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THE NEW LEFT--WHERE IS IT AT?

A. The Campus Radicals - The Decline of SDS As A Significant Force

The 1969 SDS Chicago convention irreparably split the organization, for several years the spearhead of the student radical movement. Dedication to participatory democracy was forgotten in a power struggle between existing ideological blocks. Intoxicated by victories achieved in part through violence at Columbia and Harvard, and misreading the commitment of students who participated in campus riots (the vast majority were not dedicated revolutionaries) one faction subsequently identified as the Weathermen, sought after the convention to emerge from their campus cocoon as a full fledged revolutionary force. By guerrilla warfare they hoped to topple selected existing institutions of the capitalist system, if not the government itself. The second faction to emerge, Maoist and rigidly Marxist - the Progressive Laborites - contemptuous of campus guerrillas as "elitist" but committed to a sometime in the future revolution, held that the time was not now, and that revolution could only be brought about with support from blue collar workers. The Revolutionary Youth Movement, the third force, quickly disintegrated. Each group by ukase read the other out of SDS. Disunity, the fatal disease of extremist movements, is for SDS now in its terminal stage.

On Sunday, December 27, 1970 some 500 delegate members of the PLP faction arrived in Chicago for what may be SDS's last convention, still seeking to weld an alliance with blue collar workers who despise them. The Weathermen faction, decimated by governmental crackdowns, its leadership or most of those still at liberty fugitives from the law, and a rank and file increasingly disenchanted with violence, uninvited did not attend. The four-day get-together, marked by more acrimonious and seemingly endless debate, stressed the need for further missionary work among the working class. Attendance - down to 200 for the concluding day - resembled a wake more than a convention.

Onetime SDSers and those who might have become involved with the prototype SDS, now opt for membership in 10-15 member collectives or cadres, ephemeral in duration and vague of purpose.

The Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance, dedicated, doctrinaire, disciplined and dull, is emerging as the largest (5000) and most cohesive campus revolutionary group. Opposed to "picking up the gun," they are determined to make "every university a Red university." YSA lacks the SDS popular appeal of a few years back, and has little potential as a catalyst for student violence.

B. A Change In The Weather?

In the latest (December 6, 1970) in a series of prophetic "Weatherman" communiqués dispatched to underground publications, Bernadine Dohrn, la Pasionara of SDS revolutionaries, seemed to be calling for an end to violence in the name of the cause. Proclaiming that "the future of our revolution has been changed decisively;" "our belief that armed struggle is the only real revolutionary struggle

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is destroyed forever;" that "this tendency to consider only bombings or picking up the gun as revolutionary, with the glorification of the heavier the better, we've called the military error." Dohrn observed that outlaws living underground do not have a sense of what is going on and cannot develop strategies to build the movement numerically. Obviously after earnest organizational soul searching, she outlined proposed future activities to: "Change and share the cultural revolution." "Planning for and organizing rallies and demonstrations, mass actions against, among other things, the war, and in support of prison revolts" she wrote, "constitute the new agenda." Removed from scenes of action are schools, and the army - "they cannot do that which is necessary to radicalize people."

While the proposed change in Weatherman action may be more tactical than philosophical, it is a fact that many students, professing dedication to the necessity of revolution now, have been shocked by the results of some bombings. Violence has not brought about the predicted repression which in turn, it was said, would bring Weathermen mass sympathy and support. In all probability there will be a change in the revolutionary weather, for how long we do not know.

C. Campus Demonstrations - Winter Hibernation?

Spring, the traditional season for campus disturbances, is some months off. Accordingly despite a marked lull in protests since September it may be premature to dogmatically state that a major polarizing student offensive against U.S. Indo China policy or some form of "Establishment" authority is not in the cards. Student dominated groups - at odds with each other - the National Peace Action Coalition and the National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression, are planning massive anti-war rallies on April 24th and May 5th in Washington and other large cities. Both endorse a G.I. protest against the war scheduled for Armed Forces Day (May 16th).

The National Student Association, now considerably more leftist than previously, is formulating plans for yet another anti-war rally to publicize the signing of a "peace treaty" by U.S., Saigon, NLF and DRV students.

Yet there are discernible signs that a national student protest of such magnitude and intensity capable of polarizing the nation to the extent that did the May 1970 demonstrations is only a slight possibility, barring an event with the emotional charge of a major military adventure in Indo China. The Kent State killings had a sobering effect on students, particularly the realization that it could happen on their campus. The senseless killing at Wisconsin and other random bombings have undeniably diminished the romance of violence as a condition precedent to a revolution which, incidentally now no longer seems inevitable or necessary. Unregenerate tear society down revolutionaries are not today's student heroes. Vietnam is a dormant campus issue. Administrative and curriculum reform, so

stridently sought a few years back, has in large measure been achieved. Current strategy dictates working with and through "the system" despite a measure of student radicalization brought about by anti-war and other protests. The push today is for environmental reform. And not to be discounted is the fact that the vast majority of college students start with their parents in middle America. After years of strife, they see determined to get on with getting an education.

