



Chicago, 1968

It is my opinion that as many people as possible should go to Chicago Oct. 8-10 to participate in the anti-war, anti-imperialist national action called by the RYM-II caucus of SDS, the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, and the Young Patriots. Many of the reasons are mentioned in Doyle Nieman's article in this issue of the *Rag*. The most important reasons are to strike another blow against the continuation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the whole U.S. imperialist system, to bring more working class people, especially whites, into active participation in the anti-imperialist movement, and to raise the level of consciousness and commitment of those who go, those who are involved, and the whole insurgent movement in America.

Criticisms of the action sponsored by the current SDS national office aside for the moment, objections have been raised to people going to Chicago at all--even to the coalition action mentioned above. The most serious are 1) that the action will be "too militant" or adventurist and 2) that activists should concentrate on local actions instead of national actions ("we have plenty

of problems right here"). neither of these arguments. First, too much militantism is the problem, especially in going there to put forth demands and politics that needs of the vast majority people (U.S. Get Out of Vietnam, the Blood Tax on Workers, Adequate Medical Care for Women, No Military Service, End the Fascist Black and Brown People, etc.) going to take these politics to the people (with mass leaflets around schools, factories, tax office, and in the community). The social factor is whether or not we speak to the need of the people to unite them in action. If we can mobilize masses of people, especially working class people, then we should not be run away from. The action is not going to give you a silver platter. But what we need at this point is not to stop people hurt, but to put to

# october anti-war action

SDS is faced with another of the periodic crises through which it has developed in recent years. This one centers around a proposed national action in Chicago on October 8-11.

To fully understand the conflict one must understand that there are two major competing factions in the SDS on the national level. On the one hand you have a group known as the "Weathermen" (after a National Convention resolution, "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way The Wind Blows", which they presented this June). They control the National Office of the SDS in Chicago. Leading figures of this faction are Jim Mellon, Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones -- the last three being the national officers of SDS with Mellon as a theoretical mentor -- and Bernadine Dohrn, former national officer of the SDS. Opposed to this faction is a group known as Revolutionary Youth Movement II or RYM II (pronounced Rim 2). Predominant in this faction are Mike Klonsky (former national secretary of SDS), Bob Avakian of the Bay Revolutionary Union, Noel Ignatin of Chicago (a member, with Klonsky, of the National Interim Committee (NIC) of SDS).

A RYM II resolution calling for the national action was passed at the Chicago convention, but the implementation of that was left to the Weatherman faction who disagreed with the politics of the resolution. The RYM II resolution outlined a four point program for the national action: (1) to build a broad based ("united front") attack upon imperialism, (2) to expand the anti-imperialist movement into the working class and to fight for working-class leadership of the movement, (3) to raise the level of militancy as a response to repression and, (4) to make the demand "immediate withdrawal from Vietnam" operative rather than agitational. The Weatherman faction, which has been in control of planning and publicity for the action seems to have adopted the third demand for more militancy, while giving secondary importance to the call for more working class and proletariat participation in the action and for a heightening of the political bases of the action.

As the Weathermen have set up the action it is to include a memorial rally in Lincoln Park for Che Guevara on Wednesday night (two years after Che's death, Oct. 8, 1967); an offensive against the schools on Thursday around the idea of "jailbreak" -- it has been proposed that people should run through the schools shouting "Jailbreak", expecting masses of high school students to rise up and follow them. Also on Thursday there may be a women's action around the oppression and exploitation of women with the SDS women being an exemplary women's fighting army. On Friday there is planned an attack upon the court where the Conspiracy trial is being held. The slogan for this action

will be "Stop the Trial" which is "to be a reflection of our determination to make the ruling class pay the price -- a heavy price -- for carrying out the repression against the people and against the movement." And finally, on Saturday there will be a mass march. The march will move from Haymarket Square to Grant Park through the Loop area.

A great deal of opposition has arisen, particularly in the last couple of weeks, to the action as laid out by the Weathermen. This was expressed in an open letter from the *Fifth Estate*, a Detroit underground newspaper which had first supported the action and then began having doubts after seeing how it was shaping up. As they saw it the emphasis which the Weathermen were putting on the action was to come to Chicago to "kick-ass" rather than around anti-imperialist, anti-racist politics. They took particular offense to a Detroit SDS (Weatherman) leaflet which referred to the action as one to "liberate the high schools, bust our brothers and sisters out of jail" and to "tear up the fascist courts". The *Fifth Estate* letter said: "after reading about the proposed tactics of the actions, we have grave reservations about their usefulness. We feel that rather than clarifying an anti-imperialist perspective, they obscure these politics behind an adventurist militancy, falsely labelled 'struggle'... This idea of the revolutionaries substituting themselves for the people is adventurism of the worst kind".

