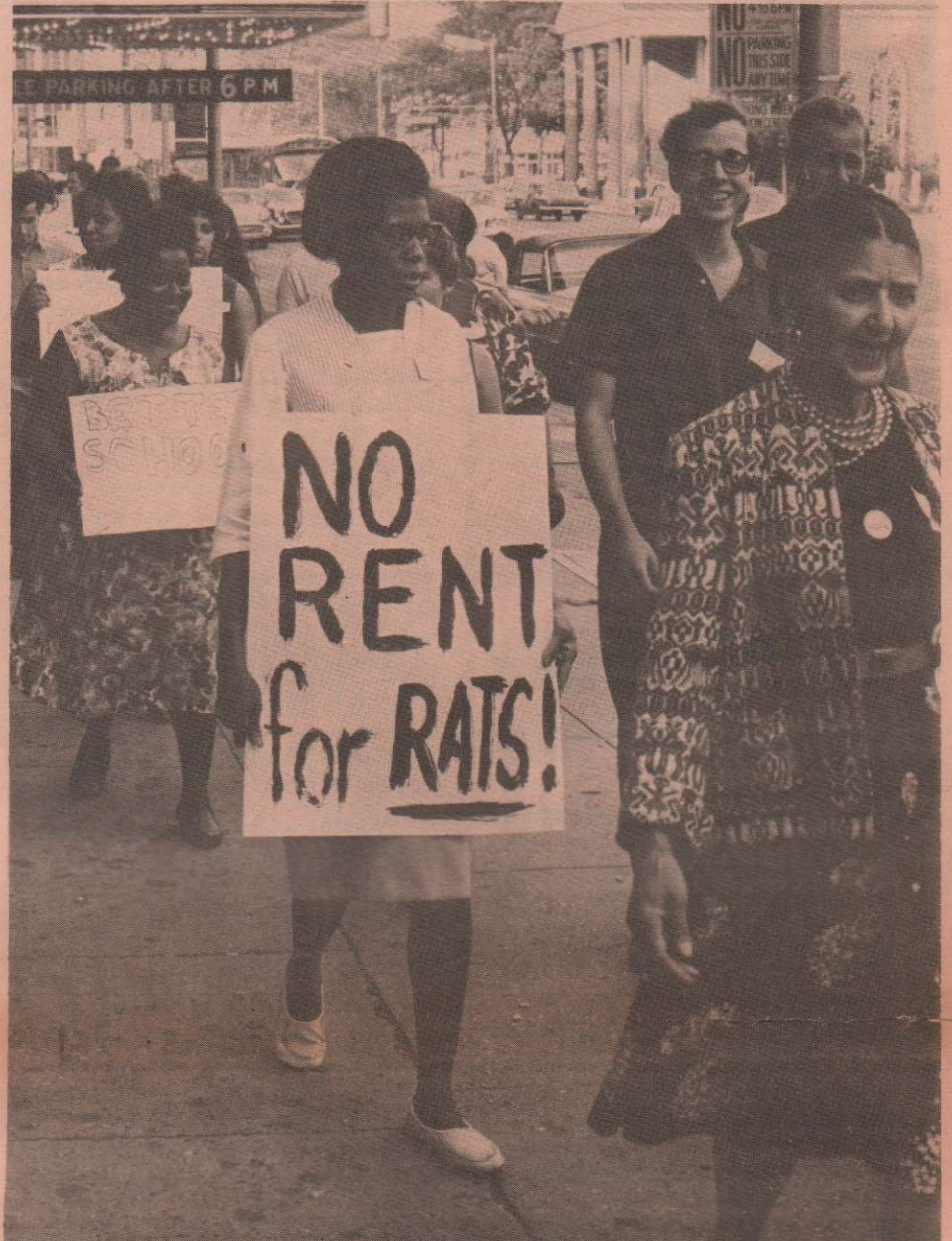


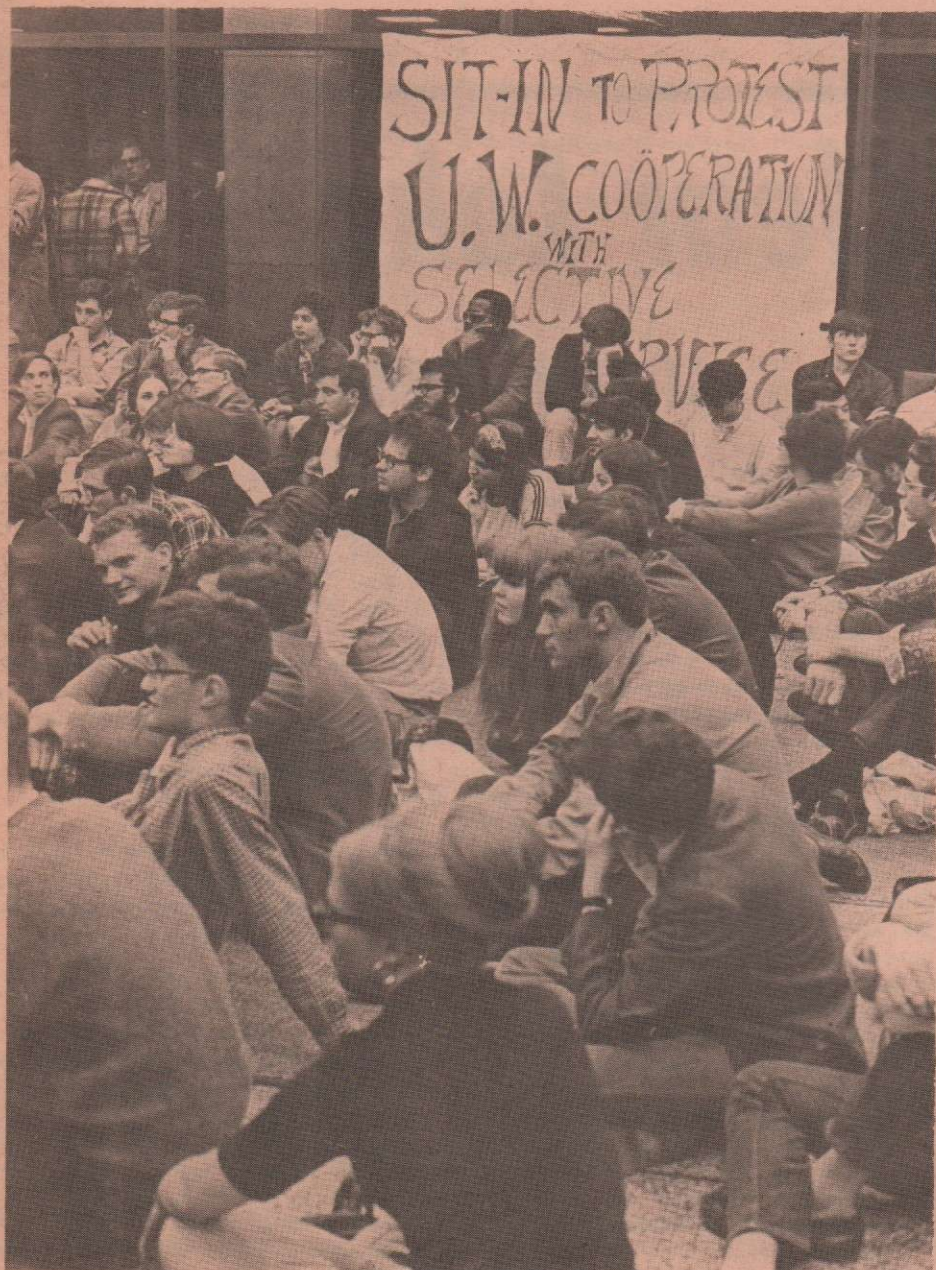
# NATIONAL CONVENTION

Clear Lake, Iowa August 27--Sept. 1



**new left notes**  
an internal newspaper of  
students for a democratic society  
1608 w. madison, rm. 206      chicago, ill. 60612

Vol. 1, No. 32      let the people decide      August 24, 1966



# NATIONAL CONVENTION AGENDA

REGISTRATION BEGINS SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 27. THE SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE OF NEW LEFT NOTES CONTAINING WORKING PAPERS AND STATEMENTS BY NATIONAL OFFICERS WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AT THAT TIME. A PARTY WILL BE HELD IN THE EVENING. ATTENTION: \$20.00 REGISTRATION INCLUDES THREE MEALS PER DAY AND BED FOR FIVE DAYS OF CONVENTION.

Aug. 28	Aug. 29	Aug. 30	Aug. 31
9:00 Breakfast (coffee & donuts) served in main hall.	Breakfast in main hall.	Breakfast in main hall.	<p>First plenary session State of Organization Report by President, Nat'l Sec., officers of regional offices, and REP. These will be short summations of reports in special issue of NLN. Brief question and answer period. Adoption of convention agenda for next two days.****</p> <p>****It is envisioned that the plenary sessions will break down into three areas of concern: consideration of resolutions and program proposals, constitutional amendments, and election of officers.</p>
9:30 Panel on Electoral Politics: Charlie Cobb (SNCC), Carl Bloice (Scheer), Clark Kissinger (Chi 49 CIPA), Stan Aronowitz, (NY CIPA) Moderator: Roy Dahlberg	Panel on Black Power, Charle Cobb, Tom Hayden, Ann Braden, Richie Rothstein.	Special workshops Basic skills of community organizing, Carol McEldowney. Anti-war Draft	
11:00 Workshops on electoral politics. Will include at least one on electoral law.	Workshops on Black Power, Weissman, Branden, CORE, SSOC.	Special workshops continue. Organizational Welfare organizing -- Rich Clover	
1:00 Lunch served in cafeteria, will be served cafeteria style.	Lunch in Cafeteria	Lunch in cafeteria	
2:00 Panel on American intervention in the 3rd world. Todd Gitlin and Carl Oglesby. Moderator: Jim Jacobs	Special Workshops, Labor Panel, Aronowitz, fuerst, Webb, Bennenson, Moderator: Nat Stillman, Marxism - Bob Gottlieb, Methodology of Sociology & Political Science - Mike Locker	Panel on the University as an arena and as an agent of social change. Dick Flacks, Steve Weissman, Judy Bernstein, Jeff Shero. Moderator: Mike Goldfield	
3:30 Workshops on 3rd world will include Locker on researching American Imperialism, Booth on S. Africa.	Continuing special workshops, workshops on labor. Workshops on adult organization, Flacks et al. Kennedy Assasination, Shero, HUAC-Kriley	Workshops on the University Eric Chester, researching u. defense contracts; Bernstein & Jacobs, Organizing on small campuses. Goldfield, Anti-rank at U. of Chicago.	
6:30 Dinner in Cafeteria	Dinner in Cafeteria, Announcement of special workshops.	Dinner in Cafeteria. Announcement of program workshops	
7:30 Panel on working with liberals and liberal groups. Paul Lauter and others	Special workshops Adult organization, Art & The movement, Non-violence, violence.	Program workshops Anti-war Draft	
9:00 Workshops on working with liberals REP Workshop	Working with communists - Hal Bennenson		

**summer  
national  
council**  
clear lake, iowa  
sept. 2-3

## welcome to Clear Lake

### CONVENTION INSTRUCTIONS

As per the mandate of the last National Council, the August National Convention is responsible for clarifying the issues upon which a document stating the basic ideological precepts and assumptions of SDS will be built. The convention should seek to outline areas both of agreement and divergence of thought and should attempt to articulate rationales for positions in terms of assumptions and analyses.

In addition to laying the basic groundwork for such a document, the convention should serve as an educational tool for its attendants and as a forum wherein viable analyses of the arenas in which we work can be evolved and strategies for dealing with them developed. To facilitate this, the convention is divided into six primary areas, in each of which a panel has been set up to delineate the analyses of directions for action currently being experimented with. These panels will break down into workshops small enough to allow maximum participation and interchange of ideas. Each panel and workshop will have a recording secretary who will outline the basic positions taken and the assumptions underlying them. Workshops may develop proposals for programmatic guidelines or policy resolutions to be considered by the convention, or may develop specific programs for consideration

by the national council.

As we must deal with a far larger number of realities than are covered by the six panels workshops in other areas have been set up with time left for spontaneous discussions. Neither panels nor workshops should be viewed as having to reach any consensus on specific topics, but rather should see as their purpose the outlining of areas of concern and current thinking within those areas. The convention also has responsibility for making the results of such discussions public to the membership of the organization so that they may be discussed and developed in the ensuing months.

The convention must also make decisions governing the basic direction and conduct of the organization for the following year. It must define the role of and elect officers, consider constitutional amendments, create analytical and programmatic guidelines and, in general, deal with the tremendous growth SDS had undergone since its last convention. Plenary sessions to this purpose are scheduled to occur the last two days of the convention, beginning Wednesday, Aug. 31. The first session of the plenary will consist of addresses on the state of the organization by its officers and regional coordinators and the determination of the agenda for the remainder of the convention.

### STEERING COMMITTEE

The administration of the convention will be handled by a committee composed of one delegate elected by each of eight regional caucuses, the national secretary, president, vice-president and the convention coordinator. This body will make administrative decisions concerning the allocation of resources, discipline, and procedure. Further, it will attempt to gain a sense of the body and make an agenda proposal for the plenary, as well as choosing chairmen subject to ratification by the plenary. This is being done to try to keep agenda debate to a minimum so that all the business of the convention can be handled in the time allotted. The agenda proposal will include a prioritization of issues and time limits. People who have suggestions concerning the agenda should approach the committee prior to the first plenary session. A suggestion box will be available and the committee's meetings will be announced beforehand. If people will make use of the existence of this committee to create a coherent agenda proposal prior to the consideration of the agenda by the entire body, we can be spared a time-consuming, inherently undemocratic, and extremely unpleasant agenda debate and move quickly to substantive material.

The following are the eight regions, each

of which will elect a delegate to the steering committee:

1. New England: Mass., Conn., R.I., Vt., N.H., Me.
2. New York City, New Jersey
3. New York State, Penn., Delaware, Md.
4. Ill., Ind., Ohio, Mich., Mo.
5. W. Va., Va., Ky., Ark., Tex., Oklahoma, Fla., and the rest of the South.
6. Minn., Wisc., Iowa, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas.
7. Mountain States, Arizona, New Mexico, Wash., Ore., Alaska, Hawaii.
8. California.

Areas will be staked out during lunch on Sunday for various regions to caucus and elect delegates to the steering committee.

### VOTING

Members at the convention have one vote each and chapters are allowed one additional vote for each five members, ut with no member having more than two votes. There will not be a credentials committee for the convention, so that delegates from a particular chapter should decide who is to have the extra vote(s) and respect that decision.

# ELECTORAL POLITICS

As SDS begins to seek ways to leave the confines of the campus and involve new segments of the population in a movement for basic, radical change in the economic and political structures of America, the nation-state, it is only natural that one of the directions it looks is towards the voting booth. It is equally natural that direction raises questions across the spectrum of the movement. On the one hand, "socialism at the polls" has given us such utopian political bodies, where the CIA and the US Marines have let them endure, as the NDP, the Labor Party and, in our own history, the New Deal. At the same time, non-electoral bids for change, such as the labor or civil rights movements, have begotten such revolutionary gestures as Taft-Hartley and the Voting Rights bill.

The discussion now, as in the past, also revolves around such issues as whether or not we should work within the confines of existent parties or work only with candidacies independent of them. In the past few years we have seen the rise and fall of independent electoral movements such as the Progressive Party and the MFDP and the inability of Socialists and Communists when elected to bring any real change for the better. But, as ever, the real question is how do we get and use power. Movement people have participated in a number of various electoral campaigns in the last year with a number of different rationales for their participation. Some of these, like the Scheer campaign and the various Committees for Independent Political Action, have been initiated and run by movement people. Others, like the Adams campaign in Massachusetts or the United Freedom Ticket in Newark, have been initiated by people and organizations to our right while we have supplied the troops for them.

The importance of our attitudes towards such kinds of activity grows with the increasing number of electoral efforts that are likely to be launched in the near future as the war expands and oppression in the ghetto increases.

There are several questions that must be answered if we are to intelligently formulate a position vis a vis those various efforts. The most of important, of course, is whether or not electoral activity is at all relevant to the kind of change we want to bring about, either as an organizing tool or as a road to real power. If we assume that it is, for which of the above reasons? Is an electoral campaign a tool for linking together various issues and involving new people or does it create an artificial faith in American "democracy"? Can real power be gained through the winning of an election, or will a radical candidate be refused his seat, as in the case of Julian Bond in Atlanta and others before him ranging all the way back to the Populists in '88? Even if seated, can he be anything other than a disruptive force? Is the ability to cause that disruption a valid expenditure of our resources? If we decide that electoral activity is a viable avenue to power, should we work, even initially, within the confines of the Democratic or Republican parties or will that force us into coalitions that will reduce our programs to liberal irrelevance. Should we begin thinking now about a new national third party or will that dissipate our energies and show our weakness. If so, should we now be initiating independent campaigns on the local level? Should such independent candidacies have perspectives on national affairs, should the Lowndes Co. Freedom Party call for the removal of all military installation from their county or the socialization or dissolution of corporate industry or should they stick to garbage collection and law enforcement.

As in the South and the ghetto areas of the north we come nearer and nearer the ability to win elections and as the war gives added impetus to peace candidacies we will have to intelligently deal with all these, and other questions and unless we begin now we're likely to still be reacting when that time comes.

# convention panels BLACK POWER

## WORKING WITH LIBERAL ORGANIZATIONS

The problem to which this panel is devoted is not so much "how to work with" liberal organizations—with trade unions, religious groups, peace and civil liberties groups. Behind that lies a more basic problem: how do you work with liberal people, both to build power by building relationships with them, and to radicalize their perspectives? If we work with organizations, then, the question becomes whether such approaches are the most effective, economical, and legitimate for us. Or are there other ways of relating to the people who make up these organizations and give them their power?

For SDS the basic concern of this panel is crucial. Our organizational thrusts have almost wholly been in poverty and student communities. Yet we are mostly middle-class not only in background but in post-student work status. And in public functions we relate to and work with many middle-

class, liberal organizations. Yet we have remained very unclear as to what our aims and approaches can or should be in such work. Some SDS people have begun to organize in liberal, middle-class communities, and perhaps we are on the verge of a strong thrust in that direction. It becomes all the more important, then, to try to clarify our goals and assumptions in such work.

The approach of the panelist should therefore be to begin with a very brief description of the work he is doing, and then to try to explain why that kind of work is important and desirable, given SDS's perspectives and goals. The panelists should try to get at the advantages and problems of such work, always keeping in mind the questions: advantages for what? and problems, given what goals? On the basis of such a discussion, perhaps we can begin to evaluate work done and plan directions for future work.

## AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE THIRD WORLD

America's influence in the affairs of nations in the Third World has become an important issue for SDS. The massive power of the United States seems naturally to lead to some forms of overt or covert intervention (For our purposes we define intervention as any action that constitutes an intrusion into the political, economic, and social affairs of a nation). With increasing frequency we have seen American action in the Third World upset the possibilities of achieving democratic radicalism in these countries. While we believe these interventions unjustified, it is not clear what forces motivate United States Behavior. Are we faced with an American policy based upon the search for new markets and scarce resources, or is the United States policy based upon less economic and more ideological considerations? Does the rhetoric of United States officials merely "cover" economic motivations, or are these pronouncements taken seriously by those who make them? The energies of this panel are directed toward a discussion of the motivating forces behind the United States role in the Third World.

This is not simply an academic question. The attempt at establishing criteria for explaining the behavior of the United States toward the Third World has three "payoffs" for SDS program. (1) A comprehension of United States actions in the Third World will enable SDS to focus its protest programs in a more effective manner. Clearly, if policies are dominated by economic considerations more than ideological myths in Vietnam, then SDS strategy must be designed to confront corporate power rather than participation in the election of dove candidates. (2) A clearer understanding of the United States policy toward the Third World will allow SDS to anticipate American behavior. Too often SDS protests have come as a hasty response to a United States intervention. We need an analysis that will allow us to see the probable paths of United States policy so that long-range programs may become possible. (3) An understanding of the motivating forces behind United States policy will reveal more specific answers to the power relationships among the American elites. We will be able to see more clearly the interrelationship (if there is one) between domestic and international decision-making.

The Arguments: To put it briefly, four general views have been advanced among American radicals to explain the behavior of American foreign policy.

(1) Best known is the surplus capital theory. The argument here is that United States policy is oriented by the need to invest

capital in underdeveloped areas. The capitalist economy cannot absorb all of its profits and thus some must be invested in other areas if the system is to remain stable. In order that it can invest its capital without fear of a loss of profit, the United States must have some control over the Third World nations. A variant of this approach, but resting upon similar assumptions, is the view that United States policy is motivated by the desire for scarce materials which can only be found in many Third World nations.

(2) Another approach believes the surplus capital theory is a necessary but not sufficient reason for explaining United States behavior. The economic superstructure has created an "ideology" that demands justification. We are at war in Vietnam, according to this view not because specific economic interests are being threatened, but because we see the Vietnamese struggle as a test for our system. Our economic motivations have been extended to ideological and often irrational behavior.

(3) The third view sees the motivation for United States policy coming from the perceptions and opinions developed by American policy makers during the early days of the Cold War. This approach focuses on the values held by specific policy makers. America reacts to the Third World nations in the same manner as she had toward the Soviet Union and China. There is little comprehension of indigenous rebel movements, or the

(continued on page 4)

In the past few months people all across the country have been talking about black power. Most of them have tried to define what it means. The woeful inadequacy of their attempts is easily traced to a misunderstanding: — they try to make black power more explicit than it already is. They do not recognize that the idea of black power will gain substance, only as the movements which rally to its cry develop.

People like ourselves will probably gain a greater understanding of black power, not by trying to define it in the abstract, but by facing those crucial issues which black power forces sympathetic whites to confront. Many of these issues revolve around one central question: How do white people (as organizers and constituencies) relate to black power movements? This question and the issues which stem from it will be the concern of the panel on black power.

These issues include the following:

1. The question of tactics: As the black power movements become more nationalistic and anti-American, their tendencies for identifying (in mores and values) with non-Western countries seem to increase.

Tactics which blacks may identify with, may leave most white people (including our constituencies) feeling uncomfortable (like picketing Luci's wedding and other "improprieties").

2. The problem of violence: Will students be able to cooperate with black power movements that are deliberately violent (destruction of police cars, Willis wagons, property, etc.)? How will we relate to riots as they become greater in proportions and more political in tone? How will the poor and middle class whites that we are beginning to organize view the violence with which the black power movements may erupt?

3. Their racial rhetoric: What do students and other white radicals make of the rhetoric of the black power movements which gives a basically racial interpretation to the problems of the black poor in our society? How much of their problems do we see as class problems and how much as racial problems? Do we accept the racial rhetoric in full, reject it out of hand, or accept it as only a partially adequate explanation?

4. Cultural differences: The heightening of black consciousness seems to accentuate and give added significance to the many cultural differences between whites and blacks; from eating habits to musical styles to dialect, cultural differences seem to be functioning as marks of identity that allow blacks to sharply distinguish themselves in opposition to whites. What impact will this have for the development of an interracial movement of the poor? Will it preclude its development or will it enable it to develop in a new manner?

5. Auxiliary functions for whites: What auxiliary functions, if any, should whites take on? Should they spend a great deal of their time defending black power movements to

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# LABOR WORKSHOP

By Nat Stillman

The discussion in the labor workshops will cover three main areas:

1. We will exchange reports and experiences about work in the labor movement over the past year.

2. We will formulate plans for the future, both specific plans for left labor work including possible resolutions for the convention plenary session, dealing with SDS labor program, and a longer-range perspective for the general direction of the labor movement and our relations to it.

3. We will engage in dialogue with people working in other areas concerning possible ways to work together in common programs and the development of priorities for radical organizing. This will mean discussion about the way to relate unions to the problems

of communities and American imperialism, both directly as unions and indirectly as forums for discussion of social issues; (eg. anti-war and anti-war work); the political role of unions and the labor movement (CIPA); and the historical and theoretical importance of labor as part of a radical analysis of America (REP).

The schedule of meetings will be:

Sunday night - informal meeting of people interested in labor to make final the program for the workshops.

Monday afternoon: 2-4-panel discussion raising the problems of new left work with labor and what has been done in the past year.

4-6 discussion of the issues raised by the panel and discuss the questions of the longer perspective for labor work and the relation to other radical organizing (other parts of #3 will continue informally on Tuesday or in another workshop discussion if desired)

8-10 specific plans and information for people new to labor work who want nitty-gritty information about how to set up student labor committees, learn about local unions, extent of organization, etc.

The main goal of the workshop is to get more people involved in organizing the labor movement - both in organizing the unorganized and in doing political organizing with all workers. The discussions about theory and direction are really secondary until we know more about labor history and have extensive experience about labor and organizing in the present period.

The panel discussion will raise some of the following issues:

1. what the model of a more democratic or a more socially oriented union than those that now exist would look like - comparison of the work being done by NFWA, IUD, MFLU, and SDS in organizing unions;

1. (b) the question of work inside the AFL-CIO, is it monolithic, how might it change, can caucuses be organized inside bad unions, what of the various political and non-political reasons that unions are independent from the Federation:

1. (c) the relation of the labor movement with community, civil rights and political groups as allies.

2. how union organizing relates to a mass movement for basic social change in America - radicals inside unions, whether organization of unorganized white collar or blue collar workers is going to lead to a different kind of labor movement than has existed

## Coming in October

### A PROPHETIC MINORITY

By Jack Newfield

"The New Left, the best of our America in this new generation, in all its anarchistic creativity, splendid nonsense and saintly devotion."

-I. F. Stone

"Things about the present time that will be the cherished memories of the future."

-Murray Kempton

## Coming in November

### THE OTHER SIDE

By STAUGHTON LYND and THOMAS HAYDEN

A report on their trip to Prague, Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi - **The Other Side** clarifies for the first time American and Vietnamese negotiating positions necessary to end the war.

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## third world panel

(continued from page 3)

specific political context of a Third World nation.

(4) Finally, there is the view that sees the United States as a nation attempting to preserve the international status quo. By their very existence, the Third World nations have upset international order. The United States must intervene in order to preserve a stable international system which will allow the process of establishing a detent with the Communist nations to proceed unimpeded.

Probably none of the panelists will stand firmly behind one view. Their object will be to present their opinions and discuss their positions with specific regard for the assumptions behind their views.

James Jacobs

previously, because of the expanded role of government in the economy, the challenge of automation, more aggressive war policies, the raising of general non-material problems of working conditions and creating jobs that are more meaningful, and lack of democracy in the workplace.

3. how student radical groups can relate to the problems of workers and to the building of an active and democratic labor movement - problems as radicals, problems as students, as people with middle class backgrounds, and the questions of commitment, and whether we identify as part of the lower class, as part of the middle class, as an intellectual group with separate but compatible interests with working people, or as a separate group altogether.

4. (a) Is the concept of alienation from work a meaningful concept, either analytically and empirically or as something to organize around? Is it basically or only subjectively different between white collar

and blue collar workers? How is it related to economic exploitation, to lack of control of one's individual life either through a representative social group or as an individual, to lack of political power?

4. (b) Are workers today happy and contented with their condition and merely suffering from middle-class alienation, or not suffering from anything at all but really very content - or, are white collar workers and the new middle class being proletarianized?

5. Does the present union leadership in fact represent the rank and file of their unions? How have the cold war, automation, union "corruption" and elite leadership, Taft-Hartly, and increase of the service industries caused the decrease in union membership, with only a about 25% of the work force organized? Is the American working class better off because of the exploitation of workers in other countries and the defense-war economy?

## the UNIVERSITY PANEL

The university is the place where many of us come to learn: to develop ourselves, to recognize our tradition, to understand the world. Some of us come to gain professional training or maybe for no reason at all. Most of us have been disappointed. The university shows itself as a place with little relevance to our lives or to life in general. The paternalism of administrators and sterility of many courses make it a breeding ground for estranged youth, many of whom have developed their own unique culture. Yet, the university (or rather "multiversity" to use Kerr's terminology) is one of the most important economic institutions in the country. To many this may seem a paradox. For those of us who want to radically change the university, it is important to understand which trends in the university are crucial and which are not. The panelists will consider these trends discussing the relevance of each for a program of university reform. From their experiences they will discuss their conception of a "good" university and the strategies for obtaining it. Hopefully, what will emerge is the beginnings of a coherent vision which provides unity and di-

rection to our protest in the university.

These trends include the following:

1. The authoritarian nature of the class room: close student-faculty relations are no longer an ideal in many universities. With the great emphasis on research (and no doubt other factors), large lectures seem the predominant form of education. Assignments that can be easily corrected become the "best" teaching tools. Students are encouraged to learn first rather than attempt to question the assumptions behind what they have assimilated. Having little chance to confront their instructors after class, they are told to accept the words of the great man who has given the lecture.

2. Paternalism: Many schools seem to be relaxing some of the more obnoxious social rules at their universities. Is this a progressive sign or does it just serve as a token to prevent students from having any control over questions of curriculum, living conditions, relations of the university with the military, etc.?

3. There seems to be a growing trend toward militarization in the university: war research, CIA contacts, greater cooperation with selective service, and the control of greater and greater percentages of research money and loans by the defense department? How can we organize against this trend and how does it effect the quality of the university in both overt and covert ways?

4. The corporate nature of the university: Most universities have a bureaucracy whose means of decision-making are known only to a few. The information that is crucial in most decision-making situations seems in the hands of only a few select administrators. Departments compete for funds for tenured positions, and for students. They try to make attractive product that will sell to undergraduates, to companies, and to those who will give them large grants. And above all the universities are run by boards of trustees who tend to be wealthy businessmen and successful professionals, those elements that are most satisfied with society as it is today, and who also perceive the university in corporate terms.

5. Professionalism of fields: Departments tend to define themselves in more and more narrow ways. They see the knowledge in their field as distinct from that of any other and scorn on interdisciplinary questions. They tend to be intellectually fragmented. They emphasize those technical and minute areas which are merely in their field, tend-over-professionalize and under-intellectualize their students. Because the only way to attain status in one's field is by appearing in the journals and speaking to these questions, careerism rather than curiosity is fostered. Student Movements: recently there has been a growth of student organizations of the campus committed to university reform. How are these groups going about change? Should they work with the faculty, or are the interests of the faculty and students inherently different? Are the student unions similar to the ones in France the answer? Since many large universities are located in urban areas should the student groups work with the local citizens on university reform movements that effect the local community? Finally, what are the problems of building a student movement on a small college campus?

## BLACK POWER

(continued from page 3)

other whites and raising money, or should they not play this type of role at all?

The panel would attempt to examine the implications of these questions on the different constituencies that we organize:

1. The poor: What reevaluation must we now make of our concepts of interracial organizing and the building of an interracial movement of the poor? Should whites never organize blacks or should they do so only in places where the constituencies are integrated? Even if whites should not organize blacks, should blacks ever organize whites? How does the racial rhetoric effect this evaluation? Should people organizing poor whites make an attempt to confront their constituencies with their views on black power movements or should they try to discreetly avoid such issues?

2. The Peace Movement: What new opportunities do the rise of the black power movements open up for whites? Some people feel that these movements are probably the most fertile anti-war constituency in the country; can we however, fruitfully join with them in anti-war activities? Will any cooperation be possible between those engaging in black electoral politics and those participating in the developing peace and third party politics? Will the violence that voices itself in the anti-war rhetoric of SNCC be a possible basis for white peaceniks to relate to or will it undermine much of the moral basis of middle-class anti-war ferment?

3. The student movement: What joint anti-administration protests are now possible between students and the ghetto dwellers that surround many of our big universities (for example, can Woodlawn black people join with University of Chicago students in exposing and protesting university ownership of slum property near the university?). Must the tactics of the students become more violent and the rhetoric more racial if this coalition is to develop?

## THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY CHAPTER OF STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY SENDS GREETINGS

Message: We support Lord Bertrand Russell's call for an International Tribunal to try American Leaders for War Crimes committed in Viet Nam.

## END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Enclosed please find \$175.00 for a half-page ad in your fund raising magazine. Spend it any way you see fit. Continue to do whatever you can to stop American militarism abroad and American reaction at home. We are primarily a faculty committee, our form of combat is debate, our weapon is the clenched pipe. We place ads in the New York Times, and support Peace Candidates, that are clearly anti-War. We print massive amounts of literature; our rates; \$5.00 per 1,000 for one page of copy (We type), or \$2.50 per 1,000 if copy is ready for photographing. Call us: 607:AR37158, or write to Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, (classy title, eh?), PO Box 701, Ithaca, NY. Note to printer: just print this ad in the corner of our page and leave the rest of the page blank - why waste money!

### INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY (Organizers of the Teach-In)

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# VICE-PRESIDENT'S REPORT

by Jeff Shero

One is struck when traveling around the country by the diversity among SDS chapters, particularly the differences in their political understanding. While campus traveling in the last six months in the plains, south, and west, I attempted to share in a few brief days lessons that the movement has learned through several years of experience. From this experience I have concluded that the typical notion of campus traveling is incorrect, that much more is required than giving speeches and talking to groups.

A three day disorder in El Paso was the most effective organizing attempt that I made. At the time, Alice Embree and myself were traveling together and arrived at Texas Western in El Paso where a meeting of their liberal foreign relations club had scheduled me as a speaker. It was a rather typical talk about the nature and issues of the Movement designed for ultra conservative campuses. Afterward we all adjourned to a professor's house to drink beer and discuss the problems of their area. In the course of the conversation the lack of civil liberties on the campus became apparent and I suggested that we begin Hyde Park stump speaking the following day. They were enthusiastic and wanted me to speak around noon in the patio of the student union. They were too enthusiastic. It soon was evident that they wanted to let an outsider attempt to win this right for them. Alice and I thought it better that they become involved from the beginning, so we argued that instead, we should put up a Vietnam literature table in the patio which would involve more people and raise broader issues of civil liberties with the administration. The rest agreed.

The next day at a quarter of twelve a literature table was set up and expectantly the club members waited for the students to get out of class. It was a short wait. Soon there were about 200 hundred students surrounding the table cursing about the communists, enraged at the sight of an anti-war table. Some of the more frenzied pro war advocates attacked, ripping up the literature, knocking down the table and punching around some of the guys. A girl ran for the campus cops, but they told her it was none of their business. We retreated.

That afternoon the group discussed what had happened and decided that they must return the next day. The administration attempted to get us to accept a cooling off period, but the faculty sponsor, Richard Trexler was adamant and we replied that we must return the next day. Several of the students who had been punched around went to the court house to file assault charges and found the judges unavailable and then unenthusiastic. Liberal professors scurried around bleating that they just didn't realize that things were so bad at Texas Western.

The next day the table was put up and about 500 students surrounded the table to scream and tear up the literature. 20 cops from the city were on hand, but did nothing as our adversaries threw eggs in amazingly beautiful arcs that ended about us. The crowd was goaded on by some members of the just returned number one in America basketball team. As tempers grew to a fever pitch the President of the university appeared, climbed upon the table, and received a tumultuous booping from the crowd. A dean jumped up and told the crowd that the man was the president. The crowd quieted. The President in his first known public contact with the student talked about dissent as a tradition in America and the importance of the image

of the university. He concluded that he was leaving it up to the mob to decide what to do. We were happy about his belief in individual decision making and terrified at the possible results. Some members of the mob shouted that they wanted to hear a speaker. Richard Trexler attempted to speak opening the first verbal exchanges. Most of his statements were drowned out by the shouting crowd. A Cuban who was also a part time campus cop, jumped and screamed about the Communists were killing people in Cuba and that we were Communists and that we should be killed or sent to Russia. He was so rabid and nonsensical that Richard Trexler appeared to be a paragon of wisdom in contrast. The debate continued amidst the hurtling eggs for about an hour. At the end of the second day's episode, some students came up and expressed sympathy with us and opposition to the war.

The third day the literature table was put up and again a crowd of several hundred gathered. One fellow stepped out and a roar went up from the crowd thinking he was going to tear up the literature. He turned to them and said, "I want to see what these people have to say."

The mob was broken. Some came to the table and argued vociferously, others still shouted obscenities occasionally. But the point had been made. There was acceptance of visible dissent for the first time on the campus and the right had been won for student groups to distribute literature.

More important than the civil liberties victory was the transformation that had taken place in the student group and the student body. The liberal student group had become self-confident and much more radical through the experience. They had seen the true reactions of their contemporaries, the administration, the cops, the judges, and professors exposed. The instruction had been better than a hundred speeches. The student body had witnessed an important political event, had themselves revealed, and learned in a real way about campus civil liberties.

