERENCE

by Bruce Daniels  
Cornell SDS

More than eighty high-school activists attended the Niagara Region SDS working conference on organizing in high schools August 3rd and 4th in Ithaca, New York. Resource people were Karl Baker of Rochester SDS; Jeff Jones and crew from New York Regional SDS; and Jim Mitchell, Johnny Lerner, and crew from Washington DC SDS. Most of the time was spent in small workshops starting with general discussions on how and around what issues to organize in high schools. From there we went to specific problems that people faced in high school and how to solve them.

We also discussed various projects that people could work on: underground newspapers, free schools, undermining bullshit student councils, changing the

track system that exists in some schools, et cetera. Most of the participants seemed to be somewhat afflicted with a disease known as "being the smartest kids in the school and looking down at the non-college-prep kids snobbery malady". As a result, the resource people spent some time talking about issues that can transcend these class lines.

Perhaps what was even more important than the specific workshops was the general talk given by the New York City people about the political function of the high schools. I think that this discussion and the overall tone of the conference left people with the feeling that they are part of a nationwide movement of high-school students which can help them break out of the isolation they felt as being a very small minority in their respective schools.

AN ESTABLISHMENT PROBE  
OF THE NEW LEFT?

## BUSINESSMEN'S

SDS may have recently become intriguing in the eyes of certain sectors of America's corporate Establishment. It is easy to over-interpret the following events, but they are important and should be discussed within SDS.

First the facts, and then an interpretation.

## WHAT HAPPENED?

The beginnings could not have been more casual. While I was at Dartmouth this winter, I became re-acquainted with an SDSer I'd met two years before on a New England speaking trip—Rick Dodge, a graduate of Williams, a one-time SNCC affiliate, a Resister, and a roving New Leftist who was living then over the river in Vermont.

Rick had for some time been close to the daughter of Eldridge Haynes, president of a New York-based firm (Business International Incorporated), and through that relationship had come to know Haynes himself.

BI apparently exists to serve the political and sometimes legal needs of some of the biggest American "multi-national companies". It lobbies (for example, for liberal trade policies) both at home and abroad. It sells expertise on such special business problems as investment in socialist countries. It maintains an international data-gathering network and makes business intelligence available to its clients through a series of newsletters ("Business Europe", "Business Latin America, et cetera), occasional papers, and consultations. One of its apparently major undertakings is an on-going series of international conferences, called Roundtables, in which business executives meet with US and foreign representatives to explore means of extending international economic integration and development.

BI's clientele includes America's corporate giants. It seems to have direct pipelines to most governments. It enjoyed special access to President Kennedy. It jointly hosted with the UN this year's UNCTAD II conference in Geneva (United Nations Committee to Aid Development). It played a key role in shaping the Kennedy Administration's Alliance for Progress.

Practical as its undertakings are, BI is still an acutely ideological organization, by which I mean that it has a conscious sense of itself as an agent of historical change and holds a clearly defined perspective: Modern history is the process of the industrial organization of society, and the main contemporary instrument of this process is the emerging multi-national corporation. BI sees the increasing integration of world economic functions as crucial to liquidation of international belligerence and Third World poverty and prosperity of democratic values. Big corporations exist to serve these objectives: they are the world's best developers and spreaders of technology and freedom. Free-enterprise marketplace competition has been essentially superseded by the requirement for long-range planning and controlled market expansion. For the role of the rugged individualist of the Nineteenth Century, the imperatives of industrial technology and matured mass production have substituted the committee of specialists. In a world marked by acute disparities of material wealth and the threat of revolution, the simple maximizing of profit rates can no longer be the dominant purpose of overseas

corporate policy, which instead must be geared to the need for global development of wealth. (This holds, too, domestically: corporations must either accept social responsibility or abandon their long-range planning aspirations.) All nationalisms are outmoded and hazardous. A global federalism is politically and economically necessary.

In his conversations with Rick, Haynes began to develop the idea that, barring a few understandable misconceptions on the part of the young people (notably about the role of business in world affairs), the aims of the young radicals were essentially co-ordinate with those of BI. Did SDS oppose the Vietnam War? So did BI and an increasing number of the companies with which it had ties. Was SDS concerned about racism? So was BI. Did SDS find no excuse for poverty in a nation this wealthy? Neither did BI. Was SDS fighting the hysterical anti-Communism of America's foreign policy? BI, too, advocated detente with the USSR, a gradual re-alignment of America's China policy, and eventual rapprochement with Cuba. And if SDS and BI differed about why these changes were needed, the one putting forth an "idealistic" and the other a "practical" case for change, then that could as easily be the basis of co-operation as of hostility. Wouldn't it be a good idea for representatives of BI and SDS to meet somewhere together for quiet exploratory talks?

Rick had in fact broached this possibility to me in our very first meeting early in 1966, and had sent me a few letters about it during the intervening period. When the proposal came up again in New Hampshire and I expressed my willingness to be involved, Rick, operating always as the intermediary, began to push for a definite date.

The meeting finally took place at the Gotham Hotel in New York on June 7th.

## The Gotham Meeting

The meeting lasted from mid-morning to mid-afternoon. The discussion was spirited on both sides, candid most often, and was very basic in its issue content.

Our side was represented by myself, Rick, Mike Locker, Jon Frappier (who works with Mike on the NACLA staff), Sol Yurick (of Brooklyn MDS and author of *The Bag*), and Egbal Ahmed, a Pakistani who teaches at Cornell, a friend of mine for several years and an expert on the Algerian Revolution. Fred Goff of NACLA and Mike Spiegel also were to have attended, but were finally unable to.

The other side: Haynes and his son, Elliott, BI vice-president, along with two other people from BI and about eight business executives, most of whom bore titles like "Vice-President: Overseas" from some of the biggest of the multi-national companies: chemicals, construction, drugs, electronics, et cetera.

The session was free-flowing and, once begun, stuck to no particular agenda. It is hard to summarize also because the businessmen were not always of identical views. Nevertheless, I think it is safe to say that they approached consensus on all of the following points and achieved it on most.