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THE PANTHER LICKS HIS WOUNDS

As criminal trials in New York City and New Haven, Connecticut are proceeding against leading Panther functionaries and some rank and file police are conducting what in military parlance is called "mopping up operations" against local headquarters in various parts of the country (Since the beginning of Panther-police confrontations, some 500 Panther rank and file have been arrested.) Leader Huey Newton, at liberty on bail, co-founder Bobby Seale, incarcerated, and party theoretician Eldridge Cleaver, a fugitive from justice presiding over the Party's international headquarters in Algiers, all have become uncharacteristically mute. And whatever excitement their pronouncements once were able to generate for the benefit of the Panthers has abated. The black community has failed to rally around.

Financial support from white liberals and the "radical chic," under devastating attack from many quarters, has all but ceased. Exposés of the diversion of money collected for the once appealing free breakfast program for ghetto youth to other purposes has also hurt.

A withering attack by Eldridge Cleaver on the Communist Party USA for "active collusion" with "U.S. fascists" in using the Angela Davis case as a "smokescreen to conceal the trial of Bobby Seale" will further disrupt what was at best a marriage of political convenience.

Potentially more painful, however, than any other recent development is the precipitous loss of Panther prestige attributable to the recent debacle heralded as a National Convention to Rewrite the Constitution of the United States.

The Background

For a variety of reasons, not the least of which are the violence of their revolutionary rhetoric, their image as a group with internal discipline, and possessing the "machismo" to "shoot it out" with the police, the Black Panthers were internationally proclaimed by various self-professed white revolutionaries as being the vanguard of "the Revolution." Panther leaders were winced, dined, and fussed over in Pyongyang, North Korea, by an obvious government sanctioned group, a "Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland." The Party has been lavishly praised by Maoist China, and eagerly courted by the Russians. Arab guerrillas entertained visiting Panthers and reports

persist of their training Panthers in guerrilla warfare. Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver made public appearances with and elicited praise from Al Fatah representatives. Panthers "Skip" Malone and Connie Mathews were official delegates to the European based Third World Peoples Liberation Struggle, and were entertained in Denmark and Sweden. Messages of support and expressions of solidarity poured into Panther headquarters from revolutionary groups the world over. Radical revolutionaries flocked to attend a Black Panther convened National Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism in Oakland, California held July 18-21, 1969 subvented in part by the Communist Party U.S.A. The Socialist Workers Party pledged its "full solidarity" with the BPP. SDS, despite humiliating rebuffs, embraced the Panthers, and SDS founder Tom Hayden publicly endorsed the concept of a revolutionary coalition of Panthers and white revolutionaries enunciated by Eldridge Cleaver. On November 26, 1970, J. Edgar Hoover, appearing before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, testified that "Arab guerrillas reputedly are heavily subsidizing the Panthers..." Wide-spread publicity was given the November 1970 offer by the Black Panthers to the Vietcong's Liberation Armed Forces to send fighting troops to aid in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Clearly, the Panthers had preempted the American field as a swashbuckling, gun toting, "committed to the revolution" force, idolized by the majority of America's white radicals and extremists. If their self-proclaimed "Marxism-Leninism" was diluted and something less than 99 and 99/100% pure, it was of no import. By default, if for no other reason, the Black Panther Party had in fact become the vanguard of the American Revolution.

The Constitutional Convention

Some 6,000 people, 50% of whom were white, met in a spirit of brotherly love in Philadelphia over the Labor Day weekend under Panther auspices, ultimately to roar approval for a draft of a "new constitution for revolutionary people." Work was to be completed at a second Constitutional Convention in Washington over the November 28th weekend, and approximately 4,000 faithful if not disparate delegates, some from far away, consisting of Weatherman, SDSers, Chicanos, Young Lords, Gay Liberationists, and assorted revolutionaries, again mostly white, came prepared to pay a \$10.00 registration fee as a prelude to creating a historic document. The Convention was doomed from the outset. Efforts to secure a convention hall - first the Washington Armory, then the Howard University auditorium - were unsuccessful. Nothing appeared organized or structured to the purpose of the meeting. Delegates wandered around Washington in aimless confusion, some to attend hastily scheduled impromptu meetings, many to return home without participating in any activity at all. The majority of the attendees left angry over the monumental disarray and shaken in their faith in the Panthers' ability to organize, much less lead, the contemporary American revolution. Even those who stayed to the end, their belief sufficiently strong to overcome the disap-

pointment at the chaos, were depressed when Panther commander-in-chief Huey Newton, addressing the one big rally that materialized, appeared confused and abstract. In lieu of a promised revolutionary peoples constitution, they left with a set of new and patently unredeemable pledges. ("We will liberate Howard University." "We will hold our Revolutionary Peoples Convention for a raincheck until such time as we liberate Washington, D.C., and then we will hold it in the White House.")