While travelling, I found that speeches are an exceedingly poor organizing tool. People come to a speech with the attitudes they attend most lectures with, and as a whole, are not touched in any deep way. I found that in most speeches, I recruited a few people for the chapter, but that the importance of the event in their lives was nil. Speeches serve the purpose of getting introductions to many people on the campus. The more rewarding aspect of a visit comes from the conversations that informally arise during a stay. Discussing the grinding meaninglessness of campus life at three in the morning with a little beer and the Stones on the stereo has much more personal impact than lecturing people. The conversations that you happened into about what the group might attempt on campus after you've been there several days usually have much more insight than a talk on movement tactics and strategy. Campus travelers should spend I think a minimum of three days at a campus, or instead of humans with common pains and aspirations, the traveler becomes a personage projecting his image.

The most vital role that I can see SDS campus travelers in the future playing is that of guinea pig. That is offering themselves as a catalyst to create a local confrontation. An incident at our Arizona State chapter offers a good illustration.

(cont. on page 29)

## NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 666-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the Editor, Greg Calvert.

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Vol. 1, No. 32 let the people decide August 24, 1966

# national secretary's report

Jane Adams

Most of this report will be a reprint of excerpts from Booth's report in the June 17 NLN. I have not been in the National Office long enough to give a resume of the past year's activities, but Paul's report does that quite well. I'd like to deal with the relationship of the NO to the rest of the organization in this report, after a brief run-down of NO activities during the summer.

## SUMMER ACTIVITIES

Most of our resources have been used to plan the convention: Roy Dahlberg was hired to coordinate the planning, which he has done in conjunction with REP and other interested people. The response in terms of working papers, regional and chapter discussions, and feedback to us seems to be good.

Fundraising has been less successful. \$10,000 expected at the beginning of the summer for the printing project has never materialized, so our literature stock is low. We have managed to pay staff salaries each week since the end of June, pay for NLN, and keep our creditors off our backs, but our debts are still large and will be larger after the convention. (See financial report).

Other programs which took up chunks of time were: The polling of the NIC on the

Aptheker student strike proposal; setting up fraternal relations with NSCF, SSOC, SNCC, YCS, SRL, LRY, SUPA, & NSM as mandated by the June NC; polling the NIC on our response to the supereoning of 15 anti-war activists by HUAC and the related mailings to the chapters and press; getting NLN out, changing members addresses, and filling lit requests.

It became apparent in the polls that were taken of the NIC that it is not representative of the membership, most of its members not being college students. This needs to be considered in setting up the next interim decision-making body. The NAC has also been a political body, making the final decisions on the wording of a call or press release, deciding who to send as representatives to various meetings, deciding whether the National Secretary should participate in a press conference, etc. If we had a WATS line, these decisions could be made more democratically, but given that a WATS line costs approx. \$2000 a month, and that amount of money does not seem to be forthcoming, many day-to-day political decisions fall on people in Chicago: the NAC.

## ROLE OF NATIONAL OFFICE

It is apparent that most regions and many

chapters do not have the democratic involvement of their members. Should the NO be responsible for making these bodies democratic? If so, how? If not, how can they be made more representative?

What is the role of national staff in planning program? Hiring field staff for specific programs? Coordinating programs only through NLN? Setting up educational institutes around the country? Appointing people locally and regionally to do given local or regional jobs? That is, how far does national office authority extend within the organization?

How does the National Office establish relations with other groups? What can it do to make fraternal relations real to the membership? - Articles in NLN? Joint regional conferences? How do we select delegates to other group's meetings?

What kinds of guidelines should the organization set for national relations with other groups - non-fraternal left groups, liberal groups, international organizations? How can we deepen our relationships with our "brother" groups in other countries?

Should the NO set up conferences for special-interest areas: insurgent (underground) press; free universities, labor, electoral politics, the arts, high school, etc.?

In terms of office functioning: Staff instability is an evercurrent problem. People rarely stay over 6 months, usually not more

than three. This stems partly from the hasty way in which staff are chosen, partly from the chaotic atmosphere of the office, partly from the alienation from the "field", partly from the changes movement people are going through, which seem to make us unconstitutionally unsuited for office work. Jobs are getting more defined, weekly staff meetings helping to spread information about the day-to-day jobs each person does, but still we are understaffed and work is distributed unevenly. Any suggestions on how to improve this situation? (Has a direct bearing on your lives, cause it determines whether you get your lit order or not, or get your addressograph card changed or not.)

Another ever-current problem, finances! The constant lack of money does hang-up working considerably, as in being unable to fill lit requests due to lack of money for paper to print literature, or lack of money for postage; having to limit phone calls, not being able to finance campus travellers or new community projects, etc. What is the responsibility of the NO; what is the responsibility of the membership, chapter, region? How can NC decisions on internal fundraising be carried out?

So those are some of the questions of the relationship of the office to the organization as a whole. Booth's report, which follows, gives more of what has been going on over the past year.

## PAUL BOOTH - OUTGOING SECRETARY - JUNE 1966

Our movement has changed its priorities dramatically at a number of junctures: in spring 1964 we transformed SDS from an intellectual center into a community organizing campaign; in Spring 1965 we made SDS the leader of the student antiwar movement; this year we have moved to make it a radical political action organization with a broad program. SDS has been politicized in several ways:

- (1) its attitude toward internal questions
- (2) its relationship to student discontent and the phenomenon of the alienated youth culture on campus
- (3) its relationship to forces for change in the community.
- (4) its standards for the internal functioning of chapters and
- (5) its attempt to make explicit and elaborate its program analysis, strategy, and values.

The December Conference was the occasion of our recognition of SDS' new character as a national student organization. In our own right as an organized movement, we had become a new feature in American life. That conference was an exercise in collective self-definition for many of us; at the same time, we were struggling with the internal problems caused by the rapid growth of SDS. My report at that time tried to reflect both problems. To summarize it here:

It started by noting the organization's crisis of coherence. "The most elementary problem of SDS is that it straddles two social functions; it serves as the most powerful and important organized expression of the left in America, and it serves as a radical educational organization for students."

"The competing calls on SDS energy have made it impossible to, function in the political arena in a sustained way... To take ourselves seriously as a political factor would mean that... we would avail ourselves of the democratic decision-making machinery available (in SDS) and actually make decisions. And by implication not leave matters to the decision of the NAC, the National Secretary..."

The phenomenal growth of SDS during 1965 was because it tapped the antiwar expression of student alienation.

As an organization, our response to this movement dipped and rose radically during the year; in the summer we almost abandoned it, and only after a frontal attack by the Administration did we take up the commitment that led to our bringing thousands of people to the SANE march. One missed opportunity: "We could have tied a goodly number of these committees (to end the war) to us as Associate groups and an instructive dialogue could have gone on, in which our analysis could have been articulated to Vietnam activists, and possibly out of the combination of our experience and insights and their enthusiasm could have come creative responses to the hang-ups of the protest movement."

The "Draft Crisis" of October had its seeds at the September N.C., when three dozen

people in a workshop hit on the draft as a focal issue around which organizing could take place. Columnists Evans and Novak found the most far-out proposals in a Vietnam Newsletter we put out and on October 14 broadcast them to the world. Under the impact of front-page attacks on us as leaders of the draft-dodging movement (in which draft-card burning and advocating homosexuality became the leading parts in the public eye) we decided to submit to membership referendum the program -- under the standing organizational policy of letting the members decide on any program that put us in legal hot water. They voted it down -- and while the vote trickled in during November and December it became clear the program didn't exist anyway. The "heat" was taken off SDS after the "Build Not Burn" statement October 20th. At a Washington press conference the National Secretary unilaterally described our position as opposition to killing in Vietnam because we wanted to "build a democratic society at home" and challenged the President to create national alternative service.

The March on Washington in November provided further evidence of our inability to move politically. It became immediately clear that the government attacks required a significant response, but we did not have the stamina to lead the Left of the peace movement in such a way as to give the March a more militant character.

During the fall the functioning of the office hit an all-time low. The office did a slipshod job of servicing the chapters: it lost their lit orders, left them in the dark during the Crisis, had only one person doing correspondence with them, and this mostly with those requesting new status as a chapter (several requests a week). Chapter skills are passed on kind of like folklore: "The wealth of experience on which a chapter staff could be expected to draw really hasn't existed before now. In most cases, campus travellers have drawn on their own limited experience in giving advice."

"A word about democracy and administration: in an administrative situation, democratic procedures are ones in which people invested with responsibility treat it seriously, report to their constituents, regularly and in such a way that they are able to learn and make significant choices. What is more undemocratic than a leader who denies he is a leader, refuses to organize meetings in which he can let the other people know what's going on, refuses to file report in the N.O. so that other people can know what he did two years later when a chapter tries to take roots at the campus he has since abandoned, etc.?"

The National Council took several important initiatives at the January meeting.

First, it recognized regional organization (there were now four regions where in September there had been none) and provided the first opportunity for the offices to harmonize their activity.

Second, it took interim political power out of the hands of the National Secretary and the NAC, and restored it to the National Interim Committee. By elaborating a full program of political activity it pre-empted the possibility of undemocratically initiated national activity. This program included farm labor support, sniping at the Selective Service through support of the reclassified Ann Arbor students of the Freedom Draft, a perspective on anti-war activity placing high-

est priority on broadening the political base of the movement, and South Africa action.

Third, it mandated the regular publication of an internal newspaper as the highest office priority, to redress the distance that had set in between members and the organization's decision-making centers.

Fourth; it recognized the critical importance of the educational tasks of SDS by creating the Radical Education Program to (continued on page 27)

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GREETINGS  
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# ask not what REP...

REP is an education and research program. But its reason for existing is political. REP grew out of a conviction that new analysis, broadened constituencies, and an informed rank and file are essential to the creation of a viable left. At the December conference, and again in April and June, SDS committed itself to the idea of a Radical Education Project. What substance and what form have those abstract endorsements developed over the summer months?

## The Response to REP:

The Radical Education Project faces the danger of becoming an intellectual success but a political failure. The staff has outlined a program of research and educational work that it believes is relevant and essential to the growth of the left. REP has attracted the interest of many sympathetic intellectuals and older radicals. But, so far, it has failed to secure *working commitment* from most SDS people -- from those people now active in the movement, whose primary commitment is to struggle for radical social change. Yet it is only from participation by people with *political* as well as *intellectual* commitment to the movement that REP will be able to maintain close ties and relevance to political activism. There are jobs to be done that must be taken on by SDS people -- or they will not be done. REP needs staff, researchers, coordinators. Lip service commitment is not enough. The lack of these human resources is the main obstacle to the development of *all* of the program areas that REP has planned. Every one of the programs described in this report is half started, but will not be completed without money and people to do the work.

Response to REP has come from two sources: the SDS membership which receives *New Left Notes*; and the several hundred people outside of SDS who have seen the REP prospectus. Of the approximately Fifty-five hundred readers of NLN, about 1.6% have made an initial response. (A sociologically hip friend claims that if any group sent a mailing to any random sample of the American population, advertising any product or cause, the expected response would be over 2%.) Of these respondents, many have not answered a second mailing that REP sent out, asking for detailed information about the work they expected to do. Lest the picture appear too bleak a few people have kept in correspondence outlining the work they will take on, and making valuable suggestions.

Among the non-SDS people who received the prospectus, the response was quantitatively high, and qualitatively enthusiastic. This group is composed largely of graduate students, professors, and young professionals (architects, city planners, clergymen, etc.). They seem generally to want to make contact with others in their professions who share their social values; to work within their professions for reform; and to make their professional work relevant to a movement for social change. Many of them gave concrete ideas about the kind of research they hope to do, and are already engaged in work that should prove relevant to SDS.

The character of the response from SDS members is somewhat different. Some of the SDS members who have written to REP are themselves graduate students, or professionals, who are frustrated by the schism between their movement life and their professional aspirations. But the majority of SDS respondents are undergraduates, and are primarily concerned with the need for self-education groups on the local level. Few expressed confidence that they could carry out original research.

The different interests of the two groups suggests a need for two kinds of organizational forms. REP hopes to develop a series of task forces composed of people with special competence to do research and analysis in their chosen field, and to serve as resource people for chapters and projects.

REP also intends to establish a program of study groups to meet the self-education needs of local chapters and projects of the movement. A first step is the aid and encouragement of local seminars and the organization of a speakers bureau. We aim to collect or prepare seminar guides, speakers lists, papers, bibliographies, literature packets, and other educational tools on a wide range of topics: Vietnam; imperialism;

poverty; community organization; South Africa; Marxism, etc. At a later stage we hope to be able to develop "traveling workshops" that would bring teams of people with complementary areas of competence to a locale for intensive programs of education.

REP has defined for itself the three central needs that it hopes to meet:

1. The need for competent research on the issues of left program and theory. It is no recent revelation that the theoretical framework of the left needs development in terms of the contemporary character of imperialism, capitalism, mass culture, technology, abundance, and in terms of the experience of socialist revolutions and American reforms. Nor is it a new discovery that the left is starved for the hard data, documentation and concrete proposals necessary for effective political action. REP will try to provide fact, theory and analysis relevant to SDS programs.

2. The need for self-education programs in chapters and projects of SDS and other radical organizations. Unless activism is supported by education, people recruited into the movement on a single issue or a gut reaction will not be able to develop into leaders, plan strategy, or sustain their own radical value commitment. REP sees the creation of educational resources as one of its main responsibilities.

3. The need to extend the movement beyond students and the most dispossessed. To build a new left in America requires striking roots in the professions, among university faculties, in the arts and in many of the "mass organizations" such as churches, unions, etc. Not only must the radical sympathies that lie in these diverse social locations be mobilized, but these people must be included and engaged in developing a radical program for the transformation of the particular conditions of their own life and work. REP will attempt to broaden the scope of the movement.

REP has begun the "nitty gritty" work preliminary to fulfillment of these goals:

1. The original REP prospectus has been reorganized and re-written. Ten thousand copies have been printed by the SDS press in Lawrence Kansas, and are ready for distribution.

2. A summer staff was recruited, of which no one resigned. Three members have decided to remain in the fall instead of returning to school.

3. A recruiting and fundraising brochure, with several variations of cover letter, has been written, describing the aims and program of REP and soliciting financial and intellectual participation. Several mailing lists totalling over 20,000 names have been procured, (eg. Socialist Scholars Conference, teach-ins, Dissent, Studies, etc.) and a mailing to the first three-thousand of these has been sent out in the hopes of raising enough money both to finance a mailing to the rest of the list and to give us some immediate operating funds.

4. Several foundations have been approached for money, though without immediate success. Some were encouraging but requested more detailed plans with the names of people who would be responsible.

5. Fundraising for the SDS Convention Program was carried out efficiently and effectively.

6. Three panels have been prepared by REP for the SDS convention. In addition, REP staff members will organize several workshops at the convention, including one on REP.

7. Several hundred letters have been answered, though not always as fully or promptly as they should have been.

8. Coordinators for several of the areas outlined in the prospectus have been found, and have begun contacting people.

9. REP has assembled a list of "advisors" having a wide spectrum of political viewpoints and professional interests.

10. REP has compiled a monumental set of procedures for guidance in all situations. Available upon request. Special bulk rate.

11. REP is incorporated, has a corporate seal, and tax exempt status pending.

12. Jim Brook, an original N.Y. SDSer, has donated his huge library containing many valuable Marxist publications to REP. Other contributions accepted. Duplicates will

be sold for socialist profit.

13. REP has partially financed an expedition by Jon and Nancy Frappier into the hills of Guatemala, where they are seeking to establish contact with guerilla forces, as part of a research project on political prospects in Guatemala. They have not been heard from since they left.

Programs projected for the coming months:

1. Papers from the New Left: REP is currently working on a book, to be published by Doubleday-Anchor. It will include a dozen or more essays attempting to systematize both the empirical foundation and theoretical orientation from which the movement looks at such issues as corporatism, imperialism, the welfare state, planning, education, the war on poverty and alliance for progress, race, work and leisure, electoral politics, mass culture, participatory democracy, liberal reform.

2. Education guide: The REP staff is currently gathering materials for a pamphlet providing information on how to develop local education programs. In addition a film catalog, pamphlet bibliography and speaker's lists are in preparation. These were to have been finished by the end of the summer, but aren't. Help wanted.

3. The REP Bulletin: Starting in late September, REP will publish a Bulletin which contains summaries of original research, issue analysis, book reviews, short papers, seminar outlines, bibliography, abstracts of articles from other publications, letters and discussion, conference notes, etc. In conjunction with the Bulletin, the products of REP research will be published as a series of pamphlets. Publication of pamphlets will begin as research and editing is completed, and as we have money.

4. Reconstruction of academic theory and teaching: REP is looking for people to prepare pamphlet guides to introductory liberal arts courses in economics, sociology, political science, history, anthropology science and the humanities. These outlines will try to expose and analyze the biases and limitations of conventional undergraduate teaching and textbooks: the values implied in accepted theory, the assumptions hidden in a canonized methodology, the questions unasked, the data and theories neglected, the conditions of the real world overlooked, the history untold, the indoctrination accomplished. Outlines may include "scenarios" of questions and answers to help the student introduce relevant material and become an innovator in the class room, and keep the instructor from getting off the hook. This is a beginning of a concrete and documented critique of the academic disciplines, showing how their structure and content reinforce the dominant interests and prejudices of the society and stifle relevance and social innovation.

5. Issues of strategy in the movement: REP will prepare a series of analytic papers dealing with various strategic theory-myths that are current on the left: reform coalitions, third party organization, permeation, non-violence, independent insurgency, black power. These papers will be printed in the REP Bulletin or as pamphlets.

6. Class in America: Work has been begun on a number of studies on the nature of class structure in America, its relationship to political power, economic and social aspirations, belief in the American ideology, etc. An exploratory study is under way reexamining a range of existing data on political consciousness of blue collar workers, with the hope of developing a new view of working class politics and laying out new areas of research. A paper outlining the nature of class division between the under-

class and the affluent, with particular reference to the war on poverty and the viability of welfare state reforms, is being revised.

7. The Professions: As people in or preparing for the professions respond to REP mailings, we are attempting to set up planning groups or conferences. The aim of these groups or conferences is to bring together from dispersed geographical locations people sharing political perspective and professional interest; to discuss ways to influence the service quality and social impact of the professions, to plan pamphlets and speaking programs aimed at intervening in the process of professional education; to organize support for existing professional associations or caucuses committed to radical social involvement; to prepare educational materials relevant to activists in the movement.

8. Development of research techniques: We are planning two small conferences on the methodology of power structure analysis. One will deal with domestic power and the other with American power internationally. Both will be concerned with alternative research strategies, sources of data, access to privileged information, techniques of prediction, measurements of coalitions, interlocking interest, ideological constraints on action, etc. We will attempt to produce research guides to aid students and others in the analysis of community power structure, national decision-making, foreign policy formation, etc.

9. The arts and mass media: REP seeks to understand the ideological functioning of art and the mass media, the relationship between aesthetic and political consciousness, and the potential of the arts and mass media as instruments of change. Research will examine the way in which art and the mass media are created and controlled, how they are perceived by their publics, and the role they actually play in forming taste, thought patterns and opinions. Studies will seek to locate and encourage elements within the arts and media favorable to radical change. To initiate these studies, REP plans to organize three conferences: on the mass media and leisure, on social values and city planning, and on education in the arts. These conferences will aim to bring together people of different disciplines whose interests converge around these areas, to clarify problems and research needs, and translate theory into tasks. The working papers for these conferences might later be edited into a book on the arts and society.

REP is also attempting to set up a newspaper of the arts, which would publish poetry, short stories, plays, drawings, etc. as well as critical articles, excerpts from other publications and correspondence.

10. Nations Series: REP is attempting to prepare a series of pamphlets summarizing information about other countries: the nature of their politics, parties, factions, contending positions, economic structure and development, character of the democratic opposition, their international relations, the role of U.S. business, political and military interests in the country, the position in the cold war third world power contexts, etc. These will include annotated bibliography and a guide to primary source material. We know of research of this sort that has been done or is in progress on the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, South Africa, Algeria, China. We hope that chapters will take on responsibility for particular countries.

11. International Intelligence Network: REP hopes to develop a network of people in the U. S. and abroad, closely attuned to international events, who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence on issues as they develop and before. Such a network, including scholars, (continued on page 31)

# ERAP REPORT JOIN



Uptown GOODFELLOWS organized this demonstration against police brutality. The march proceeded from the JOIN office to the Summerdale Police Station with signs demanding an end to police brutality.

By Michael James

Chicago, Ill.

While back a fellow from Delaware SDS wrote a letter to New Left Notes; it concerned Black Power and the implications that concept has for white radicals' re-evaluation of their own work. He seemed to be saying that "white radicals" weren't needed nor wanted in the black people's struggle. He suggested that they are middle class, can't escape that fact, and face extreme difficulties in relating to poor blacks. He suggested that the home for radical middle-class white students is the American middle class—that is where they should be working to change America.

I feel a lot of what he said isn't necessarily true. What I would like to point out is that he forgot to mention that the majority of poor people in this country happen to be non-black. That doesn't mean that conditions for organizing among whites are as conducive to building a movement as they are among blacks, but it can be done. I would like to describe, very generally, the JOIN Community Union in Chicago. I do this for a couple of reasons! At one point in SDS's history the community organizing projects were very important; they brought a lot of kids into the movement. In part, the war has changed that; SDS has grown a lot, and many people who've come in during the past year and a half don't know much about the ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project) projects that SDS initiated a few years ago. There seems to be renewed interest in community organizing, and I hope this description of JOIN will give some people an idea of the kind of work that is going on in various parts of the country.

I also want to describe JOIN because I think it serves as an example, an example that suggests that *poor whites can be organized*. Based on JOIN's experiences I think there is little question that organizing poor whites is both viable and damned important. The trouble is, there isn't enough of it going on. I know of very few groups of poor whites other than JOIN that are really organized, and organizing, to control and change their own community. The Klan does it, but they happen to be on the wrong side.

I'm not going to give a detailed analysis of our work, nor a complete history. JOIN has an interesting history, important for people concerned with organizing the poor in general and whites in particular. Maybe someday Richie Rothstein and others will get around to writing it. For now I will mention only the basic assumptions that led to the initiation of JOIN, and the events that led to the transformation from JOIN as "Jobs or Income Now," to the JOIN Community Union.

JOIN, as started in March 1964, was created as an attempt to experiment with the ideas of young radicals about the questions of an interracial movement of the poor and the changing American economy. In an attempt to realize concerns about an interracial movement, people from SDS and the United Packing House Workers Union opened two JOINS—one on the northside

near an Unemployment Compensation office serving mostly whites, and one on the southside near a UCC serving mostly blacks.

The issue was unemployment. Organizing was based on the assumption that an automating economy would increasingly steal jobs from workers in the semi- and unskilled labor categories. The question of a guaranteed annual income was important. The selection of the northern urban ghetto was in part an attempt to start to build a "movement" in the then quiet north, and partly to provide something tangible that northern students could relate to, by doing research, organizing, fund raising, etc.

Jobs or Income Now was not long lived. The office on the southside closed in the fall. On the northside a staff of three worked until the summer, had some summer volunteers, and then closed in late August. Part of the problem was money and staff; part of it the difficulty of organizing a stable group in a location that drew people from a very large geographic section of the city; and another problem was that the job market did not provide conditions that met the expectations of the project's assumptions.

The decision to concentrate in Uptown was arrived at by taking all the contact cards out of the file and putting them in piles by neighborhoods. Uptown had the largest pile, about fifteen. A survey of the neighborhood indicated that what people wanted most was a day care center and better treatment from the day labor hiring halls. So on the day that the local War on Poverty (the Urban Progress Center) opened its doors, JOIN presented it with proposals for action in these areas. Such action still remains to be taken.

Until the spring of '65 JOIN worked out of a staff apartment on Racine Ave. The staff of about eight student organizers and active people from the community did block organizing which concentrated on issues such as welfare, housing, unemployment, and the war on poverty. Weekly meetings were held and a newsletter put out. Membership was small and the nature of the organization highly educational and democratic.

A store-front office was opened in April, and the staff was bolstered by Rennie Davis, Harriet Stulman and other people who left Ann Arbor after the decision to "decentralize" ERAP, the community action arm of SDS. About thirty students came in for the summer, and for most the experience was not exactly rewarding, because there was no real program, structure or direction. Without concrete jobs most summer staff found it difficult to go out on their own. But important work was going on. Some people worked hard with welfare mothers, developing ideas that layed the groundwork for a now growing welfare union. Others met and talked with idle men on the street who began to do mass leafletting regularly. The leaflets (that people would pull out of their pockets months later) were problem oriented. "Got a Problem? Being pushed around by landlords, the welfare, the day labor hiring halls, the police? JOIN can help you!" Clothes and sometimes food were available at JOIN to those who

needed them. Other people just made contacts: with the local paper, caseworkers, local social agencies and churches, and citywide groups such as civil rights groups and churches.

A year later, these contacts have proved extremely important. Even more important were the contacts made with the people in the community, and the general impression that "JOIN helps the little guy." People still ask about certain summer volunteers from a year ago. When I first came to work for JOIN in April, I met an old fiddle-playing mountaineer who I had known briefly during the summer of '64 while working on a research project in Uptown. He told me about his health problem and the runaround he was getting from the welfare office. I said: "Aron, why don't you come over to the JOIN office and see if something can't be done." He answered: "Oh, I belong to the Community Union" and pulled out his pin. The point is that JOIN was becoming known and built a reputation in a large area of high population density.

The approach has been one of helping people, with clothes, food, problems concerning the police, welfare, housing, employment or schools. At the same time, however, questions about the nature of problems, the structure and control of the society are raised. Organizers concentrated on specific issues or individual problems, in an effort to raise questions about the overall society, and in the hope that by helping people out they would start to trust JOIN. This technique brings some people, over time, to a good understanding of the nature of their general situation, poverty. And more importantly, a number make the step toward getting together and working with others in an attempt to change the cause of these conditions.

JOIN calls itself a community union. That is what it is becoming, a group of poor people working together in numbers to force changes in the "conditions that affect their lives." When we talk to people in the community, many from Appalachia, we might suggest something such as: "Ya know, workers in factories and the men in the mines back home had a tough time of it. The found that the only way they could get any justice was by getting together in a group that had some power. They didn't have money, and didn't know big shots, but by sticking together, they had strength, like people in the church are together and have strength. It's the same thing here in the neighborhood. If you ain't got money, the welfare, these landlords who charge high rents for rotten places, and those slave labor hiring halls all push you around. If you're poor your kids gotta go to that Stewart school, while the rich kids over by the lake got that fancy Brenneman. If you're poor or from the south, the cops might pat you on the head when you're ten, but when you're fifteen and standing on the same corner, they stick you with their clubs. It's just like in the mines. The only way that people from the south, the little guy, is going to get any justice is by sticking together, forming a strong union and getting some power to make the welfare, the landlords, the cops, the schools and the stores respect us. They're supposed to serve us, not push us around. If we get together we can start to make them work for us instead of against us. Maybe someday we'll be able to elect some guy like yourself to alderman. Someone who would represent poor people, not the rich folks and bigshots downtown."

JOIN has developed a formal structure. There is an organizing or executive committee that consists both of full time organizers (former students) and people from the community who do a lot of organizing or are generally very active in JOIN. The committee meets weekly to make major decisions affecting the entire organization. The meetings, designed to get people from the community to participate in decision making and take on positions of leadership and

power with in the organization, are sometimes very painful, often rambling on for hours. On other occasions people are beautiful, stating clearly the nature of certain problems and how they might be attacked. Very important is that people from the community have taken on leadership, and do exert increasing power within the organization.

Key to our work are the committees such as welfare, housing, the steward's committee and the Uptown Goodfellows, a group of young guys who work mostly around police brutality. Before coming to work with JOIN I was usually very anti-structure oriented, quoting Bakunin on how "authority is freedom when it's self-imposed." The concept may work for some students, but not for a lot of community people. It was a lady from Kentucky who made clear to me that people need roles, positions and jobs that they can see and understand, that are their own. It may be office duty, running the clothes room, handling a welfare problem, distributing the newsletter or just talking to others about a march coming up.

Most committees meet weekly to discuss how to reach more and more people, or the details of a specific action, such as a rent strike, or a march. Sometimes a committee will bring in a speaker, to inform active members about a certain topic such as medical rights under the welfare system. We have just started having Saturday morning meetings for active JOIN members about certain topics in depth, such as city politics and whether or not JOIN should get more active in formal Politics. (Representatives from the Percy and Douglas campaigns have sought JOIN's support. They were often greeted with questions from community people like "what's Douglas say about police brutality? What can he do for us? And what do those words mean . . . Oh you mean . . .") At the weekly organizing committee each committee gives a report in an effort to overcome the breakdown in communication that has come with growth and people often working in almost entirely separate areas.

## THE WELFARE COMMITTEE

Members of the welfare committee go to the district office each morning, setting up a table and passing out printed leaflets describing how "JOIN is Fighting to Change Welfare," to make it more humane. The leaflet includes a check list, a welfare bill of rights, and pictures of actions around welfare. Recipients and prospective recipients are talked to both as they enter and leave the office. The reason that the stand is set up is because the welfare union is moving toward a confrontation with the welfare office on the right to organize. It is one of the early activities in what will be a long and hard campaign attempting to lead to collective bargaining and *permanent control* over the welfare system. There has been harassment from both the police and people working at the welfare office. Other members of the committee visit fellow members of the welfare union in the neighborhood, and seek to meet new people, who might come into the JOIN office, or be referred to the committee by other JOIN members, stewards, organizers, other agencies in the neighborhood, and even caseworkers.

The work is hard, and the process of building strong members a slow struggle. The antagonism of the welfare system creates a fear in recipients, as the system does in poor people in general, that serves to mitigate against the idea of organizing to change one's situation. Yet many members of the welfare union, mostly women, have developed a very sophisticated understanding about their own situation and the situation of poor people as a whole. Some of them talk very competently and perceptively about the pros and cons of the guaranteed

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annual income. They understand well that the welfare system forces dependency on people, and they talk frequently and seriously about building a welfare union that will change that system. When the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees went out on strike for thirteen days, maintaining among other things that caseworkers understood better the problems of welfare than do administrators and therefore should have a say in policy making matters, the JOIN Welfare Union went further. They said "We support the striking IUPAE because they want to help make a humane welfare system. We also feel that we as recipients understand the problems of welfare better than either the administrators or the caseworkers, and we should have the right to organize and have a say in how the welfare system is run." JOIN supported the strikers, flooding the district office, calling non-strikers and asking them why they weren't for a more humane welfare system, and picketing in front of Welfare chief Hilliard's office for two days. They protested specific grievances, the general inadequacies of the welfare system, and supported the strikers. Three members of JOIN were arrested for refusing to leave Hilliard's office when he would not act on their specific cases. Alan Kaplan, President of the IUPAE stated that JOIN, more than any other recipients group in the city, had been helpful in the IUPAE cause.

A considerable amount of activity has gone into trying to build a citywide recipient's union. On the day of the nationwide welfare protest JOIN and the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization (a negro welfare group of the southside) held a joint march on Hilliard's office to demand that recipient's unions be heard. About 60 members of JOIN marched 50 blocks to the main welfare office downtown. An equal number marched from the southside. The protest grew to about 200, with the group singing both Negro Freedom songs and white spirituals with reworked verses ("justice songs"). Hilliard agreed to meet with the two groups within 20 days to discuss general welfare problems and the recognition of recipients unions. He died the next day. Currently JOIN, KOCO and the West Side Organization are supporting a Negro former state legislator (a Republican) as the new head of the Welfare Dept. All three groups were very much in force at the recent Poverty-Rights Action Group conference in Chicago, where steps were made toward forming a national welfare union.

Our work in welfare suggests that recipients, in this case poor whites, can be organized, force better treatment from a large welfare bureaucracy, and work to completely change that system. They can also develop some friends inside the welfare department, and encourage and facilitate "rank and file insurgency" on the part of some within that bureaucracy, and most importantly, it is worth noting that we have had success in some of these areas in the face of having to deal with what is undoubtedly the most conservative of all the district welfare offices.

#### HOUSING

We know that real estate and housing is an institution that affects poor people viciously. We have concentrated a lot of effort in this area. Housing in our area is poor. From the outside some of the buildings look rather nice, garnished by wide streets and trees, but they are false facades from another era, before the area was turned into a slum. We help people find apartments, and move them when they are illegally evicted. Sometimes we are able to halt that practice. In May VISTA workers were given orders from on high to stop their activity in a certain building; the tenants learned of JOIN and asked for help. A rent strike, rally, three-day picketline and leafleting of the owner's neighborhood (your neighbor is a slumlord) "brought the owner to his senses" as an active tenant put it. He signed a contract calling for grievance procedures and standard arbitration procedures in the case of unsettled grievances. To my knowledge it was the first extensive tenant-landlord contract to be signed in the country. It was billed in the national press as the first of its kind in the city.

We have to date forced three landlords to sign such a contract, and won concessions from a number of owners (such as the firing of a manager) of other buildings when faced with a JOIN rent strike. The contract,

billed by school boycott leader Al Raby as the most "creative innovation in the Chicago movement during the year," was the basis for the contract M.L. King's SCLC negotiated with a large slum owner. JOIN's success in housing has strongly influenced housing activity by a number of tenants groups in the city, as well as the country (if mail received is an indication).

Most recently, a landlord refused to abide by the terms of the contract. An arbitration session was held, and ended up voting two to one (2-1) to have tenants take control of the building, using rent money to hire people from the building to fix it up according to the specification of the contract. Work is currently going on in the 21 unit building, which may revert back to the owner's control once the repairs are completed. After telling the press that the entire thing was a "communist takeover," the landlord waited two weeks (being barred from the building) before filing suit against certain members of JOIN. Lawyers seem to feel strongly that the contract will hold up in court.

While talking about our work in housing I will mention that in our organizing we suggest that keeping a building up is a "two way process." "You can't expect tenants to take pride in a building when the landlord puts all the money in his pocket without putting any back in. It's really in the best interest of both parties to work out a contract." A good friend from Berkeley, who recently stopped for a visit, offered that what we were doing was OK, but it was "reform, not revolution." Another friend has suggested that "its unfortunate to be a revolutionary in a non-revolutionary situation." I've got mixed feelings on the debate, but what I do know is that poor whites (many southern) and Indians took over the building and are running it themselves. I think that basic to creating a basis for social change ("revolution") is building constituencies that work around self interests. That is educational, and "education," exclusive of material conditions, can be important in the creation of new material conditions which might be more conducive to basic social change.

Urban Renewal is a problem that confronts us. There are very strong indications that our area will become, in part, an urban renewal area or a conservation area (a lesser of two evils). Some members from JOIN went to talk to the head of Urban Renewal, explaining in conservative terms what JOIN was, and how the members were concerned with the future of their neighborhood. His first question implied considerable knowledge about JOIN's activities: "Why did JOIN print an editorial against Mayor Daley's Bond Issue?"

(Several community organizations and civil rights groups in the city opposed the 195 million dollar bond issue for the basic reason that it is an urban renewal pie that solidifies the control of the city by the interests that Daley represents, and in short, won't benefit poor people.) Successful imposition of an Urban Renewal plan on Uptown could ultimately hurt JOIN, for it would move a lot of poor people from the area. However, as an organizing issue it is excellent, and it is excellent, and it is not unrealistic to think that JOIN, in conjunction with certain allies, might well be able to do a good job combating it.

We have considerable work to do toward developing an overall strategy for housing in Uptown. Some of our problems are moving people who've participated in past housing actions to thinking about an overall plan, recruiting staff to do research and come up with an alternative plan based on the needs and desires of area residents. Currently the housing committee (composed mostly of our rent strike veterans) is giving more thought to a large housing program, such as people's meetings to derive fair rents (figures indicate that working and middle class people pay less for bigger and better places, yet poor people are excluded for various reasons, e.g., regional origin, race, or number of kids.) It is quite feasible that on a specific date 2000 residents of Uptown could announce "we're going to pay thirty dollars less rent a month." The impact, particularly if coordinated with other tenants groups in the city, might be pretty big.

#### THE STEWARD SYSTEM

Such a plan, or a move into electoral politics, will hinge in great part on the development of the JOIN steward plan. Two months

old the plan seeks to get a steward or JOIN representative in each building in the area where we organize. The initial job of the steward has been to distribute the printed weekly newsletter to the tenants of his building. 3000 copies are distributed person to person each week in this way. Other copies are distributed on the street. The steward's job is to inform people of JOIN activities, collect membership dues, help people with food and clothing, get names of people on welfare to the welfare committee, and find and help develop new stewards. Currently there are three categories of stewards, the total of which numbers about 100. Some just pass out the newsletter in their building and to their friends. Others work as organizers in their building, talking to people, actually keeping them informed in some detail about JOIN, aiding people when they can. The over-stewards (a friend didn't like the term, and I neglected to tell her that a community person thought of it), numbering about 20, seek to develop current stewards and find new stewards. The over-stewards are increasingly doing more and more organizing in JOIN, and taking on leadership positions. To develop more and more people within the framework of this plan is, I believe, critical to the future power and success of the organization.