(1) The New Left's criticism of current American policy is sound, but the New Left has not been nearly as effective in putting forward a positive program for change.

(2) A reactionary response to the country's problems (such as Nixon: almost all of them favor McCarthy) will be a disaster.

(3) New Left community-organizing work is healthy and good. The urban political machines are obstructive and should be broken by popular insurgencies.

(4) New Left campus agitation (Columbia was in the immediate background) is also good on balance. The tactics at Columbia were perhaps a trifle Rudd, but the cause was legitimate.

(5) America's China policy is ill-omened and should be reversed. China, that is, having demonstrated her ability to achieve great-power status, must be dealt with as such: commercially and then politically integrated into the concert of great powers, as with the Soviet Union. (It was claimed that a growing faction in the Pentagon supports this view of China policy.)

(6) Continued political and economic pressure on Cuba is useless.

(7) Massive social and economic reform is required both domestically and throughout the Third World. US corporations must play a key role here. They alone have the technical and financial resources to end (the revolutionary politics of) world over-population and hunger.

(8) Historically, the overseas behavior of the big American companies has been short-sighted and perhaps occasionally ruthless. The businessmen conceded a few United Fruit-type imperial horror stories. But they argue that this is largely a thing of the past, and that the situation resulted in the first place not from a flood of investment money into the Third World, but rather from a gross deficiency of plant-building investment capital. (Risk capital does in fact by no means predominate in the composition of US foreign investment.) Further, they seem to be more aware than most Leftists (even those who read Guevara carefully) that a major obstacle to world development is the imperialist balkanization of the global South. They see the remedy in the creation of such formations as the Central American Common Market—the "Free World" alternative to pan-continental revolution.

This last point defined the major debate of the day. Our side insisted that the structure of the corporations made it impossible for them to contribute significantly to the real social development of the ex-colonial or neo-colonial world. The opposite is true. The need to maximize profit rates, a built-in and permanent need until there is a socialist transformation of industry, will always over-ride the social needs of peoples. Their response to this was the very heart of neo-capitalism.

True, they said, the primary need of pre-war capitalism was to organize the forces of industrial production, and the human being was often sacrificed to this objective. Now, however, large-scale industry has developed to the extent that further production (machine-based: laboring man increasingly stands to the side as supervisor) can proceed only through the organization of the forces of consumption. Hence, the new function of a bureaucratically consolidated Keynesian capitalism is to produce consumers. Labor is henceforth to be more and more concentrated in the machine.

A very Marxist idea, by the way: the abstraction of labor. This point deserves more extended treatment than it can be given here, and people

interested in pursuing it in depth should read Martin Nicolaus's "The Unknown Marx" in *New Left Review*, 48, without a doubt the most important contribution to Marxism which the New Left has produced. (SDS's Fred Gordon has pointed out that Marcuse leaves out two dimensions, the historic and the economic. Louis Althusser (NLR, 41) fills in the first, Nicolaus the second.) In outline: the businessmen's argument stops short of a confrontation with its inner contradiction. So long as the power to consume is tied to the exchange of labor for wages, men must work in order to buy (and they must buy, of course, to keep the machine going). But the machine's implied need to maintain and augment men's buying power is only the other side of the machine's explicit need to curtail human labor in behalf of lower production costs. The machine wants buyers for its products, but to create buyers it must also (under capitalism) create workers, which contradicts its inner tendency to replace human labor. The dilemma is broken (a) through commercial expansion or imperialism, which tries to guarantee that the market sector will always be larger than the wage-earning sector; (b) through technical fascism, in which the consumer is abstracted as the State, which in order to buy from itself is required to militarize the political economy; or (c) through socialism, in which labor as a traded "commodity" is no longer the basis of value and exchange. (Wealth, said Marx, is properly measured in terms of free time.)

In spite of this important disagreement Haynes and the other business people felt that the session had been profitable enough to be continued by that group and repeated by other groups of businessmen and New Leftists across the country. Our side's basic skepticism was, no doubt a bit numbed by the openness of the businessmen. No definite plans were made, but we parted agreeing to stay in contact and determine soon upon other dates and other groups.

In the next few weeks I received but did not answer two letters from Elliott Haynes. The second letter, asking again for a definite date and position papers for another meeting, was also sent to Mike Spiegel at the NO.

Things were at that point at the time of the SDS Convention. Locker came to my house in Yellow Springs after the Convention to outline a book we have a mind to do together: a political description of ruling-class institutions and ideologies. The idea for this book dated back to the first of the year, when, with Locker's help, I was formulating the thesis sketchily presented in my "Yankees and Cowboys" series printed in *The Guardian* (April issues). It's clear why the episode with BI would have fortified our conviction that the Establishment is living at the moment a desperate political life. The need for our book-length treatment of this view had been sharpened. It was sharpened even further when one of our sessions was interrupted by a phone call from one of the business participants in the June 7th Roundtable.

## June 18th: A Vague Proposal

An agreed-upon condition of the BI session was that no one would publicly quote any of the participants. My feeling is that this condition takes in the phone call, and that there is no reason to violate it. So I will call this person Mr. X (he's neither George Kennan nor a Black Muslim, by the way).

# INTERNATIONAL

BY CARL OGLESBY



Mr. X talked and I contributed a few monosyllables. The gist of what he said is as follows.

(1) The likelihood approaches certainty that Nixon and Humphrey will be nominated in spite of what he considers a clear popular preference for Rockefeller and McCarthy.

(2) This is a procedural disaster for the remains of American democracy.

(3) It is a policy disaster for the country: Nixon and Humphrey are virtually political twins; Nixon is more obviously reactionary, but Humphrey's open commitment to rotten-borough politics nullifies whatever trace of liberalism may be left in him. He will be, in effect, the same as Nixon. And the country (read: the Yankee Establishment?) cannot stand the kind of Administration either will produce.

(4) McCarthy is clearly the best of the lot. No final solution, he nevertheless represents (even if in spite of himself) a popular will for a Leftward response to current problems.