Perhaps a more substantial attack upon the Weathermen position was made by Mike Klonsky, who resigned from the steering committee of the action, and RYM II. They attacked the Weathermen for not having made any attempt to enlist proletarian, working class groups in the planning and operation of the action and pointed out that the Panthers, the Young Lords (a militant Puerto Rican group) and the Young Patriots (a white working-class group) had all refused to support the action as planned. They attacked the Weathermen for not having implemented the Convention resolution and not preparing literature that related the war to the real oppression of the working class and to the militant GI movement inside the army. They accused the Weathermen of planning adventurist actions which not only would not serve the people but would end up fighting the people. In this charge they could refer to several preliminary actions held by Weatherman groups in Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Columbus, Ohio in which the Weathermen had ended up fighting the people and the cops.

RYM II had a national conference in Detroit in early September and at that time decided to call a counter action to the Weatherman

action, also to be held in Chicago at the same time. As the RYM II saw it, to abandon the national action would make them "scabs" on the Vietnamese and would have ensured a dismal turnout for the national action. On the other hand, to not put forth a counter program which reflected their politics and positions and which did not provide an alternative to the disastrous Weatherman action would have been irresponsible.

RYM II then is calling and organizing a week of demonstrations leading up to a massive march on Oct. 11. The theme for the action is "Serve the People -- Get the U.S. Out of Vietnam Now! Join the Struggles of the Vietnamese." They also have the support of the Panthers, Young Lords, and Young Patriots. On Wednesday they plan small disciplined (they place particular emphasis upon the disciplined nature of all the actions which they are conducting and have stated they will tolerate no rash adventurism) actions at draft boards, tax offices and in support of welfare mothers, the Black Panther Party Breakfast for Children Program and the Young Lords Organization Day Care Center. These small actions will continue through the week. Thursday there will be a high school and junior high school boycott in the morning and a march on the Board of Education. This will particularly center on schools where there has already been some organizing done. On Thursday afternoon there will be a major rally around the International Harvester Plant in Chicago, which is being closed down and moved from the black ghetto to an all white suburb and to Vietnam where IH has recently bought land. Work has already been done in this plant by members of RYM II. On Friday the main action will be a major hospital action focusing on the oppression of women. And finally, on Saturday there will be a mass march probably starting in the middle of the oppressed black, brown and white communities and marching downtown. The main slogan of this march will be "U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!"

The major point that RYM II emphasizes is that they are not calling for people to go to Chicago to "kick-ass" and to fight. Rather they are calling for people to go and link up with the struggles and concerns of all those oppressed and exploited by imperialism -- the black, brown and working class communities in the U.S.; the Vietnamese people; and the mass of people of the third world. They are not arguing that we should not struggle, but rather that we should struggle with the people and not against them or without regard for their concerns.

So that is where it stands now -- both groups are organizing people to go to Chicago. But, we in Austin are still left with the question of how we should relate to the proposed



ere"). I believe that arguments are valid. Militancy is not exactly ally in Austin. We are forth revolutionary slo- that deal with the real majority of the American t of Vietnam Now, Stop rkers Wages, Free and re for All, Full Equality ary Service for Imperial- scist Repression of the ole, etc.) and we are politics directly to ss leafletting and rallies ories, hospitals, the he communities. The cru- ner or not your politics r the people and can n. If you are able to eople, especially work- en confrontations are rom. The ruling class e you socialism on a sil- e we are trying to do t to start a riot or get put together an exemplary