#### STOP COPS

JOIN has lost some of the folks and warm quality that it and other projects had when they were smaller. Yet I think the basic conceptions of democracy that gave birth to the ERAP projects is still evident. If student types sometimes forget, community people are strong enough to let them know where it's at. A case in point, is the exciting rank and file revolt we had awhile back. During a housing meeting, myself and others argued against taking action in a particular building for a lot of reasons too complicated to talk about here. The committee, chaired by an ex-convict, voted by one vote to go ahead with the action. Two of us continued to argue after the decision, and somehow (the young guys say big words, and they were probably right) temporarily had our views prevail.

That started it, a beer party with young guys loosely associated with JOIN fanned the fire, and the next day there was an emergency meeting of 40, mostly student types and young guys, with a smattering of older JOIN members (both time as members age) who served sort of as advisors or referees. The guys were all young, many very bright.

JOIN marches on welfare office as part of its many-faceted program to gain control of a bureaucratized and indifferent system.



They were interested in JOIN and liked the students who they were just beginning to understand a little. Yet there was natural resentment or class hostility. It erupted. For a couple of hours a few of us "bourgeois students" (they use it, but I don't know where they got it) took the verbal attacks, were told that they could and should run their own show, and that we could serve as advisors when asked. Things got pretty hot, cooled down, and then a plan. They would form a group, now called the Uptown Goodfellows (wow), and would work around police brutality. They would run it!

They did. The "Stop Cops" or "People Must Control Their Police Project" is a month old. Two weeks ago two hundred people, over half of them young guys, marched from the JOIN office to the Summerdale Police Station to demand a stop to police brutality and the firing of a certain sargent. The commander met with them, gave them the runaround, questioned the "citizenship" qualifications of one of the negotiators -- repeatedly arrested on false charges, and agreed to send the tape of the conversation to Orlando Wilson, Chicago's Chief of Police who has been very successful at creating a good image of Chicago's notorious police dept. Some may remember that it was the Summerdale station that was involved in a scandal 6 years back that culminated in the hiring of Wilson.

The GOODFELLOWS are important. "We're marching against the cops; most people don't realize we get treated just as bad by the cops as Negroes and Puerto Ricans." When was the last time you heard of poor white youth, largely southern, marching on the police station for the same reasons that Negroes do? The issue irked the middle class elements near where we work, and did not bring us the best press coverage, although there was a lot of it. Despite that expected response, the response in the neighborhood, not only with young people, has been good. The march, and when we go again, has been the talk of Wilson Avenue. Important is that young people have found a reason for relating to JOIN. A teenager named Slim, almost mute when I've tried to talk to him in the past, came up to me in a restaurant and pushed his finger against my JOIN button: "Hey, I'm in that now." The GOODFELLOWS leadership understands how police brutality relates to housing, education, welfare and jobs. Some are working nearly full time as organizers.

A number of people who participated in the march have jobs in one of the War

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# NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

## PREAMBLE

Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty.

It maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a relevance through the continual focus on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political and social organization. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision.

## ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be Students for a Democratic Society.

## ARTICLE II: AFFILIATION

Students for a Democratic Society shall be affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, Inc., a tax-exempt educational foundation concerned with the extension of democracy into all areas of social, political, and economic life.

## ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

Section 2. S.D.S. is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social, or political organization.

Section 3. *Dues* The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

Section 4. *Associates* Individuals who do not wish to join the S.D.S., but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates with rights and responsibilities as defined by the National Council.

## ARTICLE IV: CHAPTERS AND AFFILIATES

Section 1. Any group of five or more members may apply to the National Office for charter as a chapter.

Section 2. A chapter may be chartered at any meeting of the National Council. It must be considered for chartering at the first meeting of the National Council after it has submitted to the N.C. a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles and notification of election of N.C. representative(s). In the period between the submission of the required information to the National Office and the next National Council meeting, the chapter may be given a provisional charter at the discretion of the President.

Section 3. Chapters are expected to operate within the broad terms of policy set by the National Convention and the National Council. Points of conflict should be referred to the National Council and a procedure established to make the issue public to the organization. In matters judged to be detrimental to the interests of the organization, the National Council shall have the power to cease whatever activity that has been brought into question. The matter shall be finally resolved by the National Council in meeting or referendum.

Section 4. *Associated Groups.* Independent groups can affiliate as associates of S.D.S. by vote of their membership and designation of a liaison representative to sit on the National Council with consultative vote. The representative shall be a member of S.D.S. Such association is provisional until the approval of the National Council. The form of the relationship shall be worked out in each case between the group and the National Council.

Section 5. *Fraternal Organizations.* National or regional organizations whose programs and purposes are consistent with the broad aims and principles of S.D.S. can be invited

by the National Council to be fraternal with the S.D.S. and have a fraternal vote on the National Council. Such organizations shall appoint a liaison representative who shall be a member of S.D.S.

Section 6. S.D.S. welcomes the opportunity to co-operate with other individuals and organizations in jointly sponsoring specific action programs and joint stands on specific issues. The National Council shall be empowered to determine specific co-operative activity. (Co-operation does not imply endorsement.)

## ARTICLE V. CONVENTION

Section 1. The S.D.S. shall meet in convention annually, at a time and a place fixed by the National Council, with at least three months prior notice being given to all members.

Section 2. The Convention shall serve to debate major issues and orientation of the organization, to set program mandates to the national staff, and to elect national officers. The Convention shall not be the policy-making body on specific resolutions.

Section 3. *Representation.* Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five S.D.S. members in the chapter, each delegate to have two votes at the Convention. Individual S.D.S. members shall have the right to attend the Convention with one vote each. Delegates from associated and fraternal groups shall be elected by a procedure determined by the National Council. The National Council shall draft Convention rules, accreditation procedures, and other requirements.

## ARTICLE VI. NATIONAL COUNCIL

Section 1. The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative elected from each chapter with five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof; in that chapter; (2) the seventeen National Officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups (with consultative vote); (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations (with fraternal vote); and (5) national staff (without vote). In all cases, NC members and liaison representatives must be members of S.D.S. No more than three members from one chapter or associated group may serve concurrently as National Officers.

Section 2. The National Council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated group and fraternal organizations; be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of budget, and organization of fund-raising; interviewing and appointment of the National Secretary; appointment of the committee chairman and representatives to the L.I.D.; drafting an annual report; making arrangements for the Convention.

Section 3. The National Council shall have the power to appoint standing committee to carry on its work between its meetings.

Section 4. The National Council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members. National Officers may designate specific alternatives. Chapter and liaison representatives may be represented by designated alternates from that group.

## ARTICLE VII. NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

The President shall have the power to call a meeting of a temporary National Interim Committee, to be composed of the seventeen National Officers, for emergencies only. Decisions of this body shall be subject to National Council approval.

## ARTICLE VIII. NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

Section 1. The national officers shall be the President, the Vice-President, and sixteen other officers, all to be elected at the Convention and to serve as members of the National Council. The Convention may on a year-to-year basis create other officers as seem necessary and shall designate their voting rights in the various bodies of S.D.S.

Section 2. The National Officers must have been members of the S.D.S. at least two months prior to elections.

Section 3. The National President is the spokesman of S.D.S. He shall be responsible for carrying out organizational policy and shall convene the National Council. He shall be assisted by the Vice-President, and in case of vacancy, the Vice-President shall assume his functions.

Section 4. The National Secretary shall be the chief administrative official of the organization, responsible to the President and the National Council. He shall be appointed by the NC for a stated period of time. The National Council may also create and fill additional positions of Assistant National Secretary. Other staff positions shall be created and filled by the National Secretary.

## ARTICLE IX. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Section 1. The S.D.S. shall be autonomously constituted, though its policy and functioning shall be within the broad aims and principles of the L.I.D.

Section 2. The determination of policy, program, administrative procedures of S.D.S. shall be subject to the review of the L.I.D.

Section 3. Matters of difference not resolved by consultation shall be resolved by the internal democratic channels of the groups concerned.

a. S.D.S. concerns shall be communicated by the Student NC to the L.I.D. Board of Directors through the Student Activities Committee.

b. L.I.D. concerns shall be communicated to the Student NC through the Student Activities Committee and shall be considered by the NC, special referendum, or annual Convention in a manner jointly determined by the NC and the S.A.C.

Section 4. S.D.S. shall designate four of its members, including its President, to serve on the L.I.D. Board of Directors with vote. In matters of policy, they must represent the S.D.S. Convention or NC between Conventions, but their vote is not bound by that policy.

Section 5. The L.I.D. Board of Directors shall appoint, in consultation with the NC of the S.D.S., a Student Activities Committee to serve as the liaison representative of the Board in Relation to S.D.S. The functions of the S.A.C. shall be

- consultation on matters of organizational development, policy, and administration
- consultation on matters of finance and assistance in preparation of budget requests to the L.I.D.
- consultation on matters of intellectual or ideological importance of the S.D.S. program.

## ARTICLE X: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

In all cases not covered by this Constitution, *Robert's Rules of Order, Revised Edition*, shall be the authority governing S.D.S. business.

## ARTICLE XI: POLICY AND DISCIPLINE

Section 1. Any member of the organization, including the Officers, may be expelled or relieved of duties by a two-thirds vote of the National Council. Due process shall be followed in all cases.

Section 2. Any two chapters, or one-third of the National Council, can initiate a national referendum on any question.

Section 3. All statements of organizational policy shall have the approval of the National Council.

## ARTICLE XII: AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended by one of three procedures:

- by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced at the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect at the following Convention;
- by a two-thirds vote of the membership on referendum, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption.

Originally adopted in Convention, June, 1962.

Amended in Convention, June 1963

Amended in Convention, June 1964

Amended in Convention, June 1965

## Webb amendments

Ed note: The following two amendments to the SDS constitution are being submitted to the national convention in August-September for approval.

The purpose of this amendment, frankly, is to have the SDS Constitution reflect reality. On October 6, all relationships between SDS and the LID ceased, having been ratified by the LID board and the SDS National Council. The Constitution, however, with many sections and sentences relating to the LID, remained unchanged.

The cause of such an anomalous situation was that the Constitution can only be amended by either a convention of the organization, or a membership referendum. As neither was done, the following amendment became necessary.

I move that:

- the present Article II be stricken and all subsequent articles be renumbered accordingly
- that in Article VI (National Council) Section 2 the third and last sentence the words "... the LID and ..." and "... coordination of relation with the LID ..." be stricken so that the sentence read as follows:

(1)  
... the NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration

of the budget and organization of fund raising; interviewing and appointment of the National Secretary and other such staff as budget allows; appointment of committee chairman and representatives to other organizations, overseeing the functioning of the Administrative Committee; drafting an annual report; and making arrangements for the Convention.

(2)  
The NAC shall have the following functions: to oversee the regular operations of the National Office and staff, including correspondence, membership, and financial records, coordinate the program and activities of chapters; to implement decisions of the National Council.

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMMENDMENT ON INTERNAL EDUCATION

### ARTICLE: IX

Section 4: The National Vice President is responsible for internal education. He is to stimulate and coordinate educational programs within SDS. He shall be responsible to the President and National Council.

present Section 4 becomes Section 5.  
submitted by  
Lee Webb

# PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

## == Kissinger amendments ==

Proposed By Clark Kissinger

The principal problems addressed by the following suggested Constitutional amendments are (1) removing anachronistic sections and making the Constitution conform to existing reality, (2) creating provisions for the democratic structuring of regions and regional offices, and (3) reducing the size of the National Council to a functional level.

**Amendment 1: Repeal of Articles II and IX.** Reasons: These articles specify our affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy which was terminated on Oct. 4, 1965.

**Amendment 2: Reword Sentence one, Section 3, Article V to read:** "Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five members, each delegate to have five votes at the Convention. However, in order to be seated as a delegate with five votes written notice of the delegate's election must be received by the National Office prior to the Convention." Reasons: This one-man-one-vote system was the original wording of the Constitution. It was changed at the 1963 Convention because at that time SDS was very small and one chapter (U. of Mich.) had one third of all the Convention votes. This situation obviously no longer applies.

**Amendment 3: Reword the last sentence of Section 2, Article VI, to read:** "The NC shall also be responsible for fiscal and staff policy, appointment of the National Secretary and Assistant National Secretaries, structure and appointment of a National Administrative Committee, and making arrangements for the National Convention." Reasons: The old wording included such things as drafting an annual report, and appointing representatives to the LID.

**Amendment 4: Reword the second sentence of Section 4, Article VI, to read:** "A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members of whose election the National Council has been notified." Reason: The NC quorum has always been difficult to apply because of uncertainty over what number to take 40% of.

**Amendment 5: Delete the last sentence of Section 4, Article VIII.** Reason: In June, 1964, when this sentence was introduced, there were only one or two staff members. The problems of staff selection and retention are now much more complicated and must be handled by procedures established by the NC.

**Amendment 6: The following new Article shall be introduced into the Constitution:**

**Section 1.** All the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a Region of SDS. New regions shall submit their constitutions and be recognized provisionally by the President pending the next regular NC meeting. All disputes over regional boundaries shall be resolved by the NC.

**Section 2.** Regions of SDS shall hold at least one membership Convention each year, and may establish regional officers as deemed necessary. Regional programs, staff, and offices shall be administered by a Regional Council providing for proportional representation of all chapters and at-large members in the Region.

**Section 3.** While fundamentally responsible to their regional constituency, Regions are expected to operate with the broad terms of policy set by the National Convention and the National Council. Any points of conflict shall finally be resolved by the National Council.

**Amendment 7: Reword Section 2, Article IV, to read:**

**Section 2.** A chapter may be chartered by the Regional Council of the area in which it is organized, or by the National Council in areas which have no organized regions. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification of election of officers or Regional representatives. Chapters may be provisionally recognized by the President or appropriate regional officer pending the meeting of the N.C. or Regional Council respectively. Decisions of regional Councils on the chartering of new chapters is clearly regional business.

**Amendment 8: Section 1, Article VI, shall be replaced by the following two new sections:**

**Section 1** shall be the same as the previous Section 1 except for the first part of the first sentence which shall read: The National Council shall be composed of (1) elected regional representatives; (2) . . .

**Section 2.** The membership of each recognized Region shall elect one representative to the National Council for each 100 or fraction thereof members in good standing within its area. All areas not organized into recognized regions shall be divided by the N.C. into electoral regions for the purposes of N.C. representation. Representatives from electoral regions shall be elected by the membership of such regions in a manner and for terms prescribed by the N.C.

**Reasons:** The present Constitution and structure of SDS was devised in a period when SDS had 1,000 members and 20 chapters. The enormous growth of SDS over the last years stimulated the growth of functioning regions and bloated to an unworkable size the organization's principle executive body. The present theoretical size of the NC is well over 200. Needless to say, this many voting delegates can never get together four times a year (it's a big country). The result is unrepresentative meetings.

At first glance, it would seem that this amendment cuts the N.C. by one fourth (changing the representation scale from 1 for 25 to 1 for each 100). But notice the effect of the amendment is to enfranchise several thousand SDS members-at-large who have never before had representation on the National Council. The goal is the creation of a functioning body of 50 to 100 elected representatives who, representing whole regions, will be present at every NC meeting.

## == Kaplan ==

Waban, Massachusetts

Could you please run in the next N.L.N. an additional proposal for a constitutional amendment: that the name of the organization be changed to Movement for a Democratic Society. A call for such a constitutional amendment was issued this spring by the Trinity College and Greater Hartford Chapters in accordance with constitutional requirements of a two-chapter sponsorship for all amendments. The New England Regional Spring Convention passed a resolution calling for such a change, and it was my understanding that the issue was raised at the last National Council meeting. The rationale for such a change is both to reflect the present fact that S.D.S. is to a large degree already not a purely student movement, and to facilitate growth of its non-student sector. It would make a significant difference in adult organizing as anyone involved in it will testify.

James Kaplan

## == Waskow ==

Could you please publish the following proposed amendment to the SDS Constitution:

In Article VI, Section 1, which lists who shall be members of the National Council, add a new subsection, (3) four members of SDS chosen at the close of each annual convention by lot from the whole membership, provided that each of the four shall come from a different region of SDS. Re-number existing subsections (3), (4), and (5) to be (4), (5), and (6) respectively.

The proposal is based on the custom of Athens after it became a radical democracy in the 4th century, B.C., and upon the belief that at least part of the N. C. can be chosen on the assumption that "everyone is qualified." The Athenians chose all but one of their executive officers by lot; they believed that election was pseudo-democratic, since it rewarded the most articulate, the best "connected," etc., and therefore ultimately some sort of oligarchy. To elect four of the N.C. in this fashion would be a useful experiment in discovering whether in fact everyone is qualified, and if we find it so we can move to expand the principle. (To do more at one blow might be dangerous.)

Arthur I. Waskow

I have two major and three minor amendments to propose to the Constitution, the first one on behalf of myself and Bob Speck.

1. The first major amendment would change 3 sections of the Constitution, as follows: Article VI (National Council), section 1, change "seventeen national officers" to "seven national officers"; Article VII (National Interim Committee), change "the seventeen national officers" to "the seven national officers and one representative of each regional council"; Article VIII (National Officers and Staff), change the first sentence of section 1 to read: "The national officers shall be the President, Vice-President, and five other officers, all to be elected at the Convention and to serve as members of the National Council."

**ARGUMENT:** The present NIC structure has been nonfunctional not merely from the viewpoint of seldom acting, but also because it has in no sense been an organic part of SDS. Of the 15 at-large National Council members, only 1 is an undergraduate student. Some others have been active in REP, CIPA or ERAP projects, but this activity has not in any sense been related to their function as NIC members. While the at-large members have on occasion made up 20-25% of the voting strength of the NC, they have been responsible to no constituency except the last convention, a dead body. I wasn't at that convention, but I understand the voting was rather frantic. With 17 people to elect, such elections tend to take on the character of either a popularity contest or a recognition poll. By reducing the number of at-large NC members, it should be possible to hold the elections with a more balanced consideration of each office and the person who should fill it, and make the NC more representative of chapters and less of "notables".

At the same time, there is a need for a National Interim Committee which can truly reflect the organization. During the recent student strike poll, most NIC members were very tentative in their statements, and expressed doubt as to their ability to gauge campus sentiment or the possibility of a successful strike. An NIC delegate elected by a Regional Council, and reporting back to it, would be far more representative and far more functional in terms of the real needs and desires of the membership. He would not need to be an at-large NC delegate, because his constituency would already be represented thru their chapters.

An argument frequently advanced for the big at-large NC delegation is that it provides one of the few ways ERAP people and others not involved in chapter work can participate in the organization's activities. There is, however, nothing to prevent ERAP staff people from forming chapters (which would certainly be functional SDS groupings, much more so than the average chapter) and receiving representation like anyone else. In any case, people who are not NC members have always been able to participate in the NC's deliberations.

2. My first minor amendment would add to section 2 of Clark Kissinger's proposed "Amendment 6" the following words: "and meeting at least monthly." This would ensure that a Regional Council function regularly in order to be recognized as such. It would also ensure a genuine constituency for my proposed regional NIC members.

3. My second major amendment would preface the present section 1, Article VI (National Council) with the letter "a" and add a second subsection as follows:

## == Chester ==

The position of member at large at the national council be abolished except for the president, vice-president, and national secretary.

Eric Chester

"(b) Five or more members residing in an area where there is no organized chapter may meet together to elect a delegate to the National or Regional Council, provided that (1) a certification of the meeting and election, bearing the signatures of at least 5 members, be sent to the national or regional office prior to the NC or RC meeting, and (2) evidence is offered that all SDS members in the area concerned received prior notice of the meeting and election."

**ARGUMENT:** This is directly counterposed to Clark Kissinger's proposal for regional NC elections. While an eventual regionalization of the NC, converting SDS into a truly federal body, is probably desirable in the long run (and a logical continuation of our present development), it's not very practical at present. Only about 1/3 of SDS members live in what could be called "organized regions" even by our present loose standards. The rest would be in Clark's "electoral regions". I would submit that such "electoral regions" are basically unworkable.

Nearly every organization of the "old left" experimented with some form of representation for at-large members, whether on a national or regional basis. The results were almost always disappointing. Where at-large members can elect any member of the organization to represent them, they have in the past tended to elect the better-known members or campus travellers. Where they may only vote for one of their own number, it's a guessing game of sorts, since brief biographies and political statements sent along with a mail ballot are poor substitutes for face-to-face meetings and discussions of issues. Since at-large members have their main organizational contact with the national office, they have in most cases tended to be solid supporters of whatever "national leadership" existed. The problem is that democracy doesn't adapt itself very well to the postal system, and only a videophone hookup could make a mail ballot "participatory".

What's the alternative? We could have regional membership meetings to elect delegates. The most logical place to have such a meeting would be in the spot that the largest number of people could get to--say the site of the largest chapter in the region. The members of that chapter would know each other and have engaged in discussion. They would naturally elect one or more of their people as NC delegates. At-large members might have a greater feeling of "participation", but they wouldn't have any more representation. Small chapters near large ones would probably lose representation.

I think that it's possible for at-large members to get together and hold discussions, and would hope that they would do so on other occasions than election meetings. I think that the problems of doing so are best met on an ad-hoc basis by local people, and not on the basis of arbitrary regional lines drawn from the N.O. and subject to all sorts of gerrymandering problems. (Do Florida, Georgia and Alabama each get an NC member, or do you combine the 3--which have a total membership of less than 100--into one district? The first gives them disproportionate representation compared to NYC or Chicago. The second gives them a "region" in which a democratic election is impossible.) I propose that where at-large members are able to get together, they be given representation on the basis of the number of people at the meeting, rather than any theoretical constituency. I see this as a first step toward chapter organization and regional activity in areas which are now unorganized or poorly organized. Until we have solid, functional regional bodies, the chapter must remain the basic unit of national SDS.

4. My second minor amendment would change Article III (Membership) to begin "Membership is open to all..." deleting the words: "students, faculty and others." A sizable number of SDS members (myself included) are "others", and would as soon dispense with the parochialism implied in the present wording.

5. My third minor amendment would change Article X (Parliamentary Authority) by adding the words: "...except as specifically amended by the body meeting." There are many ways of streamlining and democratizing parliamentary procedure, and there's no point in having our hands tied by a reactionary rule-system like Roberts. I'll try to get up a working paper on this for the Convention.

Tom Condit

# proposal: anti-draft militancy

Anti-Draft Proposal for SDS Convention

Chicago, Illinois

On this important matter SDS has been largely screwing around since last October, when the press discovered that we had a more coherent and subversive plan than any of us knew about. On paper our accomplishments are not negligible: there are the various sit-ins, the Vietnam test, etc. But these are not part of any coherent plan, and, more important, few of us would claim that they even begin to relieve us of the burden of being, vis-a-vis Vietnam, merely white liberals: they are not serious enough.

Let us examine some of the possible consequences of an obstacles to a really militant anti-draft program, leaving the definition of "militant" vague for the moment: something like the French resistance to conscription for Algeria.

Possible responses to a militant program  
The U.S. Government

a) Repression--

Obviously, the threat was there last October. It has effected every discussion since and has forced SDS to confront very basic and difficult questions about its existence and its radicalism. For a militant anti-draft program might very likely lead to the smashing of SDS. It has happened before to some organizations and has stunted and distorted the program of the others; perhaps SDS has

been too quick to attribute the failure of earlier radical organizations to flaws in their programs, too little aware of how ruthlessly they were being treated by power.

b) Co-option--

There is a direct continuity between SDS' response to the furor of last October and Macnamara's (and others') recent calls for more kinds of alternative service. If they have any brains, they can cut the ground from under us--especially our liberal support - by setting up a few more peace corps. Do we want that? If so, we may find ourselves saddled with a "victory" next June when they revise the draft law. In accepting such programs aren't we simply giving legitimacy to the garrison state? We must think clearly: although our tactics may oppose other, lesser evils, we should work within a philosophical context of opposition to any draft for any purpose. Just as it is a risk for any society to have free speech - but a risk basic to democracy - so it is a risk to hope that a society will be able to function without coercion, but we should think of the willingness to take that risk as definitive of our view of the democratic society.

Draftable People

We have worried about the problem that our program might become too sectarian, alienating possible support and participation by demanding that people act against what

## Anti-draft Proposal

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

The increase in the size of the war makes it necessary that protest in this country be intensified. I would like to submit a proposal for consideration at the National Convention for an SDS policy on the draft.

We should institute a policy that is not so radical as to decapitate the radical leadership of the movement (by sending them to jail) while frightening more moderate members and the population at large. On the other hand, something more than marches and petitions is needed. I think that the following policy will be the most effective:

I have been working on a conscious objector application that is neither religious nor pacifist. It rests on a moral argument that the war in Vietnam is an unjust war. So far, the application is in only rudimentary form. I propose that 1) a committee be formed to do extensive research on the immorality of the war, something like what Sartre and Bertrand Russell are doing on the "international war crime tribunal", 2) that this research, once completed, should be made available to all members of SDS and any one else who is interested, the SDS should urge every male member to file an application based on this form on a particular date, (simultaneously). Individual forms needn't conform to the sample form that would come out of the committee; we could allow for individual variations on the basic arguments. 3) SDS should do what it can (e.g. petition the help of the Civil Liberties Union) to fight for acceptance of this form by the draft boards. The main emphasis would be

to get the form accepted in a Department of Justice Hearing or before the Supreme Court. If this can be done (which will be extremely difficult), then local boards would feel obliged to accept conscientious objector forms wherever they appear.

The advantage to this draft policy over some more extreme ones, e.g. having members of SDS refuse to comply at all with selective service demands, is that 1--failure to have this form accepted by the selective services will leave applicants with the same draft status that they have right now; people with 2-S's will retain them. Thus it will be possible to get a great number of SDS members and others to file this form. 2) The filing of this form by great numbers, simultaneously, on a national basis, will touch off a powerful national debate on the war's morality (as arguments are brought out) and on civil rights. Most American citizens support the war but have considerable sympathy for those who refuse to fight on moral grounds since they still believe that America is a free country.

The failure to get this form accepted (and it probably will fail) will have applicants in the same position that they are in right now. These who are most radical will go to jail. Those who will compromise will go to school. But meanwhile we will have the advantage of a policy around which to organize a large number of people. I do not think that SDS is strong enough to initiate an "enemy of the state" stand on the draft right now. This proposal seems to be commensurate to the strength and degree of commitment of our movement.

Frederick M. Gordon

seems to be their interest, renouncing privilege, endangering themselves. Our struggles against 2-S seem only to make our constituency more draftable. And yet we must oppose 2-S as vicious discrimination based on class or eugenics. Any meaningful program involves risks and sacrifices: can a militant program be devised which requires less lonely heroism than is required of the draft resister today?

Action

Of course SDS must have a strong program of draft resistance. There is really no choice in the matter. The horrors of Vietnam necessitate draft resistance in America, and regardless of the complexities of the issue, SDS must undertake it: not because it is good or bad for the organization but simply because it must be done and SDS is the only organization which can do it. In the face of this absolute imperative, what can we say about the problems outlined above?

Repression: SDS' relative freedom from repression so far is a measure of the insignificance of its programs (speaking in regard to the draft). On Vietnam we have not yet confronted the power structure. We must do so as a national organization, and in so doing, risk being smashed. This is not said in any spirit of tough-guy exhortation. It seems a sombre truth. If we bring ourselves to the brink of destruction, there may still be the possibility of guerrilla-like retreat: perhaps this is what happened in October (although I doubt that we were really in such immediate danger). At any rate, we must force ourselves always to operate much closer to real peril that we have in the last year. (Nor do I feel that it is adequate to say that we can not go ahead simply because Johnson's brand of McCarthyism increases the peril even while we stand still.)

Draftable people: here, of course, is the meat of the problem. SDS must undertake aggressive organization of draft resistance. This means more than putting out informational pamphlets: it means recruiting draft resisters. The very act of such recruitment puts us into conflict with the government: we may be smashed at this point, but we must try it and hope that liberal forces will help to preserve our right to speak, if not our program.

I cannot bring myself to renounce the teacher deferment which I obtained some years ago. If they changed the rule and I had to re-apply, I might not do so. I am as confused (and perhaps weak in my principles) about these situations as I am certain that I would refuse to be drafted: I do not have the courage to renounce my privilege, but I feel deeply enough about my alienation from the government - or rather, its alienation from me - so that I could not possibly accept induction. I believe that this is pretty much the situation in which most people in SDS find themselves: fearful and unwilling to renounce present privilege and positive that, when it comes right down to it, they will not join the army. Can we help more people to feel at least this strongly and some to do as well as the heroes among us who have done better?

The heart of the proposed approach is a multi-stage campaign. Although we welcome people who take a strong stand from the very beginning, we do not focus on urging them not to request 2-S or to renounce 2-S. But our program is coherent, honest and root-and-branch: it educates them to the immorality of the deferment and the entire system. We educate them all along the way, urging them to resist at every point, making it clear that we think their deferment gives them only a short-run advantage, that Vietnam and Vietnams will continue to escalate, and eventually they will be called. And when

they reach the end of the line, we will be there. If we have succeeded in educating them, many of them will then be ready to refuse induction: at no point have we demanded that they make an immediate sacrifice, but at every point we have told them that there is no escape from decisions and so involved them that the moral contradiction of accepting induction is overwhelming. They will be all the more ready to refuse induction if your energy is focused at this point and they see some prospect of real assistance. Under present circumstances it appears that a notice of induction can be only one step in a struggle which can go on for quite a while before all legal remedies are exhausted. Those remedies must be widely publicized and solitary individuals in out-of-the-way places must be supported. Many of these functions are presently performed by AFSC and CCCO. This proposal is that we put wheels on these organizations, using our resources positively to organize such programs rather than simply being available for those who ask.

Thus, a rough schedule for a resister might look something like this:

Freshman year: student takes out 2-S.

Wars continue; he is educated to oppose them; perhaps he renounces his 2-S.

Sometime before graduation: applies for CO.

CO is rejected.

He appeals to ?

Rejected.

He appeals to ?

At the physical: some form of non-cooperation.

Induction: refuses.

Any of these steps require simply a knowledge of the legal remedies available, and not a lawyer. At the more advanced stages we must confront the atomization which results from isolation, the differing policies of local boards, and the fact that people are not all called at the same time. We would want to explore the possibilities of pooling cases on geographical or chronological basis.

Tie-In with International War Crimes Trial

The trial, to be conducted in the fall in Paris by Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, Peter Weiss, Isaac Deutscher, et. al., will produce a judgement. If we are revolutionaries, we will act as if that judgement were law, superseding "laws" and wars made by governments which we no longer recognize. Thus we must implement the new law, and one way of doing so is through the kind of anti-draft activity described above. SDS should invite the judges to deliver their judgement before the accused, here in America. (The prospect of militant anti-draft action might induce Sartre to reverse his earlier refusal to come to America. A kind of congress should be held in which a report on American war crimes would be issued; immediately it would begin to be implemented by our program and some dramatic act of draft resistance, to be tied in with such events in other countries. In essence this proposal, which can be independent of any particular draft program, asks that the next international days of protest focus on implementation of the court's decision.

\* \* \* \* \*

The proposals made above suggest a general approach. They are weak on specifics and uninformed on technical aspects of draft resistance. They need further discussion. In summary, the proposals urge that SDS undertake a militant program of recruitment for draft resistance focusing on refusing induction.

Jessee Lemisch  
University of Chicago SDS

## vote for peace

On November 7 voters in most congressional districts throughout the country will not have a chance to vote for peace since both regular party candidates will be committed to the war. In those districts where there are genuine peace candidates on the ballot, SDS will be active in their support; but what course of action will be followed by SDS in these other areas?

A possible way to solve this problem would be to initiate a national vote for peace campaign with the NCNP and other groups. This campaign would include three basic steps:

(1) active participation in and support of the campaigns of genuine peace candidates where they are on the ballot.

(2) nomination of independent candidates where they are not on the ballot and where there are no genuine peace candidates. Since it will be virtually impossible to get these candidates on the regular ballot, the participating groups should establish a

separate system of polling places, like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party did in their early campaigns.

(3) coordination of the student vote for peace project on the nations campuses. Ballot boxes would be set up on every campus and all students would be given the opportunity to vote for a peace candidate.

The vote for peace project would have these advantages: (1) All activity would be oriented toward potential action and would serve to build up independent radical constituencies. (2) The number of votes for peace would be increased because the choices would be available across the country. (3) The political effect of such a campaign would be felt by establishment candidates since this campaign would have an effect for the results even in those districts where the independent candidate is not on the ballot by (a) threatening to withhold thousands of votes which would otherwise go to the liberal candidate and (b)

those voters who felt they had to vote for the lesser evil on the regular ballot could still cast a "Vote for Peace" at the peace ballot polling places. (4) There would be coordination between community and campus projects which would serve to create greater cooperation and cohesiveness between community and campus groups. (5) The values of participatory democracy would be served since everyone would have the opportunity to participate in the nomination, campaign, and even election of peace candidates.

Daniel Thomas  
Toledo SDS

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**Chuck Doehrer, ed.**  
**THE CALUMET SATIRIST**  
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# movement for a democratic society

John Maher

There are three factors which tend to keep politically active and sympathetic adults from joining and participating in SDS. First there is the style of the New Left, whose candor and openness and the willingness to lay oneself on the line, they find very appealing, but whose beards and sandals and the interminable, unstructured meetings, marred often by adolescent emoting, they find much less so. Second is the lack of money which generally prevents SDS from hiring adults to organize other adults in the ghettos and in the suburbs, and which makes full-time work in the movement an almost impossible option for someone with a family. Finally there is the name Students for a Democratic Society, which makes many adults wonder if we are really open to them, or if perhaps money may be the only thing they have to give to the movement.

Within these constraints much has already been done. Faculty members do participate in the activities of many campus-based SDS chapters, and in some areas community based adult SDS chapters are organized and functioning. SDS people have been active in helping to organize ERAP and CIPA projects in many parts of the country. In the Boston area SDS people have organized a hospital workers' union, seminars on social issues for professional groups, a cooperative effort to rehabilitate housing and neighborhood facilities in an area of Roxbury, and an Educational Cooperative for the Boston area.

But the present structure of SDS poses a dilemma for those of us who are out of school and have remained active. On the one hand, we identify very strongly with the goals of SDS, and we wish to continue to participate in the life of the movement and discover through our work what the commitment to building a democratic society entails. On the other hand, we do not wish to become aging organizers doing adult work for a youth organization, bald and pudgy scoutmasters for the New Left Troop, nor do many of us wish to affiliate with existing organizations with an adult program such as the PLP, the LID or the CPUSA. We feel that our dilemma is representative of the problem faced by many people who could make an important contribution to the movement if our organization would help them. And we believe also that there are reasons transcending our particular discomfort which suggests that SDS should

reconsider its formal commitment to youth, students, and academics alone.

In the first place, the nature of a purely campus movement imposes severe limitations on its perspective and effectiveness as an agent of social change. Good food and sex, and freedom from unreasonable discipline, are important to the development of any human being, but as campus issues they have on the whole failed to mobilize the students for a long-term struggle; in fact, in recent years the campus issues which did this were those which called into question the traditional relationship between the campus and the community. At Berkeley many of the students who revolted against Clark Kerr's knowledge factory came to realize that the nature of the factory could not be changed without changing the nature of the society it served and fed upon. The immediate goals of the Free Speech Movement, courses with more substance and political rights for students, were aimed precisely at providing the preconditions for a more constructive student involvement in the concerns of the larger community. Today the issue of the draft on the campuses has an even greater potential for student involvement in political struggle. As Carl Oglesby pointed out in the call to the Vietnam exam, the purpose of the 2-S is to keep the military-industrial complex supplied with bright young technicals and apologists it needs to thrive and grow. The political effect of the 2-S is to reinforce existing class distinctions and divide students from the rest of society on an issue which should unite them. This gives students a false sense of security and helps to perpetuate the peace movement as a middle-class phenomenon. Thus the draft has become another issue where student struggle is related directly to their needs and the needs of the society at large. The problem is that while individuals in the community can be recruited on an ad hoc basis, it will be difficult to maintain this long-term contact with community organizations and community people as long as they tend to be excluded from the inner life of the movement.

Generational turnover poses another limitation on the campus movement. While it is painful to reckon how many thousands of members SDS must lose each year with graduation, in my opinion this is but a symptom of a deeper malaise which arises from the fact that in a campus movement far too

few of the students involved are led to confront their futures as adults with a job, a wife, and kids. Cop-out is encouraged not only by the fact that the movement does not provide easy options for those who wish to continue the struggle, but because student radicals tend to be isolated from those who have continued the struggle. Both students and adults suffer from this isolation.