(5) McCarthy will not be able to force his way through the Democrat machine structures, tied up by Humphrey, unless it is clearly demonstrated to the Convention that the nation's demand for McCarthy is genuine and militant.

(6) SDS should therefore consider—since only it has the capability of organizing the young, the country's "key constituency"—that it may have an obligation to do whatever it can do to "drive the nominating decision out of the back rooms and into the people's hands". It could do this most effectively at this moment (it should abandon none of its other on-going programs) by staging a massive demonstration in Chicago.

This demonstration should be as militant as it needs to be—"up to and including tearing the whole place down".

(7) This need not be done under a pro-McCarthy banner; but the action would be clearest and most justified in America's eyes if it were.

(8) Logistic problems are appreciated, but SDS should also consider rendering a similar service to the Republican Party in Miami.

(9) Mr. X would do "whatever was possible" in support of such an action.

I discussed this phone conversation with Locker, and within a few days sent a letter off to Elliott Haynes. It was much less an answer to Haynes's letters than to Mr. X. I asked specifically that Haynes convey the contents of the letter to Mr. X.

In brief, I said that the possibility of a New Left action at the Chicago Convention was real, but in no case should it be pro-McCarthy. What McCarthy imperfectly represented was indeed something bigger than himself, but this only meant that the New Left, if it supported anyone in that camp, should support the young supporters of McCarthy, who are destined to be betrayed by the man himself. The best way to do that was to increase the presence of a real alternative to America's defunct political institutions and their ideologies. This might mean that SDS would support or somehow ally with a Peace and Freedom Party presence in Chicago, if Eldridge Cleaver were the PFP's Presidential candidate. If it were possible on this basis to have further SDS-BI conversations, then we could go a step further.

I thought that this would be the end of the whole thing. But in a few days, I had learned through Rick (who remained in occasional contact with BI) that my letter was a satisfactory basis for going a step further.

## The July 17th Meeting

This took place in BI's New York offices. It was attended by Mr. X, Elliott Haynes, Locker, and myself.

The talk lasted for about two hours. Mr. X conceded that SDS should not try to support McCarthy. Beyond that, he claimed to see that it was important for SDS to retain its radical independence of Convention liberal or Left-liberal movements. At the same time, he saw a need for the developing of a continuing organization based somehow on the McCarthy nucleus: an organization energized primarily by young people but open and hospitable to older and straighter people, and committed to action in the electoral arena. He did not think it was impossible for the PFP to become such an organization, but because of his relative ignorance of that party he could not be more definite than that.

To the extent that his proposal implied that there would be a place for himself in such an organization, it was again necessary to pose the question of imperialism. What was his attitude toward Che? And if it was less than fully supportive, how could there possibly be a basis for the kind of coalition which he seemed to be suggesting?

Che, he answered, is surely not the villain most Americans take him to be. It is even fair, he thought, to see him as a hero in the tradition of Bolivar. But he argued that there must be a better response than violent revolution to the problems that beset Latin America. American policy, in essence, was henceforth obligated to combat revolution by making revolution unnecessary. But, in any case, he thought that differences on that question should not automatically destroy the possibilities of co-operation on other questions.

His program in a nutshell: create new political groupings at the grass-roots level to force a sharp revision of America's social priorities. Activate the big corporations for the technical and financial support of the new program. Super-reformism with populist trimming.

I pointed out to him and Haynes that my relationship to them and BI, delicate even before, had become all the more so since I'd become an officer of SDS. I had discussed these events previously within SDS only in an informal way, but now felt obligated to make a complete report to the NIC and to answer to its direction.

That was Wednesday. The next Friday, I made a report on the foregoing to the NIC at its meeting near Chicago. The NIC made no decision on what should happen next, but developed the hesitant opinion that the contact should not be broken off. The NIC further decided that the national membership should be formally apprised of this situation. No contacts with BI have been made since the NIC meeting.

## AN INTERPRETATION

If it is fair to conjecture that these events constitute an Establishment probe of the New Left, then we have to pose the question: What is its motive?

(1) Co-optation: This will occur to everybody first. The purpose is to repress the New Left and the mechanism

is absorption. To draw the New Left into "practical politics" is to force an adulteration of its critique, a moderation of its militancy, and the isolation of its emerging revolutionary ethic. Two Yankee attitudes might converge here. First, the New Left has become intolerable and will have to be repressed, the preferable mode being co-optation, but if that fails, harsher measures will follow. Second, the New Left cannot or should not be repressed violently, but its present autonomy (a) represents wasted political energy and (b) may provoke a Right-wing attempt at violent repression which will only make everything worse. The main thrust, in both cases, is to rid the American setting of a revolutionary politics.

(2) Utilization: It can also be a Yankee view that we are needed (after a little political scrubbing up) for the New Coalition.

Almost certainly, the United States is undergoing a political trauma the likes of which it has not seen since the formation of the New Deal coalition. Underneath the dead weight of the existing two-party system there is an increasingly conscious minority impulse toward re-alignment of powers and re-definition of national priorities. The particular genius of the two-party system has been that each party was virtually a duplicate of the other: though the mix was different in each, both were conservative-liberal coalitions. Those coalitions can no longer adequately formulate our national problems or generate realistic solutions to them. Both parties organically responded to the crisis by a process whereby their Left wings began hesitantly to think about evacuating their places in the old coalitions: McCarthy for the Democrats and Rockefeller for the Republicans, two reluctant-dragon renegades, embody the remote possibility of this process, but with the customary ambiguity and ambivalence. Clearly, these two are closer to each other than either is to the other candidate: in his party. We know very little about the damage these insurgencies have done to the parties' machines, but we may assume that it is considerable and that it may worsen. A Humphrey nomination, for example, may destroy the Democratic Party in California and New York. Similarly for the New York Republicans with Nixon.