After seven months of rallies, rap sessions, conventions, press conferences and publicity building up to a Constitutional Convention, nothing happened. The more pragmatic Panthers must have known that the Convention would never produce a viable document, but rather hoped to use the occasion, as they did the Conference for a United Front Against Fascism, as a rallying point for radical extremists. They failed miserably, if not fatally.

Prognosis

The Panthers are hurting. Irreconcilably at odds with Black Nationalists, and never accepted by the black middle class, their principal support now comes from the unemployed, uneducated 18-25 year old ghetto youths. Loss of the vanguard role, coming as it does, is a severe set back for the Panthers, affecting the nature and extent of overseas support. Peking, Moscow and Arab terrorists themselves in dire straits will in all probability now take a long hard look before making future commitments. At the moment with nowhere else to go, Panther energies will be directed to community programs to be funded, in part, by a Huey Newton lecture tour of U.S. colleges. Police authorities, aware that during the past four months Panther members have been arrested and charged with fifteen robberies and burglaries across the country, believe they were perpetrated to replenish Party coffers.

* * *

THE TEMPLES OF ISLAM - A DURABLE INSTITUTION

With all the fanfare over the Black Power movement, the curiosity created by Black Nationalism, the publicity bestowed on ephemeral albeit electrifying figures such as Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown and the excitement generated by the Black Panthers, the Black Muslims have been all but ignored.

Long a potent force in the black community, the Temples of Islam, better known as the Black Muslims, are one of the most stable, cohesive black movements in the United States and its leader Elijah Muhammad one of the most powerful black men in America.

Background

The Chicago based Nations of Islam, characterized by J. Edgar Hoover as the "largest black extremist group in this country," teaches and preaches violent hatred of whites under the tutelage and dictatorial control of the wizened, sickly 74 year old Elijah Muhammad, accepted completely by his followers as the authentic contemporary voice of the Prophet Mohammad. Assiduously tithing from his followers (no reliable information is available as to Black Muslim membership, with estimates varying from 10,000 to 100,000) he has forged a powerful enterprise consisting of farm lands, equipment, manufacturing establishments, retail shops and real estate believed to have a net worth in excess of \$50 million. Within the past few years there has been a gradual but perceptible enlargement of Black Muslim concerns. Initially an ingrown, self-centered movement it is now if not overly active on the world scene it is at least passingly concerned with geopolitics. A pro-Hanoi posture is now manifest in Muhammad Speaks, the official Muslim newspaper. Of late there has been some cautious preliminary contact with white radical groups, Muslim delegates having participated in an Arab Teach-in at the University of Pennsylvania in May 1969 under the sponsorship of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation. Representatives of the Muslims joined with white radicals in attending the Labor Day 1970 weekend Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention held in Philadelphia under Black Panther auspices (relationships with the Black Panthers are ill-defined; while they speak no evil of the Panthers, neither do they praise them.) Further evidence of a gradual breakout from their traditional isolationism and self-containment was the appearance by a Black Muslim minister from Harlem at the Congress of African People meeting in Atlanta, Georgia on September 6th, the latest in a series of annual meetings on black power first held in 1966. Newspaper accounts note that the participating Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan drew an enthusiastic response "far greater than that accorded other black figures who have spoken at the international congress."

Geographically dispersed with 120 Mosques from coast to coast and regular radio broadcasts over more than 50 outlets and a newspaper vigorously promoted on streets, subway stations and bus stops in metropolitan areas, with large Negro populations disciplined and dedicated, and exemplars of a clean, moral life, the Muslims are respected in America's black communities. What they say about non-doctrinal matters has impact beyond the Temples of Islam membership.

A Cause for Concern

Since the Suez crisis of 1956, the Black Muslims have shown an increasing sympathy for Arabs with whom they identify both as blacks and Muslims as against white, pro-American Israel and Zionist exploiters of blacks. As of now the Temples of Islam constitute the largest reservoir of the anti-Semitism pollution in America's black community.