In view of our success so far in bringing in adults, fear of extinguishing student radicalism in a flood of adult liberals has led some SDS members to propose that rather than changing the orientation of our organization to encompass them, SDS should create a separate national section or organization for adults. This seems most unwise to me. The purpose of our proposal is not to create a new national organization with all the dangers for more factionalism and bureaucracy on the left which that entails, but to bring different people together in a concrete way so that they may be able to work out their common destiny. To believe in black power, student power and workers' control is not to exclude the possibility that these groups have much to say to each other, or that they can provide mutual support in their somewhat separate struggle against the common enemy. And the fear of a flood of liberals drowning student radicalism is, to say the least, exaggerated. In the first place, our organization, Students for a Democratic Society, as it now is, Movement for a Democratic Society as we hope to see it become, has made itself clear on a number of sufficient points to preclude the possibility of it becoming a rest home for liberals with tired blood. My experience has been that the political composition of a newly organized community based chapter is in no way different from the political composition of a newly organized campus chapter; in both instances radicals and concerned liberals are brought together in an atmosphere of action and education which encourages the liberals to become radicals.

Another objection centers around the fear that the orientation proposed would force SDS to take into account constituencies which it can and should ignore. This objection seems mistaken to me, for the fact of the matter is that since adult constituencies have money and people SDS cannot and does not ignore them. Rather until now SDS has had to rely on coalitions in which SDS bargains across the table with organizations which represent or purportedly represent those constituencies. Often SDS comes out on the short end, as was the case with the NCNP. But the limitations of coalitionism will remain intrinsic to our efforts until we become willing and able to educate and organize these constituencies ourselves. Finally, there are some who hesitate because they fear that the con-

cept of a Movement for a Democratic Society may be premature, and that community people should not be brought in until the ideology of our organization has been clarified. I am all for ideological clarification, and I realize also that our ideology once clarified will most probably suggest certain priorities in terms of class and racial groups which will become guidelines for future community organizing. What disturbs me is the notion that these questions can be resolved in the abstract, that for example student radicals could aspire to putting forward a position on the working class which is not, in fact, founded on the experience of concrete, face-to-face relations with people who work. The PLP and the CPUSA may or may not be particularly fortunate in this regard, but SDS's present position makes this possibility difficult and remote. Now is the possibility and time to become more open.

To begin with the National Convention should move to change the name of our organization from Students for a Democratic Society to Movement for a Democratic Society, and strike from our constitution all provisions which suggest we are oriented exclusively towards students and faculty. This would constitute a necessary first step towards opening our organization, for example, to sympathetic clergy and professionals, working people and housewives, and people in CIPA and ERAP projects. Secondly, students in campus chapters should consider seriously the possibility of organizing MDS chapters in the nearby communities. These chapters should not be seen as adjuncts of the campus movement; rather like campus chapters they should be seen as a way to bring people together to take action on the issues which affect their lives. Coordination of the education and action programs of the different kinds of chapters should take place as much as possible on the city-wide and regional level. I do not see any easy solution for the problem of finances. In the not too distant future the community chapters in the Boston area may be able to fund their own organizers, which will be a big step towards creating a solvent organization. At the national level I think that dues should be raised to \$5 per year for students and \$10 per year for non-students. While it is relatively rare that a student cannot raise a few dollars to support an activity which he considers to be worthwhile, this is often not true for non-students from poor communities. In such cases MDS should be prepared to reduce or waive all dues required, for these people have much to contribute and every right to participate fully in the life of our organization.

John Maher

## sds or mds

CHICAGO, ILL.

This paper is submitted to NLN in the hope that it will promote serious discussion between members, and within chapters, towards the formation of a Movement for a Democratic Society. And, I hope, serious discussion of such a prospect will also take place at the upcoming National Convention.

The pages of NLN, from time to time, contain "feelers" about this topic. The same pages often contain very real complaints to the effect that not enough people are available for the work to be done, that the people available are too busy with action tasks to do the mundane work, or are not qualified to do it. I am thinking here particularly of Bob Speck's "Last Will and Testament". Every issue, of course, appeals for funds, funds, funds.

A great deal of the problem, I believe, is that SDS makes no provision for non-university, part-time university and post-university people.

Speaking from my own experience, a person in the aforementioned categories simply has no, or at least very few, avenues of contribution to the movement. I am a full-time worker, a family man, an evening school student. I became interested in SDS upon reading the Port Huron Statement sometime in 1963 or 1964. When I started evening classes in the Spring of 1965, I tried to make contact with SDS by leaving my name, address, phone number, etc. at the Student Activities Office (Roosevelt University). No word from anyone. Several months ago I joined SDS, "unaffiliated", as a matter of showing support. Again, no word from anyone (except that I now receive NLN, for which I'm thankful). Near the end of the

Fall of 1965 semester I button-holed -- I think it was -- Steve Baum. I explained who I was, and my problem (no way for my kind to help out). He agreed it was awful. This Spring and Summer, I switched tracks and attempted to make contact with Uptown JOIN (I live nearby). I've left my name, address and phone number three times so far, offering to help in the job and counselling programs, and to serve as building steward. No word yet.

Is this response to expressed interest the way to build a broadly-based, influential constituency? I think not. At best, it is a way to maintain an in-group solidarity, a kind of intellectual and organizational incest -- so that the same people show up at a event, after event, after event. And, does not this method of operation raise elitist ramifications, a la Marxist-Leninism?

It is nearly impossible, in American history, to point out a single political, economic, or social movement brought to fruition by an isolated in-group, a group without broad middleclass support. Insofar as I can see, SDS does not presently enjoy that support, and such support as might exist is driven into compromising organizations -- such as SANE -- that hardly share our multi-issue view of "the system", and our radical solutions to contemporary problems. Other possible support, because of feeling isolated, probably goes in for "individualism", dissipation, etc. etc. etc. and is thereby wasted as far as the movement is concerned.

At this point, I would like to offer a very simple assumption, not yet demonstrated -- and not about to be if things go on as now: that involvement in the "real" world of career, family, etc. makes radicals more radical

rather than less -- if avenues of radicalism are open to them.

A recent article in the DuBois Club's *Insurgent* began, "It's their system, and it's a bitch". No one knows this better than one enmeshed in the system, trying to make a living for a family, trying to talk sense to people at work and play. Certainly, after a certain amount of defeat and frustration, some people will "cool it". On the other hand, the rising wave of strikes by public employees -- for instance -- surely indicates that more and more people are fed up with playing the game by the rules. The ever larger crack between Reuther labor and Meany labor evidences the same. The question is, will these radicals, or potential radicals, go the way of reformism for lack of anything better? Or, mustn't SDS provide a channel for this budding thought and energy?

"Part-time" radicals, possible MDS people, could make a great contribution, if given the chance. First of all, people in the "real" world of jobs, career, marriage have some time and a lot of discipline, for the mundane organizational work that "full-timers" fall short on. Secondly, people at work have ready cash -- now being scattered buckshot fashion all over the radical landscape (or being spent on drink etc. because of receiving too many appeals from too many worthy causes). It ought to be easier -- given organizational affiliation -- to kick \$10.00 loose from a working MDS member, than \$1.00 from an unemployed SDS student. Thirdly, perhaps most important -- possible MDS people have numerous contacts at work, in labor, clubs, neighborhoods etc. that need to be reached. SDS people cannot reach these areas, and

will hardly be listened to if they do reach them (so status stinks, but it's there and must be confronted).

This "pitch" should not be misconstrued. I do not mean that an MDS can be created overnight, by fiat. And, I do not mean to imply that an MDS will be merely an "older" version of SDS. People with kids to feed cannot go to jail with impunity, or throw away jobs. But because someone cannot do everything doesn't mean that they want to do nothing.

Nevertheless, the possibilities of an MDS should be explored. Membership lists could be combed for inactive, "at large," and unaffiliated members. These members could be contacted to learn why they have such status. A "handout," pamphlet, or some such thing, could be written, displayed at lit tables, mailed to possibilities -- giving "the word" on an MDS, given adequate response. Maybe a newstand journal could be put out on a quarterly basis to reach the (so far) unreachable. The National Convention could pass and circulate a resolution on this matter.

Possibly I am mistaken. Maybe the whole idea of an MDS would be a bust. However, the challenge and opportunity are great. Many organizations practically exist (and exist well) on volunteer help. Also, it seems that SDS, for sometime now, has been talking more and more to itself, and -- consequently -- the danger of isolation is becoming greater and greater. We cannot let this happen, recalling what has become of radical groups in the past that became isolated and in-bred.

Gregg Nesemeier

# PROPOSAL: citizens for a democratic society

Stanley Aronowitz

New York, N. Y.

Every year around this time, rumblings are heard within SDS ranks that the time has come for a changing of the guard. Cries are heard to the effect that an elite exists in SDS whose age hovers around 27 and is mostly non-student. The proposals of Paul Booth for a student-led SDS are just a new variation on the theme. I believe we have reached the stage where SDS activists and friends who are not students (even if campus based) should open a broad discussion leading to the formation of a new left political movement which could have fraternal working relations with SDS, but be independent of it. The truth of the matter is that the persistent presence of "old men" such as myself in SDS ranks or close to them is rooted in the fact that we have no place else to go with national prestige which represents our political orientation. On the other hand, SDS has become the "house" of student radical activity and thought and properly belongs to that community. Its growth is a direct outcome of its ideological position on the left. Let me try to summarize some of the salient points of that position and indicate which need to be supplemented for a general movement:

1. *SDS's political outlook does not flow from its involvement in the debates within the International radical and socialist movement.* In this sense SDS is new left insofar as it remains independent, but based on the key notion that "radical" change is necessary as a precondition for the creation of a human society in the United States.

2. The democratic society based upon social need of which we speak should be based upon popular control of the institutions of government, the economy, education, etc. Implied in this position is the judgement that the forms of democracy exist in our country, but not the content. Foreign and domestic policies of the Government are not formulated and executed in the interests of the majority of Americans, but instead are decided upon by a handful of giant corporations, the military and the top bureaucracies who constitute an elite of power in our society.

3. *SDS does not have a unified conception of which are the 'major' constituencies or agents of social change.* In this respect the organization has many different tendencies who claim such agency for the poor, the workers, the intellectuals or just plain ordinary people in general. There are some who hold that the search for a single agent or group of agents based on class is not a productive concept for the strategy of social change.

4. *SDS seeks to build a popular constituency for changing America rather than relying on an elite approach of either the liberal or old left variety.* Most people in SDS reject the idea that any 'vanguard' or 'leading group' of people is in possession of the truth so as to be able to claim leadership in the struggle for a new society. Instead, most within SDS choose to find among broad strata of people those who are ready to commit themselves to the struggle and participate in making those strategic decisions for the movement. This rhetoric is often contradicted by practice, but never refuted in theory.

5. *SDS has a revolutionary approach insofar as it rejects the notion that piecemeal reforms can change the "system" sufficiently to satisfy social needs.* In this sense, SDS seeks new power relations within American society between the rulers and those who are subjected to their rule. This point relates to point 2 above but is different because it expresses a philosophic judgement about the achievements and attitudes of contemporary liberalism. While the movement has no real strategy for power, there is general recognition that nothing less than new arrangements of power are needed in order to build the human social order we seek.

It remains for us to create a new document to refine these ideas. I am sure that this brief superficial survey does not exhaust the broad areas of agreement among SDS people. Certainly, a national political movement would have to go beyond them in order to place itself within the body politic as a serious force. For example, personally, I would be in favor of openly declaring ourselves socialists, since it is the private ownership and control of property and the economic surplus deriving from this control which forms

the real basis for phenomena like the war in Vietnam, elite control of governmental decisions the brutality of ghetto living, the warfare character of public spending and many other instances which are constitutive of the anti-democratic character of U. S. society.

Moreover, we are in the midst of a fundamental change in the conditions for the creation of a truly human society. America is the first nation where the mechanism of profit maximization is no longer a precondition for economic growth. While this mechanism controls the allocation of economic resources within the private sector of the economy and between the private and the public sector (determining for instance whether the insurance companies will agree to "go along" with medical care or whether the private real estate developers will support "housing" legislation), it is anachronistic because the nature and size of corporations in the monopoly sector of the economy permits growth to take place within the resources of the firm, based on technological advance and normal investment rather than super-profits. In other words, we are on the brink of post-industrial society, where the need for scarcity has been really superceded and social needs are unfulfilled entirely because of the existing social and political power relations. The ideology which enforces the whole scale of economic and political priorities, helps to act as a real barrier to human fulfillment. This ideology, Liberalism, is founded on the myth that the "free market economy" is really the major guarantee of personal freedom and that social ownership of society's resources under popular (not totalitarian) control is pernicious, but even not needed because capitalism can take care of the poor, the sick, the aged.

Thus the problem for the achievement of a society where man can be for himself rather than subject himself to the altar of profit and domination, is strategic in nature. The problem of changing the power relations in American society lies entirely in the education of a constituency capable of seeing itself as the pretenders to power. This educational task must proceed from the base of (1) defining clearly who prevents us from making the good life (2) what kind of society will really be that democratic, plentiful, human life and (3) how a transformation in political power will lead to that society. Those who will be the real surveyors of this vision can now only come from the people in SDS, in the main, because this is the one organization sufficiently freed from the tradition (but, alas not the lessons) of the old to truly comprehend the changes which the U. S. political economy has undergone and sufficiently flexible to build a movement which can act on this comprehension. REP represents a first beginning of this effort. It is the form for the education of the group which can flesh out a perspective for a democratic society which is at once bold and believable, unhampered by the visions of European socialisms especially those who face the problem of underdevelopment.

But SDS is not able, from a student base, to accomplish all of the goals set forth here. It is certainly among the leading actors within American political life which challenge the present arrangements of power. But it has really been mostly a protest, not an alternative.

We need a movement which openly proclaims its intention to help build an alternative to the corporate dominated old politics — which does not simply say "no" to the mainstream of cold war liberal politics, but dedicates itself to acting as if the people it seeks to organize are really able to rule, because it tries to understand the mechanisms of the present relations of power as the foundation of its political program.

The new movement should be organized among all groups who are interested in its perspective. It should have chapters among faculty, among community groups of middle class, workers and poor people. It should conduct a broad scale educational program along the lines indicate here (or other lines), become the substance of a new radical politics within many communities, and participate in mass struggles against U. S. foreign and domestic policies while offering its own carefully thought out program as an alternative.

# communists in sds

By John Maher, Boston SDS.

On August 16 the House Committee on Un-American Activities began its third annual investigation of the student left. Clearly unity is required now in the face of the government's determination to prosecute the war and those who oppose it. But the only basis for real unity on the left is understanding, of the questions over which we disagree as well as the aspirations and enemies we share. Unfortunately the legacy of the 1950's tends to inhibit frank and open discussions in the movement between Communists and non-Communists. These discussions must take place, however, for this understanding to be real. While I can see no reason to be alarmed by the Washington SUMMER CIRCUS, I am disturbed by the absence of discussion of the immediate issues raised by the presence of Communists in SDS. I am convinced that resolving these issues in an open way is a prerequisite for unity based on understanding and survival based on mutual trust. First, as we all know, Communists and organizations with Communists in them are usually singled out for special attention during the periodic crack-downs on the American left. Their presence is often taken as an indication of subversive activity, whether or not the Communists happen to be the most militant elements in the movement in question. If the political opinions of the Communists are reasonably representative of opinions in the movement as a whole, then the rest are fellow travellers, if not, then they are of course dupes of the Communists. Secondly, ideological predisposition, government prosecution and public persecution have combined to encourage the Communist Party to operate in a discreet and semi-clandestine way, partly to protect its own members and those with whom they work. In general this has meant that membership is discussed outside the Party only with trusted people and or likely candidates for recruitment. In contrast, the Progressive Labor Party has tended to consciously encourage ideological discussion by operating openly in organizations like SDS. As a result members of PLP tend to be exposed more often than members of the CP, but due to their greater openness this tends to come as a much belated revelation for their colleagues on the outside. Finally, both organizations are governed by the principles of democratic-centralism. There is much which can and should be said about what these words can mean, taken separately and together. Germane to this analysis is the fact that Party discipline for the PLP means that a member is obliged to carry out all the decisions of the Party, while in the CP a member is not obliged to carry out a decision with which he disagrees, though Party discipline will not permit him to work against it. Neither organization condones public criticism of the Party line.

Internal contradictions, as Chairman Mao so gracefully put it, must be resolved before external contradictions can be effectively dealt with. Here the internal contradiction resides in the fact that while the SDS leadership is on the whole at ease with the Communist question, knowing who the Party members are, and understanding and accepting the consequences of their presence in the organization, the general membership is poorly informed and ill-at-ease because of this. An unfortunate situation is made almost comic when one considers how unlikely it is that membership in an organization which meets, telephones, recruits and is infiltrated can keep the identity of all but a few of its members secret from the ever watchful FBI. While discretion does protect Party members from painful confrontations with understanding employers, landlords, and

casual acquaintances, it also means that an SDS member is unlikely to know about the other affiliations of his brothers in struggle, unless he has the confidence of a Party member, or unless he happens to know who has been recruiting whom lately. Thus knowledge of Party membership has become an instrument which the government can use to try to split the movement at a time when it sees fit. Now is the time for SDS to take the initiative and lay the foundations for a unity which cannot be so easily threatened.

(1) The NC should request SDS members under the discipline of another organization to make that fact known to the people with whom they work. PLP has already done this in large measure, as have some members of the CP. Unfortunately this process is by no means complete. Some members of SDS who are not in the CP will be surprised and hurt when they learn of the other affiliations of their colleagues. Some party members, I believe, harbor grave misgivings about the willingness of non-Communists to defend their rights when the heat is on. The time to deal with this is before the crack-down, not afterwards. Such frankness will impose hardship on those Party members who fear exposure, often because they have seen its effects on their own families. On the other hand it is foolish and even dangerous to act as if the crack-down is not inevitable. While frankness may hasten the day, their safety and everyone's depends on a unified and fighting movement.

(2) Selection of anyone to fill a responsible position in SDS should be preceded by a thorough discussion of the candidates' politics, whatever that politics might happen to be, whether or not they belong to another organization. These discussions should take place openly in responsible bodies, not in leadership caucuses or within the confines of an administrative committee. When a candidate is under the discipline of another organization every effort should be made to ascertain how that organization's line might effect his execution of SDS policy. Infiltration and takeover are real, if unjustified, fears held by a number of SDS members; others act as if a person's politics is irrelevant to carrying out a responsible task. Only by confronting the issues in a concrete way can these misconceptions be removed.

(3) These issues should be discussed thoroughly at the coming convention, as well as the more substantive ideological questions which are relevant to the presence of Communists in SDS. In the absence of a consensus at the convention I feel that there should be a membership referendum to decide whether SDS should remain open to Communists.

In my opinion to exclude people because of their beliefs, whatever their beliefs, would be to destroy the principles of the democratic policy we hope to build in our own organization and bring to the rest of society. To exclude people because of their beliefs would be to cut-off the dialogue to which each of us should contribute and from which we all must learn. To exclude Communists from SDS would also be to forfeit the future contributions of some of our most able and loyal members. Finally I think that we must all realize that the only way to appease the government is to become ineffective, to betray ourselves. It is for this reason above all that a purge of Communists would make SDS safe from government attack. Believing all this I must believe also that the debate as to whether or not we remain open must take place, if for no other reason than to give those who would choose safety through secrecy or exclusion the opportunity to go elsewhere.

## A PROPOSAL

The national convention offers a good opportunity for those prepared to build the "movement" to meet in workshop session to discuss the attendant problems and set further meetings, perhaps a national conference in December coincident with the national council meeting. Hopefully, a continuations committee could emerge to solicit position papers, develop a program and agenda for the conference and contact those groups and individuals not formally connected with SDS (such as CIPA, certain anti war groups, peace campaigns in some areas) for their opinions and participation. SDS has been in existence for six years.

It has seen several graduating classes pass through the organization already without developing a form to keep them intimately related to its goals and activities. Thus, many have drifted into liberal peace, civil rights and political groups or lost contact with the radical community and radical activity since they rejected the old left groups and could not envision themselves as part of the liberals. Others have jobs with various establishment agencies, both in and out of government such as trade unions, liberal magazines, poverty programs and others.

A regroupment is absolutely possible especially in view of the growing awareness by adults of all backgrounds that the time may be at hand to build a new radical movement in America.



I appeal to you, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you will feel that your country has served these ideals and, indeed, the United States possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human liberty and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been traduced by the few who rule the U. S. today. Many of you may not be fully aware of the extent to which your country is controlled by industrialists who depend for their power partly upon economic holdings in all parts of the world. The U. S. today controls over 60% of the world's natural resources, although it contains only 6% of the world's population. The minerals and produce of vast areas of the planet are possessed by a handful of men. I ask you to consider the words of your own leaders, who sometimes reveal the exploitation they have practiced.

The New York Times of Feb. 12, 1950, said: "Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before World War II, Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at \$300 million per year."

One year later, an adviser to the U. S. State Department said the following: "We have only partially exploited Southeast Asia's resources. Nevertheless, Southeast Asia supplied 90% of the world's crude rubber, 60% of its tin and 80% of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron, oil and bauxite."

And in 1953, while the French were still in Vietnam fighting with American backing, President Eisenhower stated: "Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible—the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia."

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# APPEAL AMERICAN

(SPACE DONATED BY A FRIEND OF SDS)

This makes clear that the war in Vietnam is a war like that waged by the Germans in Eastern Europe. It is a war designed to protect the continued control over the wealth of the region by American capitalists. When we consider that the fantastic sums of money spent on armament are awarded in contracts to the industries on whose boards of directors sit the generals who demand the weapons, we can see that the military and large industry have formed an interlocking alliance for their own profit.

The truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British, who controlled the economic and political life of the American colonies in the 18th Century. Vietnamese resistance is like the resistance of the French Marquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerrillas of Norway and Denmark to the Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people is able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth.

I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the U. S. government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus? Although the American press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. They are poisonous and they are fatal. Napalm and phosphorus burn until the victim is reduced to a bubbling mass. The U. S. has also used weapons like the Lazy Dog, which is a bomb containing 10,000 slivers of razor-sharp steel. The razor darts slice to ribbons the villagers upon whom these weapons of sheer evil are constantly used. In one province of North Vietnam, the most densely populated, 100 million slivers of razor sharp steel have fallen in a period of 13 months.

It is even more revealing and terrible that more Vietnamese died during the reign of Diem, from 1954 to 1960, than since 1960, when the Vietnamese partisans took up armed resistance to the American occupation in the South. What the papers have called the "Vietcong" is, in fact, a broad alliance, like the popular fronts of Europe, including all political views ranging from Catholics to Communists. The National Liberation Front has the most ardent support of the people and only the willfully blind will fail to see this. Do you know that 8 million Vietnamese were placed in internment camps under conditions of forced labor, with barbed wire and armed patrols? Do you know that this was done on the direction of the U. S. Government, and that torture and brutal murder were a continuous feature of life in these camps? Are you aware that the gases and chemicals which have been used for five years in Vietnam blind, paralyze, asphyxiate, cause convulsions and result in unbearable death? Try to imagine what it would mean if any enemy were bombing the U. S. and occupied it for 12 years. How would you feel if a foreign power had saturated New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Francisco and Miami with jelly-gasoline, phosphorous and Lazy Dogs? What would you do if an occupying army used these toxic gases and chemicals in every town and hamlet they entered? Can you really think that the American people would welcome so savage an aggressor? The fact is that everywhere in the world people have come to see the men who control the U. S. government as brutal bullies, acting in their own economic interests and exterminating any people foolhardy enough to struggle against this naked exploitation and aggression.

When the U.S. began its war against the Vietnamese, after having paid for all of the French war against the same people, the U.S. Defense Department owned property valued at \$160 billion. This value has since doubled. The U.S. Defense Department is the world's largest organization, owning 32 million acres in the U.S. and millions more in foreign countries. By now, more than 75 cents out of every hundred are spent on present wars and preparation for future war. Billions of dollars are placed in the pockets of the U.S. military, thereby giving the Pentagon economic power affecting every facet of American life. Military assets in the U.S. are three times as great as the combined assets of U.S. Steel, Metropolitan Life Insurance, American Telephone & Telegraph, General Motors and Standard Oil. The Defense Department employs three times the number of people working in all these great world corporations. The billions of dollars in military contracts are provided by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry. By 1960, \$21 billion were spent on military goods. Of this colossal sum, \$7 1/2 billion were divided amongst ten corporations and five corporations received nearly \$1 billion each.

I ask you to consider carefully that in the executive offices of these same corporations there are 1,400 army officers, including 261 generals and officers of flag rank. General Dynamics has 187 officers, 27 generals and admirals and the former Secretary of the Army on its payroll. This is a ruling caste, which stays in power no matter who is elected to nominal public office, and every President finds himself obliged to serve the interests of this all-powerful group. Thus, American democracy has been emptied of life and meaning because the people cannot remove the real men who rule them.

It is this concentration of power which makes it necessary for the Pentagon and big industry to continue the arms race for its own sake. The sub-contracts they award to smaller industries and war contractors involve every American city, and thus affect the jobs of millions of people. Four million work for the Defense Department. Its payroll is \$12 billion, twice that of the U. S. automobile industry. A further 4 million work directly in arms industries. In many cities military production accounts for as much as 80% of all manufacturing jobs. Over 50% of the gross national product of the U.S. is devoted to military spending. This vast military system covers the world with over 3,000 military bases, for the simple purpose of protecting the same empire which was described so clearly in the statements of President Eisenhower, the State Department adviser and the New York Times which I mentioned earlier. From Vietnam to the Dominican Republic, from the Middle East to the Congo, the economic interests of a few big corporations linked to the arms industry and the military itself determine what happens to American lives. It is on their orders that the U.S. invades and oppresses starving and helpless people.

Yet, despite the immense wealth of the U.S., despite the fact that with only 6% of the world's people, approaching two-thirds of the world's resources are in its possession, despite the control over the world's oil, cobalt, tungsten, iron ore, rubber and other vital resources, despite the vast billions of profits that are gained by a few American corporations at the cost of mass starvation among the peoples of the world, despite all of this, 66 million Americans live at poverty level. The cities of America are covered in slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the fighting of colonial and aggressive wars. I am asking all of you to make an intellectual connection between events which occur daily around you, to try to see clearly the system which has taken control of the U.S. and perverted its institutional life into a grotesque arsenal for a world empire. It is the vast military machine,



# TO THE CONSCIENCE

the great industrial combines and their intelligence agencies which are regarded by the people of three whole continents as their main enemy in life and the source of their misery and hunger. If we examine the governments which depend for their existence upon American military force, we shall always find regimes which support the rich, the landlords and the big capitalists. This is true in Brazil, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Thailand, in South Korea, in Japan. It is true the world over.

The result of this is that in order to suppress a national revolution, such as the great historic uprisings of the Vietnamese people, the U.S. is obliged to behave as the Japanese behaved in Southeast Asia. This is literally true. The concentration camps to which I have referred and which held nearly 60% of the rural population of South Vietnam, were scenes of torture, massacre and mass burial. The special experimental weapons, like the gas and chemicals and jelly-gasoline, are as horrible as anything used by the Nazis during the Second World War. It is true that the Nazi systematically exterminated the Jews and the U.S. has not yet done anything comparable in Vietnam. With the exception of the extermination of the Jews, however, everything that the Germans did in Eastern Europe has been repeated by the U.S. in Vietnam on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and more complete.

In violation of solemn international agreements signed by American presidents and ratified by the American Congress, this Johnson government has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. It has committed these crimes because the Johnson government exists to preserve the economic exploitation and the military domination of subject peoples by U.S. industrial magnates and their military arm. The Central Intelligence Agency, which has a budget 15 times larger than all the diplomatic activity of the U.S., is involved in the assassination of heads of state, and plots against independent governments. This sinister activity is designed to destroy the leadership and the organization of peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the stranglehold of American economic and political domination. U.S. militarism is inseparable from that same predatory capitalism which reduced the American people themselves to poverty within the living memory of this generation. The same essential motives have led to barbarous and atrocious crimes on a great scale in Vietnam.

I have called on intellectuals and eminent independent men and women from all parts of the world to join in an international War Crimes Tribunal which will hear evidence concerning the crimes of the U.S. government in Vietnam. You will remember that Germans were considered guilty if they acquiesced in and accepted the crimes of their government. Nobody considered it a sufficient excuse for Germans to say that they knew about the gas chambers and the concentration camps, the torture and the mutilation, but were unable to stop it. I appeal to you as a human being to human beings. Remember your humanity and your own self-respect. The war against the people of Vietnam is barbaric. It is an aggressive war of conquest. During the American War of Independence, no one had to tell the Americans the purpose of their struggle or conscript them against their will. Nor was it necessary for American soldiers to go 10,000 miles to another country. In the American revolutionary war against foreign troops Americans fought in fields and forests although they were in rags and the occupying army was the strongest of the day. Americans fought the occupier, although they were hungry and poor, and they fought them house by house.

In that war of liberation, the American revolutionaries were called terrorists and the colonial power was the one labeling them rebels and rabble. American national heroes responded with words such as Nathan Hale's and Patrick Henry's. The sentiment, "Give me liberty or give me death," inspired their struggle, just as it inspires the Vietnamese resistance to U.S. aggression and occupation. The Nathan Hales and Patrick Henrys of Vietnam are not the U.S. army. Those who display heroism, love of country and that deep belief in freedom and justice which inspired the American people in 1776 are today the people of Vietnam, fighting under the revolutionary leadership of their National Liberation Front. And so the American people are to be used as cannon-fodder by those who exploit not only the Vietnamese but the people of the U.S. themselves. It is Americans who have been killing Vietnamese, attacking villages, occupying cities, using gas and chemicals, bombing their schools and hospitals -- all this to protect the profits of American Capitalism. The men who conscript the soldiers are the same men who sign the military contracts in their own benefit. They are the same men who send American soldiers to Vietnam as company cops protecting stolen property.

So it is that the real struggle for freedom and democracy is inside the U.S. itself, against the usurpers of American society. I have no doubt that the American people would respond just as the Vietnamese have responded if the U.S. were invaded and subjected to the atrocities and tortures which the U.S. army and government have inflicted on the Vietnamese. The American protest movement, which has inspired people all over the world, is the only true spokesman for American concern for individual liberty and social justice. The battlefield for freedom is in Washington, in the struggle against the war criminals--Johnson, Rusk and McNamara -- who have degraded the U.S. and its citizens. Indeed, they have stolen the U.S. from its people and made the name of a great country stink in the nostrils of people the world over.

This is the harsh truth, and it is a truth which is affecting the daily lives of Americans irrevocably and increasingly. There is no looking the other way. There is no pretending that the war crimes are not occurring, that the gas and the chemicals do not exist, that the torture and napalm have not been used, that the Vietnamese have not been slaughtered by American soldiers and American bombs. There is no dignity without the courage to examine this evil and oppose it. There is no solution for the American crisis short of the emancipation of the American people themselves from these barbarous men who speak in their name and defile a great people by doing so. The American people, however, are becoming alert and are showing that same determination and courage which the Vietnamese have so movingly displayed. The Negro struggle in Harlem, Watts and the American South, the resistance of the American students, the increasing distaste for this war shown by the American people at large, give hope to all mankind that the day when greedy and brutal men can deceive and abuse the American nation is drawing to a close.

My appeal to Americans is made with full awareness that the rulers of the U.S. have spared no device in propaganda to hide from the American people the ugly face of their rulers and the truth about their behavior. Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the hope that a people, once aroused, can be deceived no longer. All Americans who know from their own experience and from that of their closest relatives what has been done in Vietnam should come forward now. Speak the truth and take your stand alongside your

brothers throughout the world. Struggle for an America free of murderous production, free of war criminals, free of exploitation and free of the hatred of subject peoples. These peoples look to the ordinary people of the U.S. to understand their plight and to answer their struggle with an American resistance capable of making the U.S. again a citadel of individual liberties and social justice. The international War Crimes Tribunal is itself an appeal to the conscience of the American people, our allies in a common cause.

The War Crimes Tribunal is under urgent preparation now. I am approaching eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the U.S. itself. Vietnamese victims of this war will give evidence. Full scientific data concerning the chemicals used, their properties and their effects will be documented. Eyewitnesses will describe what they have seen and scientists will be invited to examine the exhibits in the possession of the tribunal. The proceedings will be tape recorded and the full evidence will be published. There will be documentary film material concerning the witnesses and their evidence. We aim to provide the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam. We intend that the peoples of the world shall be aroused as never before, the better to prevent the repetition of this tragedy elsewhere. Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither the bona fides nor the authenticity of this tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide. President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, Gen Westmoreland and their fellow criminals will be brought before a wider justice than they recognize and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand.

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# ON WHITE POWER

This is a response to Steve Weissman's thoughtful article "Beyond The Moral Imperative" in the August Liberation and to Dick Flacks' equally impressive "Whatever Became Of The New Left?" in New Left Notes, August 12, 1966.

It seems to me both pieces seek to cope with the impact of the Vietnam war on the movement, arguing that isolated acts of moral protest against the war are no substitute for sustained political action based on a coherent analysis of our situation.

I should like to comment in the form of a series of numbered theses, in the hope that this will help to keep the discussion from degenerating into a confrontation between presumed "moral" and "political" approaches to action. For I think we are at a point where that debate, useful as it has been during the past year and a half, needs to be broken down into a series of component arguments. We would all be irresponsible were we to permit ourselves to be divided into two camps of "moral" and "political" persons; when surely what is needed is a synthetic view which tries to put together all we have learned.

1. Fundamentally at issue is the question whether American society is felt to be moving in the direction of expanded or restricted democracy.

Flacks points out that in 1963 SDS assumed that a partial end of the Cold War made possible a concentration on domestic issues, and the slow building of constituencies to tackle these issues. Yet we now see that the war in Vietnam will be long, and beyond this, that "the American elites" have "moved away from domestic reform and welfare corporatism and toward imperialist adventure as the central and immediate way of coping with their problems."

SDS has not adjusted its strategic perspective to this reality. Characteristic SDS expressions, such as the Booth-Webb memorandum on peace action, have continued to insist on building constituencies around traditional domestic issues as the appropriate response to Vietnam as well as to other Great Society dilemmas.

When (as Weissman notes) I speak of a

long-run trend toward "fascism," I mean only to say that I think we should abandon the hope that once past certain discrete foreign policy aberrations — whether these be defined as nuclear arms race, war with Vietnam, or Johnson's Presidency — America can move toward the expanded democracy which its abundance promises.

Instead, I think our perspective must be that a movement to democratize American society will develop from a process of resistance to oppression abroad and at home.

By this I do not mean that we should abandon the middle-class or the tradition of liberalism to the other side. On the contrary: as their contradictions multiply, I believe the American elites will act more and more arbitrarily, will impinge on more and more things which are now taken for granted (such as the right to bargain collectively), and that if we are alert this process will bring unexpected allies to our side. That ACLU should take on HUAC, that the AFSC board is about to promulgate a new position statement sanctioning civil disobedience, are examples.

Nor does a resistance perspective imply indifference to the oppression of landlords, police and welfare administrators, of draft boards, of all the undemocratic authorities which govern our daily lives. Again, on the contrary: I think a resistance perspective makes possible more realistic ways of dealing with these problems. But this brings me to a second topic.

2. What lesson should we draw from SNCC's new strategy of black power? I completely agree with Flacks that what SNCC is saying is: "Blacks should be organized by blacks, and what white organizers do is something for white organizers to decide." But I think SNCC is also saying to us: "The way to cope with power is at the point where it is administered, rather than by legislation." Hence, for SNCC, concentration on electing the sheriff rather than on a new civil rights bill. Hence, for us, concentration on election of local anti-poverty administrators, direct pressure on landlords, control of the campus, rather than on plans

for the reorganization of American society as a whole.

From this point of view I believe Weissman's proposal that anti-draft action center on proposed changes in Selective Service law, is a mistake. I concur that an anti-draft program must include appropriate actions for those who cannot or will not refuse to be inducted. But I believe these actions should have the same quality of immediate resistance to oppression that draft refusal has. Direct action against university cooperation with Selective Service or war research, direct action against the production of napalm, are actions of this kind.

In the long run more and more whites must undertake the difficult task of organizing white members of the movement are in college and it seems to me appropriate that, for the moment, their activity center on control of the campus and resistance to the draft. By dealing effectively with those aggregates of power which most immediately affect their lives, they (we) will become persons more able to break through class lines and organize white workers later on.