To this already melodramatic equation, add the Wallace factor. If the election is forced to the House, Wallace's power will obviously be immense. The consequences of this are so ominous to the Yankees that Humphrey and Nixon convention victories may force an independent Rockefeller-McCarthy ticket on grounds that third place cannot be conceded to the Cowboys. (More likely, of course, such an extravagant adventure will only be considered for one awful moment before the Establishment determines to rally behind Humphrey anyway and make him the outright winner in the Electoral College. When Nixon wins anyway, there will be a quiet but furious effort to purge the worst elements of Wallaceism.)

The alternatives seem to be these: (1) Any combination of Rockefeller and McCarthy convention victories—one, the other, or both—would so badly fracture the old party loyalty systems as to make mandatory the infusion of new, competent, and organized political blood. Someone may be wondering if the New Left could fill such a bill. (2) If, on the other hand, a Humphrey-Nixon race forces a

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Rockefeller-McCarthy ticket, the latter would stand all the more in need of organized political support from outside the parties. Again, the New Left might look appetizing. (3) But even without an explicit merger of the Left wings of both parties, the reduction of politics to the Humphrey-Nixon choice still might require the preparation (if only on a contingency basis) of a Left opposition to function through and beyond the campaign. We should remember, in fact, that Rockefeller's San Francisco speech in early July explicitly called for a new coalition. With characteristic caution, Rocky was vague about its make-up, but the presence of rock bands at his rally was no political accident.

Without trying to develop a full analysis of the social and economic forces behind all this political turbulence, I want to urge that we keep several major points in mind.

First, we ought to understand the Frankenstein-monster irony which some Yankees seem to be waking up to these days. Their ambitions in post-War Europe led them to institutionalize the Cold War in the Pentagon (the monster) and to saturate American politics with a highly-volatile anti-Communism, a nearly-religious ideology built for demagogues which exhibited its frightful instability for the first time in the person of Joe McCarthy. Today, because of internal developments in the structure of American capitalism (horizontal monopoly on a global scale becomes its primary mode of organization) and external changes in the world political situation (socialist countries can be commercially dealt with and pose no unmanageable threat to global monopolies), the Yankees would perhaps like to de-fuse the monster and the monster ideology which had formerly served them so well.

But that's hard. The Life magazine which twenty years ago was explaining to Americans how terrible their recent wartime allies really were now finds itself desperately trying to explain that they have all-of-a-sudden outgrown the worst of their killer instincts. In attacking anti-Communism, the New Left in some ways indirectly supports the Yankee aim of integrating the

industrialized world: it helps to create a new national mood, more hospitable to that aim.

Second, however, is the Yankees' "two Communisms" predicament. America's foreign problems are centered now in the Third World rather than in Europe. In part, this is because of the essential integration of Soviet and US aims in Europe. But in more important part, that integration, accompanied necessarily by a moderating of US anti-Communism toward the USSR, is itself created by American diplomacy as the necessary condition of its onslaught against Third World revolution. That is, in order to pursue a militantly counter-revolutionary policy in the Third World, the US was obliged to create a European "quiet zone" which in turn required a softening of anti-Communism in Europe. As Rudi Dutschke has pointed out, this simultaneous need to soften (in Europe) and harden (in the Third World) its anti-Communism — and "need" is precisely the right word; this could not have been avoided — is the dialectical heart of the failure of US policy in the '60s. The US is thus undergoing a distant relative of the Russian dilemma of the mid-'50s. For the Russians: How can Stalinists de-Stalinize a foreign policy (Eastern Europe) without abandoning Stalinist aims, and without also de-Stalinizing domestic policy? For Americans: How can the European rear be secured as the material pre-condition of the crusade against Third World rebellion when the political means of such security (the softening of anti-Communism) will destroy the base of the crusade's legitimacy? No answer: American preparations in Europe for the new imperial adventure unavoidably prepared Europe for anti-Americanism, something formerly checked only through the polarization of the Soviet Union.

Third, the Yankee finds himself on the verge of being torn by still another contradiction, this one also originating in his historical and developing relation to the Third World. With the advent of managed monopoly capitalism, the traditional need for external market and

even resource colonies begins to fade. A Keynesian consumer capitalism does not experience the piercing expansionist imperative characteristic of the less-developed producer capitalism. At least in theory, it is structurally capable of surviving in a closed-market system. Should the Third World somehow decide not to "develop", if it were simply to disappear overnight, the US system would not have to collapse.

But the Third World wants to develop. That it might contrive to do so outside the US hegemony is frightful to those whose main political idea is that all industrial societies must be globally integrated under the general policy guidance of a world ruling class. Since these ex-colonies are determined to industrialize themselves (unless they do so they remain babies with candy), the formerly economic need for white theft appears as a more acutely political need for white discipline.

Black radicals have made the point that the ghetto is to white America as the colony to the mother country. Harlem is a colony. This observation, a major breakthrough in all other respects, neglected an important distinction. Namely, peoples are colonized in order to be plundered — raw materials, cheap labor, and so on; but peoples are ghettoized in order to be liquidated — or at best, quarantined. Black Americans were in a truly colonial position in the ante-bellum South. But since the Yankee's destruction of the slave-based Southern economy, they have been pogrommed into a ghetto position. The machine which destroyed their explicit slavery by making it irrational also destroyed their capacity to develop by making their labor superfluous. Secondary exploitation is obviously at a fever pitch in the black ghetto; but it was not in order to make this possible that the ghetto was created. Farmers were pushed into cities to become industrial workers. Slaves were pushed into cities to be controlled. Harlem is precisely a ghetto: a colony which has been de-colonized by the mother country because it no longer serves a useful function in the production process.