A drumbeat of anti-Israel, pro-Arab editorials, news features and a weekly column by one Ali Baghdadi, a former president of the Arab students in the United States, appear regularly in the weekly Muhammad Speaks. Within the past few weeks Baghdadi's column "Middle East Report," prominently featured on the first news page of the publication, charged that Israel is a racist state, alleged that brutalities of the Israeli government have been finally admitted by the Red Cross, and reported that since the cease-fire Israel Holy Cities have been turned into Sodoms and Babylons.

Recent news stories allege that Egyptian Moslems in the UAR regard the Nation of Islam with "love, respect and brotherhood," that Israel and the United States call for the death penalty of hijackers until Zionists are caught. Editorials proclaim that Zionism is a corrupt form of nationalism, that it is financed by and run in the interests of the greedy white financier-militarist-industrialist and Zionism supports the interests of the exploiters of black people.

Stoked by the fires of religious fervor, among other things, there is not likely to be a lessening of their strident anti-Zionism with its anti-Semitic spill-over. The infection is not likely to disappear. Hopefully it can be contained and quarantined.

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THE NEO FASCISTS

A. Klan Kapers

As is the case with other nationwide right-wing extremist movements, the Klan hangs on, with just enough activity to sustain organizational life. United Klans of America Imperial Wizard Robert Sheldon, released from jail about a year ago, has been making strenuous efforts to rebuild on the foundation of the old Klan. A tireless traveler, Sheldon has been on the lecture circuit, making radio and television appearances (as the nation's #1 Klansman he apparently warrants being put on exhibition) and meeting regularly with local klavern leadership. The United Klans remains the largest in a still highly fragmented Klan led by ambitious and competing Imperial Wizards. Latest (March 1970) official estimate by FBI puts total Klan membership at about 5500. But there are recent stirrings, motivated by a desire to capitalize on left-radical inspired violence. Klan activity has been apparent in Pennsylvania (North Philadelphia, York and Bucks County), Atlanta, Georgia, Wilmington, Delaware, North Carolina, Michigan and Florida. Some measure of political respectability accrued to the Klan when the Michigan American Independence Party, supporters of George Wallace, nominated the State Grand Dragon as its Candidate for Secretary of State in last November's elections. (A Klansman was a candidate for Pontiac's City Commission, but withdrew because of what he described as "threats.")

On November 29th Alabama's Lieutenant Governor elect Jere L. Beasley addressed the United Klans national "klonvokation" in Birmingham, Alabama and U.S. Senator James B. Allen in a telegram, expressing regret at his inability to attend because of his wife's illness, pledged his continued fight against the "Federal bureaucracy."

In early January, the Florida Klan (affiliated with the U.S. Klan) conducted a vigorous organizing campaign in the Tampa area. Grand Dragon John Paul Rogers, seeking to eradicate the night riders' terrorist image, described the Klan as a "Christian Crusade dedicated to honoring the American flag, revering the Bible, destroying Communism," and "upholding White supremacy." Rogers boasts that "within a few years we'll be so strong that without our endorsement, no candidate will stand a chance."

B. Minutemen Minutiae

With the surfacing in Washington, D.C. last December of 46 year old George Van Ness, self-described East Coast leader of the Minutemen, it became apparent that a split in the once monolithic Minuteman organization was in the making. Never more than 5000 strong nationally (present total membership is believed to number 200) the organization was run by founder Robert DePugh with an iron hand, and card carrying members throughout the country were loyal to him. For the past few years DePugh has had troubles with Federal authorities, and for 17 months was a fugitive from justice. Taken into custody by Federal agents in July 1969, DePugh was ultimately tried, convicted and on October 9, 1970 sentenced to nine concurrent Federal prison terms of 10 years each on nine counts of violating Federal firearms regulations.

Van Ness, in a Hyattsville, Maryland news conference, declared that the Minutemen would henceforth be independent of DePugh, and that he would be the liaison between the membership, which he said would remain underground, and the general public. Van Ness declared that the organization still was preparing to thwart a Communist takeover; that paramilitary maneuvers "in the mountains" were still an integral part of their training regimen; and secreted away for future use was ammunition, two mobile field hospitals, four communications vehicles, and machinery for an "intelligence network." The new Minutemen credo will avow their belief in white supremacy, with blacks and Jews put on notice that they would have to earn the right to equality.

Van Ness' Minutemen organization is in opposition to the apparatus left behind by DePugh to carry on until his ultimate release from prison. Spokesman for the still loyal to DePugh faction is 25 year old Robert Taylor, a member of the nine man Minutemen Executive Council and editor of On Target, the official publication, with a claimed distribution of 40,000.