3. Direct action, therefore, continues to seem to me the most fruitful medium in which to organize.

Why should it be assumed that this is in opposition to radical education and politicalization? Everything we believe in about education suggests to me that people learn more through acting on problems which affect their lives, than by attending lectures, reading pamphlets, or talking.

Why should it be assumed that direct action is "moral" rather than "political"? If enough people act, or if the act is of a particularly strategic kind, there is a political impact. Direct action can be programmed for a variety of constituencies with the help of the identical sorts of analysis which go into planning an effective electoral campaign.

Weissman speaks of the "emotional coitus interruptus" of direct action at, for example, Berkeley last October. Without quite wishing to embrace that metaphor, I continue to feel that one reason direct action seems to many symbolic and moralistic is that it is so often interrupted. When the Assembly Of Unrepresented People marched down the mall

in Washington last August it completed, in a sense, the merely symbolic march which concluded the SDS March On Washington in April. This summer, as ways have opened up actually to reach GIs and urge them not to fight, the VDC effort to reach the Oakland Army Terminal has been completed in another form. Rather than abandon that effort and turn to electoral activity, it might have been more fruitful if Berkeley activists had discarded the technique of marching and sought other means of finishing the task of contacting the troops.

4. Reorganization of American society as a whole — as Flacks says, socialism — is of course our overriding concern. But how?

There is a continuing need for serious discussion of alternative scenarios for an American revolution. I do not believe advocates of electoral activity have offered one. Followed to their logical conclusions, their premises point either to an expanded version of the welfare state, or to a transition to socialism by means of an electoral majority. They should say what they have in mind.

Another model worth considering is the European Resistance Movements of World War II, which seem to me the only movements in Western industrial societies which have ever been close to taking power from the capitalist class and putting it in the hands of the people.

Believing this, I feel the formation of counter-communities of struggle and the creation of local pockets of power is the way to begin to find a strategy of revolution.

In the process we tend to create a pattern of decentralized initiative and decision-making more in keeping with the kind of socialism we ultimately want to have, than does the strategy of taking national power through electoral action.

At the very least, by demanding of ourselves action rather than words, struggle rather than programs, we ourselves can hope to become persons who will finally choose to be, not professionals with enlightened views, but genuine revolutionaries.

Staughton Lynd

## RESOLUTION ON REGIONS

jane adams

The purpose of regions, from all discussion that has gone on, is to decentralize decision-making, to bring the functions of the organization closer to the membership, and to provide the vehicle for inter-communication between chapters. In this way, it's been projected, we can build a strong, dynamic, and democratic organization which can effect social change.

This, however, is not what appears to be happening. Regional offices tend to be created by individuals who decide to start a region. They tend to set up a bureaucracy which has little content in terms of involving the membership, and spend most of their energy keeping the office functioning.

The following is a two stage proposal for the formation of regions:

### I. Regional Organizing Committee (ROC)

A. Composition — Full time campus traveller(s) People drawn from chapters who see importance of a region & organizing

#### B. Functions

1. To set up meetings at conferences among chapters and projects in the region.
2. To organize new chapters.
3. To raise money to support these functions (the NO should provide some money at this stage).

activities and thinking.

This body should probably meet at least monthly, either at the conferences they set up, or otherwise. They would not be demop, or otherwise. They would not be democratically elected, and so would have no decision-making power other than that in-

## towards a student movement

### I: High Schools as Socializing Institutions

Even a cursory examination of our society will reveal three main socializing institutions; the school, the large corporations or industry, and the armed forces. These institutions have many similar characteristics. They are all run in an authoritarian fashion, they all have rampant and ever-growing bureaucracies, and they all attempt to instill the slave psychology in the minds of their

real communication among members — do the organizing necessary. They should be working to abolish their function.

### II. The formation of a region

#### A. Composition

1. A regional council made up of delegates elected by 2/3 of the chapters in the region, meeting monthly.
2. A regional office, with staff as determined by the RC.

#### B. Functions

1. To plan and coordinate educational and action programs.
2. To put out a newsletter
3. To service chapters and potential members in the region (providing lit., speakers, etc.)
4. To raise money, with a pro-rated amount — to be decided by NC in consultation with the regional delegate — to go to the national.
5. Other things as decided by the RC.

#### C. Decision-making power

A regional membership meeting may elect an NC member-at-large, who will also serve on the NIC.

The regional council meetings should be reported fully to NLN, so that people in other regions will know what's going on. The NC will determine whether a pro-

subjects.

which individuals are passed, have the main task of socializing its subjects. "To prepare the student for life" is taken as a mandate to break down the inclination towards individualism and the instinct for fair treatment, so as to make students more submissive to corporate society in their later lives. An effective campaign against individualism must have, at its base, an attempt to force the student to question his own worth. From the moment he enters school, the student is subjected to innumerable procedures designed to humiliate him and remind him that he is worthless and that adults are omnipotent.

It is quite natural after 10 years of this, that students feel an overwhelming social pressure to conform, and that those few who break out of their molds feel quite powerless and alone. What organizing, then, can be done on the high school level to expect that a movement would have any success in radically altering our educational system, a system those who make decisions in this country find so perfect a tool, is absurd. The radicalization of high school students is a much more realistic goal.

The key to radicalization is development of self-respect and confidence. We must do for the high school student, essentially what Malcolm did for the Negro people. We must help students develop a sense of identity, and a feeling that they can change the quality of their lives. Changes such as this may be most easily brought about in conflict situations. Conflict will radicalize students by its very nature, and also give them a feeling of pride in the fact that they are students. Forcing an administration to back down on the question of long hair creates a community of people who sense the potentialities of united action, and supports their realization of the fact that they are, indeed, individuals. The most important demand students can make is the demand to

### II. The Role of a High School Organizer

The 600 members of SDS who are in high schools are the most underrepresented group in our organization, there having been only two such creatures at the last NC. There has been a feeling on the part of some of our college members and regional staffers that the high school "kid" is some sort of inferior being, and should be relegated to doing the shit-work. Consequently, there has been a serious lack of thought about the possibilities of a high school program. The need for such a program is evident. In just the last year, student papers, a tree high school, and a long-hair demonstration which involved picketing a school have sprung up in Southern California. Students at 5 Detroit high schools organized their own boycott in protest of de facto segregation. Students in Des Moines received national publicity for wearing black armbands in protest of the war. What is to be done?

A high school organizer would be able to make high school members more than peripherally involved in the affairs of SDS. Moreover, he could begin to help build a more solid high school movement. This would not be difficult. Where there are no existing groups to work with, meetings could be organized through LRY, SRL, YDs, etc. Where groups are just forming, an organizer could give advice gained from previous experience, and show what students in other areas have been able to do.

The main psychological barrier to an effective high school movement at present is a feeling of isolation and powerlessness.

If students can see what other people in their situations across the country have done, if they can see that effective work can be done to at least establish basic rights on campus, the work for a high school movement can begin.

M. Kleiman  
8/10/66

**GREETINGS**

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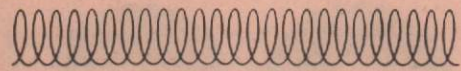
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SDS**

# facing the american leviathan

## convention working paper

by PAUL BOOTH



WE FACE AMERICA THE LEVIATHAN. Our nation attempts throughout the world to guard by force an order of power relations in which established American interests are respected and achieved. Everywhere American reality conflicts with our values: to our assertion of the dignity of individuals, of the values of love, honesty, reason, and equality, America responds with war, manipulation, and the selfish concentration of wealth.

The America which we face denies democracy -- it is a nation in which the crucial economic decisions which affect us all are made by corporate managers and bankers, in which millions of people are dependent on the indulgence of public welfare systems over which they have no control, in which the decisions of war and peace are made by a clique of advisers and ex-

perts. Can this be called democracy? We understand democracy to be that system of rule in which the people make the decisions.

With every escalation of the war in Vietnam has come an increased awareness at home that the Cold War strategy is having no impact on the root problem of Revolution. The unrest in the Black ghettos gives ample indication that the war on poverty and its accompanying housing and education programs are having no impact on poverty in America.

We speak as a new American left -- a new generation of radical democrats trying to point a way out of the crisis. Our vision for the reconstruction of America comes out of our experience as products of the dominant culture and as activists fighting its most obvious injustices, and out of our democratic values as people seeking a decent and humane order, recognizing the inherent equality of men, and freeing their capacities for love, reason, and creativity.

We speak as a new American left -- affirming the heritage of Americans who have championed the cause of the people against corporate power, populists of the nineteenth century. Socialists of the early 1900's and workers who built the industrial unions. While we reject the dogmas and sectarianism of the Old Left, we adopt as our own that affect their lives. But ours is a time of crisis for that leviathan. The old explanations provide no direction, the old programs of liberalism are washouts. Violence in Vietnam and poverty at home give daily evidence of the crisis. The lives of our whole generation give further evidence of the disintegration of the old standards. Young Americans are no longer impressed by the old morality or the old patriotism: neither Lyndon's war nor Lady Bird's beautification campaign turns us on. Nor are we content to take our places among the managers and the managed. Both the Cold War ideology and the liberal domestic program are

the best features of the idea of Socialism that moved them. At the same time, we develop an understanding of and a program to change the managed society of the '60s.

We speak as a new American left -- committed to the achievement of political power in our time. We seek a redistribution of power in our society in favor of disenfranchised people who live in ghettos, white and black, north and south, who work in factories, who are passive consumers of the culture, who are segregated systematically from their fellow-men. We seek political power so that men may at last prevail over the arrangements of society in which a few control the destinies of all.

These commitments set an intellectual agenda. The first task of the crisis is to identify its key questions and work to find the answers around which a strategy of change can be built.

Paul Booth

## I. the crisis of cold war ideology

"Con los pobres de la tierra, quiero yo mi siempre echar."

-- Marti

Vietnam is the flaming symbol to the world of the American arrogance that has already made itself felt in the day-to-day representation of our country by diplomats and businessmen and tourists. In Vietnam it is a more serious matter than the kind of misunderstanding of or scorn for another countries symbols and customs that has previously caused bitterness and mistrust. It is now arrogance toward human life.

However the war's strategists calculate the ramifications of this bombing mission or that rural pacification scheme, it is clear that Vietnamese lives are not assigned a heavy weight. From time to time we hear that the fighting man in the sentry has respect for the VC opponents as "plucky and determined", but the overall operating assumption is that the VC are bandits and desperadoes; any kind of torture is justified to repay such acts of desperate terrorism as the bombings of Saigon restaurants and the executions of village headmen. Civilians -- and there are now over a million refugees in Saigon who have fled the bombings of their villages -- are pawns in the game, to be relocated from their village according to one General's motion of "strategic hamlets," to be kept under meticulous police observation and control in the truly totalitarian schemes known as "rural pacification." Buddhist and other anti-Communist nationalists are a disruptive force, who must be repressed because their activity works objectively to the advantage of the Communists: neutralists are banned from the "free elections" even though non-alignment was the hope of the Geneva Conventions we claim to honor. The North Vietnamese, bombed to fulfill the requirements of LBJ's devil theory, are utterly hapless -- even if they withdrew all support from the Southern Liberation Front, we would still have to bomb them. As for our allies, their soldiers are "apathetic" according to our GI's who now do most of the fighting.

Why Viet Nam? The Cold War is one answer. The balance of power among Great Powers must be respected; in particular, China must be contained. Russia is proving a willing participant in Great Power politics, and China must also refrain from destabilizing that balance. "Wars of Liberation" are the most widespread threat to international stability and China advocates those wars. Chinese Communism is a virile alternative to the pattern of oligarchic and military dominance in the Third World, to the growing desperation of the masses of people in those countries. So the war is pre-eminently a demonstration of our power to contain communism a few hundred miles from the borders of Red China. When Dean

Rusk complains that he has put out peace feelers but the Chinese are never at the other end of the phone, he means that they don't want to participate in a conversation with us as Great Power to Great Power. When we announce that we want to contain China, not isolate her, we mean for China to pick up the receiver and tell Dean Rusk that she will assume the style of a Great Power, and not champion the cause of a small nationalism against another Great Power.

Why Viet Nam? The American response to revolution is the other answer. In practice, our nation is a powerful opponent of revolutionary change, and a startlingly successful opponent. Although our leaders make rhetorical gestures acknowledging the radical disparities between rich and poor throughout the Third World and the desperate need for economic development, these are frequently vague phrases. When they contain promises, as did the Alliance for Progress, promising backing for land reform, tax reform, and opposition to military rule, they are betrayed down the line. In practice our Peace Corps is an insignificant gesture next to the Marine Corps and the Exploitation Corps.

Throughout the Third World, the force of nationalism is increasingly powerful. The desire for independent development has not been quenched by the end of colonialism; in many countries this has only created an increased expectation that now the New Nations could determine their own economic courses, international course, cultural course. Where Western investors have warped the economies by channeling all energy into the extraction of primary products, the New Nations have attempted to develop a neutralist force. Where our businesses have propagated the culture of Frigidaires and Coca-Cola, the New Nations have sought to recreate national identity, and bring to life their own heritages. Increasingly, American power in the Sixties has worked to limit the choices for nationalists. We are the agent of polarization, our terms are "freedom or Communism". Nationalists and revolutionists must inevitably become those "Communists" under the impact of our military might, for we now intervene consistently against the revolutionaries. And when we support Ky against the Buddhists, Balaguer against Bosch, Castelo-Branco against Goulart, Boumediene against Ben Bella -- and support them powerfully, not merely in rhetoric -- we demonstrate how completely we are committed to Counter-Revolution. It should be no surprise that movements like the Vietnamese Liberation Front -- which advocate land redistribution -- have popular support, while the U.S. is increasingly hated. Our local collaborators, true to the spirit of foreign aid, "help themselves." But Viet Nam represents the

current arena of the fight to defeat any and all revolutions, and so fight it we must, and to the bitter end. And with whatever means at our disposal: the Air Force, the Army, the Special Forces, General Lansdale and his Rural Pacifiers, the AID teams, everyone is told to "Do your thing". It is almost as if we wish to build and burn our way into the hearts of the Vietnamese so that they would not desire land, and would not desire a Vietnamese nation. Experience shows that the anti-communist leaders of our dreams have not developed who could both rally popular support and modernize.

But poverty is the overwhelming problem of these countries. This is the poverty of desperate hunger; Gerassi tells us "Three-fourths of Latin Americans are constantly hungry. The average daily calorie intake is 1,200, when normal subsistence is considered 2,400 (and our average in the United State is 3,100). Many Latin Americans actually die from starvation. In Haiti peasants are forced to trap skinny pigeons for food. In Peru and Chile, many eat every other day, and often average as low as 500 calories daily."

This is also the poverty of radical inequality, where the masses are hungry and diseased and a very few are as rich as the opulent Americans they imitate. This is the real instability, of millions not knowing where the next meal will come from. By any criteria of judgment, by any humane values, these disparities require a radical solution.

The Cold War is deeply embedded in our culture. America misunderstands the turbulence in the underdeveloped world by interpreting it as the product of the struggle between east and west blocs. The emotions on which insurgencies in the Third World draw are genuine and intense -- they come from the demands for national integrity and for relief from poverty. This revolutionary upsurge is a challenge to the assumption on which our leaders work -- that concerted political movements are invariably the products of manipulation and subversion. We are so accustomed to top-down control in our own society that we forget that man is capable of doing the opposite -- of working to change the conditions of his oppression.

### THE AMERICAN PRESENCE

In the world, the American presence is truly awe-inspiring. A sixty-year commitment to the extension of American influence has made our country the Great Power that towers over the others. The power of American fighting men is visible in 48 countries, the power of our investors is felt in several dozen more. Friendly regimes show their loyalties at the turn of each year when they take out full-page ads in the *New York Times* Review of the Year's Business.

### THAILAND WELCOMES FOREIGN INVESTMENT

"... The state guarantees against expropriation or nationalization of private industry... A new promoted industry will be exempt from income tax for a period of five years... Thailand possesses vast amounts of natural resources and also large, peaceful, cheap and adaptable labor forces awaiting to be developed with the assistance of foreign capital..."

This is a statement of pride from Thailand as recorded in the *New York Times*. Page after page, its annual international financial report is a testimony of the virtues of stability, the accepted object of government in most countries of the underdeveloped world. The question is, however, stability for whom?

That vaunted stability is the slogan of the American ambition to manage the whole world. In practice, stability acquires more meaning than the benevolent wish of Dean Rusk's rhetoric that all countries could have the same domestic tranquility that America has. It means:

\* Stable currencies, so that foreign investors can be sure that when they enter into a transaction they can be sure that the rate of return on that loan or investment will not be obliterated by inflation. This is known as the Austerity Policy (hold the line on wages and projects of social spending), such as practiced by Pres. Arturo Alessandri of Chile between 1958 and 1963. He did bring down annual inflation from 38% to 10%, but even with the US forking out 70% of the cost, his economic development plan brought annual growth of 1.4%, compared to a population growth of 2.5%. Unemployment rose to 18%.

\* Stable policies, so that the alliance system of the Cold War created by Acheson and Dulles not be disturbed. Four dozen countries are tied into our network of alliances, and when one moves from being pro-U.S. to neutralism, as Iraq did in 1958, we send the Marines to the neighboring countries, or we encourage the local military to dump the regime, as in Brazil in 1961 and 1964 -- where the crime was not neutralism but an independent foreign policy extending trade relations to Russia, China, and E. Germany.

\* Stable policing of internal forces of unrest, so that "Communists" and other movements that might bring about regimes less respectful of the virtues of the other stabilities get nipped in the bud. To train police, John Kennedy created the famous Special Forces as an independent unit, and through U. S. military aid missions has their training civic action teams in rural counter-insurgency and police forces

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in urban tactics. They are at work in dozens of countries, and in Peru and Columbia (and others we aren't told about) they are going up into hills as advisors, just like Vietnam.

In order to make possible the coup that replaced Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, we provided the cash so that Joseph Mobutu could pay his troops. One year after FDR declared the Good Neighbor policy, our ambassador gave his blessing to Anastasio Somoza's proposal to assassinate the Nicaraguan hero Sandino; the Somozas then ruled by terror for 25 years.

\* Stable relations to American-owned industries. After Leonel Brizola nationalized the International Telephone and Telegraph subsidiary in Brazil's Rio Grande do Sul state, Senator Bourke Hickenlooper led a successful move to cut any country out of foreign aid that confiscated U. S. business without adequate (by our terms) compensation. One country that has been cut off is Ceylon -- in July 1962 Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, nationalized Esso, Shell, and Caltex filling stations and oil depots, and said, "The best form of foreign aid the U. S. can give to small countries is to abstain from interfering in their affairs." Generally we have been more successful in warding off such efforts; in Guatemala in 1954 we sent the CIA to overthrow a regime that was nibbling away at our plantations, and in Iran in 1950 the CIA overthrew Mossadegh to prevent nationalization of the oil industry. In the Dominican Republic we let Bosch fall because he proposed to keep collectivized the sugar plantations formerly owned by the deposed Trujillo family. Our interference is almost never of the openness of the Dominican affair -- generally our diplomacy, military aid, threats of sanctions by international banking institutions which we dominate, and political meddling of the covert and clandestine varieties will do the trick. Of course, none of these weapons are used against the regime of South Africa, where the annual rate of return on our \$500 million worth of investments is over 20%. In fact, the U.S. banking community together with the International Monetary Fund actually bailed out that country during its 1961 financial crisis.

\* Stable day-to-day politics. This turns out to be a set of dubious freedoms, like the freedom from strikes, the freedom from overly harsh press criticism, the freedom from parliamentary opposition, etc. The The Corporation Minera de Bolivia (COMIBOL) placed the following ad in the New York Times:

"The first stage /in the recent history of the Tin mines/ began in October 31, 1952, when the mines were nationalized.

"With the advent of the Military Junta /in 1964/, COMIBOL entered into the second phase of its existence. Under the Presidency of a distinguished and dynamic Bolivian Army Colonel and top management of a well-known American Engineer, this enormous mining enterprise ... today offers an entirely new perspective.

Their main objective is to transform COMIBOL into a profitable industrial enterprise ...

"Labor union arrogance exercised by Communists has been abolished.

"The principle of authority has been firmly established ...

"The new economic and financial outlook offered today by COMIBOL, and the advantageous terms of Bolivia's Investment Law sanctioned by the Military Junta, have prompted foreign and local capital to boost Bolivia's mining activities ... " In country after country in the underdeveloped world we support right-wing dictatorships of the most brutal kind; we outfit their armies, encourage U. S. businesses to invest there, underwrite their budgets, and otherwise treat them like honest and forthright partners in progress. Of the scores of military juntas and dictators in the world, only Pakistan and Egypt can even make the excuse of using their power for economic development.

These problems are deepening, just as the hope of resolving them becomes progressively dimmer. The questions of our times are not: is America the foe of change? or, is there a need for revolution? We know the answers to these. But we

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must grapple with the growing gap between rich and poor countries and the lack of progress toward economic development, the increasing irrelevance of these countries to American prosperity, and the growing number of setbacks incurred by the political elements in the Third World which have been in the leadership of revolution.

## The Prospects For Economic Change

The maintenance of the *status quo* social relations in the underdeveloped world has been achieved basically through the export of primary commodities to the industrial regions of the world. The revenues necessary for maintaining conservative regimes in power have come from taxes on revenues from these export products and from the sale of concessions for their exploitation. The dependence cannot be over-exaggerated; in Venezuela, oil revenues, which account for 92% of foreign exchange, accounted for approximately two-thirds of the 1962 national budget. The ability to import, especially to import luxury consumer goods, repay foreign loans, and otherwise "carry on" economically is hinged irrevocably to these products in these so-called hacienda-export economies. Typically this is a dependence on one or two items; in Latin America, the average proportion of export revenues derived from the country's single leading export is well over 50%. And so fluctuations in the commodity prices are of critical importance to the stability of these regimes. Coffee and sugar prices have often fluctuated by as much as 50% in one year. Moreover, there has been in the post-war era a general overall tendency to depress the prices of these commodities, a phenomenon which Raul Prebisch, in his report as Secretary-General to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTD), identified as a major cause of the increasing gap between the rich and poor nations. The United States is the leading opponent of international stabilization and regulation of commodity prices; this is partly due to a desire to protect domestic industries, and partly to our unwillingness to cut into the profits made by the American firms who do the importing, or even to pass the added costs on to American consumers. The industrialized countries generally support this policy, including, as Cuba and Romania point out, the Soviet Union, which uses the prevailing world market prices in relations to its allies.

But it is the desperate need to defend the prices of traditional exports that led to the formation of what became known as the bloc of 75 at the UN trade conference in 1964. For the most part these are regimes without the slightest interest in attacking the deeper problems of land distribution, or of discouraging U. S. investment in their countries. But they recognize the increasingly marginal economic role of the Third World: while exports throughout the world rose by 7.1% from 1950-62, exports from the 3rd World rose by 3.4%. And, their share of world trade fell from 32% to 21%. And this reflects not only the deterioration in the terms of trade effecting the value of exports, but the fact that the underdeveloped countries are supplying a decreasing share of primary products as developed countries become less dependent through technological advances. And although developments such as the coffee agreement in Africa and the Latin American and Central American Free Trade Areas are admirable, they are a minor relief to the major pattern of trade relations which go between individual underdeveloped countries; between 1952 and 1960, according to UNCTD, while the value of international trade was increasing by 7.1%, the value of trade among the countries of the Third World increased 1.8%.

If the trade picture holds little prospect of easing the desperate poverty of the Third World, the vistas for industrial development can hardly be said to be hopeful. What industrial development does take place will do so against the backdrop of rapidly increasing population and labor force. By the year 2000, the population of

the poor countries will more than double reaching 4 billion. New industries, especially if they are modernly equipped and if they replace more primitive labour-intensive economic activity, will not have a marked effect on employment for years to come. Thus, as has happened in the last decade, new population will have to be employed in agriculture in order to avoid starvation or it will accumulate in the slums of the cities.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the major stumbling-block to progress in the Third World is the way inequality is so thoroughly the principle of economic structure. In the agricultural sector this is glaring.

The productivity of both land and labor are low in the Third World due to these structural considerations. The Food and Agriculture Organization, however, estimates that over half the world's population suffers from hunger or crippling malnutrition. In Latin America, only three countries can claim that more than fifty percent of their agricultural population are owners of their own land or even tenants or co-op members or workers on their own account. The extent of out-and-out peonage is further illustrated by the fact Gerassi records that in 1961 1.2% of the farms accounted for 71.6% of farm land, not counting Cuba and Bolivia. (Even counting them in, the top 1.5% of the farms account for 65% of the land.) The output on the large estates is very low. Other consequences in agrarian society of this maldistribution result from the monopoly on political power of the oligarchy, who spend as little as possible on schools thereby perpetuating illiteracy which retards significantly any agricultural development -- and other social investment in health and communications. Where land reforms have been enacted, it has become imperative to supplement them with improved roads and with the distribution of agricultural equipment to the peasants, thereby revealing how underdeveloped the agricultural economy has been.

Another dramatic demonstration of the structural causes of continued poverty in the Third World -- in this case the foreign ownership of land -- is provided by the fruit trade. Latin America grows 70% of the world's bananas, and sells half of these abroad. But only a minor proportion of the profits -- under 30% -- end up in the budgets of the governments concerned; most of it is retained by United Fruit, and to a lesser extent, Standard Fruit. In addition, United Fruit owns the railroads and trolleys and shipping fleet and several ports.

The oligarchies which dominate the countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, are hardly Calvinists, reinvesting the money they earned in further development. On the contrary, Ibn Saud with his fleet of Cadillacs is the model for the poor half of the world. A very slim proportion of property income gets reinvested; the level of consumption is very high, as is the proportion of savings saved in Swiss banks. Because the governments are firmly in the hands of the rich, the highest tax a Latin American country levies on its richest income bracket is 37% (and evasion is rife).

American policy decidedly is not determined on the basis of a sympathetic response to these dilemmas. Witness the fate of Chester Bowles, who did recognize the "revolution of rising expectations"; he was given the post of Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs under Kennedy but was quickly sidetracked when it became clear his views were eccentric. Or the fate of the Alliance for Progress, not a development program at all (its small development allocations represent no increase in funds over the Eisenhower years), but an increased effort to promote financial stability though softer -- lower-interest -- loans in friendly countries. The capital improvements we have financed include new roads to United Fruit plantations, docks for our tankers in Venezuela's ports, etc.

The motivation behind our foreign policy is explained to a considerable extent by the needs of our economic empire. Foreign investments constitute 5% of all U. S. investment; but bring in 11% of our profits. Investments in underdeveloped countries account for 2% of all American capital at

work, but 8% of profits. The Survey of Current Business of the Department of Commerce also tells us that the rate of return on investment in the 3rd World is 15% a year. Over half of our overseas investment is in the control of 45 giant corporations. In 1960, America withdrew \$1.1 billion in profits and interest from South America, and sent in \$1.0 billion in new private investment and all public lending, a net capital drain. In 1964, dealing with direct (not portfolio) investment in the whole Third World of \$13.032 billion, we invested with new Private capital and reinvested profits \$687 million in these countries, and repatriated \$2,179 million from those countries in earnings. This is not, however, a complete explanation, since the militance of our foreign policy extends throughout the world, into countries where our businessmen have little or no influence or interests.

## THE DEFEAT OF NATIONALISM

The worldwide design of America is the defeat of independent forces, and this design is being carried out in the Sixties with remarkable success. It was around the time that our generation came to an awareness of foreign policy -- with the Bay of Pigs invasion -- that the men of power were recognizing that the real threat to U.S. interests came from the underdeveloped world, not Russia. Together with this recognition came experimentation with counter-insurgency, re-adjustment of the defense machinery to meet limited wars, and a new political rhetoric. The Johnson Administration has relied heavily on armed forces in Vietnam, but its use of the CIA and other instruments has been extensive and effective.

There has been no tidal wave of revolution. Every style of revolutionary leadership, from the most radical Chinese-style insurgencies, to mass communist parties, to one-party nationalist regimes, to constitutionalist reformers, have been dealt defeats at the hand of their own domestic reactionaries and American power.

Defeats for the left have taken a number of forms. They include: *Foreign Armies*. In Viet Nam, it is clear to everyone, the regime would not last a minute beyond the withdrawal of U. S. forces. The size of the American troop commitment has been steadily escalated to meet the need, and constitute a virtual occupying force, committed to stay there until the NLF is obliterated. The guerrilla war in the countryside has been contained, to all appearances. By their presence, South Vietnamese government forces have been freed to defeat neutralist uprisings among the students and Buddhists -- a setback as well to the NLF's strategy. While in Viet Nam, U.S. planes have been available to strafe emplacements of left-wing Pathet Lao forces in Laos, which have in the past, by virtue of coalition with neutralists, tried to keep control of the country out of the hands of the CIA-fed Gen. Nosa-van.

That our fighting-men are useful against the non-Communist left as well was demonstrated in the Dominican Republic, when a group of nationalist military men at the head of a constitutionalist popular revolt in

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the capital chased the local gorillas (apes, Latin term for junta generals) onto an island. U. S. troops along with token contingents from military regimes in Latin America kept law and order while the police forces and hoodlum squads of the old junta terrorized the left, jailing and assassinating so many on a scale so reminiscent of Trujillo (who killed over 500,000 people in his 32 years) that the countryside voted for the right-wing Presidential candidate in the hope of a return of stability.

Another military operation that succeeded was the sending of British troops to East Africa in 1965 after the independence of Zanzibar revealed a revolutionary regime. These troops guaranteed against troop revolts in Kenya and Uganda. *Mercenaries*. In the case of a genuine civil war, the addition of trained foreign troops can be critically important. In the Congo, where the U. S. served as paymaster, white mercenaries put down the Simba uprising (which had a Lumumbist political flavoring) in a fierce reminder that Europeans have always outdone Africans in torture and brutality.

*Massacre*. The worst massacre since Hitler has been perpetrated in Indonesia, against the Communists (PKI) and sympathizers. Over 500,000 lives have been taken since the October 1st, 1965 abortive Colonels uprising, which the Generals pinned on the innocent PKI. The new regime, in addition to moving toward peace with Malaysia, has declared a policy of hospitality to foreign capital. This is renewed testimony to the weaknesses of a left in an underdeveloped country where the means of violence have been built up either through external influence (like U.S. military aid) or military adventures of the regime. Other massacres have been perpetrated in the Sixties, including a similar, though smaller, Ba'athist purge of Communists in Iraq. The technique is becoming uncomfortably conventional in the modern world, used by all sides. The State Department, of course, doesn't sponsor such action. But the absence of any, even mild, disapproval for this mass murder deprives the U.S. of the right to stand on the world stage and condemn, on the basis of general humanitarian principles, the violence of parties we happen to oppose. What end could our leaders possibly imagine to justify such means?

*Police force*. Guerrilla efforts are in bad shape throughout the Third World. Any expectation (fostered by the victory of Castro against the tottering Batista rule) that the Latin American ancien regime was foredoomed should be laid to rest. In Venezuela, where 70% of the population is in cities, urban guerrillas have been turned back and forced into the hills, while left-wing Congressmen and students have been shot down in the streets. The FALN guerrillas talk of a 10-year fight. In Colombia, where U.S. Special Forces train the police, "pacification" has eliminated political bandits, and the revolutionary priest Torres has been assassinated. The same story seems to hold for Peru and Brazil. In these countries where military regimes maintain strict order, the best that can be hoped for is a kind of Political Cycle in which the left-wing Opposition alternates between open and parliamentary struggle when it can, and the building of a peasant base when urban activity is outlawed.

Bloody guerrilla wars are taking place in Portuguese Africa at the present time, but the chance of victory for the Africans has been diminished by the establishment of an independent racist regime in Rhodesia, and the new legitimacy of Apartheid in South-west Africa. In other countries where guerrilla movements have the strength of long struggle (that is a partial explanation of the tenacity of the NLF in Vietnam), such as Guatemala and Philippines, the regimes are under some strain.

*Local military coups*. One of the chiefs of the U.S. military mission in Uruguay told John Gerassi: "Don't worry. The new Uruguayan army has been well indoctrinated, especially the officers. Whatever they do, if they seize power, they'll be with us. When I first came here, I was very depressed about the army. The boys looked like a bunch of boys, and they didn't give a damn about what the government was doing. Now they care enough to keep it in line . . . That's my doing, in part at least."

U.S. foreign policy has been well served by the officers of three continents. Coups have displaced more than a dozen independent nationalist regimes, some elected and some personal regimes representing the movement that ended colonialism in those countries. If the early sixties were a period of exuberant assertion of "positive neutralism"-- the activist of nonaligned nations meddling against the Cold War -- the late sixties

seem to be the defeat of the first generation of nationalist leadership.

In Ghana, Nkrumah has fallen, and his regime's corruption is being exposed every day. Independent foreign policies have been wiped out in Latin America, with the fall of Quadros and then Goulart from coups in Brazil, and the coups in Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina. Ben Bella has fallen from a coup at the hands of Gen. Boumedienne. Other military juntas have succeeded neutralist regimes in Dahomey, Congo (Brazzaville), and Rwanda. The coups in the Middle East have been too numerous to follow, while Socialist regimes have been displaced, and Nasser has been isolated in Egypt.

Although the most notable Nationalist authoritarian regimes have proved more vulnerable than would have been expected, other styles have not fared any better. Attempts to gain power through electoral means have been thwarted in a number of countries: in Guyana, the British gerrymandered the legislature and stirred up inter-racial hostility to deprive Cheddi Jagan of a chance to rule. In Chile, where illiterates cannot vote, the Socialist-Communist electoral alliance failed to elect Allende to the Presidency in a two-way 1964 contest with the Christian Democrat Frei, backed by right-wing money.

The upshot of all these defeats is that the militant wing of the Organization of African Unity is now composed of Guinea, Tanzania, and Mali, almost alone. Of the six regimes that voted abstentions on the American proposal to eject Cuba from the OAS, four have fallen to military coups, leaving only Chile and Mexico with an independent foreign policy. Of the first generation of nationalist leaders, only Nasser, Toure, and Castro remain. One minimal condition for the attractiveness of a model is success, and alternatives to China and the American Way become fewer and fewer as time goes by.

One group of nations has been paraded by American liberals as a genuine alternative: it includes India, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and sometimes Formosa and Japan. Formosa, of course, is a dictatorship. Japan is a developed country, where the old elite took the leadership in economic development. In India, Venezuela, and Puerto Rico, however, local capital has been subordinated to foreign capital. In Venezuela since 1957 a Social-Democratic banner flies from a regime that obeys the dictates of the coa-

lition between foreign oil interests and the local oligarchy. In Puerto Rico and India there is, by contrast, a great deal of industrial development, but this is controlled by foreign investors. In India local capitalists originally objected and had to be kept in line by the Government. In all three countries development is lopsided in the direction of high and fast profits, and social spending remains low.

The late sixties may well be a new period of defeat for the radicals throughout the world. In the early fifties, when America was in a period of frigidity, things were "closing down" as well in Russia; these developments fed on each other. Then Hungary, Nasser, Montgomery, Alabama, the Soviet thaw, and a number of other developments forced the world open to change. The possibilities for change in America are related to the fortunes of popular forces in the Third World. This relationship is not the romantic hope held by some American "leftists" of an anti-imperialist world, led by China, surrounding and isolating America, the citadel of world reaction. Rather, it is a complementary relationship; many of the enemies are the same, and many of the issues are parallel. A major unanswered question is the real dependence of American corporate enterprise on foreign investment opportunities; a deeper understanding of that complex subject might give some direction to our strategy.

The failure to develop economic independence and the failure to maintain political independence also indicate that the next generation of radicals will have to make a more fundamental assessment of economic power-relationships. It has been primarily American efforts that have narrowed the range of choices open to developing countries. To restrain American rapaciousness must continue to be the first aim of our efforts; but secondly, we want to press for a foreign policy of encouragement to popular rule and economic development.

## II. the domestic crisis of poverty and racism

The liberal domestic program is a wash-out, and visibly so. Symbolized by the sputtering war on poverty, the potpourri of national programs introduced in the Sixties has had little impact on racism, none whatsoever on the economics of inequality and of poverty. Despite the overwhelming support in the 89th Congress, President Johnson's welfare program includes 1.3 billion for the "war on poverty", 1.3 billion for elementary and secondary schools, half a billion for new health programs, the extension of social security to cover hospitalization and some doctor bills, and under half a million for the demonstration cities housing program that still hasn't passed. This effort adds up to less than the new spending on the war, and amounts to less than one-sixth of this year's increase in the Gross National Product. The feebleness of this effort casts considerable doubt on the ability of liberal forces to bring about even the minimum standards of a welfare state. In the eyes of many Americans, this is a crisis.