But if people will refuse to live in slavery, they will also refuse to live cast-off lives. The abandoned slave becomes a menace to the peace simply because he chooses to continue his absurd existence. Therefore, he must be pacified. The ruling class is just now discovering that repression doesn't work because its effects are both short-term and infuriating, that welfarism doesn't work because its organic tendency toward bureaucratization destroys its consciousness of purpose, and that open genocide would tear the country apart. One pacification technique exists: the extension of the consumer economy to the ghetto. Explosive if left alone but not eradicable, the ghetto can be contained only through inclusion. Big capital knows this, which is what its "liberalism" is all about. Small capital knows it too, at least intuitively, which is why it accurately links integrationist liberalism to Rockefeller and inaccurately curses Rockefeller as a pinko. Goldwater, Reagan, Wallace: for these champions of a declining capitalist sub-class, the fight against "integrationism" (which they think "black power" merely intensifies) is the same as the fight against the monopolies which devour their private business lives, their world.

What seems to be happening now is the first materialization on a world scale of the ghettoized colony, Harlem, that is, may be a better image for Columbia, say, than Columbia is for Harlem. Harlem is not a colony like Columbia. Columbia, rather, is becoming a ghetto like Harlem; and therefore, like Harlem, inescapably rebellious. Hypothesis: The ex-colony's importance to the advanced West does not lie primarily any more in its stealable riches, but rather lies in the dual threat (a) of its autonomous industrial development and (b) of its permanent explosiveness: if industrialization does not take place. So the dual and obviously difficult aims of the Western ruling class become (a) suppression of any industrial development which promises to break free of Western control; and (b) the artificial stimulation of industrialization within its hegemony.

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example of unabashed, self-interested militancy. Exemplary action was soon followed by common action. In mid-May, many young workers fought on the barricades with the students. Then at places like the Renault factory at Flins they learned that the students would come out and fight for them, too. During the latter part of May and June, the students aided the striking workers in many other ways. They went out to the factories to assist the picket lines. They organized peasants to provide food for the strikers in exchange for services (important in France where unions have no strike funds). In return, thousands of workers came to occupied universities, to talk both with students and with other workers. For many workers, it was their first chance to talk with workers from other parts of their own industry without the mediation of the unions.

We in the US are used to talking about neo-capitalism or advanced state monopoly capitalism as a phenomenon of North America and Western Europe. This formulation has allowed us to cover up the great differences between the various countries. The European economies are, in general, not as advanced as that of the United States, and their working classes are hence correspondingly less effectively "integrated" into the System than is the American industrial working class. In France, particularly, workers are still

not able to participate fully in the general French rush toward consumerism. French employers range from feudally paternalistic to outright reactionary in their relations with their employees, both in the factory and through the government apparatus. Partly for these reasons, the massive Communist Party has been able to create and maintain a strong sense of class-consciousness among workers. (We say this even though the same party, through its electoral and trade-union activities, operates as a strong integrating force.) As a result, the problem in France is less that of bringing class-consciousness to the workers than that of developing forms of struggle that utilize that consciousness and mold it into a revolutionary consciousness. In this context, even bread-and-butter issues such as wages, for which many American neo-capitalist theorists have contempt, are potentially revolutionary issues.

We cannot conclude, with so many Americans on the Left, that "France demonstrates the possibility of revolution in advanced capitalist countries." May demonstrated the possibility of revolution in France. But as Dany Cohn-Bendit said: "The question of whether there can still be revolutions in advanced capitalist countries doesn't really interest me." The lesson of the French activists is that it is up to us to create the possibility of revolutionary change here.

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The greatest tribute we can pay to the French revolutionaries of 1968 is not mindless imitation of their tactics. It is to study their movement carefully to further our knowledge of the dynamics of the revolutionary process, and to take to heart their deep understanding of the dynamics of revolutionary organization.

## CONCLUSION

When we were in the then-occupied Faculty of Sciences of the University of Paris, we met a student who was planning to come to the US this fall. In response to our urging him to talk to US student audiences during his trip, he joked: "But what can the Columbia students learn from me? In New York the streets are paved with asphalt, not cobblestones." Of course, we have a lot to learn; so do they. What we have to learn depends on an assessment of the relative strengths of the US and the European movements in various areas. The major difference between Europe and the US is that the European movements (in France, Germany, and Italy) are truly mass student movements, with a significant concentration on purely university issues — from exams to course content. Where mass student movements have developed (if only sporadically) in the US, at Berkeley and at Columbia, the impetus came from off-campus issues: civil rights, Vietnam, ghetto oppression. Almost from the start, we have dealt with the university as a well-integrated element of the System, not as a sub-system. Our movements, SNCC and SDS, funnel people out of academia and into other arenas of action.

The reasons for the European emphasis on intra-university issues are not hard to discover. From Rome to Berlin, the average student leads a more degrading daily life, to prepare for a far-less-certain future, than his American counterpart. Again and again we are told: "The university is a feudal institution." The university structure is rigidly hierarchical; its content is blatantly anachronistic. Students are doing well to get their master's degrees at age twenty-five or twenty-six, and they are still virtually unemployable. In France and Germany, where the demands of industry for trained personnel have outstripped the university's supply, government plans to "reform" the university antedated the growth of student movements. Now reforms may be too late, for mass discontent with the university is developing into mass rejection of the functions of the university in a capitalist society. Thus, in Europe, the university is a particularly crisis-prone institution because its traditional function of producing an unskilled aristocracy is wholly irrelevant to the needs of expanding industry.

In contrast, the US university has always been the willing hand-maiden of US industry. The university also satisfies the expectations of most students, who can look ahead to an unbroken trajectory: from campus to industry, public service, et cetera. Still, the American university is haunted by its pre-American predecessors. While it does a good job of teaching us skills suitable for unquestioning workers, it persists in exposing us to culture (liberal arts,

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In sum: the primary pivot of neo-imperialism is not economic advantage but political necessity. (The latter pre-supposes, of course, the presence in some mode, some degree, of the former, but we have to understand that the basic economic motive sometimes exerts its influence through mediations which generalize and distance it. For example, the economic motive behind the Vietnam War.)

The emerging program of this neo-imperialism, a program whose necessity and contour have already been outlined by monopoly capital's technocratic vanguard, is total world pacification based on controlled world industrialization. The world ruling class must discover some way to get "risk capital" to the pre-industrial countries without losing control of the industrial power which that will create. (This is why their development programs more insistently concentrate on specialization of labor by country and the creation of supra-national institutions like LAFTA and CACM: the first ensures dependencies which cannot be satisfied on a merely national level, and the second legalizes the specialized country's de facto subservience to the group—always dominated by the US.)