Recently Taylor has concentrated on recruiting, and claims particular success in the St. Louis area. (Minutemen headquarters remains

in DePugh's hometown, Norborne, Missouri). Taylor stresses that the Minutemen are now a youth oriented organization, and that although weapons and explosives were "still part of their training" Minutemen are under strict orders to refrain from acts of violence "at this time."

DePugh, while a fugitive, was groping for a "philosophy" for the "movement," and for those who, like himself, had "somehow escaped the brainwashing of the establishment controlled news media, the horrors of progressive education, and the sophistry of modern Christianity." His quest ended with the discovery of "Imperium," the Francis Parker Yockey anti-Semitic tome embraced by most of today's more erudite neo Nazis.

The contending factions of the remains of the DePugh organization seem destined to go their own route. Both seem to endorse hostility toward Jews.

* * *

CAMPUS JUGEND

Tooling up for a counter attack against an anticipated spring, leftist inspired campus offensive, the now patently anti-Semitic National Student Alliance has moved into larger national headquarters at 1656 Wisconsin Avenue in Washington's historic Georgetown section.

Founded in the spring of 1969 by then 37 year old Louis Byers, among other things a former John Birch Society organizer; catalyst of the 1968 "Youth for Wallace" movement; and a featured speaker at the gutter-bigot National States Rights Party annual convention this past summer, the NYA is closely allied with Liberty Lobby, one of the largest and most effective ultra-rightist pressure groups. Liberty Lobby officials admit assistance to NYA in its formative stages. NYA's five man Adult Advisory Board, Revalo P. Oliver, professor of classical languages at the University of Illinois; Richard B. Cotten, broadcaster and publisher of Conservative Viewpoint; Rear Admiral (Ret.) John G. Crommelin, perennial candidate for public office in Alabama; Lt. Gen. Pedro A. Del Valle (USMC-Ret.), a long time participant in organized hate movements, and Austin App, former professor at La Salle College, a post war apologist for the Nazi regime in Germany, all are or have been involved in Liberty Lobby activities, and all, with the exception of App, are patently anti-Semitic. A four man student "Advisory Council," whose precise role is as yet unannounced, but presumably, together with the Advisory Board, determines NYA policy.

Byers' plan for a campus based organization was originally conceived as a vehicle to mobilize cadres of rightist students on campus to "crush" radical leftists. NYA evolved into a movement with a four point program: (1) To oppose the use of dangerous drugs and narcotics

and to run those who push them off the campus; (2) To neutralize and overcome Black Power; (3) To restore law and order to the campuses and to America by stamping out anarchist groups and movements and (4) To bring peace to America by resisting any attempt to involve us in a foreign war. (Emphasis has been on the Middle East rather than Indo China).

Organizational meetings have taken place on college campuses in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California. Byers claims, exaggeratedly perhaps, a nationwide membership of more than 8,000 from 62 campus chapters. NYA publishes a monthly tabloid type newspaper Attack ("to serve as an agitational and recruiting tool among young Americans, mainly university students") with a claimed circulation of 25,000 and a monthly newsletter Action with a claimed circulation of 4,000.

In addition to membership recruitment, current emphasis is on the welding together of "hard hitting action units" which will participate in rallies and demonstrations and if need be physical confrontation with campus left-wing radicals, and undertake the mass distribution of racist, anti-Semitic propaganda. A "Western Destiny" bookstore just opened in Washington, D.C. stocks for mailorder, and over the counter sales, books, tracts, and pamphlets. Inventory consists of anti-Zionist, pro-Nazi and racist material, a portion of which was taken over from the now closed bookstore maintained by the late Lincoln Rockwell's National Socialist White Peoples Party.

Recent issues of Action have become stridently anti-Semitic. The Fall 1970 lead article was headlined "Mideast War Next Vietnam for U.S.," with a sub-heading "Zionist Trap To Become New Slaughter of American Youth," and featured alleged Zionist atrocities stories, grotesque and anti-Semitic cartoons. Byers, in a Letter to the Editor of the Washington Post (January 6, 1971) stated that: "The NYA opposes Zionism in America because Zionists, in their self-centered pursuit of their own, extra-American goals, have not only shown a callous disregard of American interests in favor of Zionist interests, but they have habitually been willing to adopt anti-American policies whenever this suited their aims."

Of late NYA has been beset by internal difficulties, with some defectors seeking to create a competing organization. Byers, now assisted by former American Nazi Party lieutenant Robert A. Lloyd, remains as the dominant influence.

The significance of an NYA lies in the fact that for the first time in recent history, a campus based, neo-Nazi movement is in existence. It remains to be seen if this ultra-rightist group organized to combat left-wing excesses can survive in its new form as a neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic force on the college campus.