In one sense, capitalism can solve any of its problems. There is ample theoretical reason to argue that the extremes of poverty in America could be alleviated as they have been in capitalism Sweden, and that racism could be broken down, as it is in Canada or France. We are wary of relying on the system's workings to produce its crisis; the radicals who said U. S. capitalism couldn't recover from the Depression or accommodate industrial unionism or coexist with the Soviet Union have been proven wrong. But the will to solve national problems

doesn't appear automatically among the nation's leadership when the problems are identified. Rhetorical and tokenistic responses have been made to poverty and racism, but America does not seem about to deal seriously with them. There is increasing motion around these issues, of people to whom rhetorical gestures only reinforces the desire to achieve real solutions.

The persistence of poverty and racism is reaching a crisis, as exemplified in the urban disturbances of 1965 and 1966 in Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos. A recession has been postponed by a tax cut and the war in Vietnam, but these solutions are bringing growing inflation. None of the liberal programs promises a redistribution of income; the division by which the top five percent get 20% each year, and the bottom 20% get five per cent of the nation's income remains intact. Most poignant of all is the cut-back in war on poverty itself affecting the creative elements first. This palpable failure of American liberalism demands an explanation; the demand is being made by gang kids in Chicago who thought the "war" meant a decent job, and by middle-class whites who thought the Civil Rights bill would purchase racial harmony.

With the exception of the civil rights laws, the current package is a watered-down version of the Fair Deal of Harry Truman which was defeated by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition for two decades. Lyndon Johnson, to his credit, got it through, because he put together a national coalition in the wake of the Assassination that stretched from Henry

Ford to Martin Luther King. The elements of the business community which Johnson brought as reinforcements to the liberals who had been unsuccessful for decades left their imprint on the legislative package. The program for jobs became a tax cut with considerable incentive for capital investment and heavy consumer purchases aiming at ending joblessness through trickle-down effects. In the place of the 1948 bill for comprehensive health insurance we have Medicare to pay most of the costs of a month of hospitalization, some of the costs of extended hospital stays, and reimbursing certain bills for doctor visits. The public housing program has been faithful to its purpose of building for low income people, but Congress has imposed a maximum of 35,000 units a year; a demonstration cities program introduced after Watts aims at a \$2.3 billion authorization to be spread over four years and among seventy cities.

The nature of the governing coalition has had a further impact since the inception of the war, which brought the aircraft and other right-wing manufacturers into the Johnson camp, and alienated considerable liberal support. They seem to regard the war itself as an adequate program to get Negro kids out of the slums and engaged in useful work. But the blame should not be placed on the right-wingers or Johnson exclusively; a heavy proportion must be assigned to the exhaustion of the liberal imagination. Liberals were assigned to write the program; liberals in Congress were given the job of voting for the program.

When Senator Long (La.) and Ribicoff (Ct.) proposed to make Medicare's hospitalization scheme unlimited in duration, in order not to put old folks out on the street when they went broke, and to make the burden of contributing to the program's fund slightly lighter on the poor, the AFL-CIO lobbyists and the bill's liberal backers rounded up the negative votes. When Senator Gore (Tenn.) and Proxmire (Wisc.) attacked the tax bill as a businessmen's bill, the liberal Democratic leadership saw to it that their amendments were overwhelmingly beaten. The War on Poverty once again demonstrates this point most dramatically, for liberal intellectuals were given the total assignment for writing it up and shaping it. Out of that effort we have a pre-school program, additional corps of social workers, a Job Corps which has trained 5,385 kids and placed 23.5% in jobs, and job retraining of much the same pitiful scale. Because liberals were not proposing a program for equality, or economic democracy, they perceived no contradiction among the forces arrayed behind the program.

The poverty warriors believe that change should be managed, and perceive no ideological dimensions to the management. So they are content with overall increases in public sector spending; the Appalachia program of \$1.1 billion over six years is hailed although over three-quarters of the money will be spent building roads. The trickle-down approach flies in the face of the evidence of the existence of an underclass as a fea-

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ture of our social structure. The schools of the poor neighborhoods condemn the young people to poverty; median IQ in Central Harlem declines from 90.6 in 3rd grade to 87.7 in 8th grade. Health care is almost without exception based on the ability to pay, and urban families with income under \$3000 average \$175 in expenses, where families earning over \$7,500 can spend \$557, and have less need. Small wonder that upward mobility is so slight; 81% of manual workers are sons of manual workers, and the size of the population under \$3000 annual income was reduced at an annual rate of under 1% between 1957 and 1963. The welfare system further reinforces the barriers of the underclass by producing dependency; one million families on relief stay on at the whim of welfare workers and "welfare investigators", and are regularly deprived of the benefits entitled them under the law that might buy a refrigerator, or enable them to resist sending the kids to beg for empty pop bottles. Despite the war and the tax cut, unemployment remains at 3.9%, to which must be added another 1% as the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment, and close to 2% representing unemployed not counted in the labor force, either because they have "dropped out" of the statistics because of the continued difficulty of regaining work, or because they have never entered the labor market because they know the teenage jobless rate is about one in seven. The American welfare state is a middle-class welfare state, as exemplified in the housing program, in which mostly middle-income construction is supported, and by which less poor people have been housed than displaced.

A program to deal with poverty must approach it as a class phenomenon, and recognize that a little bit more of what we have seen so far, plus some advice centers and some trickle-down employment, will have no impact. The talk of guaranteed annual income, and for a decent minimum is a beginning. These would meet part of the problem, although it is easy to visualize slumlords merely jacking up rents without improving the buildings; unless the increases are large, inflation may nullify them. In the America of the sixties, we can understand no objection to making an annual income of a modest but adequate budget available to all as a matter of human rights; this would vary between \$4500 and \$6000 according to the local cost of living. For the time being, we favor extension of the minimum wage to cover all employees and a \$2. minimum. The legislation pending in Congress would increase the coverage from 63% to 73% of nonsupervisory employment, and over a period of years would raise the minimum from \$1.25 to \$1.75, barely above the official "subsistence" poverty standard. Also, over a million farm workers would finally be covered, but their wage standard would only reach \$1.25 by 1970, clearly a useless proposal. Instead of the present coverage for 22% of service workers and 33% of retail workers, the bill would cover 53% and 58% respectively. But these compromises do not impress us when we realize that it would only take \$15 billion a

year of supplementary income to raise all 34.3 million poor to the \$3150 subsistence level, and we spend that amount in Vietnam.

Racism

The Civil Rights Act was the one item in the LBJ domestic program that went beyond liberal thinking of the late forties; this is entirely attributable to the new presence of powerful forces mobilized in the sixties. Yet in dealing with the problems of the Negro minority, the society has been no more successful than in attacking poverty. Despite the far-reaching integration law of 1964, school desegregation in the South has proceeded on a token basis, in the north it has been nonexistent; the slums have remained the same generators of misery and housing segregation remains just about intact; millions of Negroes have been registered to vote but the conditions that render that vote powerless remain; unemployment remains at Depression levels in the ghetto.

The enforcement of the Civil Rights Act has actually legitimized segregation in schools. The Office of Education considers 95% of southern school districts in compliance with the act, yet only 6% of Negro school children attended school with whites (182,767 out of over 3 million) last school year. The previous year the figure was 2.25%; South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi still haven't reached that level. In Alabama, the leading recalcitrant with .43% of Negroes in integrated schools, HEW certified 105 of 119 school districts. The enforcement provision of cutting off Federal Aid (Federal money accounts for about 10% of public school budgets, although this is quite unevenly distributed and is much higher in the South) will be invoked in 32 school districts, and hearings are under way in 31 others. 12 school-years after the "deliberate speed" Supreme Court decisions, over 65% of American Negro students are in schools with over 90% Negroes.

The persistence of heavy unemployment among Negroes has not been alleviated by the fair employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act; this should not have been anticipated in any case. But the strategy of fighting unemployment through general business prosperity runs afoul of deeply ingrained racism and other structural reasons, and continues to fail to trickle-down. The Moynihan Report estimated 140,000 unemployed Negro men are not even counted, an additional 2.5% on their jobless rate. With 4% unemployed in May, the rate for whites was 3.5%, for Negroes it was 7.6%. The impact of inequality in the economic sphere is most markedly apparent in the ratio of Negro earnings to white earnings, which has fallen to 55% from 60% in 1950.

A study of residential segregation based on 1960 census tracts yielded an 87.8 median index of residential segregation for 207 cities, meaning that 87.8 percent of Negroes would have to be moved from the ghetto to white neighborhoods to desegregate all housing. Moreover, the larger the proportion of Negroes in the city, the higher the segregation index, reaching 90.4 for the top fifth. Between 1950 and 1960 there was a decline of 1.2 points in the national median, partly due to the looseness of the housing market in the North and West. Many ap-

parently integrated blocks are blocks in transition from white occupancy to Negro occupancy.

There are now over 2.4 million Negroes registered to vote in the South, an increase to 46%. But the vote alone has not, and will not, bring about a change in the conditions of life for black people. The emerging political strategy sees middle-class Negro leadership building an alliance with white moderates from business and professional classes to back white moderate candidates for the larger offices (Congress, Governor, city council in big cities). It is in the interest of this coalition to build a well-oiled political machine; these have started to organize the ghetto in Tennessee, North Carolina, and elsewhere. Where an effective voice to articulate the dimensions of Negro poverty has arisen, the coalition has been an opponent; the symbolic case is the unseating of Julian Bond in the Georgia legislature. The white power structure has relinquished its opposition to the symbols of integration, but not its opposition to changing the quality of schooling, income, relations to the police, and housing that add up to day-to-day life. In this a neat parallel can be drawn to Northern cities.

The emergence of an explicit commitment to "black power" responds directly to the new situation. It aims first at the local offices which are within the grasp of the black voters and which can make a greater change in their lives than the replacement of an old-line Dixiecrat Senator with a new-style vote for moderation in Washington.

Social Control

But in the absence of a real solution to these real problems, America more and more relies on managerial solutions of social control. And in some cases these can have widespread political backing. To deal with the northern ghetto, for instance, the police solution has a great deal of popularity. Every city has a trained riot squad, ready to put down any disorder by the massive application of police power. It is not surprising that this "solution" should be invoked, because cities have up to now seen the police department as a major social agency for dealing with the ghetto. Police brutality is the daily experience for ordinary residents of the ghetto - and this applies to urban concentrations of poor people of all races. Not only have policemen successfully resisted the installation of civilian review procedures of any kind, but a number of cities have instituted "stop and frisk" practices that extend the unconstitutional interrogation practices right out on to the street. A political candidacy like that of Ronald Reagan, because of its ideological flavor, develops popular support for tightening up the mechanisms of social control.

There are other outstanding examples. There is the welfare system, in which the most desperate poor are subjected to constant surveillance, morality checkups, the possibility of removal from the welfare rolls by unidentified crank calls accusing them of violations, and the same kind of dependence as that of a person on parole or probation. A million families are on public welfare, and the system is so degrading that an equal number of families are eligible under present rules but either fail to apply out of

fear or pride, or are denied aid by the capricious workings of the system.

Another instrument of social control, aimed not just at poor people, is the public school system. The school system inculcates the dominant ideology, anxieties, and expectations. It serves as disciplinarian both by keeping kids off the street and in their seats, and by wielding its arbitrary powers of grading, black marks, suspension and expulsion, to keep the kids in line. And it uses those instruments of discipline together with tests and other evaluative devices to segregate the students according to an early judgment of their potential and determine the niches and social class for the individuals in junior high school or before. Kids don't have high expectations because the schools, instead of freeing their human potential, control and regiment and delimit that potential, according to the needs of the society for workskills of all kinds.

Other public institutions and programs are operated along the same pattern - public housing combines the worst features of the school and welfare systems. Like the schools, it is full of counseling, guidance, professionals of all kinds who tell people what they can do between what times in what rooms, and like welfare it has its own snooping and maintenance system for kicking people out and thereby intimidating them while they're in. This also crushes whatever community spirit might prevail.

Finally, there is the out-and-out military solution. You send in the national guard when marches in Cambridge, Md., or uprisings in Watts of Omaha or Chicago get out of hand; you draft the kids into the Army to teach them discipline, a skill if they bright, and to get them off the streets once again. And to do the country's dying for it.

There is a homily that America has Socialism for the rich (in terms of subsidies, contracts, easy tax policy, and the best public schools and services) and Free Enterprise for the poor (in terms of forcing the poor to compete tooth and nail for any of the advantages of the society that are left over or that trickle down). But the poor face in the instruments of social control at patchwork totalitarianism, and in the face of those conditions the response must be to organize for effective power. Part of the program of movements must be national; a guaranteed income at an adequate level of living... 13 million units of new housing to replace that number of substandard dwelling units... at least \$20 billion a year for schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, a kind of spending that will create jobs for the presently unemployed. But the rest of the program must be worked out in the experience of poor people confronting power locally. The poor must be able to control their local police; they must have a share in redesigning neighborhoods to make the new housing arrangements decent on es; political decision-making must be decentralized so that effective control of urban planning can be exercised on a neighborhood basis; the schools must be transformed from disciplinary institutions to agencies of learning; decisions made privately by the local power structure concerning costs of public utilities, charges on lending, urban renewal, etc., must become part of local democratic decision-making.

Paul Booth,

# III the other american heritage

"When the bread and butter problem is solved, and all men and women and children the world around are rendered secure from dread of war and fear of want, then the mind and the soul will be free to develop as they never were before."  
-Eugene V. Debs

American history contains a vital tradition of radicals and radical movements; people have known in each period that things were fundamentally wrong. The tradition includes alienated intellectuals and maverick politicians; it also includes powerful mass movements. By placing ourselves firmly in this tradition we wish it to be known that the fight against corporate power and privilege is resumed in our time. We take up where others-populists and socialists-left off, and take to heart their belief in the common man and their hope for a cooperative commonwealth, in which fraternity would replace possessive individualism as the basis of social relations.

By examining the history of those movements with which we identify, we hope to draw lessons for our own efforts, and also we affirm the desirability of identifying with movements and men in history. Those who would study history without a sense of which side carried decent values in its time, or

which point of view was correct is to deprive history of its power to teach. The difficult task of judgement is a task we accept as people committed to making values prevail in politics. History should be the property of the people, not of the historians. So we must teach the lessons we learn from our past.

The outstanding lesson is not the myth of American consensus taught in the colleges. Liberals and conservatives have adopted this view: progressive forces from the Founding Fathers have carried the American Torch and those who have dissented were either reformers soon to find acceptance for their ideas, or eccentrics, anti-intellectuals, subversives and paranoids. The lineage of radicalism has been denied or obscured in psychoanalytic rationalizations: Quakers who practiced civil disobedience in Massachusetts for the principle of religious tolerance are now seen as having a martyrdom complex; populists embody a paranoid style, we are told, for suspecting a self-interested conspiracy of bankers and railroaders; of the abolitionist Charles Sumner, who was beaten senseless on the floor of the House for his views, we are told "This holy blissful martyr thrived upon his torments."

We reject as well the liberal variant of the consensus theory. We can not bring our-

selves to believe that America has seen a succession of progressive victories, with reform winning all the fights. This cannot be reconciled with the empirical evidence that corporate privilege, inequality, and the foreign policy of expansion and war have survived each of these "victories" more or less intact. The story of reform in America can as easily be read as a story of defeat of radicals and mellowing of reformers. As contemporary radicals who understand only too well the need for controversy, we want to rehabilitate on the stage of history some of the old controversies between movements and entrenched interests.

Our attempt is not to describe ourselves as the next wave of progress. We are acutely aware of the tension throughout American history between the nation's liberal ideals and the reality which was the living denial of those ideals. At the time Jefferson wrote that "All men are created equal", he and the men who signed the Declaration of Independence did not have Indians, Negroes, debtors, and women in mind. But even at that time some people took the stated ideals literally and seriously; the sailors and urban mechanics of New York, upon hearing the Declaration, released the debtors from the prisons. The legislature of Massachusetts,

during the Revolution, abolished slavery. This American revolutionary spirit was quickly lost.

That tension, between rhetoric and reality, has been resolved by the society through the device of the American Dream. The myth that has prevailed has held out the promise of the continent to those who were caught in its poverty; "in America a man is accounted a failure, and certainly ought to be, who has not risen above his father's station in life." "The reformers," according to Herbert Croly, founder of the *New Republic*, "proclaim their conviction of an indubitable and beneficent national future." The powerful myth of mobility has always had some basis in real experience, some people moved upward to the middle class, and others outward to the frontier. The doctrine of Manifest Destiny, an integral part of the American Dream, served as the rationalization for the conquest of the American Continent in the 19th century and for the overseas expansionism and economic empire-building of the 20th. Expansion has not only been the outlet for the energies of the country, it has served as the safety-valve whereby attention to America's own dilemmas has been postponed and the movements that demanded that attention have

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# Booth -- heritage for radicals

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been sidetracked. Radicals have been right to expose the immorality of American mobility sustained by the massacre of the Indian race, or the control of Asians or Latin Americans. They were right as well when they argued that instead of letting capitalism choose a few Horatio Algiers in the social rat-race of the survival of the fittest, the farmers and workers should, by united action, achieve an end to poverty for all those at the bottom of the society.

Our resolution of the tension is to seek the fulfillment of the democratic hope through the radical reconstruction of our own society. Like Debs, who would not fight in a war, but fought all his life "to wipe out capitalism," we reject the system and the seductions of its ideology. When we reject the liberal heritage, we do not reject the positive values it has impressed upon America: "All men are created equal... whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it... government of the people, by the people, for the people"... rather, we seek to achieve them.

As well, we affirm the value of the reforms for which radical and liberal movements have fought, both the reforms that have made the system more pliable to democratic control, such as the broadening of the suffrage, referendum and initiative, fair apportionment, and those that represent real and immediate gains against oppression, like Fair Labor Standards, Emancipation, and TVA. We recognize that the motivation for reform has been a mixed bag, that many suffragettes gave as much prominence to the argument that their votes would balance off the new votes of immigrants as they did to arguments based on equality. Our identification with these reforms is not out of any desire to make the system work more cleanly and efficiently and honestly, such as motivated most Progressive and civic reformers, but as part of a general attack on privilege and minority rule as it was for Populists and for Bob LaFollette, as well as it is part of our affirmation of democratic principles as guidelines for the new society we wish to bring into being.

Finally, our interpretation of liberalism's role in American history gives urgency to our mission, which is to build an alternative. Schlesinger's description "ordinarily the movement on the part of other sections of society to restrain the power of the business community" -- is inaccurate, for liberals, in working to stabilize the system and reform its most objectionable features, have respected the legitimacy of corporate enterprise, and have merely challenged some of its practices, never its power. And power is a major concern of ours.

The one unbroken strain of radicalism in America has been among intellectuals; even when no popular movement challenged the assumptions of the prevailing order, some voices did. The contemporary campus radicalism has a great deal in common with Thomas Paine, Henry David Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, Walter Rauschenbusch, Randolph Bourne, Thorstein Veblen, Charles Beard, C. Wright Mills. At times these have been isolated intellectuals, at other times part of a widespread expression, of movements for Abolition, the social-gospel, academic freedom, muckraking, or of utopian communities. This kind of intellectual opposition has been nurtured in Quakerism, in the Protestant clergy, in Judaism, in the universities. In the American history of ideas, radicals figure prominently. In the context of progressive movements of any period, these were often the left-wing. This is a tradition of dissent, sometimes of isolated dissent and sometimes of persecuted dissent. And, in all fairness, the tradition is more notable for its passionate involvements in cases than for its lasting intellectual contribution.

A second continuous strain is the Maverick tradition. This tradition is partly produced by the two-party system in which men have periodically appeared making lonely battle against the powerful. The maverick builds a personalistic political following, and appeals to rugged American individualism by taking Charles Sumner, who refused to join in unanimous consent to recognize any petition to Congress because the Southern delegations wouldn't recognize anti-slavery petitions.

John Peter Altgeld, the Illinois Democratic Governor who defended the Haymarket martyrs and the Pullman strikers, stands out as a man continually embracing the cause of common people, referred to by Debs as "supremely great". Debs, who opposed on principle any cooperation with reform

parties and movements, could make this exception out of sympathy for a man who saw possibilities of working as Governor, or as a leader within the Democratic Party, without being confused about the principles for which he worked. During the Twenties, the U.S. Senate contained a number of mavericks from Western States -- Borah, Norris, and LaFollette.

In our own time, on the single issue of Vietnam, before any of the antiwar movements were protesting, Senators Morse and Gruening were denouncing the war. While we understand that we are trying to build political power, not maverickism, we are cautious of the attitude that blinds itself to valuable allies by overestimating the ability of the political parties to discipline internal opposition. We see mavericks as genuine American radicals.

In addition to mavericks and intellectuals, there is equally a tradition of power, of mass movements sharing the intellectual's perception of the fundamental inequities of the society, and threatening, to greater or lesser extent, by their own strength, to alter the social relations between "wealth and commonwealth". It is these social movements whose history we examine most carefully, for they are the cases in which radicalism has taken deep root in American soil, a fact we wish to accomplish in our own time.

## Abolitionism

The first radical movement after the Revolution raised powerfully the issue of race. It is this question, from the inception of the Republic, that has been the most significant test of the equality we were promised by the Revolution. During the Revolution, George Washington hoped that the "spirit of freedom" would result in an end to the slave trade that had ground to a halt during the hostilities. Georgia and South Carolina stuck by the institution, and during the Confederation period, it, and the sectionalism growing out of it, were the basis of the most important divisions. This carried over into the writing of the Constitution, which consecrated the ascendancy of slave-owning and other propertied interests. The abolitionists saw the Constitution in these terms, "an insult to that God... who views with equal eye the poor African slave and his American master."

As slavery gained strength with the development of the cotton economy, an anti-slavery movement was born, with roots in the midwestern religious evangelistic movement and in New England transcendentalism. The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1833, and William Lloyd Garrison founded *The Liberator* -- the publication of the movement's radical wing -- in 1831. He and his allies gained control of the Society in 1840. The movement was based on precisely those strains which have provided America with intellectual radicalism. Its political development, reflecting this "moral" constituency, was towards the detachment of the country (or if necessary the northern states) from the slavery evil. As well, the Garrisonians opposed political action or any co-operation with churches or political parties which had connections to Southern society. This isolated, moralistic strategy, was further determined by the tactics of Garrison within the movement, which were "hard-line" tactics extremely critical of any deviation. As a result, the Abolitionist movement never had access to political power, and was largely irrelevant to the development of the Free Soil or Republican parties, except insofar as the power of their moral witness and protest forced every other element in the society to confront the slavery question as the first order of business. And this was indeed their effect.

The dominant political idea of the time was western expansion. The abolitionists' moral force brought the Free Soil Party, founded in 1848, and the Republican Party to advocate containment of slavery. This meant a rejection of Henry Clay's attempt to reconcile expansion with the political realities of the time. A coalition of western settlers with eastern businessmen seeking an outlet for capital and the Labor Movement seeking an outlet for the immigrant population developed. Lincoln expressed this coalition in the Homestead Act, railroad subsidies, and the Civil War.

Negroes in the North, in the wake of the Nat Turner slave revolt of 1831, were inspired to back Garrison and to participate in the abolition movement; they played a secondary role however and built their own movement with demands coming out of

their more immediate perspective on the question of equality. In the South, a large number of Negro slave uprisings took place, almost always led by Freedmen and always crushed in a matter of days. The raid led by John Brown on Harpers Ferry in 1859, and the more prominent of the slave uprisings, while not practical in terms of a strategy of slaves liberating themselves, forced the issue on the nation much as the strident rhetoric of Garrison and Wendell Phillips forced the issue.

Conventional history describes this movement as "extremist." Some blame the agitators for the Civil War, making the erroneous assumption that slavery would otherwise have withered away. It certainly is true that the movement placed their goal higher even than the preservation of the Constitution; union after all had been purchased with concessions to slavery. Our sympathies are entirely with arguments such as the following made by Wendell Phillips:

"Such an evil as slavery will yield only to the most radical treatment... A money power of two thousand millions of dollars, as the prices of slaves now range, held by a small body of able and desperate men; that body raised into political aristocracy by special constitutional provisions; cotton, the product of slave labor, forming the basis of our whole foreign commerce, and the commercial class thus subsidized; the press bought up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart of the common people chilled by a bitter prejudice against the black race; our leading men bribed, by ambition, either to silence or open hostility; -- in such a land, on what shall an Abolitionist rely? . . . Where shall our church organizations or parties get strength to attack their great parent and moulder, the Slave Power? . . . The old jest of one who tried to lift himself in his own basket, is but a tame picture of the man who imagines that, by working solely through existing sects and parties, he can destroy slavery . . .

"Experience has confirmed these views. The Abolitionists . . . have but to point to their own success . . . Slavery has been made the question of this generation . . ."

The question of race persisted; not all of the Abolitionists saw their job as extending beyond emancipation. A few, like Phillips as an agitator, and Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens as politicians, advocated the distribution of land to freedmen and the extension of suffrage. Others, like Garrison, even favored dissolution of the anti-slavery societies; a third group saw its job as bringing aid to individual freedmen, teaching agriculture and literacy, carrying out an honorable tradition of work begun in the aid to fugitive slaves. The Reconstruction period, insofar as it carried out the abolitionist sentiments, enacted some of the changes suggested by the abolitionist's no-

tions of equality. But, lacking a powerful movement, this motivation was subordinated to the acquisitive motives of northern capital, which in 1876 reached a meeting of the minds with the Southern white upper class, which proceeded to dismantle Reconstruction.

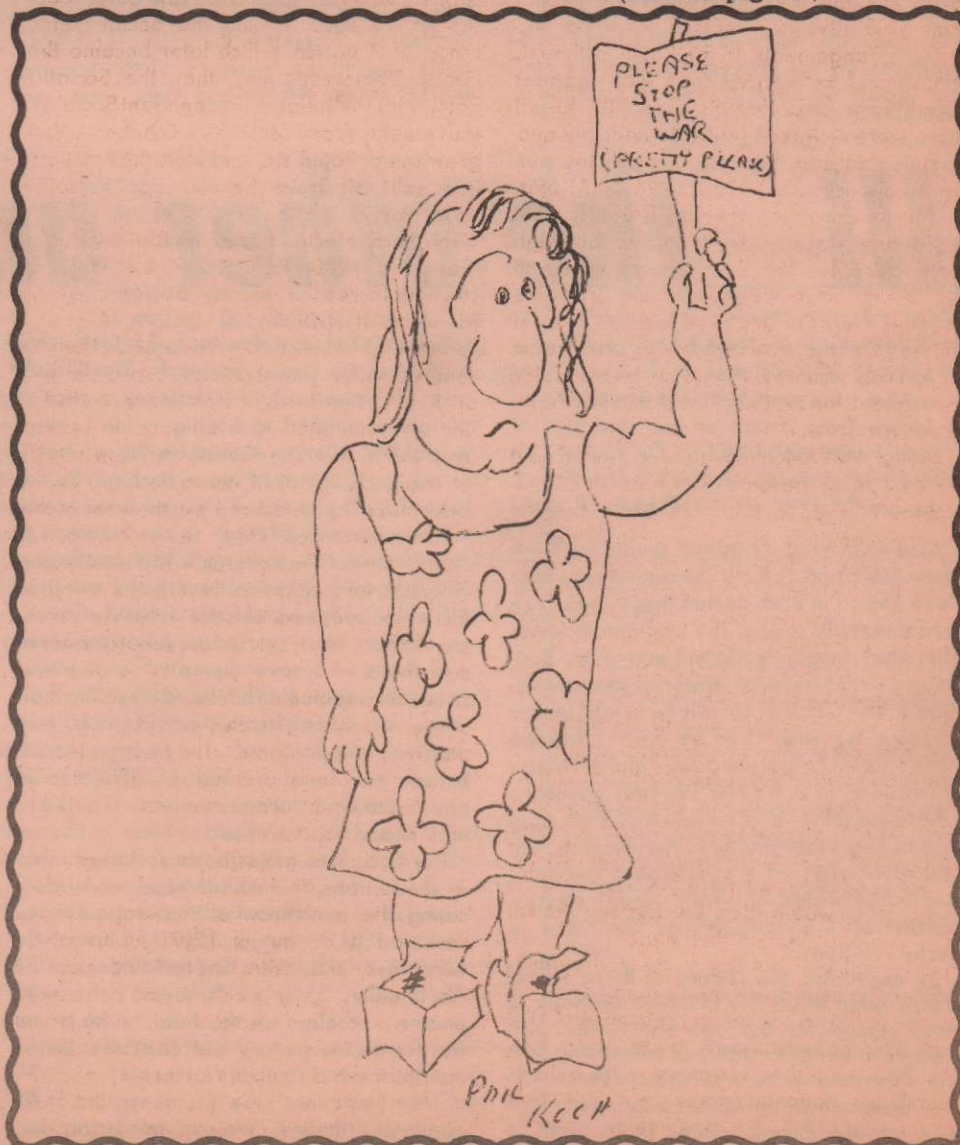
The post-Civil War was a period of extremely rapid economic development, led by the northern capitalists who had won the war. By the 1890's bankers and industrialists replaced railroad men as the dominant economic leaders. But this period was marked by tremendous social costs of development, seen throughout the society. Wars to eliminate the Indians were pursued with greater brutality and thoroughness than ever before. In the South, forms of industrial oppression replaced slavery. One of them was the provision of Negro convict labor to companies like Tennessee Coal and Iron. The depression of 1873 was a deep crisis affecting workers and farmers alike; it created tremendous unemployment which by 1877 erupted in strikes and riots. President Hayes sent Federal troops into Pittsburgh in the "bread or blood" riots following a prolonged railroad strike. The exploitative practices of the railroads combined with falling prices to create farm depression; in reaction, the Greenback Party gathered a million votes in 1878 on a platform of money inflation.

## Populism

The populist movement was the first radical response to the new conditions of ruthless industrialism. It arose in the 1880's in the Farmers Alliances protesting the power and practices of the railroad industry, and the national government's economic policy of favoritism to the Eastern banking interests. The agricultural depression of the late '80s brought 6 million farmers into the Southern, Colonial and Northern alliances by 1889. Unquestionably this was a mass movement of impoverished farmers, and it soon turned to political action to secure its program.

In 1890, alliancemen followed a number of strategies. In the South, where the ties to the Democratic Party were strong, they attempted and in most cases succeeded in getting the Democratic Party pledged to help the farmers. 44 Congressmen and 2 Senators were elected on this platform, and eight state legislatures and the governorships of South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee fell under the control of the movement. In the plains states, independent or people's (Kansas) parties were started, or cooperation was worked out with the Republicans; here the successes were very limited. The Southern Alliancemen experienced deep disillusionment with the performance of their allies, most of whom abandoned the cause

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of the farmers when specific legislation was considered. That experience and the growing following of Third Party leaders like Ignatius Donnelly -- veterans of the Greenback Party -- led to the convening of a national political convention in Omaha in July, 1892, to found the People's Party.

The entry as a Third Party had varied impact. In the South, this was quite a radical step, due to the Negro question; the failure of the "Force Bill" in 1888 in Congress meant that racists had free rein in depriving Negroes of the franchise. The Populists championed Negro suffrage, and Tom Watson held multi-racial meetings up and down Georgia in behalf of the national ticket. The Democratic Party machinery stole and bullied its way to victory in the states where Populism had strong following. General Weaver, the Presidential candidate, gathered 22 electoral votes, over one million votes, as the Populists elected Governors in North Dakota and Kansas, and by virtue of their Free Silver stand carried Colorado. Ten Populist representatives were elected. With the panic of 1893 the threat of Populism and the appeal of both its radical platform and especially of the proposal for the free and unlimited coinage of silver increased rapidly. The strict adhesion of the Democratic Cleveland Administration to "sound" monetary principle thoroughly alienated Southern populists from that party; in the west, however, the Populist state administrations met with great difficulty and were isolated and out-manuevered by the other parties, causing many midwestern populists to seek their salvation in fusion.

In Colorado, where Davis Waite had been elected Governor through free-silver enthusiasm although he put forth the full Populist program, the first labor controversy of Cripple Creek illustrated to the state and country the radicalism of the People's Party. To break a miners strike against Rockefeller interests, the Sheriff requested troops, which the Governor withdrew after inspecting the situation. 1200 armed Sheriff's deputies then faced a similar aggregation of armed miners. The Governor fraternized with the miners, criticizing "Damn Capital", and a showdown was barely averted. The Pullman and Homestead (Pa.) strikes also elicited wide Populist support.

The concern for the poorest people was demonstrated by another Populist Governor, Alonzo Lewelling of Kansas, in his Tramp Circular of December 1893. This instruction to city police against vagrancy laws analyzed the condition of the tramp as the natural outcome of selfish capitalism. "The monopoly of labor saving machinery and its devotion to selfish not social use, have rendered more human beings superfluous, until we have a standing army of the unemployed numbering even in the most prosperous times not less than one million able-bodied men." Populists also supported Coxey's Army, the 1894 unemployed march on Washington.

In 1894 the Republicans defeated the Populists through the midwest as the Democrats and silverites refused to enter into fusion arrangements. In the South, although widespread vote fraud took place against Republicans and Populists (usually fused), these were reversed by the Republicans and Populists in both houses. Overall, the outright Populist vote increased to 1,471,590. In North Carolina, where a fusionist state legislature was elected, Negroes took high state office for the first time anywhere in the South since Reconstruction; in some counties Negroes captured the bulk of local offices. On the basis of this victory, racist Democrats drummed up a scare campaign throughout the South which damaged Populism a great deal.

As the 1896 elections approached, a split in the party became evident. The "mid-raders" urged a third candidate backing all the demands of the Omaha Platform, which called for free silver and government ownership of railroads, graduated income tax, postal savings banks, publicly owned telephone and telegraph, initiative and referendum, abolition of Pinkertons and strike-breaking armies, shorter labor hours, direct election of Senators, female suffrage, etc. On the other hand, Fusionists urged cooperation with the Democratic candidate Wm. Jennings Bryan, who was close to Populism. The Party convention voted to nominate Bryan but to add Tom Watson as the Vice-Presidential nominee, in hope that the Democrats would drop the Eastern Banker who held that spot on their slate.

It turned out that Bryan refused even to accept the separate Populist nomination because of the embarrassing presence of Watson. The Populist party machinery was in the hands of firm fusionists, who built no significant national campaign independent of the Democratic Party campaign -- despite

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the great disparity in platforms -- and who sought to combine slates of electors in as many states as possible behind the Bryan candidacy. These compromises were fairly unavoidable because of the strength of major-party organizations during a Presidential campaign. The gamble, that Bryan would win and bring tangible gains to the Populist movement, failed. Remaining in control, the Fusionists refused to convene another National convention to rebuild the Party. Splits took place, and combined with the prosperity during the McKinley Administration and the efforts of the Democratic Party to retain ex-populists, the movement fell apart.

The monumental contribution of the Populist movement was its identification of the control of the government by the business class. They saw in their time that "The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes -- tramps and millionaires."

Their proposal: "We seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of 'the plain people' " is as relevant today as then.

### American Socialism

The idea of socialism achieved deep roots in American soil in the first two decades of the Twentieth Century. Its forthright agitation for the abolition of capitalism and its wage system, and for the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth, accompanied by the radical unionism of the period, provide an effective counter-example to the idea that radicalism cannot grow without major economic depression.

This was pre-eminently a period of the consolidation of corporate capitalism. The combined power of the railroads had weathered the great challenge of the American Railroad Union in 1894. The Pullman strike, involving over 100,000 workers combined in an industrial union, was ultimately broken by the issuance of a sweeping injunction against the Union, and by the dispatch by President Cleveland of troops to run the trains. Two years later, the money power put across its Presidential candidate--McKinley--in the face of a Democratic Party that had repudiated Cleveland. The predominance of the railroads was overshadowed in the last years of the century by an industrial merger movement creating huge trusts in steel, oil, agricultural implements, meat packing, and copper. Eugene Victor Debs and other leaders of the ARU formed the Social Democracy of America, which later became the Social Democratic and then the Socialist Party with the influx of independent Socialist movements from Texas and Oklahoma that grew out of Populism, and from the East that had split off from the sectarian Socialist Labor Party.

The Party elected two assemblymen and a Mayor in 1900. Right up to the War, its strength increased steadily. From the outset, however, it straddled a number of issues, containing a number of factions but never coming under the thorough control of Left or Right. It included many leaders of old-line craft unions, who believed in boring from within the American Federation of Labor, and who in 1912 controlled 1/3 of the federation, as measured by the vote of the Socialist candidate, Max Hayes, for president against Gompers, as well as advocates of industrial unionism like Bill Haywood of the western miners and the Industrial Workers of the World, until his expulsion from the executive committee in 1913 over the issue of sabotage. It offered local candidates in dozens of states on programs emphasizing immediate demands, electing Mayors in towns and cities, while it also had a Left-wing faction demanding only the abolition of capitalism.