The problem for the Yankees is that this is by no means a classically capitalist program. It is a program which capitalism must undertake, but it is also a program which implicitly controverts capitalism's basic drive to accumulate capital for investment at a maximized rate of profit. Are Rockefeller and Company, as the Right Wing claims, subverting American capitalism? Is Rockefeller a Communist? That puts the face of a joke on the body of a truth. Remember Marx: communism is born from the womb of capitalism—violently no doubt, to be sure, but the birth metaphor is decisive. There will come a point—this is the basic Marxist prediction—at which the matured contradictions of a matured capitalism can be resolved only by the passage to a higher state of social organization. Rockefeller knows two things: first, that his business is to make profits; second, that he somehow has to solve

social problems. These are imperatives, and they fundamentally contradict one another. Neither can be escaped. Deny the second: social breakdown remains chronic in all ghettos, here and abroad. Deny the first: capitalism's leading feature fades.

(What, by the way, is the New Working Class? Precisely those generalists and social organizers who see and understand this problem and who are capable of responding: "So much the worse, then, for capitalism.")

Fourth, to the foregoing Yankee woes must be added the threat of domestic fascism. Nixon may win the Presidency, but perhaps only by striking a bargain with Wallace. What if Wallace demands what most of the country seems able to tolerate and a good bit of it passionately to desire, namely the active persecution of the black movement and the student Left?

The Yankees could care less about me and you, and the blacks. But they face here a version of the "two Communisms" problem described above. Policy for the front cannot long deviate from policy for the rear without de-stabilizing the whole system. In brief: the aggressive anti-Communism (or some variant of it) which would necessarily accompany a massive crackdown on the Left could not be isolated. It would inevitably flood over into other policy areas. It would bring to power the kind of men who think the "answer" to Vietnam is to fight harder and perhaps against China, who would re-activate the militant anti-Soviet line of the '50s and hurl more money to the Pentagon for a new round of the arms race, sharply cut back on Federal Welfare and civil-rights programs, destroy AID, and accelerate the already-visible tendency toward a new protectionism in US trade policy. The Great Society would be finally destroyed and the Grand Alliance would be shaken. In such a situation, the Yankee cannot do business. His envisioned world order would convulse.

The Yankee has problems. Haunted by the old Cold War, frustrated by Vietnam, the Third World, and the blacks, fearful of the ignoramus close to power, he seems to begin to understand that these

problems have common roots somehow and that the current period is somehow transitional. He is confusedly responsive to the term "New Politics", because it bespeaks his own mood, his own uneasiness. He supposes that's just what he needs, a new politics; and he knows that his new-looking programs—they amount to the making of a "private government" through the foundations—must discover the political means of their realization. In a nutshell, the New Coalition, in which the New Left is perhaps being offered a provisional membership.

Nothing doing. But my view of these contacts is that they have been instructive, and if the businessmen want to continue them I see no reason why we should break the meetings off. It might be good, for example, for our growing numbers of Cuba veterans to attend such sessions: a kind of de-compression chamber.

In any case, we have a primary obligation to know that the world is shaking today under everybody's feet. Maybe we are approaching the moment which we have been building toward for several years now. The contradictions of the American system, of the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, are dilating rapidly and registering their effects everywhere, in all our institutions and habits of thought. And there is a very strong chance that our chief mission in the imaginable future will be, in essence, a fight against the grandest, slickest fascism of them all. This disorder is too deep for things to remain as they are. Instability is the universal rule. And given the strong likelihood of the political and practical failure of any forthcoming corporate-liberal responses, we simply have to assume that the center may not hold. Maybe it has already cracked. An event of such magnitude is rarely spectacular. Then the question is: Who can pick up the pieces first? No question: a nation furiously convinced of an over-riding need for order will have to turn to the Right, there being no organizational capacity that can rival it for experience, achieved institutional strength, and police power.

Our current role is to prepare our jungle base. That does not mean inventing secret identities, meeting places, codes, or "underground" networks. We have yet to undergo the necessities which alone can mother a skill in such things. Our real resistance partisans are possibly already born, but they have not yet been made.

Our task, rather, is to start work on the jungle base by creating its possibility. This jungle of War Zone D—what is it, so many vines and tunnels? It is above all the people. The people: that is the whole proper meaning of the jungle, the underground, the resistance, and the revolution. With them, everything is possible; without them, nothing but corruption or death. "To be a socialist now," in the words of the British New Left's May Day Manifesto, "is to be... where profit and convenience are hurrying, threatening, discarding men; to be where a wage is fought for, or a reduction of hours; to be where a school or a hospital needs urgent improvement, or a bus service, a housing development, a local clinic needs to be fought through... to be a student expected to pass quietly through to a prescribed job with no share in the definition of his subject or in the government of his institution; to be a teacher, struggling to maintain his ideals against a bureaucratic grading of children and a perpetual shortage of resources; to be a social worker, knowing that where people are in need there is always shortage, of skilled helpers, of building and equipment, of the necessary respect; to be out in the streets, in the rush of society, demanding attention for what is happening to the unregarded poor, in our own and other countries, breaking the system of human indifference and opposing the preparation, the complicity, the lies of war; to be in any or all of these places and conditions, and to connect, to explain, what is actually happening, so that ordinary people can begin to take control of it."

This faltering system of Yankee power: we couldn't support it even if we wanted to, couldn't want to even if it glittered with a million reforms. Our task is to create the conditions essential for surviving; to fight and hold out against and then to conquer the coming beast; to prepare for what Dutschke has strikingly called "the Long March through the institutions". That means we must prepare our jungle in the people. We must prepare our base.

