

VIOLENCE WAS PLANNED

Real Culprits In Chicago Escaped Public Exposure

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CHICAGO — The nationwide hue and cry developing over the "gestapo tactics" of Chicago police at the Democratic convention here this week so lacks perspective that the real architects of the chaos have faded from view — Precisely as they had hoped.

Wednesday night's bloody clash began when a group of demonstrators began to lower the U.S. flag in Grant Park to a symbolic half staff.

POLICE SAW the action as tearing down the flag and a small group went to its rescue. A growing mass of protesters forced them back and pelted them with stones and abuse.

Police across the street charged into the fray, many of them clubbing youngsters and some doing so repeatedly and viciously.

Too many of the police overdid it. It was overkill by what one reporter called the "bully club." But even to condemn such overreaction rationally the reasons underlying it must be understood.

THE POLICE, under skilled harassment for days, were "up tight." They knew the gravity of planned and threatened disorders, including violence to the point of murder.

Moreover, no business — including policing — is populated wholly by men of wisdom and restraint. Finally, the patriotic and often rightwing tendencies of many law-enforcement officers is well known.

After the melee, virtually every television commentator was overcome with shock and cold anger, which they

promptly spread across the nation.

WHOLLY FORGOTTEN were the careful plans and specific threats, reports of informants, and plausible and implausible rumors that made it essential for public safety to turn Chicago into an armed camp.

Forgotten, too, were the happy-go-lucky security arrangements that made possible the murders of Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy, and the more elaborate security arrangements that failed to prevent the murder of John F. Kennedy.

Inside the International Amphitheatre violence was replaced by frustration. Electronic checking devices, cutbacks on floor passes for newsmen and constant rechecking on credentials irritated delegates and reporters.

FORGOTTEN IN the indignation over repeated inspections was the incredible ease of smuggling a gun or a bomb into the arena.

My brief case held a camera lens in a case that was ignored when the brief case was inspected. It might have contained a hand grenade.

I left the auditorium temporarily and the brief case, already stamped by security officers, was not reexamined when I returned. On the second trip, it could have held a submachine gun.

Many of the delegates who were so frustrated at inspection of credentials were already irritated by reverses on the convention floor. Of these, a number were practicing all-or-nothing democracy, an-

gered at not getting it all their way.

DESPITE REAL progress in credentials fights and rule changes, rarely equalled in the history of Democratic conventions, these dissidents refused to take their licking and try again, as the electoral system of any representative democracy provides.

Despite the fact that the divisions in the platform committee approximated the 60-40 split in the convention on the Vietnam plank — which equalled the division in the country at large, shown by the latest surveys—hard-core bomb-halt delegates saw perfidy and rigging as the cause of their defeat.

And all concerned, including most of the pundits, forgot that politicians consider a 60 per cent victory a landslide.

Many of the delegates are practicing the "new politics" of "participatory democracy," which appears to mean "I will participate, therefore I will win."

BUT SOME of the most implacable dissenters in the hall were authentic voices of the

new left, whose plans to exploit the defeat of McCarthy and the minority Vietnam plank they had anticipated, and would have been in ruins if either had won.

These were the link with the minority outside the hall who sent Eugene McCarthy's young idealists into battle with "Daley's gestapo."

In this battle, as in any, the generals rarely get their hair mussed. The generals were a handful of ranking activists in the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Youth International Party, Students For A Democratic Society, and other less known groups of revolutionaries and radicals.

Ordinarily the organizations on the far left tend to view each other with suspicion and contempt. Some are anarchists, whose black flag has been much in evidence in the demonstrations.

OTHERS ARE Maoist or Castroite Communists who regard the anarchists as naive and Kremlin Communists as reactionary; their red banners have colored the demonstrations, too, along with the North Vietnamese flag.

Their troops are disaffected and idealistic young people who saw in the McCarthy campaign a chance to end the killing in Vietnam. Many came here on their own motion, to protest the system their often naive idealism sees as all evil, all cynical, and all powerful.

Many were encouraged to come to Chicago by the stop-Humphrey Coalition for an Open Convention, over the protest of McCarthy, who saw the dangers and urged his young followers to stay home.

Before President Johnson's withdrawal, the new left forces had begun to plan their disruptions of the convention, and by mid-summer a coalition had started to form across the usual barriers of mutual disdain that segment the left.

THE NATIONAL Mobilization took on the role of coordinator and plans developed rapidly under its national chairman, David Dellinger, and his Chicago associate, Rennie Davis, aided by other

new left figures including Tom Hayden and Jerry Rubin, the latter a leader in a New York faction of the Youth International Party, the "yippies."

Training workshops for parade and demonstration marshals were scheduled and staffed. Locations where National Guard troops would billet, where helicopters would land at the amphitheatre and details of the convention hall itself and the surrounding stockyards area were secured, reproduced and distributed.

Decentralized demonstra-

tions were planned to augment harassment at the headquarters hotel, the Conrad Hilton, and other sensitive spots, and also to tax the police patrol forces.

PLANS WERE made to occupy parks after the city's 11 p. m. curfew, and to parade from the Hilton to the Amphitheatre. When the city refused permits for either activity, the coordinators announced publicly that the plans would go ahead anyway.

Some of the organizers — Davis among them — professed shock at the thought that violence might erupt. Others, including Rubin, anticipated repressive action by the police. The few organizers in both camps who actually took to the streets with their youthful shock troops were prudent enough to wear safety helmets.

While these disruption plans were nearing completion, some black militant groups prepared more sinister ones. Cases of rifles and automatic weapons and grenades were distributed, security forces were told.

THE GRENADES were to be used in simultaneous attacks on police stations as the convention opened, but when the National Guard began to arrive and regular Army troops to stand by, and a Cook County grand

jury started investigating a reported plot to assassinate the vice president, Senator McCarthy and Senator John McLellan, the most dangerous black-militant leaders decided to leave town for a black power convention in Philadelphia.

Except for the nonviolent claims of some of the planners, the new left activists have succeeded at least to the extent of their wildest dreams.

Visiting newsmen are coming to despise Chicago cops. The city and its mayor and police have been denounced from the floor of the convention and from its TV booths. Even the elaborate program to undermine National Guard morale by seductive young women and boy-girl teams embracing before the guardsmen and suggesting that "girls are better than guns," is going forward although no troop defections have been reported.

AND MOST important for the long-range anti-political hopes of the leftist leaders, is the fact that McCarthy's youthful legions, having been martyred by over-reacting police and crushed by McCarthy's defeat, are thoroughly ripe for recruitment into the ranks of the politically alienated.

All this is according to the plans of the organizers of the disturbances. Last week's sensation, these plans have been forgotten in the sporadic police violence to a relatively few dissenters and even fewer newsmen.

Forgetfulness has helped rebellion carry the day.