The Socialists' major basis of strength was in the unions. In 1902, a resolution advocating the overthrow of the wage system received 4171 out of 12070 votes at the AFL convention, reflecting socialist control of the brewers, mine workers, and carpenters unions. At the same time, Debs and Haywood were organizing the American Labor Union and later the Industrial Workers of the World, on the basis that the AFL, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, was cooperating

with industrialists rather than fighting them. The major agency for that cooperation was the National Civic Federation, in which executives of the trusts and labor leaders jointly developed a progressive program and movement for the rationalization of industrial capitalism. Through arbitration of potential strikes, lobbying for workmens' compensation and the Federal Trade Commission, and the elaboration of progressive ideology, the Civic Federation sought to establish labor peace and working-class acceptance of the prerogatives of corporations. Socialists, whether boring from within or without the AFL, argued that capitalism should be replaced, not reformed.

That some change would have to come about was increasingly clear. Muckrakers exposed the excesses and brutalities of the trusts in books like *The Jungle*, *Wealth against Commonwealth*, *The Shame of the Cities*. The industries themselves cooperated in many cases with President Roosevelt in working out schemes of regulation, through which the government oversaw the elimination of certain business practices. This cooperation occurred in banking, meat inspection, food and drug inspection, and conservation. With the Morgan interests Roosevelt worked out a hands-off detente agreement. The anti-trust action against the Northern Securities Corporation prevented holding company control over northern railroads without taking actual control out of hands of the interests in the case. Generally, the Bureau of Corporations had good relations with what TR called "good trusts".

Meanwhile, the Socialist movement grew. Debs received 97,000 votes in 1900, and 420,000 in 1904 and in 1908. It developed as an institution: its press, exceeding the significance even of the Populist press, spread throughout the country. *The Appeal to Reason*, a weekly read by farmers and workers alike, reached 250,000 circulation before Debs joined it as a columnist in 1905. These spawned the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (the lineal predecessor of SDS) in 1905, and the Christian Socialist Fellowship. In 1908 Debs had his own campaign train, the Red Special, touring the country.

Throughout the Progressive period, the Socialists maintained a running criticism of reform attempts. As long as "capitalist ownership of government" persisted, they saw no promise in the reform proposals. Upton Sinclair's sentiment about the "reforms" of the stockyards that his muckracking was credited with prompting was "I am supposed to have helped clean up the yards and improve the country's meat supply -- though this is mostly delusion. But nobody even pretends to believe that I improved the condition of the stockyard workers." This was the sentiment about other progressive legislation.

The Progressive movement had a considerable following in the urban and rural middle-class. In Wisconsin, California, and Idaho, reformers wrested control of the legislature from the railroads. In city after city similar movements tried to replace corrupt municipal practices with clean, professional government. Local reforms generally made popular government more difficult, but initiative, referendum, and recall, direct primaries, and other reforms at the state level had a democratic impact.

President Taft's more literal prosecution of anti-trust law resulted in action against Standard Oil and American Tobacco; Standard Oil was broken into regional near-monopolies, and its stockholders controlled all the thirty-seven companies newly created, and American Tobacco's 80% share of the market in 1909 was replaced by a 91% share of the Big Three in 1913. Taft's performance was unsettling enough that in the 1912 election Big Business was interested in restoring the stability of the Roosevelt administration. Three candidates emerged with progressive rhetoric: Taft as the Republican, Wilson as the Democrat, and Roosevelt as a Bull Mooser. Despite all the progressive rhetoric, the Socialists received 6% of the vote, almost 900,000. All the major candidates and most businessmen advocated a federal licensing or incorporation law of one kind or another; this eventually became the Federal Trade Commission, and helped replace the informal detente system of the early 1900's.

The threat of socialism was real enough. American Telephone became an advocate of government licensing when twelve city councils passed resolutions favoring public ownership. At the Progressive convention, the key noter, Senator Beveridge, made clear

that "warfare to destroy big business is foolish because it cannot succeed and wicked because it ought not to succeed." Wilson's legislation, the Federal Reserve and Federal Trade and Clayton Antitrust Acts, embodied that wisdom. The Banking bill cushioned the Money Power against the weakness of decentralized banking, primarily the instability of the money market which disturbed decision-making about capital. The FTC decided to regulate "unfair competition" by giving legal advice to business on actions they proposed, and it settled complaints against business with private conferences. Taft was also pro-business; witness the creation by his Secretary of Commerce and Labor of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

In Europe, a war was brewing, but American Socialists pretty much ignored the possibility of American involvement. That possibility was being created in the New Nationalism. From Roosevelt's administration on, our Navy and Marines protected our interests, and skilful Secretaries of State opened doors to our investors in China and elsewhere. The Socialist Party was pre-occupied with making the best of the political doors that were increasingly open to it, organizing branches in more and more cities, and supporting the militant strikes among the unskilled that the AFL would not initiate. With Mayors in 73 towns and cities, 311 newspapers (including 13 dailies in 95 places, and legislators in 9 states, in 1913 Socialism appeared a durable and increasingly powerful feature of American society. The exuberance of the revolutionary industrial unionist wing, the IWW, is well known; in the years Wobblies moved into the East to participate in textile strikes centered in Lawrence, Mass., and in strikes in Akron and Paterson. Internal conflict, between the right-wingers interested in winning votes and power within the AFL, and the left-wingers growing increasingly harsh in their anti-capitalist rhetoric, increased in this period, marked by the expulsion of Haywood. This factionalism may have contributed to the dip in the Party's fate after 1914: In 1916 the national ticket received under 700,000 votes, and in the AFL the craft policy defeated industrial unionism by increasingly large votes.

From 1914, the Party turned its attention more directly to the War. The other Socialist Parties, with the exception of the Bolsheviks in Russia, took sides in the war with their respective regimes, abandoning any reservations about militarism. Anti-war fractions were jailed. In America, almost everyone in the Party stood against the war. When Wilson realized Germany could not otherwise be beaten, and America entered, the Party held an emergency convention in St. Louis that voted 140 to 5 (with 31 favoring a milder anti-war statement) a class-conscious manifesto of opposition to the war.

As the war developed, a hysteria of national unity took its toll on the Socialist Party. Organized as it was extensively throughout Small Town America, the Party was especially vulnerable to small-town super-patriotism. Meetings were broken up, branches could no longer operate. In Idaho a wobbly organizer was lynched. Nevertheless, the SP became the recipient of the widespread opposition to the war, with local candidates, where they could be offered, receiving double or three times the 1916 vote in Ohio and Wisconsin. The Federal Government joined local patriots in persecution of the Socialists with Espionage Law arrests in December, 1917 of hundreds of SP leaders, including Debs himself. The Party split after the war, with one group advocating the dictatorship of the proletariat creating what would eventually become the American Communist Party. All tendencies, however, defended the Russian Revolution. In Spring 1919 the Party collected 109,000 dues, and even after the splits, Debs polled 915,000 votes from his cell but this was now 3% of the vote. An additional 256,000 votes were received by the radical Farmer-Labor candidate. The Red Scare led by Attorney General Palmer completed the elimination of the SP as a significant political factor. By 1924, it was Senator LaFollette, not the SP, who received the voters' endorsement for having opposed the War. Over 4 million votes (17%) were cast for the Progressive candidate, including most of the old Socialist adherents. LaFollette, although a consistent opponent of the War and a critic of the Roosevelt and Wilson programs, could not offer a critique of the political capitalism that emerged in the Progressive period. Had a Socialist Party with the ability to speak in relevant terms to ordinary Americans existed in the Twenties, perhaps the failure of the next radical generation to adequately understand and oppose the later developments of government-business relationships could have been avoided.

The Socialist Party in its early period was

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both radical and relevant. It proposed the idea of industrial democracy at a time of political consolidation of Big Business. And it carried the heritage of Populism in its respect for the rank-and-file, the Jimmie Higgses for whom it was constructed; this was also carried forward in the internal democracy of the IWW. In many respects, the radicalism of this period is our most important heritage. Debs' final statement at his Espionage trial is fully relevant today:

"Your honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living things, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of the earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free. . . ."

"In this high noon of our twentieth century civilization money is still so much more important than human life. Gold is god and rules in the affairs of men . . . I never more clearly comprehended than now the great struggle between the powers of greed on the one hand and upon the other the rising hosts of freedom. I can see the dawn of a better day of humanity. The people are awakening. In due course of time they will come into their own . . ."

## The Development of Present Conditions

The Progressive period laid the groundwork for the subsequent development of the relations between business and government. The War Industries Board through commodity sections worked vigorously to coordinate production in many industries. Far from being socialist, according to its official historian "The commodity sections were business operating Government business for the common good". Herbert Hoover, both as Secretary of Commerce and later as President, encouraged private industry to develop Codes and standards that would be endorsed by the government and would indicate the direction for commercial activity. To this end he encouraged the formation of Trade Associations. As President he continued to try to move businessmen from the defense of their particular interests to industry-consciousness and class-consciousness.

The long agricultural depression of the Twenties, driving hundreds of thousands of farm families from their homes, was at the same time suggesting the limitations of the partnership conception. The partnership reflected only the interests of the most powerful organized elements in the society, and worked to sustain and reinforce prevailing power relationships in the society. With the stock market crash of 1929 this failure became a crisis in the system. Yet the means for dealing with the crisis were borrowed from Hoover and the Progressives. The National Recovery Act added some enforcement power to the Hoover notion of codes. The Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1930 and NRA section 7a did for labor unions what the Progressive period had done for sections of business, making them legitimate representatives of an interest. The Wagner National Labor Relations Act finally created the NLRB to regulate and adjudicate the collective bargaining process through which all labor-management relations would now flow in a controlled manner.

Other emergency legislation of the early New Deal reflected the old patterns. The establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission did for the stock market what the Reserve Act had done for Wall Street banks, including the principle of putting the affected party in control of the regulatory device. Agriculture legislation put local Farm Bureaus in control of a decentralized decision-making process aimed at reducing surplus production. The principle of "nationalization of losses", in which the government insures the private enterprise against the effects of failure, was introduced in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for banks and in a number of mortgage-guaranteeing institutions.

The notable exception to this generalization was the relief program, through which hundreds of thousands of unemployed were put to work at public projects; the New Deal took this Hoover idea and altered its scale so markedly as to make a significant impact on the extent of unemployment. But the depression was very deep, and political forces with programs of economic redistri-

bution emerged. Farmer-labor coalitions in the northern plains states had been growing throughout the twenties and were electing state legislators and congressmen on radical programs. Around the demand for old-age pensions, Francis Townsend organized millions of old folks into his clubs until the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 took the wind out of those sails. Huey Long and Father Coughlin turned their demagogic talents to demands to share the wealth, and achieved considerable popular followings. The Socialist and Communist Parties gathered between them 1.3 million votes in 1932; the Communist candidate, William Z. Foster, had been a leader of industrial strikes of the early twenties, and the Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, represented the "militant" faction that had taken over the party from the right-wing that had dominated it since 1919 (when it ejected the left). Roosevelt was remarkably successful in defusing these movements. His personal sympathy for the victims of the Depression, his consummate political abilities, and his patchwork program for bailing the country out played an important part in sidetracking every variety of radicalism.

By 1938, when a new recession occurred, the weaknesses of the New Deal were finally becoming evident. FDR himself tried to eliminate dissident Democrats in the congressional elections that year, but failed. Congress' Temporary National Economic Committee turned out that year volume after volume of investigations demonstrating that concentrated industrial control remained as solid as it had been before the Depression; TNEC proposed that the New Deal begin to deal with questions of power. In 1939 the unemployed rate was at 16%, and 30% of the nation's industrial plant was idle. At that time Roosevelt opted for the Lend-Lease program, Naval buildup, and other measures that prepared the final defeat of neutrality and isolation, and laid the groundwork for the Garrison State.

During the mid-Thirties the American Left put almost all its energy into the building of the industrial union movement. In 1934, industrial strikes led John L. Lewis, leader of the Mine Workers, to revive the call for Industrial Unionism. Bolting the AFL, he formed the Committee for Industrial Organization which began drives in rubber, steel, auto, textile, transport, meat packing, electrical, chemical, and oil. Energy also went into building the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Sit-down strikes at Akron, Flint, and elsewhere, in which 485,000 workers occupied the factories between Fall 1936 and Spring 1937, were successful and won recognition for the CIO unions in the major industries, as millions of workers signed union cards. Between 1930 and 1940, the labor movement grew from 2.9 million to 8.5 million, of which 2.8 million was in the CIO. The NLRA features providing for representation elections were frequently invoked where recognition did not come as a result of a powerful strike.

During this period the radicals built a base for the militant but reform-minded CIO leadership, a base that the leadership carried with varying extents of opposition in the FDR coalition. As far as trade union practice went, the socialists and communists did not actually have an alternative labor program, a basis by which they could distinguish their aims from those of the Lewis, Murray, et. al. This was most poignantly clear during the second World War. Auto and other industries used the war as a justification for re-introducing the speedup and eroding the degree of job control that had been gained during the sit-downs. A wave of wildcats broke out that was defeated with the aid of the leadership, and especially with the assistance of the communists who put foreign policy above union considerations.

In the agricultural field the New Deal contained for a time a set of programs aimed at rural poverty, whose fate paralleled other reforms of the period. The Resettlement Administration, which promoted some experiments in cooperative farming, and a subsistence homesteads program were combined in 1937 as the Farm Security Administration, which was prohibited from its inception by congressional pressure (reflecting the wishes of the Farm Bureau Federation) from organizing a constituency in behalf of an anti-poverty effort. FSA was steadily cut back and eventually eliminated. The Rural Electrification Administration and TVA also went through extended fights in which

conservative, entrenched interests won fights that limited these agencies to their particular services.

While the left built the labor movement, important developments in the structure of the economy transpired. Through war-related extensive government spending, the economy was brought out of the Depression. The largest federal budgets involved not merely the maintenance and supply of armed forces, but the construction of a massive industrial plant financed entirely by the government for heavy and light production, as necessitated by the war effort. This industrial mobilization was directed by the industrialists themselves, appointed to industry advisory committees under the War Production Board (which had several different names) and the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPA). Senator Truman's study of these 11,000 policy committees revealed a consistent preference for big business over small. As well, other issues relating to the structure and functioning of the economy were settled by these committees. The heavy industrial investment declined rapidly after 1945, but was resuscitated shortly thereafter with the onset of the Cold War, during which a whole new technology of war developed and industrial facilities were created for that task.

The committees were re-established during the Korean War, with the provision that there be no representation from labor; actually, labor had been represented only by Sidney Hilman of the Clothing workers who sat on the WPB in 1941 and 1942. During the Eisenhower administration a Business and Defense Services Administration was created to coordinate what the President later called the "military-industrial complex." The committee chairman for each industry were chosen on a rotating basis from among the giant companies.

During the Second World War and the Cold War, the excuse of building an Arsenal for Democracy was employed to use the defense sector of the national budget as the instrument for planning the direction of the economy by, and in the interests of, its most powerful units. The principle of business dominance of government carried over to the Petroleum Council of the Interior Department and to so many other agencies that the distinction between public and private has been permanently lost in American politics. All of these advisory councils, including the 60-member secret Business Council to the Department of Commerce, articulate the sentiments of a powerful constituency on matters of detail and policy.

The appointments to Federal regulatory commissions over this period have reflected the same respect for business prerogatives. The Eisenhower Administration especially saw the domination of these agencies by business spokesmen, but business interests were predominant in Democratic Administrations, as well, although not as lopsidedly so.

All these developments in business-government relationships, which can be called political capitalism, expose the failure of American radicals in the Thirties and Forties. Not only was their little specific response to these particular developments, perhaps because Marxist theory has scant appreciation of the potential of the state machinery for sustaining capitalism, but there was generally no development of the idea of how socialism in America would be different and better than in the Soviet Union. The Communists' defense of the USSR's social system as "truly ideal" involved them in the glorification of centralism, of control by a vanguard elite, and in the equation of revolutionary politics with disciplined and monolithic party organization. The Socialists' attack on the Soviet "betrayal and perversion" contained no sympathy for the necessities of underdevelopment, and carried over to a general fear of revolution and a moderate political strategy. That the American left should be self-destructively divided over its view and relationship to Russia must be counted as a further failure. In the years following World War II the gains of the left in the labor movement were quickly nullified.

In 1947, a conservative Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act over Truman's veto. The principal impact of the measure was on the ability of the movement to expand its membership, because the Act allowed two dozen states to adopt the open shop, by which workers are encouraged not to pay dues to the union that represents and bargains for them. But the Act reversed the previous ten years of Federal encouragement to union organizing, which during the war had meant a 5 million member expansion with little struggle.

At the same time, Truman led the country back into Cold War, campaigning in the country for a unified effort to contain Com-

munist. Truman had been selected to replace Henry Wallace as the 1944 Vice-Presidential candidate with the explicit consideration that an outspoken liberal like Wallace should not become President. Wallace led the public opposition to the bipartisan Cold War foreign policy that emerged in 1947, and was eager to see a Third Party formed to register protest sentiment in 1948. However, the leadership of the CIO one by one denounced the idea, so that when, in Fall 1947, the Communists decided to back Wallace's movement, it was clear that no major labor support would be forthcoming.

The Communists thereby isolated all opponents to the Cold War. In the labor movement, the lines between communist unionists and reform leadership were drawn on an issue somewhat extraneous to the labor movement - Peace with Russia. Independent peace forces were cut off from influence in the Democratic Party by virtue of the 1948 campaign; this happened to Elmer Benson in Minnesota, Robert Kenny in California, Wallace and Glen Taylor (the Vice-Presidential nominee), and George Pepper in Florida. The Clothing Workers pulled out of the American Labor Party coalition in New York. And the Progressive ticket failed even to throw the election to Dewey, polling around a million votes; that is, it failed to retard the momentum of the Cold War.

Within the labor movement, radicals were extirpated by fair means or foul. In auto, Reuther won the Presidency in a straight vote. In electrical, where the Communist leadership won the elections, the CIO expelled the union (UE) and formed a competing union, putting James Carey, leader of the losing faction, at its head. The Western longshore and mining unions were also expelled. In many unions the battle was violent and something short of democratic.

At the same time, other radicals had to face the choice of signing up in the Cold War, or being doomed to isolation. The Socialists advocated an anti-Communist foreign policy in these early years, but this could not infuse their movement with new life. American liberalism generally stayed with Truman against Wallace, and during the Fifties every shade left of center was under bitter attack as McCarthy turned the Cold War into a domestic rallying cry.

## The Movement

To radicals coming of age in the new decade, there was little with which to affiliate. This need was quickly provided by the militant direct action of Southern students in a wave of sit-ins starting in February, 1960. Hundreds of Negro students took seats in segregated lunch counters, and hundreds of northern white students picketed Woolworth's and Kresge's in support. By the end of April, the sit-in movements had formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and a few had dropped out of school to build the movement.

In May the campus political party SLATE at Berkeley demonstrated against the Un-American Activities Committee, succeeding in disrupting and defeating their hearings. Again, many were arrested, as southern tactics were adapted. In sympathetic response, *ad hoc* political parties emerged on several dozen campuses.

From the outset, the student movement decided that anti-communism would not be a basis for operation. The anti-HUAC fights reflected this, as did an emerging peace movement organized as the Student Peace Union, which swept the campuses in the 1961-62 academic year, culminating in the 7,000-student February 1962 March on Washington.

In England and continental western Europe, a "New Left" had emerged in conjunction with campaigns for nuclear disarmament. These radicals, likewise rejecting the anti-communism and the theory of the end of ideology that were the styles in liberal and socialist thought, sought to make a radical analysis that was relevant to new conditions of industrialized corporate capitalism. Students for a Democratic Society was formed by activists in campus political parties and single-issue civil rights movements who wished to imitate the European New Left in forging a multi-issue analysis and program; the *Port Huron Statement* of June 1962 expressed that intent. A commitment to radical theory was exhibited in new magazines: *New University Thought*; *Studies on the Left*, *Root and Branch*.

CORE's Freedom Rides in 1961 had penetrated into Mississippi, and in late summer SNCC initiated a full-time voter registration project in Southwest Mississippi that led to rural political organizing. As the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party grew out of the

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difficult organizing there, SNCC turned more extensively to the strategy for building a base among poor Black Belt Negroes. In imitation of this emphasis on organizing the poor, the Northern Student Movement turned from tutorial projects to ghetto organizing in the North, and SDS formed its Economic Research and Action Project to launch organizing efforts in 1964. Young radicals in search of "radical vocation" saw community organizing as a long-term effort. The Mississippi Summer Project expressed the desire for commitment of middle-class northern students; commitment was most beautifully expressed in the death of Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman.

The Berkeley student revolt of the fall of 1964, and the antiwar campus movement that emerged after the February, 1965 bombings in North Vietnam, expressed for the first time the extensiveness of the campus alienation. To thousands of students, "the movement" meant a community of students rejecting the sell-outs of middle-class America, seeing its rottenness in the war in Vietnam and its emptiness in mass higher education. This student movement, organized primarily in SDS chapters, committees against the war in Vietnam, and ad hoc university reform movements in emulation of Berkeley, adopted the militant style and tactics of the Negro struggle, but had no experience through which it might develop political strategy, or an ideological understanding of questions of social change.

Independent of campus upheaval, the Negro struggle was having a deep impact on the nation. Its mass following in the South, expressed particularly in the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963, forced the nation to confront the question of racism. During 1963, for the first time in years the President and the New York Times paid more attention to domestic matters than to the Cold War.

The civil rights movement forced open and elicited sympathetic responses from unions and churches. Within labor and the clergy, rank-and-file discontents had been developing in the Sixties. In the industrial unions, the pressure of automation played a role in local-level demand for new attention to job control and working conditions; there were wildcat strikes in auto in 1964 over these grievances, and in other industries as well. In the clergy the demands were for freedom to relate to social problems of the day. In Catholicism these demands meant an elementary fight for independent expression; in all faiths there was widespread adherence to the civil rights cause. The labor and church leaderships in a "coalition of conscience" backed lobbying efforts to pass the Civil Rights bill of 1964 and the 1965 Voting Rights Bill.

At the middle of the decade the movement was beginning to confront questions of political power. At the outset the intention and greatest hope of organizers has been to establish some insurgency in the society; some of the insurgency, in Mississippi, Alabama, in the Fram Workers movement in California, in ghetto organizations and in movements of poor whites, had developed enough strength to face political choices. Some peace activists faced similar questions as the result of 1966 peace candidacies.

Although the movement's response has been to work for independent bases of power (one expression of this is SNCC's slogan "Black Power"), there are a number of weaknesses in that answer. In the first place, the scattered and spotty forces suggest that perhaps there is no prospect of attaining any measure of political decision-making power in the near future, but more likely the outcome of winning an election would be to move insurgency to a higher level. This has been the case where movements have won control of war on poverty boards; they have had to fight at higher levels for control they should have already won. And it is likely to be the result of winning local elections, especially in Black Belt counties; the prerogative of exercising power will undoubtedly have to be won at the state or federal level.

Another problem in the assertion of the strategy of independent bases of power is that there is little clarity as to the content of the radical program in behalf of which the organization is carried out. If we are only building insurgency and commotion, then program can be improvised, developed according to conditions. But in actual contests for political control, program must be clarified in order that strategic considerations flow from the goals. A mature consideration of the question of "coalition" would revolve around the extent to which an alliance might be expected to forward the program, and the extent to which it caused the program to be sacrificed.

Once the civil rights movement had pried

provide for rank-and-file education and to promote the elaboration of our ideology, analysis, etc.

In the winter and spring, we have followed through quite successfully.

\* SDS had dealt with its internal problems in a political way. It has put aside the notion that poor performance could be remedied by abolishing the office and somehow decentralizing the abolished responsibility, and instead has allocated responsibility, staff, money, etc., in a planned way. The draft program was thoroughly decentralized.

\* We have developed out of the grape strike support, a broad student-labor program, in which five dozen chapters and the San Francisco regional office have worked in behalf of Delano, San Francisco and Chicago have published important documents, a network of SDS people involved in labor activity has been established, other chapters have aided local organizing drives and strikes, and summer organizing activity is in the works.

\* We continue to be the backbone of the anti-war effort on campus. Even though SDS is not involved in coordinating the days of protest, our chapters contribute mightily to their success. Our Vietnam exam was handed out at 800 campuses—500,000 copies. We sparked anti-draft activity that stunned the country.

\* We publish a weekly newspaper which not only keeps the membership well informed, it has also begun to be a medium of important controversy and expression. Its arrival (post office willing) underlines the reality of SDS as a functioning outfit.

\* The community projects in which we work have developed a much more political perspective on their goals. They have established firm bases in their communities for insurgency, and in several cases have achieved considerable importance in placing their issues on the agenda of city or state politics. JOIN has brought a slumlord to sign a collective bargaining contract with his tenants; Cleveland has initiated a statewide welfare rights movement, Newark has forced their long-time antagonist the incumbent city councilman into a runoff election.

\* We have embarked on an ambitious program of radical intellectual activity. The REP prospectus is generally acknowledged on the left as the definitive statement of the intellectual tasks before us.

Although that is very simple, it is true at its base. But, the number of mistaken conclusions that can be drawn from that observation is practically limitless. Perhaps the

the society open to the possibility of change, there was room for the movement to operate in building insurgency on many levels. The possibilities for continued experimentation have grown, but have begun to be jeopardized by the course of the war in Vietnam. One sign of growth was the war on poverty, around which hundreds of insurgent movements fought for the principle of poor peoples' control. The Vietnam war is necessitating the cutback of the war on poverty, felt first in the most experimental sections of that "war". This is an old story; foreign wars have been an important device for defeating radicalism in American history. But in a short time the war may necessitate the development of defensive strategy. In a sense, the anti-war movement had served as a defense for other movement in the society because it has made less credible the official explanation of the war, and therefore more difficult the effort of the government to use the slogan of national unity in turning aside the movement, ending strikes, etc.

The social base of the student movement is a determining factor in its style of alienation and protest. In many ways, student political activity has been one expression of a deeper disturbance that has also been expressed in the drug culture, the musical tastes, and other phenomena. Insofar as politics is seen merely as an arena for protest, and no possibility of change is imagined or dealt with, the student movement is open to the charge levelled by an overly harsh critic of the British New Left: "all the disadvantages of threatening the dominant ideology of its society, without any of the compensating advantages of offering an alternative ideology itself."

The present tasks, therefore, are the articulation of program, broadening of the social base of the movement, and development of political strategy.

Paul Booth

# NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT - BOOTH

most important of those mistakes would be puritanism. The second would be that our style should be modeled after the style of youth alienation, and that we should build politics into that - making it sophisticated in its understanding of the enemy it rejects. The third mistaken approach would be that an SDS chapter should be the combination of a personal outlet in LSD, or a political outlet for the same disaffections in SDS. The same formulation is made by various scholars like Keniston and Friedenberg.

In some chapters on state university campuses, SDS has a truly schizophrenic nature; one segment of the membership is older, experienced "veterans", and the other is young and eager to learn. But because the educational function of SDS is poorly understood, the full benefits of our community are not imparted.

We need to come to grips with our historic function; to create a new generation of radicals means to be the arena in which they, as individuals, can grow to become that new generation. It means our field secretaries have to have a grasp of what the internal life of a chapter could be. He should be able to impart to a chapter leader how a regular social event is an integrative function, and how a seminar can be structured so that people get a lot out of it. He should know the good books to assign to an introductory discussion group, what's wrong with the five books on the New Left both as histories and as analyses, how action programs on campus can be made educational - (the difference between a good leaflet and a bad one and how to explain that difference). He should know how a chapter can be structured internally so as to elicit participation and growth.

These skills still haven't passed out of the folklore stage, or slowly but surely at best. But they should not be regarded merely as techniques; they should be understood in the context of the important cultural trends on the campus from which SDS draws.

There has begun to be a great deal of writing on the "alienated youth culture." On the left, the phenomenon is generally seen as a conflict between pot and politics. We say with some haughtiness that the deeply disaffected young person can choose either. Throughout SDS' action programs there has been a political emphasis on organizing, aiming at opening new possibilities for politics in a wide range of social milieus. For Vietnam we have leafleted plant gates, spoken at churches, covered the boondocks with Vietnam exams, organized activity in the suburbs. On campus we have tried to get our message into the hands of more and more students. For the grape strike we have molded coalition committees of ministers, faculty, unionists. In peace campaigns we have gone into middle and working-class neighborhoods in door-to-door work on the model of ERAP projects. In our old rhetoric, we used to call all this proof of our "relevance", and we used the couplet "radical and relevant" to describe the twin poles of our strategy.

The office of national secretary deserves some extended comment. I have been the most political national secretary in recent years, both as concerns the internal functioning of the organization and the left and the public. SDS runs, to a great extent, on the prestige of its leadership. This is inevitably the case, as Martin Oppenheimer demonstrates in the current issue of *Our Generation*, in a large organization in which debate is not structured by factions or wings. So, in providing organizational coherence, the prestige of the leadership is called into play, especially insofar as they involve themselves in issues at the local and regional levels. Because Carl Oglesby was elected President at a moment when the organization didn't want an activist President using his position in the internal decision-making, it chose Carl, who has been much more adept and suited for speaking to the wide public. My ability to work successfully in the internal strengthening of SDS increased markedly after January, when certain political assumptions became generally accepted. However, the combination of internal administrative responsibility and internal political responsibility is a heavy one. A lot of that would be relieved if SDS brought into the national office, for the first time, a number of full-time experienced people responsible for various sections of the organization's political program; and, for the outside world, especially for our allies, if the President became a full-time officer.

the political and apolitical alienated cultures. None of those formulas gives the answer. Part of the answer comes out of what we have always known to be true: that SDS is a radical arena for learning, and a center for insurgent

politics. But time after time, people who have taken that lesson too literally have run internal educational seminars that lasted two weeks before they died out, have put out newsletters that nobody read; in short, have been trapped in the Dull Politics syndrome. So mechanical proposals like a constitutional amendment requiring each chapter to have an educational chairman are partial solutions at best. We all need to learn how to relate to the genuine impulses of our generation.

In light of the fact that SDS has been the most creative and relevant factor on the left, it should be within our reach to carry out our educational job. We can move immediately to do the large number of mechanical jobs:

1. create a network of chapter people responsible for internal education, serviced by national and regional staff with that express job.
2. make the Vice-President responsible for educational program.
3. put REP on the road, staffing it and financing it.
4. turn out the program guides that chapters need:
  - a-film and visual arts guide
  - b-internal seminar syllabi
  - c-annotated reading lists of radical authors
  - d-radical guides to the introductory courses
5. turn out the literature written by SDS people in handsome printed form.

This report has focused entirely on organizational problems; and could have an equally long treatment of political possibilities and priorities, in which I would make the argument that we are entering into a period of rapidly widening possibilities for radical organizing due to the failure of the Johnson administration in making the war a credible excuse for preserving national consensus. That argument would draw the conclusions that the kind of activity in which we have already been engaged: student-labor projects, community organizing, electoral work, civil rights activity, anti-draft activity, and war protest of a political character, should be continued, and stepped up. This argument can be made at great length; suffice it to say, for present purposes, that there seems to be no reason to expect any abatement of SDS activism.

This creates problems of support. Principally, these are manpower problems and financial problems. To pursue any of these political programs on an expanding level will require the personal commitment of growing numbers of SDS people. At a campus where the educational job (broadly defined) has been done well - even if there is not an ongoing action program - we find that SDS members as they graduate are extremely eager to be involved in radical politics on a full-time basis. (At Swarthmore the chapter has died out but the former members are as eager as ever.) But we have not acted systematically to find places for our members; one of the functions of a national office must be to do that. This can only be done if there are experienced political staff in the offices with responsibility for program; jobs in labor unions could then be connected to graduating members, ERAP projects could be expanded and some new ones started, regional programs could develop, young adult chapters could be organized.

Secondly, each chapter must begin to shoulder its share of the fundraising burden. Jeff Shero has estimated that SDS could employ \$600,000 wisely in a year - five times our present level. The chapters can't do all of that, or even most of that, but they can do some, perhaps enough to free other energies to do other kinds of fundraising that would push us even higher.

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A final question to take up is that of "adult organizing", which we must finally confront now that the number of young adult and even adult chapters is increasing, and now that we have been mandated to create (more expensive) adult categories of membership.

The model has been to sign everyone, student or not, up as SDS members if they were participants in SDS program. One adjustment that would facilitate merely continuing on that course would be to change our name to Movement for a Democratic Society. More important than changing the name to fit reality would be to begin to relate on a more selective basis to different constituencies.

It means taking care to have staff developing high school program, perhaps having high school conferences nationally and regionally, and doing the same for other coherent constituencies. At any rate, we must become much more conscious of our variety.

# boston sds holds summer seminars

## SEMINAR ON SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY

### Readings:

From *Marx & Engels: Basic Writings on politics and Philosophy*, ed. Feuer, Anchor Pbk, \$1.49.

- I. Manifesto of the Communist Party
- II. Excerpt from A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy
- IV. Socialism: Utopian and Scientific
- IX. Excerpts from the German Ideology

Sweezy: *Theory of Capitalist Development*, Monthly Review Press, \$6.00, Chaps. I thru IX (156 pages)

Marcuse: *One-Dimensional Man*, Beacon Pbk., \$2.25, all

### Extra readings done by individuals:

Williams: *The Great Evasion* (expensive hardback):

#### 1.

*Our seminar and the larger group:* It was originally intended that our seminar and the other two (American Imperialism and History of Radical Social Movements) should prepare reports for meetings. This did not happen, first, because the Boston Project had enough to discuss already, second because the seminars were, in general, too discursive to be summarized, and thirdly because anyone who was really interested in a seminar could drop in at a single weekly meeting. Written capsulated reports or papers written on specific topics (by members of the seminars) to be printed in a local publication now seem like a better idea than general meeting discussion.

#### 2.

*Attendance at the seminar:* What developed was a group of about six that attended every week and four to seven others who came occasionally. Often those who came for the first time were lost in the lengthy discussions and we found it very important to stop our arguments to explain what was going on. In general, especially in discussing economics, we found it valuable to have to explain ourselves in an elementary way for the sake of bringing up questions in our own minds.

#### 3.

*Two parts:* Socialist ideology, we found, divided itself into two quite distinct parts, one a discussion of economics and politics, and the second a discussion of quality of life in capitalistic society and in socialism. Discussion of economics and politics involved questions that at least could be settled intellectually (objectively), but discussions about quality of life (Marcuse) were inevitably tied to our personal attitudes. I was impressed with the difference between these two kinds of discussion. Discussion of economics seemed, in one way, more fruitful, because there was something that could be settled, while we had something of a bad conscience in talking of our own lives because, there, convincing people was much slower and the issues were less comprehensible. On the other hand, we felt that these later discussions, although more frustrating, were of a more important kind than the earlier ones because the final reason that we would wish to change capitalistic

society is that it produces a quality of life which is intolerable.

Clearly, the economic discussion and the discussion of quality must be integrated. This is difficult because we seem so much more sophisticated to ourselves in doing objective research. I think that this problem of the dichotomy of quality vs. objective analysis will be involved in any seminar on socialist ideology (hopefully people will be able to come to some common agreement about the quality of American capitalistic life and the quality of life that we want; if this doesn't happen, there can be no movement). I would merely think it valuable here to warn that this dichotomy must be expected, a switching back and forth from flashy, clean economic analysis, to messy, slow discussion which depends on who and what the people in the seminar are. Perhaps here we can learn from Progressive Labor that has discussion groups where members discuss their attitudes and experiences, seeking to bring about moral changes. If we do not involve ourselves in discussions of this sort, I think that we make the mistake of assuming a moral solidarity that the movement does not, in fact, (as we found) have.

#### 4.

*Problems for further research:* At various times our discussions lead to questions that could not be settled without extensive outside work, work which we had not time to do. One of these problems was whether Marx's law of declining profits held for American society. Mattock, a not too well known Marxist theorist, claims that this is happening, but the phenomenon is disguised by an ever increasing government spending. Mattock would argue that, as Marx predicts, declining profits will lead to economic collapse. An opposing view was that government will cooperate with big business, leading to mon-

opolies of ever increasing size, and control of the society by government-big business (if this has not already happened).

To do justice to this problem would involve extensive economic research and this we were not prepared to do. Another problem was whether there is anything to the theory of surplus value. Marcuse claims that the enormity of modern machinery makes the theory irrelevant, and, indeed, we had a hard time understanding it. A third problem of quite a different sort, a so-called "qualitative" problem, was what society would be like where it was no longer necessary to do work most of the time. To some, the notion of creative free time was threatening: they could not imagine what they would do or how they would stay sane, while others found themselves already able to thrive in leisure which they alone structured.