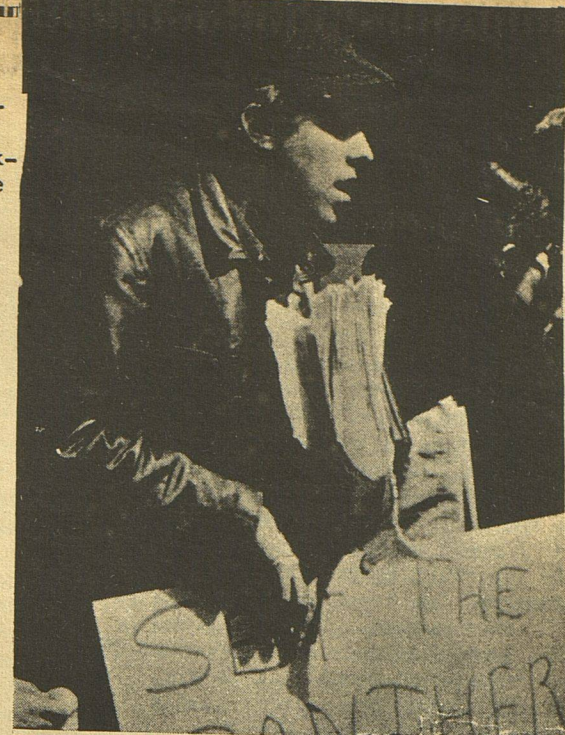
action that will speak to and unite the struggles of working people here with working people all over the world.

Secondly, local action is continuously necessary and everyone should be involved in it. But national actions are necessary, too. They are bigger, more militant, and can set a tone for future local actions. Often, as with Chicago last year, they give a big impetus to local actions. You need both, not just local or national, but international. Capitalism and all the horrors it spawns (imperialism, racism, male supremacy, etc) is an international system that exploits and oppresses people all over the world. There are local ruling elements, but the real ruling class, the mainstays and sole beneficiaries of capitalism, operate on that international scale. In this action we will be trying to link up the struggle of the Vietnamese and show that they are parts of the same fight, a fight against the same essential enemy, U.S. imperialism. Hopefully this action will aid in elevating the existing movement from anti-war,

personal liberation, or trade union levels to an anti-imperialist level. It is also one of the first examples of a working coalition of black, brown, and white revolutionary forces. An action with these characteristics will be exemplary for the whole movement. Finally, local actions do not usually involve people on a high level of continuous activity except in times of crisis. This action should help educate the participants more than anything most of us have ever been involved in. We will be among the people of America, talking to them in the schools, at the factories, on the streets, and in the communities about their lives, their needs, and their struggles and about the struggles of other working people all over the world. Come to Chicago and learn from the people, serve the people, and become one with the people. Call 478-5171 or write P.O. Box 8343, U.T. Station for further information.

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win  
All Power to the People

--Dave Pratt



SDS national secretary Mark Rudd, a Weatherman leader, getting ready for some "hard" action in Chicago.

--Guardian

# actions: three views

—Motherfuckers

Chicago action. It seems to me that there are several different parts to this question. First, we must ask ourselves what is the value of and criteria for participating in any national action? Then we must ask ourselves about this particular national action in Chicago.

The question about national actions in general has often been phrased in terms of a dichotomy between national and local actions. The logic behind this dichotomy assumes that much the same sort of things are intended and accomplished by both local and national actions and that by organizing for a national action you divert energies which could be better extended in getting more people to a local one.

I am not sure that this dichotomy is entirely valid. The reason for this derives from the fact that the composition of national and local actions is different. Local actions are usually composed of larger numbers of people with relatively low radical experience, commitment and consciousness. In terms of the two aspects of any action: its political effect on people and decisions outside of the movement and the effect on the movement's ability to organize more and more people, local actions place a greater emphasis on the first (by their very structure and organization) -- that is upon having a political effect on the society as a whole. National actions, on the other hand, are composed of relatively small groups of people from all over the country. These are usually the more militant, more committed, and more radical people from the local areas. There is potentially a great deal of political effect from the national actions deriving from the publicity and attention they receive and from the strength which they can show, but more of an emphasis (and more of an effect) is put upon affecting the participants to make them better organizers when they leave the action and go home. This effect derives partly from the (usually) more militant and radical political content of the national action, partly from the heightened sense of militancy which surrounds national actions, but mostly from the intense contact the people have with revolutionary comrades from all over the country. People reinforce and incite each other, making each other better, more effective radicals. National actions, in other words, tend to be relatively heavy political affairs.

This should not be construed as an attack upon local actions. Rather, it is to say that national and local actions serve different purposes. Local actions mass large numbers of people to have a political effect, especially on the people in the local area. Their effect in terms of those people who are already radical, however, is nowhere near as great as for a well-planned, well-educated national action. There are

not for the moment, as many radicals to cross-fertilize and reinforce on the local level, as there are on the national level.