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et cetera) suitable to enlightened aristocrats. In "Chem", we can learn how to make napalm; in "Civ", we can read the prayers of St. Francis. The irrationality of the European university is "external", and appears only when you consider it in the context of advancing industrialization. But the US university is so thoroughly integrated with its setting that its irrationality is internal and reflects an ambivalence in the needs of industry itself. That is, as American capitalism comes to rely increasingly on innovations, it requires fewer and fewer unthinking technicians, and more "mavericks". (Read the want ads in Scientific American.) The risk is obvious: the ability to reason and innovate may be difficult to channel. The internal contradiction of the US university may be sub-clinical, but it's there.

The immediate result of the trans-Atlantic difference on issue emphasis is (to over-simplify): We tend to be stronger on off-campus organizing; they are stronger on student organizing. France is no exception. French students do not claim to have organized the workers' rebellion of May; they merely provided an example. French workers are sufficiently un-integrated that an example sufficed (for a few glorious days). Out of the rebellion came a smattering of worker-student contacts,

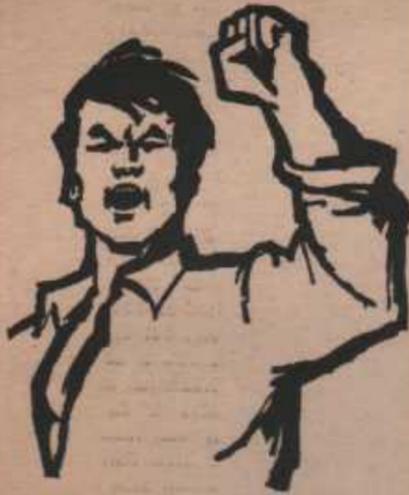
which will take serious organizing to maintain and develop. So far the European forte has been organizing ordinary students on student issues and progressing from student issues to anti-capitalist struggle. (For the record, we should add that they have also demonstrated fantastic proficiency in street fighting, which the brothers in Berkeley might study more carefully.) Theoretical justifications for the concentration on students vary from the Italian view of students as simply an avant garde in the workers' struggle to the German view of students as a potentially revolutionary stratum in their own right. The latter emphasis is probably more sensible for the US, where fifty per cent of the high-school graduates go on to college, and where students are more truly "pre-workers". In fact, maybe we should begin thinking of students (despite their rapid turnover in the US) as a marginal group capable of taking up common struggle with other marginal groups like blacks and poor people generally.

Thinking of students as a potentially revolutionary stratum means thinking in terms of organizing them en masse. In community organizing we usually assume that people can be moved through self-interest issues and direct action to an understanding of the oppressive nature of the System as a whole. We assume that there exist open-ended demands, which even if met lead on to further demands and ultimately to challenging the whole System. Can we apply this strategy to the academic community? For instance, exams might be a particularly fertile issue, since exams not only terrorize students, but

also are the mechanism by which the System assigns price tags (grades) to its most valuable workers. Exams, in themselves, represent the essentials of the capitalist university. If we attempt to build an American mass student movement, we should draw on the Nanterre experience with classroom

provo tactics, the German experience with a critical university, the Italian experience in the uses of occupied buildings, et cetera. The point is not to "restructure" the university, but, as the Germans would say, "to give it a new function": that of producing masses—not just cadres—of young revolutionaries.





# EUROPEAN STUDENTS

## part III: france.

by Barbara & John Ehrenreich

There are two phases of the French student movement: before May and after May. The pre-May movement was a straight student movement, nurtured on Vietnam and university conditions. As was true to a certain extent in Italy, Vietnam played a double role. First, it re-activated Left students who had been inactive since the Algerian War. Vietnam provided an outlet for the groupuscules—Maoist to anarchist—but did not provoke a mass anti-imperialist movement. In a sense, the Left concentration on Vietnam was an evasion of the domestic, French issues. But to try to do anything about the latter would have meant immediate reaction from the Government on the one side, and, as events have shown, from the Communists on the other side. Vietnam, however, was an acceptable, morally-compelling issue, and gave the newly-emerging activists a chance to practice.

Meanwhile, a crisis was shaping up in the universities. The French university—like those of most European countries—was years behind the times. Totally impersonal and overcrowded, with an out-dated curriculum, it was ill-equipped to train people for most available jobs. Students felt materially oppressed, not just "alienated". At the same time, government and industry were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the university's failure to produce an adequate supply of trained people. One Government approach was to build new universities, such as Nanterre. But the new university reproduced many of the defects of the old, and added a few of its own, such as total geographical isolation. Next, the Government proposed a reform plan, the Plan Fouchet, which, like reform plans in other European countries, attempted to solve basic problems by administrative means. The new efficiency measures included making full-time attendance mandatory and raising barriers against unrestricted admissions. In resisting these "reforms" students rapidly encountered police brutality and administrative ineptness.

At Nanterre, escalating agitation produced a radical student movement—essentially in only a few months. One reason for the Movement's rapid growth is that the French students were not new to radical thought, no matter how new this generation was to action. Every activist we met was some shade of Marxist, however unorthodox, however tinged with anarchism, Reichian psychology, or whatever. Second, the French university is so tightly controlled by the Ministry of Education that the local university administration has hardly any independent power. So the step from struggling with university administration to struggling with national government was a natural one. It did not have to be mediated by a slow revelation of the role of the university in society (unlike here, where it was the complicity of the university in the Cold War and Vietnam which exposed its political role).

The student movement in France developed unusually rapidly, amid an unusual amount of violence. But in comparison to the movements elsewhere in Europe, there was nothing really extraordinary about it—until May 13th. In fact, it developed later than the other major student movements, and, in its university phase, didn't have time to produce any theoretical or organizational tools for "reaching" the workers. From the standpoint of the student movement, what happened in the last half of May was an accident.

But it happened: the workers did join in. Recall in what follows that throughout the entire period the vast majority of the working class were only following the lead of the Communist Party and the Communist-led Confederation Generale du Travail. Except for a brief period of solidarity between the Party and the students, there was no worker-student movement, nor is there even yet a workers' movement. Contacts between students and workers occurred; they may be the basis of a future worker-student movement; but they remain merely contacts. Nevertheless, the events of May are the irreversible watershed of the French student movement, shaping everything that happens today.

