

## A LIMITED OVERVIEW

In SDS meetings, to date, there has been a clear absence of overview, or strategic coherence. I am partially at fault, for I have proposed action without exposing the assumptions I have made and the outlook from which I try to operate. This is a paper on Movement tactics, the issues of the SDS demand, and a general suggestion for program.

### TACTICS

Educational Work--Educational work is like investment. Often one must wait a long time to cash in. Once one strikes oil, however, the returns are steady. (Do not be confused by the clever use of simile and analogy.) Despite our correct line, we cannot expect people to radically increase their commitment for abstract reasons. And we must realize that all our bourgeois training still is directed against SDS style and tactics.

Support grows only when major events (Tet Offensive, Chicago, Sit-IN, IBM Suspensions) occur, exposing the hypocrisy of the system. The important thing is to prepare people for contradictions within the system by familiarizing them with an alternative, radical perspective.

Organizing--When we relate, on an ongoing basis, our abstract or broad analysis to the everyday problems of those with whom we are working, then we are organizing. I believe that our analysis must be good enough to relate any felt problem to our explanation of the whole society. We must discuss TA salaries within the framework of the University as a whole and we should draw parallels with other labor movements. Grades and the ratio must be exposed as part of the channeling function of the university. Anti-Draft Organizers and counselors should discuss the implications of the military, imperialism, and channeling. Smog and rush-hour traffic must be decried as necessary outgrowths of monopoly capitalism in America.

Not only does such organizing aid educational activity, but it transfers emotional concern and commitment from felt issues to the heart of/<sup>the</sup> problem, a hierarchical, culturally oppressive, imperialist society or system. Some of us can really get angry about Capitalism because we can't explain our problems either as necessary or likely outgrowths of it.

Direct Action--Direct action has two functions. One is to focus on issues, proving we're serious, etc. The second is the exercise ~~DISPLAY~~ (or, when we lose, the exposure) of power. In developing a mass movement it is important that people understand (not necessarily agree immediately) what we are doing--step-by-step. Because we do not control any mass media or any major educational institutions, we must focus concern over our issues by making demands (threatening direct action) and engaging in low level direct action. It is imperative that we use such opportunities to correctly analyze the issues, and it is important that concurrent to direct action we exploit all outlets in the media and all organizing possibilities. Most students are not concerned about our activities until direct action is taken--or threatened--at times. We must talk to them while they are concerned.

Of course, there comes a time when the function of direct action is no longer to convince those who do not yet hold power, but to coerce those who do. At this point we must continue educational activities, but our major concern is whether our force (supplanted by support from the people that we are trying to educate or organize) is great enough to overpower the immediate force of these in power. A major problem in this society is the concentration of power. To distribute it we must assume part of it.

Mobilization--~~DISPLAY~~ To mobilize is to engage large numbers of people in various ~~DISPLAY~~ levels of visible action. Historically, it has been possible to mobilize thousands without politicizing them. If we are to build a mass movement, internally democratic, then we must have more than "cold bodies." Action must build. Organizing and educational work must be integrated into action. Mass mobilization can only be reformist--and is not even good at reformism, if not accompanied by organization.

#### THE ISSUE

I think that it is important to continue to press the demand that Stafford get out of Southeast Asia. I believe this because I consider imperialism one of the "fundamental evils." For the sake of poor people around the world, it must be attacked. University research is a facet of imperialism over which we can have some power. We are behind the left ear, so to speak, of a dangerous monster. We can

whittle at the brain.

"Anti-Imperialist" action is necessary if we are to consider ourselves part of a revolutionary movement. The vanguard of the revolution is in the Third World. The Vietnamese are in the vanguard of the Third World (don't forget the Cubans). Not only will the Vietnamese revolution liberate millions of Vietnamese, but ~~in~~ such revolutions will ~~we~~ eventually bring the revolution home. As America loses its colonies and markets, or as it overextends itself protecting its colonies and markets, then the chickens will come home to roost. If we want a revolution to come--if we just want Vietnam liberated--then we must disrupt the inner workings of imperialism. The movement in the US has contributed no small part to the extent of Vietnam's victory. Viewed from the isolation of the Stanford campus, militant action seems absurd. If we can identify with oppressed peoples around the world, then moderation is ridiculous. (We should not forget to weigh our disruptions in terms of the mass consciousness of the American people. When the revolution comes, we must make sure that it turns left.)

Ethically, the demand makes sense. We are struggling for the self-determination of peoples' whose oppressive conditions grow out of exploitation. True, we must convince others that this is what the world is really like, but once our facts and interpretations are accepted, our stance is highly moral (yes?)

Many people feel that the issues raised by the SDS demand are too abstract. While in some ways ~~it is abstract~~, we must relate it to the felt needs of the students we are trying to organize. This means that we must talk about channeling in the University--we are being trained either as leaders or lackeys of imperialism. We must discuss the extension of the US military in terms of the draft. And we should remember that the war on Vietnam, long the major political stimulus to our constituency, was equally abstract, though less inclusive. One of our major political goals should be to concretize, to as many as we can, the abstractions which we are attacking. While it would be easier not to attack abstract problems, we must--if we really see what's ~~in~~ happening as the logical outgrowth of corporate capitalism. The high level of abstraction upon which we operate will be brought down to earth by direct action.

One major complaint against the SDS demand is that "We can't win." While there will be no total victory until the revolution, certain concessions can be treated as victories. If no concessions are made, a certain level of disruption can be considered a victory. Here is a list of a few possible concessions:

**minor victories possible:** No more classified research on campus

Scientists at AEL and SRI beginning to organize

**major victories possible:** No more classified research at SRI  
Scientists at AEL and SRI successfully organizing

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Re-orientation of University Expansion

**people's victory:** Stanford Ceasing all applied war research

**great people's victory:** SRI doing the same

Stanford and SRI ceasing research and training for  
economic imperialism

**failure:** disaffiliation with SRI

If we understand our struggle as a continuing one, then concessions will be felt as victories, but single victories will not stunt our drive to go undefeated.

#### HOW SHOULD WE PROCEED?

In our frustration to engage in mass confrontation, our only means of exerting real power, we must not forget that mass psychology depends upon objective conditions. Any major confrontation, at this point, would be in response to an event, <sup>or</sup> an amazingly effective educational project. Events which could cause mass action would be: Repression by Stanford, the Opening~~M~~ of the Space Sciences Building, Resumption of the Bombing of the DRVN, the Announcement of a real dirty contract, or the breakdown of the SRI study committee. Educational activities such as Art Melville's speech on Guatemala could lead to action, too--if a suitably related target were nearby.

Until we engage in a major activity we should ~~XXXXXX~~ continue to educate, organize, develop analysis, and build community. We should continue small actions with the purpose of 1) arousing concern by showing we're serious 2) making educational points (the extent of research, the power of the President) 3) putting the administration up against the wall, forcing mistakes and exposing the importance of imperialism for those who run the university and 4) Building community by engaging in action together.

end of overview

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