Whether you go or not to any national action depends upon where your priorities are at the moment. If your priorities say you need to organize masses of people, particularly new people, then you organize locally. If your priorities are to educate and organize people who are already in the movement, then you might seriously consider going to a national action.

It is important though that people go and organize as a group for the national action to have its best effect.

This question of priorities is not just an individual question to be made by each individual considering going to a national action, but must also be a group action. The groups or, more properly, the various groups in the Austin community must decide whether or not they see a particular national action as an organizing priority -- whether one personally intends to go or not). They must decide whether they want to try and get people to attend on an organized basis.

But this still doesn't answer the question of whether we should go to Chicago this October 8-11 or not. This is a more serious and difficult question. It seems obvious that the Weatherman action will be a disaster. It appears to be pure and simple adventurism. Everyone is liable to get busted, shot down on the streets, or beat up by the people long before the mass march on Saturday which goes through no communities and seems to be an open invitation to massacre.

Whether RYM-II can pull off an effective counter-action without the adventurism of the Weathermen remains to be seen though. They face extreme difficulties due to the lack of time they have to organize the action (Oct. 8 is less than 2 weeks away), the opposition of the Weatherman faction who control New Left Notes and who have done most of the publicity for Chicago, and the fact that very few people (including the underground media) really understand what is going on in relation to Chicago. There is also the danger that despite RYM II's attempts to have disciplined actions some of the "kick-ass" mentality which is manifesting itself all over the country will seep in and bring forth massive retaliation from the cops. The whole question of what the relationship between the Weatherman action and the RYM II action will be presents serious problems as well. What would happen for instance if the Weathermen were being shot down in the streets -- perhaps a not unlikely prospect -- and they asked RYM II for assistance? None of these questions have been answered as of yet.

--Doyle Niemann

Been around the movement a long time, been lied to and all that jazz... Looked at Chicago and saw... all the lying, burning, ripping off, and tricks that trapped many brothers before... but... this time all the crap doesn't come from the pig... most of it comes from the "movement" itself..... Who??

RYM-I or "weatherman"... the last of the national office sds...this as most of the defeated "movement" is trying to make a comeback... they are bankrupt for ideas and direction... they want ACTION to prove they are really revolutionary. Now, the big plan is to go to Chicago, lay out an itinerary, provide the cops with one copy and have a "confrontation".

The confrontation will take place between the battle-hardened, strung-out speed freaks that Daley calls "Chicago's finest" and a bunch (probably less than 5000) of high school, college, and young working class KIDS... that's right, KIDS.

The proven movement streetfighters, YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION, MOTHERFUCKERS, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and others that might know how to handle a street situation are NOT supporting this action... Others that supported the Chicago action last August are not there either. This is some 160 groups, even some not so revolutionary groups won't be there, PL, YIPPIES, Crazies, and others. ... This leaves just the kids and the very small weatherman faction... But wait a minute, here comes RYM-2, not to be left with any dead martyrs if anyone gets killed and planning an alternate action... they will be in the same town on the same day, spreading the same maoist bullshit, and calling it an alternative action...but this isn't much help; they are just as bankrupt for people, money, and ideas...

Shouldn't something be done about the war, imperialism (domestic and foreign), racism, workers' struggles, poverty, slums, the government that doesn't relate to the people and all that other shit that needs cleaning...???

If you are conscious of your environment at all, you know we need to do all we can if we expect to rid ourselves of this system... so why not Austin??

The war dead from Austin and former university students' death toll keeps rising ... the same type of corrupt minds run our police force, crooked politicians abound in Texas... Economy Furniture has as much worker oppression as Chicago... and we got... racism, slums, slum lords, hunger, ROTC, taxes, and all the other problems that Chicago has, and people are doing something about them...

Chicago is at least a five-day trip... if you gave the five days' time to your own environment, to the worthwhile Austin projects... perhaps we could really change the place WE live/exist in...

Work on the SNCC breakfast program, Critical U., students for strikers, ACID fund or just getting the people on your block together, to weather the hard times ahead, and plan to effect the final stage of the revolution where you will have to fight it anyway...

You must choose; can you afford to leave your city, your revolution, and any work you must accomplish here, and go to join the "leaders" in Chicago???

UAW/MF