Up until May, no set of ideas on the nature of advanced capitalism or on the role of the university gained hegemony. No one organization among the many groupuscules could claim to be the principal organization of the student Left. The forms and theories of today's Movement arose primarily from the contingencies of May.

The most prominent "organization" of the French movement, and the one most student activists are associated with, is the March 22nd Movement ("22 Mars"). This is, in fact, not an organization at all. More or less anyone who is active and who identifies with 22 Mars is a member. 22 Mars is the symbolic embodiment of those who are revolutionary activists. It is thus multiple-tendency in ideology and anarchistic in organization. These characteristics fit the ad hoc development of the Movement from March 22nd to May—22 Mars grew by the accretion of new groups as they moved into action. Along with several other organizations, 22 Mars was ordered dissolved by the Government in June. Since there were no members and no membership cards, this order had little meaning, and 22 Mars activity continues.

The actual forms of struggle on the local level also emerged in the course of the May struggle. Most important of these are the Comites d'Action (action committees). These are groups ranging from handfuls to hundreds of people engaged in local action. Thus an occupied faculty would have an action committee co-ordinating its various activities; a group of people organizing in a certain neighborhood of Paris to support the strike (by raising money, putting up posters, selling newspapers, et cetera) would constitute another action committee. When we were in Paris many action committees were working on plans for a summer university for students and workers. The committees are co-ordinated only very loosely. They would meet to decide on common actions, and then each committee would undertake its share—depending on its abilities and its constituency. There was no attempt to enforce ideological unity: unity on tactics, diversity on principle, is the watchword.

It was only in June, when the general strike faltered, that serious discussions were held on post-crisis organization. One section of the Movement insisted on creating a new "party", the Mouvement Revolutionnaire, but the great majority of the students rejected this attempt to impose organization from above.

There are more ideological tendencies within 22 Mars (like Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire) than we have space to discuss. Fortunately, the mainstream of 22 Mars is the most interesting, and is practically

homogeneous. In describing two "poles" of thought in the mainstream, we are creating a distinction that does not exist in reality. These "poles" are not factions; they are part of a continuum. Both are Marxist in analysis, anti-authoritarian in mood, and direct-action in style. One pole might be called anarchist shading into Marxist; the other might be called Marxist shading into anarchist. Both are very loveable.

The first "pole" is, in a very traditional way, anarchist. Its exponents are adamantly opposed to organization per se. Extolling spontaneity, they tend to be anti-theoretical and even anti-intellectual. ("It doesn't matter what people say, only what they do" one student told us when we asked what books had influenced him.) They condemn analysis or strategy of any kind. "Objective conditions" are what you create through actions. But the action also changes you, hence your perception of "objective conditions", and so on. Thus organizing, in the American sense, is meaningless, for it assumes a relatively static reality. Rather you simply create situations in which people have to make a choice, and the sum of these confrontations is the Revolution. If you look dubious, they remind you of May.

In May, direct action and confrontation did prove extraordinarily effective. Because of the speed of transformation of the Movement, from a student movement largely centered around Nanterre to a nearly revolutionary upheaval in a few short weeks, the students never had time to sit around and play the strategy game to the extent that we in SDS are getting used to. The Marxian groupuscules who did play it were, with few exceptions, so strident and sectarian that no libertarian Marxism ever pushed to the fore. Of course, the reformism and bureaucratism of the Communist Party did not inspire warmth toward orthodox Marxism or toward orthodox methods of organizing. So anarchism faced no serious competition for the student movement.

The other "pole" of the 22nd of March Movement sees limits to hard-line anarchism. It worked for a few days in May, but at other times people may not be quite so ready to take to the streets. What tactics will apply to the long slow work of preparing people for sustained revolutionary action? The people who ask these questions are distinguished from the first "pole" by a greater awareness of the limitations of direct action and by a lesser degree of distrust of organization and theory. They argue that to pose the problem of organization separately from that of

action is to misrepresent the question. Organization must grow out of action and reflect the needs of action. Strategy, planning over fairly long periods, co-ordination—all may be necessary, and organization may be necessary to accomplish them. But organization can never be an end in itself, nor can theory or planning or co-ordinating be ends in themselves. Organization must be the embodiment of the activity and the will and the needs of those who act. It must grow out of those needs and be completely fluid, changing with the shape of the needs. Within these bounds, the second "pole" not only do not oppose organization of the struggle; they desire organization. But the heart and brains of any organization must be in its activists and its local-action committees, not in any central committee.

As for direct action, they agree with the "hard" anarchists that "objective conditions" are not something you wait for, but are something you try to create through action. However, they do not expect that propitious conditions can be generated out of nothing. There are situations in which confrontation will not draw the masses out in support of you, and the will and action of a few conscious revolutionaries will not suffice to create a revolutionary situation.

All this analysis—talk of "poles" and "tendencies"—sounds pedantic and false when we remember what it was like to be in Paris. It is hard to convey the hilarious exuberance and unity which we sensed there. You couldn't walk down the Boulevard St. Michel, hang around the occupied buildings, or talk to a veteran of the barricades without developing a severe contact high. Written on the wall: "Distrust sad people. La revolution, c'est la joie!" So much for the dead-serious groupuscules of "La Chinoise". This sense of release, of joy in the revolution, extended to all the major tendencies in 22 Mars. There is reason to believe that this style was germinating in the March 22nd Movement well before May. We know, for example, that Cohn-Bendit and others at Nanterre had read, besides Bakunin and Marx, a pamphlet of the International Situationists proclaiming true proletarian revolution to be "une fete". "Play is the ultimate rationale of this fete, to live outside of dead time and to act without obstacles...."

How much of this spirit was shared by workers, we can only guess. Certainly the kind of student-worker contacts that developed are unique to France. Students did not go out to "organize" workers around workers' issues. Instead, students pursued their own demands, setting the

(continued on Page 6)

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