#### 5.

*Evaluation of reading:* Marx is, of course, necessary. Sweezy was useful but I wish there were something better, more fluent and relevant to modern America. Marcuse is both serious and sound in himself and a good starting point for a more general discussion.

Williams (*The Great Evasion*) tries to show that modern America has not proven Marx wrong. The book contains many interesting statistics, but these are available elsewhere and the book is ridden with obscurities and a few misunderstandings. Bell's article ("Debate on Alienation") is one of the most pregnant pieces that I have come across. Although Bell is not very popular with the movement, his discussion of alienation and its development through Hegel to Marx (who changed it radically) is of basic importance.

Fred Gordon  
Cambridge, Mass.  
Aug. 14, 1966

## imperialism

This is a seminar about a premise: the premise that US foreign policy is determined primarily by the nature of domestic social and economic organization, and that this policy is a major factor in retarding socio-economic development in the underdeveloped countries. In brief, it is a fundamental exercise in radical social science—in analysing questions in terms of their social inter-relationships, in terms of the kinds of societies in which they arise.

We posed relatively narrow questions which have, however, wide-ranging ramifications because they relate to fundamental aspects of this society. To begin with, we have confined our investigation to the US, without ruling out the possibility of imperialism as a characteristic of non-capitalist societies. This narrow focus stems partly from the exigencies of the present war situation: even if imperialism could be said to be practiced by socialist societies, our attempt is to determine the pressures leading to the kind of imperialism represented in the Vietnamese war.

While the possibility of socialist imperialism involves, *per se*, a rejection of Marxist definitions, we have found the neo-Marxist description of US society to be the most accurate; however, its analysis of inherent future imperialistic necessities is less convincing.

For example, in the Baran and Sweezy analysis, some other wasteful, but non-military, use of the "unmanageable economic surplus" is at least theoretically quite conceivable. It may even be that countervailing political pressure groups of Negroes, welfare recipients and workers could force a reallocation of government expenditures from the military. This would not necessarily be a good society, but it could be a more pacific one. Clearly such questions are crucial to the understanding and strategy of the anti-war movement.

### Approach

From a brief discussion of Lenin's *Imperialism* we proceeded to a more thorough analysis of Baran's *Political Economy of Growth*, which we found more relevant to America today. We formulated detailed research questions whose answers would

provide an empirical evaluation of the Baran description of American capitalism: an oligopoly-monopoly system engaged in foreign investments to compensate for the limited domestic opportunities of a non-competitive system.

A more general question of economic causality is whether US business engages in imperialism rather than increased domestic spending because it is an economic necessity for capitalism's survival, or simply because it is more profitable but not economically crucial. While we remained open to the former possibility throughout, we could find no clear evidence to support it. Our discussions centered mainly around profit-motivated imperialism of three types: raw materials extraction, investment of surplus capital, markets for US capital goods. (Michael Barratt Brown's *After Imperialism* served as a description of the mechanisms and effects of British profit-motivated imperialism.) But we were aware of the eventual necessity to confront the possible existence of independent, though interacting, anti-communist ideological motivations. While sharing Baran's view of imperialism as deeply entrenched in American society, we are inclined to see the barriers to change as both economic and ideological.

The second part of Baran's thesis, "a morphology of backwardness", posits that imperialized nations remain underdeveloped and would be better able to develop after a social revolution to a planned economy. We outlined an approach for empirically evaluating this model using case studies. Having begun with a discussion of Latin America (including Gerassi's *Great Fear in Latin America*), we plan to continue the survey with a study of Africa (including Nkrumah's *Neocolonialism* and the recent Monthly Review article on Ghana), asking such questions as the nature of US investments, the effect on existing politico-economic structure, anti-communist ideological implications, alternatives open to underdeveloped nations. Questions which imply the

possible need to alter the Baran thesis include the following. Under what conditions would the US earnestly engage in a program to help develop nations -- possibly to open new foreign markets or to stabilize countries against communism? Could the US succeed in such a program of development by outside aid, and if so, would the developed nation necessarily be an economic puppet or at least an ideological image of America? What problems, e.g. economic boycotts of raw materials exports, might underdeveloped nations confront after a successful socialist or nationalist revolution?

At this stage we have been more interested in establishing an overall syllabus for an ongoing study of imperialism than in doing detailed, fragmented research. A more complete syllabus should also include questions of the history of American imperialism and the influence of its mode of evolution on its present-day form, and questions of the mechanism of business-government interaction.

### Format

The format consisted of a weekly meeting lasting about two hours and involving an average of six people. The seminar did not have a distinct leader although one person usually did summarize the last week's reading. The ideal situation would be to have a rotating responsibility for summarizing each week, with perhaps one person coordinating and directing the group.

In later seminars it was decided to consult outside people -- students, professors, visiting scholars, etc. -- who have detailed relevant information. This is most satisfactory when the group has a sufficiently defined approach to direct the discussion to the pertinent issues.

Norm Diamond  
Connie Park  
Bob Park

## RADICAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The Radical Social Movements seminar was organized at the beginning of June along with two other seminars for the summer: Marxist theory and Imperialism. The basic reading list for Radical Social Movements included: Perman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement*, Levine *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France*, E. P. Thompson *The Making of the English Working Class*, Art Preis *Labor's Giant Step* and Howe and Coser *The American Communist Party*. An attempt was made to develop a comparative historical approach to the problems of radical history. The basic questions we investigated were: what were the causes of radicalism? who were radicals and how did they become radicals? what were the main problems radicals faced in building a movement to realize their objectives? what is the relationship between radicalism and trade union struggles?

The seminar suffered from insufficient weekly preparation on the part of participants and a lack of direction in approaching movements in different countries and different periods. We were able, however, to formulate certain basic problems and to suggest hypotheses for further study -- as to the impact of industrial unionism or economic depressions on labor movements, the importance of radical traditions from preindustrial lower classes, the decline of radicalism in advanced capitalist society, the reaction of radical movements to state repression, etc. This fall we hope to continue the study of the problems, possibly restricting ourselves this time to American radical history. We also want to study the contemporary left and "new left" in Western Europe.

The seminar met weekly and was usually attended by about ten people, including both graduate and undergraduate students. There was some turnover in participation. We will probably continue with a similar format in the fall -- generally beginning discussions with a presentation based on the readings.

# Campus Travelling

(continued from page 5)

The SDS chapter had been refused recognition by the university after a series of appeals, because it would not disavow its national SDS connections. The administration stated that the chapter would be controlled by an outside force. The chapter decided to ignore the administration ruling on the grounds that they were granted the rights of speech, press, and assembly by the U.S. Constitution. They operated on campus just as if they had been recognized. With an ACLU commitment to defend the chapter in court, the administration attempted unsuccessfully to prevent SDS operations at Arizona state. But the issue was never resolved. The chapter President, John Livingston, talked with me and we decided to construct a major test of the administration that would be designed to get me as a national officer, arrested or finalized the capitulation by the administration. The chapter placed signs all over the campus advertising my speech in a university room, contacted the communications media, notified the lawyers and hand delivered announcements of the talk to three deans. On the day of the scheduled talk right wing students distributed a leaflet calling on students to "break up... the illegal meeting... of the left ward leaning running off at the mouth termites". It looked as there might be a ruckus, so the administration had a squad of campus police waiting outside the door. The meeting began, with much fun made of the right wingers, a regular speech, and a few slams at the administration who had sent police to prevent a disturbance and yet denied to reporters that they had any knowledge of the meeting. The chapter people thought they had de facto achieved the right to organize on the Arizona State campus.

Throughout the south and in many other areas of the country where I visited chapters, the traveling organizer could have created an important confrontation for the SDS chapter. The organizer would spend a week or so with the chapter people laying the ground work and preparing and discussing with people how to make the issues clear to as wide a range of people on the campus as possible. The organizer then would serve as a catalyst, say on a free speech stand, probably get arrested by a reactionary administration and in so doing lay the facade of the ivy covered educational institution bare. But most travelers are not prepared to take such risks and often are hampered in their teaching efforts.

A great deal of the elan has gone out of the student movement in the past year, in fact much of what we do seems repetitive and dull. I think a significant loosening of the archaic restraints on most campuses could be accomplished and radicalizing situations created for many students if SDS had a field organizing staff ready to go into some of the most regressive schools and assert the right of students to be free. Many of the unnatural divisions and potentialities that existed in the early civil rights movement now exist in authoritarian bastions of education (?). SDS only need hire the experienced staff and much of the existing student lethargy could be turned to a reawakened movement for campus reform.

## Chapters & The National Convention

During the past year there has been an enormous growth of disaffection among young people, particularly in the universities. SDS, which has been the chief beneficiary of this disaffection, both in terms of increased membership and increasing national influence, has also been frustrated on a national level due to a lack of coherent strategy or programming. Our enormous growth (from 60 to 140 plus chapters) has led to increasing fragmentation internally.

With this in mind I would like to discuss my experiences at the chapter level and then attempt to sketch some of the problems facing us as a national organization.

During the past six months that I have worked as a campus traveler, I have increasingly witnessed the rejection of mainstream life patterns--unaffectionately known as the rat race. The symbols of resistance to America's sickness are everywhere, even in the most isolated areas. The principal expression of this resistance has been a fantastic growth in the use of drugs. Even on the most small and out of the way campuses there are groups of LSD and pot users. Another principal form of resistance has been a movement to avoid the draft. Draft dodging is the most unorganized and universal sign of disaffection. Even hyper-

spectable fraternity men and the alienated academicians seek to avoid the draft through graduate school or less "respectable" means. For the first time in history patriotism has become passe in general, and the war is seen as something smart guys avoid. There are myriad other signs of discontent, including university free speech fights, electoral opposition campaigns, increasing numbers of suicides, and the drop out phenomenon.

On the local level the forms of expression have increasingly been personal rather than political. The strongest movement, the drug movement bears this out. For instance the literature on hallucinatory drugs extolls their mind expanding qualities and gifts of insight into the self. The drug movement in effect starts with the premise that the society is anti human and offers the solution of personal salvation through psychedelic enlightenment. Essentially though, disaffection as expressed through drugs isolates people in an internal fantasy, rather than bringing them together in an effort to change the environment. As such, it is a non-political movement.

Throughout middle class America, which has been our main constituency, dissent is most often expressed by alienation, withdrawal and the attempt to create utopian communities. Much of SDS's growth has come from this element and some of our past activists have been lost to it. As an organization we have not met our obligation. We have not developed programming to catalyze this dissent and offer purposeful direction to bring about creative change. We have had a failure of imagination in developing program that is relevant to much of the dissent that is taking place. Our issues offers an effective way to oppose the war. Objectively, there may be no better way to oppose the war on a national scale than the methods devised so far. We then are in the position of concentrating on other national programming or rethinking the felt necessity for SDS having a national program. We might develop a radical commitment in a larger number of people and build movements of people that understand the inter-relatedness of issues better if each local region or chapter developed programming that can best speak to people in that area. In Berkeley, that program might be joining with the forces to win all the city elections and win political control of the community. At Florida and Buffalo, the programs would likely be university reform campaigns, in Texas the program might be supporting the NFW melon strikes, in northern urban cities it might be the initiating of ERAP organizing projects or the formation of adult movement for a Democratic Society chapters. It's true that often a national program like the International Days of Protest creates and unifies national action, but on most campuses, divides the participants from the rest of the campus. Instead of the Nebraska chapter, for example, dividing 50 militants from the 15,000 in the student body in an IDP protest, maybe it would be much wiser to concentrate on a local program that allowed the 50 to talk to others around them about how the society didn't allow them to live satisfying lives. We have operated in the past year with the assumption that national programming is good, principally because it concentrates our power and lends direction, but we haven't discussed the alternatives. We might do well to invest our resources in staff traveling agitators and develop a student elan and political knowledgeability. Maybe we should return to a concentration on domestic issues.

In many chapters, SDS people have developed a minority psychology--they expect to be a minority radical voice in their area. A few chapters, however, have dealt imaginatively with the discontent that exists and have broken through the image of being radical politicians who aren't concerned with more general issues of living. Particularly at Buffalo and Chicago where the administration was exposed as unresponsive and unconcerned over the draft ranking issue, and in the University of Florida where the issues were a free speech area and CIA involvement in the university, did the students begin to transcend the position of being a radical minority and begin to be the leaders of campus-wide insurgency. If the disaffection is increasing, as it appears to be in our culture, then groups need not be so pessimistic about their opportunities to have tremendous impact on their communities through the crystallization of dissent around a local grievance. It is most often through movement around local grievances

that people begin to understand their connection with others who are victims of the social order, be they in Vietnam or Watts.

Nationally, in the past year, SDS has been extremely image conscious, and has tended to give the safe answer to the press when they inquire about one of our activities. A much better policy would have been to let local or regional people make statements whenever possible. At the same time, communications between the office and the membership or their representatives involvement in decision-making has been very poor. It was not until Jane Adams sent the Bettina Aptheker strike proposal around to the National Interim Committee that that interim decision-making body was actually used. New Left Notes has been the prime unifying force between national SDS and local groupings. The chapters feel foreign to what goes on in the national office of SDS. Some chapters in California haven't registered with the N.O. even though they function with the region. Others have no contact beside *New Left Notes* and an occasional mailing. During the next year, there should be stress placed on the NIC making interim policy-making decisions. We should draw out a plan for the next four national council meetings and arrange for them in every region of the country. It is vital that we have the next NC in San Francisco as the west coast has been ignored in the past. There should also be issue conferences around topics like farm labor, urban riots and black power, Liberalism and the welfare state, etc, held in various sectors of the country to bring the membership together and involved in a dialogue over specific political ideas. REP might be well suited to arrange and conduct these conferences. SDS as a national organization must seriously face the problem of national identity, internal communications, and political strategy or as a national organization, it will become more irrelevant to efforts of local groups.

SDS is expanding into adult groupings and down into high schools. Almost 25% of the membership is composed of high school students. There are adult groups in Chicago, Los Angeles and elsewhere, and increasingly, SDS college graduates are interested in being part of an adult organization that represents the new left. Structurally, we must develop relationships where these elements can be related, but have their own independent decision-making and program. ERAP organizers are virtually autonomous and isolated from campus based SDS, and are not a good example of student, non-student interrelatedness. WE need methods of reinfusion of college people into the ERAP communities so that they can learn more about the real world and from the experiences of the community people and organizers struggling for rights against the city machines.

Overall, SDS increasingly has lost its sense of purpose. We have attempted to fill a political vacuum that demanded immensely rich and diverse programs and political insights. With our rapid growth and the difficulty of building a domestic movement around the war issue, we have lost our clear sense of direction. We need to discuss the relationships between our constituent parts--ERAP, Students and Adults. The student membership of SDS has three possible directions. SDS could embark on a vigorous campaign against the war, probably a draft resistance program, and attempt to unify the entire Vietnam movement and offering political direction to the rather chaotic protests that are taking place now. Secondly, we could reject the idea of adopting a national program and instead concentrate on local projects with stress on campus traveling and regional issue conferences. A third possibility -- separate more clearly the student element from SDS and work at forming a national function -- a radical activist national union of students with a view of reaching and radicalizing a much broader segment of students than we have heretofore reached.

In the past, we have meandered through our national conventions and for the last year have not come to grips with the problems before us. SDS will not exist as a vibrant force for change if we continue to vacillate and refuse to decide on a direction.

# NEW REGION FORMED

By Tom Bell

Niagara Regional Coordinating Committee

The N.R.C.C. arose out of the October 15-16 International Days of Protest. It was formed at the initiative of Buffalo S.D.S. and originally had the intention of coordinating the peace activities of upper New York State and Southern Ontario. The regional action at the International Days -- a demonstration of 800 at the U. S. Consulate in Toronto -- provided a good beginning for international coordination. Unfortunately, a latent imperialism on the New York side (all ference of approach and of situation made actual coordination lapse between countries. An interest remains in the N.R.C.C. for strong relations with the Canadian groups.

Three subsequent conferences of the N.R.C.C. have been held, one in Rochester and two in Syracuse. The Rochester conference formulated the structure (unstructure) of the Region. No clear decision-making mechanism was set out. The Region was to function as a means of communication between local groups, as a coordinator for regional activities (should they be called) and as a form of liaison between the N.C.C. and national S.D.S. A regional newsletter was mandated, and six issues have appeared.

Prior to the first conference at Syracuse, the S.D.S. groups of the state began talk of forming a separate regional organization for S.D.S. It was thought necessary because of the single issue foundation of the N.R.C.C. and because of the diversity of groups involved (C.A.D.A., S.P.U., American Friends, C.O.R.E., ad hoc peace groups, Unitarian Universalist groups, W.S.P., W.L.P.F., Spartacist, Spirit and the Sword, and S.D.S.). At the Syracuse conference, however, it became clear that all the participants had a multi-issue approach, that all the student groups but the Spartacists were very close to S.D.S., some in fact considering reaffiliation with S.D.S., and that the adult participants provided a very interesting and useful dimension which could not be sacrificed. The S.D.S. groups decided to scrap the idea of a separate Region.

At the spring conference, the N.R.C.C. decided to coordinate the National Vietnam Exam for the Region. This was done with considerable success. We used three campus travelers who both distributed the exam and attempted to stimulate some related activity. We managed to cover 50 of the 55 testing centers in upper New York and distributed about 60,000 exams around the state.

Until now the N.R.C.C. has had no full time staff nor has it maintained a central office. However, late last spring the possibility opened to share an office in Ithaca with the Inter-University Committee and to hire Tom Bell, a graduate school drop-out, as a regional secretary. A mail ballot was sent out to the Regional work list with 100% favorable response both to the idea of the office and staff and to the idea of functioning as a region of S.D.S. and the N.C.C. It also appears that Robert Tenney, of American Friends and S.D.S. may be available as a staff member.

The precise operation of the Region must still be formulated at a conference this fall. Three goals seem apparent, however: better coordination and communication between existing groups, organization of new groups, and implementation of a Regional Project. In addition, I hope that the groups of the state will enter an internal education dialogue attempting to determine long range strategy, and to clarify our ideological position. The Region, briefly, has the task of organization building.

# BOSTON REP PROPOSAL

Submitted by the Boston REP committee

Because we feel that the Radical Education Project as outlined in *New Left Notes* no.'s 10, 13, 14 and 17 is in some respects inadequate for the objectives which SDS had in mind when it approved the establishment of REP, the Boston REP committee would like to offer the following criticisms and substantive proposals to guide the implementation of REP this fall:

1. The eighty-three topics listed under seven general headings in the REP questionnaire (NLN #17) which are to form the basis for local and national study groups are too fragmented and unrelated to one another. Before we send off hundreds of SDS and non-SDS REP people to do original research on "local governments," "Japan," and "The Rural Class in America," we should first formulate the large questions that we want to ask about the nature of American society and the difficulties facing a movement for radical social change within that society. Only then will the findings from particular research projects be made relevant to our day-to-day work of building a left in the United States.

2. REP should meet the need for internal education in SDS as well as the need for original research in social science fields. Many members of SDS will not want to embark on research projects or to publish papers in the national REP journal. There is a good deal of literature that can be used for non-research, discussion-oriented study groups. The REP outline gives the impression that there is nothing that has been written which focuses on the problems of the left. Although we are short on concrete programs or strategic analysis, books by scholars like Herbert Marcuse, C. Wright Mills, Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy, and Gabriel Kolko and others who have written on American Radical History or the New Left, are certainly worth study and discussion. It is important for members of SDS to relate their own perceptions and analyses of American society and its radical traditions to the problems facing the movement today. SDS' search for an "ideology" or program can only begin with this kind of ongoing critical analysis and discussion. We cannot expect a few days of workshops at annual Conventions to remedy our intellectual and political weaknesses. REP's main function should be to provide the basis for SDS' political or ideological development.

3. SDS members should define the problems they want REP to study. The opportunities for involving intellectuals and academicians who are sympathetic to SDS in REP are important, but these individuals should not determine the content of REP's work. There will be many problems in the participation of liberal professors and scholars in REP. These individuals will be experts in particular areas of the social sciences of great importance for REP; yet they will not share SDS more general radical concerns. Every attempt should be made to get them to contribute to REP without letting their expertise and knowledge come to dominate REP activity. This requires an explicit rejection of the dominant ideology of American social science: the ideology of specialization and expertise, and with it the tendency to shy away from a critical examination of our entire social system, or an analysis of the desirability and possibility of radical social change. It is precisely these larger issues that REP must tackle.

In order to implement these objectives - 1) to eliminate the fragmentation in the topics selected for the REP questionnaire and study groups, 2) to meet SDS' needs for internal education, 3) to have SDS' members define REP's intellectual and political orientation - we propose the following:

That the national REP committee and local REP representatives draw up a suggested reading list for a basic REP discussion group which can be held wherever REP activity and research is going on. This basic discussion group would be the central focus, at least in the beginning, for REP activity in chapters or city groups. It could meet once every week or every two weeks, or more often if desired. The purpose of the discussion group would be: 1) to formulate the main questions and areas of research that particular REP groups or individuals would then do further work on, and 2) to serve these people who don't want to do original research, but want an ongoing study group. Discussions could be centered on readings from the suggested reading list, other books and articles, presentations by speakers, or reports from REP research

projects. Out of the basic discussion group would come ideas for research groups, and the interaction between research projects and the ongoing general discussion group would ensure that findings from particular areas of study would be made relevant to REP's long-range purpose of creating an analysis and program for the left.

The initial general REP discussion group could have readings planned for a semester or an entire year. At some point participants in the general discussion groups might decide to disband and break up into smaller research or discussion groups. Or the basic discussion group might continue to meet while smaller groups or individuals were at the same time doing research projects. This kind of discussion group would be ideally suited for the chapter level, although a number of chapters might want to get together on one. The discussion group, like the research part of REP, would be open to non-SDS as well as SDS people. The REP representative for the area would take responsibility for procuring books and articles and reading lists, for scheduling speakers and research presentations, for arranging meetings, and for keeping the national REP headquarters informed on the progress of discussion and research groups. This would enable the national REP journal to keep all discussion groups and research projects up on current work in other areas.

This proposal does not concern itself with that part of REP involving the arts, or radicals in the professions, nor does it consider the possible uses of REP for organizers in ERAP, or community people. It is aimed mainly at SDS chapters, both campus and non-campus, although all REP activities would be open to non-SDS people. The suggestion for a basic REP discussion group is not put forward as the only possible format for initial REP activity across the country. But it is certainly well suited to the initiation of REP at the chapter level. And whatever form REP takes, the three objectives previously discussed - 1) to approach particular research projects in the context of larger problems of social analysis that are immediately relevant to the left today, 2) to meet the need for internal education and discussion in SDS, 3) to have SDS members, in preliminary REP discussion groups, define REP's political and intellectual orientation - must be embodied in our concept of REP's purpose and in our attempts to implement it.

## APPENDIX - SAMPLE REP READING LIST FOR THE BASIC DISCUSSION GROUP

(based on suggestions from Boston and New York REP participants)

### 1. Critique of American Society -- The Political and Economic System.

What is the extent of corporate control of domestic political and economic decision-making? How "affluent" is our society: how serious are problems of poverty, structural unemployment, production for waste and destruction (the defense sector), inequalities in income distribution, inadequate spending on public services, etc.? Why can't the vast majority of the American people "control the decisions that affect their lives?"

Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America, Triumph of Conservatism*  
Baran & Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital*  
J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*  
Harrington, *The Other America*  
C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*  
Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*

### 2. Critique of American Society -- Foreign Policy and Imperialism

What is the nature and causes of the present character of American foreign policy? What groups within American policy changed since the end of the nineteenth century? What is the extent of our overseas economic involvement? How do our economic interests relate to government's policy? What are the problems of industrialization for the third world? How has the United States reacted to and influenced these problems?

W. A. Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*  
D. Horowitz, *Free-World Colossus*  
Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*  
Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth*  
Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America*

### 3. American Radical History

What have been the main causes of the growth of radical movements in the past? Who were the radicals and why

did they become radicals? What were the ideologies of previous radical movements? How did these ideologies relate to the particular historical situations of the movements which they served? What were the problems of factionalism, organizational forms, political alliances and ideological unity and clarity in American radical movements? How did other groups and classes in society react to the movements? What accounts for the lack of an ongoing radical tradition in America? Why have radical movements failed to achieve their objectives in the past?

Philip Foner, *History of the American Labor Movement* 4 Volumes  
Snannon, *History of the Socialist Party*  
Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*  
C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*  
Pollack, *The Populist Response to Industrial America*  
Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*  
Howe & Coser, *The American Communist Party*  
W. Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*  
Sidney Lens, *The Crisis of American Labor*

### 4. Origins and Future of the "New Left"

What are the main problems facing the "New Left" in America? What are (or should be) our objectives? What groups make up the New Left? What are the main alternatives open to the New Left for building a broad radical constituency?

Jacobs and Landau, *The New Radicals* (esp. selections by Mills, Flacks, Editors of *Studies on the Left*, Bayard Rustin)  
Hal Draper, "In Defense of the 'New Radicals'", *New Politics*, IV: 3, Summer 1965  
"With the Movements," *Studies on the Left*, V:1, V:2, V:3  
James O'Connor, "Towards a Theory of Community Unions I and II", *Studies* IV:2, IV:4  
Tom Hayden, "review of Zinn, *The New Abolitionists* Studies V:1.  
"The Politics of the Movement," *Dissent*, Jan-Feb. 1966  
Harrington, "Is there a new Radicalism?" *Partisan Review*, Spring 1965

Note: The reading list is merely intended to be suggestive. It is too long for the purposes of a basic discussion group for REP. Selections and detailed annotation of readings would be needed before such a reading list could be used (the final reading list could be drawn up in a form similar to the Basic Study Guide on Vietnam that Steve Rosenthal wrote for SDS).

## RESOLUTION Ft. Hood Three

### RESOLUTION

For the 1966 general convention of Students for a Democratic Society

Be It Resolved That:

Students for a Democratic Society give its fullest support to the Fort Hood Three (PFC James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora, and Pvt. David Samas) and all GI's who are persecuted for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and peaceable assembly. Also, let SDS fully support the right of the Fort Hood Three and all courageous GI's who do not want to participate in the illegal, immoral and unjust war now being waged by the U. S. Government in violation of the Nuremberg Charter, and in defiance of all standards of decency and morality. We urge that the following activities, as suggested by the New York Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, be undertaken by SDS Chapters and individual SDS members wherever possible:

1. Obtain statements of support for the three GI's from prominent people in your area, including trade unionists, professors, politicians and peace candidates, civil rights leaders, and of course, persons in the anti-war movement. Ask them to become sponsors of the defense committee.
2. Conduct demonstrations and meetings in support of the three GI's. Include their case in other anti-war demonstrations being planned in your area. Members of the

families of all three of the GI's are willing to speak on their behalf.

3. Pass out fact sheets on the case to GI's wherever you can find them - at nearby military bases, service clubs, USO's, bus terminals, etc. This activity is completely legal, the response has been inspiring, and it is one of the most effective ways of maintaining pressure on the authorities connected with the case.

4. Write or wire Congressmen, Senators, the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army, and President Johnson, urging that the three GI's not be prosecuted.

5. Send telegrams of support to the three men themselves. Letters will not reach them but telegrams will. They are under tremendous pressure and the anti-war movement must let them know it is backing them up. Telegrams should be addressed individually to Pfc. James Johnson, 51581277, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N. J. or Pvt. Dennis Mora, 51581308, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N. J., or Pvt. David Samas, 56408577, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N. J.

6. Send contributions to the Defense Committee to pay for the legal fees, and the costs of publicizing the case. Solicit contributions from other people in your area who might be willing to support the case. Send the contributions to: The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St. 10th Floor, New York, New York 10038.

Lenore Sheridan  
University of Illinois - Campaign

# CAW

is

# coming

# SOON

# (we hope!)

# ERAP--JOIN

on Poverty's "keep 'em off the streets so they don't riot" programs. They've organized a strike around the issue of late pay checks and the general bullshit of the program. Whether or not the strike, coordinated with another OEO program that happens to have a good number of young JOIN members in it, comes off, depends on whether or not the checks arrive - two days after this goes to press. In any event, the ideas are there, and a sizeable group of young whites are beginning to think in terms of organizing a movement that will run Uptown.

## THE LOCAL WAR ON POVERTY

The War on Poverty is another area JOIN works in. In Chicago there is little question that the WOO is intended to control poor people. The OEO's rhetoric of participation is not practiced, and hardly mentioned. Recently a southern kid who works with a neighborhood group was fired for "falsifying his time sheet" when he went to Washington and participated in the demonstration against "Sarge" (salute) Shriver. JOIN initiated and manned a picket line of 100 at the advisory council meeting, where a favorable resolution was passed (yet not yet acted upon). Increasingly JOIN members are attempting to be employed in OEO programs, and people already employed are increasingly joining JOIN. Its not a good idea in terms of job security, but more and more people are wearing JOIN buttons inside the Urban Center. There is talk of a union of poverty workers (poor people employed by the Urban Center). Girls in a gang program just received national publicity when an alderman made public the fact that they marched in both the Welfare and police brutality marches. *The same girls have been "causing trouble" by demanding to be allowed to attend and have a say in policy making meeting.*

## SOME THINGS JOIN DOES:

JOIN has had an important influence on local groups that are supposed to help poor people. The ability to do that has come after hard groundwork for well over a year. The local paper has a better understanding of poor people and their articles have usually been better. The managing editor seemed to understand and even agree with the reasons I gave him for why organizers usually refuse to talk to the press, saying talk to such and such a community person. A formerly hostile minister has moved to a favorable position on JOIN, taken on our rhetoric in his storefront operation, and works with us closely on a number of issues. His is perhaps the most advanced local social agency (from our point of view), but he indicates a real shift that seems to be in process. People in the Urban Center have told me: "I want you to know that my opinion of JOIN has changed; I think you're doing a great job, and I only wish my job would let me..." A fellow who heads the Urban Center's small business loan program needed people to fill his program (all the OEO programs have quotas that have to be met.) He came to us with: "I know JOIN is the largest group in the area, and I wonder if you could help me..." The same thing happened when recruits were needed for an OEO theater program, although the director of the center wasn't happy about the situation once he realized what had happened. A number of the Urban Center's powerless advisory council are moving to a position of open support for JOIN. Young guys feel the cops have "let up since the march." As I noted before, the senatorial candidates have sought our support.

Citywide the "movement" is dominated by SCLC. JOIN is the only "white" group of poor people working to change the city. Our influence has at times been important in terms of decisions made by SCLC and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations. We are an important ally to movement oriented workers in both SCLC and CCCO. There is talk about a citywide union of (movement oriented - SNCC -SDS) community organizers. Our activities and our ideas in meetings with other community groups in the city raise movement questions about the direction that community organizing should take. Our housing work has had an important impact on tenants groups in the city; our work

in welfare sets the ideological tone in the city welfare movement, and has influenced some of the leadership in the IUPAE.

The movement of whites in Uptown flies in the face of southern racism. A key person in the GOODFELLOWS, known to dislike Negroes, said: "they got the same problem; I don't care what color they are, we've gotta control those damn police." JOIN works closely with Negro groups on citywide issues. Our organizing committee is integrated, and active members are very good on the race question. Recently a member was refused an apartment in a modernized building paid for by the Maremont Foundation. It is quite likely that the reason was because she is black. The organizing committee voted to support her, even to picket the building if necessary. The gesture was sincere; I was glad, however, that we didn't have to picket, because the building is located on the street with the highest concentration of southerners in Uptown, the majority of which are not as good on the question as are active members of JOIN.

Our work also provides a vehicle of expression for a sort of populist spirit held by a good number of people in Uptown, particularly southerners, but also other poor whites who have come to the city from rural areas such as Wisconsin and Minnesota. A number of us organize in terms of poor people and rich people. A good many people in the community view middle class people as being rich (they are in their view.) Understanding of class, power, control, influence, etc. in the society becomes more sophisticated as the person spends more time around JOIN, its activities, members and organizers. I have mentioned this "populist spirit" because I feel it to be real and important in suggesting poor whites can, and should, be organized.

I have attempted to give a description of our work. We have plenty of problems, but things go well and a number of us are optimistic. I hope that our work indicates standing of class, power, control, influence, etc. in the society becomes more sophisticated as the person spends more time around JOIN, its activities, members and organizers. I have mentioned this "populist spirit" because I feel it to be real and important in suggesting poor whites can, and should, be organized.

I have attempted to give a description of our work. We have plenty of problems, but things go well and a number of us are optimistic. I hope that our work indicates that working with poor whites is possible, and encourages others to ask questions and pry further into the possibilities, even give it a try. That such work is important and more of it necessary should be clear. As for the larger questions of "where does organizing poor people lead?" I have two things to say. Firstly, a lot of the answers aren't going to be known unless people actually work at organizing poor people. Secondly, I believe that serious thinking about the question is needed, and I trust that friends and spiritual brothers of a currently more theoretical bent will be doing it here at the convention and for some time to come.

I do feel, however, that more attention should be given to actual organizing; base theory on experience, action and work. We're never going to know unless more people, a whole lot more, who are now in school or in one of the many pre-radical moratoriums that often follows school, decide to make the break and give it a try. I won't say go set up new projects wherever there are poor people, because personal experiences in Oakland, and the experiences of other ERAP and SNCC projects suggest to me that careful groundwork and "training" are necessary if a community organizing project is to have any semblance of success. What I will suggest is that Chicago is building a movement, and that JOIN is an important part of it. There's a lot of work to do here, not only with poor whites, but with existing groups and still virgin areas in Negro and Puerto Rican areas as well. Poor People's Power is more radical than Black Power. JOIN's organizing committee is currently engaged in serious discussions about opening new projects in poor white

# REP - asks

journalists, leftist young leaders, government officials, guerilla leaders, etc. can provide us with first-hand reports and analysis of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, hints of impending developments. On this basis we can greatly improve our ability to produce documented political analysis, to make independent and accurate judgments, to challenge "official truth" and to base political opposition. By maintaining regular correspondence with radical groups and scholarship from abroad we can increase the degree of coordination between their work and that of the American movement.

Work and Money: REP will only complete its projected program and expand into other areas as people volunteer to do the work and provide the money. We are now recruiting staff for the REP national office in Ann Arbor, and coordinators, anywhere, to take on responsibility in promoting particular content areas of analysis. Job descriptions for staff and more detail on the tasks for which coordinators and researchers are needed are available from the REP people at the convention, or from the REP office.

Of course REP is broke. It has been living off small contributions (mostly from non-SDSers), and from a \$2,000 advance from Doubleday-Anchor for the REP book. This resource is about exhausted. We are in dire need of at least one more person to work on fundraising. We also plan to put into effect the voluntary assessment authorized at the April NC, of \$5 form each SDS member.

The REP staff for the fall is tentatively: Full time: Mike and Evelyn Goldfield, Steve Weissman, Jim Jacobs, and Steve Johnson. Part time or volunteer: Mike Locker, Barry Bluestone, Al Haber, Barbara Haber, Carl Oglesby.

The work of REP need not and should not be restricted to "professional scholars". Students can build their term papers around research needs of the movement. People involved in action projects can undertake the needed, though usually neglected political analysis and evaluation of the programs in which they work. People in professional school can begin to formulate, on paper, critiques of the content of professional education and practice. People who work "regular jobs" can begin to describe the particular conditions of their work and what is needed to make that work more humane or reward-

ing. Indeed there are few people in the movement for whom radical research and education is not relevant. And there are few people whose on-going work is such that they could not contribute to REP. You have to look for your opportunities and take them. Uncle REP wants you!

## BEATING THE SYSTEM

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

SDS should urge students to take advantage of the so called Great Society Programs. Many students, especially those who primarily support themselves or have scholarships, can qualify for Work Study, Food Stamps, and Public Housing.

Richard Cloward has recently pointed out in *The Nation* (5/2/66) that many people are entitled to welfare benefits, but do not ask for assistance. Not only would individual students benefit, but SDS members could become organizers and attack welfare colonialism from the inside.

Tom Rose

PS: I think these kinds of issues should be discussed at the convention in the above form or your own.

## WORKSHOP ADULT ORGANIZING

WORKSHOP ON ADULT ORGANIZATION

There is growing interest in the development of a serious program directed at organizing an "adult" new left. SDS people generally recognize that organizing programs directed only at poor communities are inadequate. Moreover, it is very likely the case that a substantial number of non-students now exist who are interested in becoming part of an explicitly radical organization. At least three such groups have been mentioned: graduate students, young faculty and other young "intellectuals"; young doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers and other professionals; older people who have participated in the peace movement and similar efforts and who see the need for an explicitly political, multi-issue organizational form.

The adult organization workshop is aimed at systematic discussion of the ways in which these and other constituencies might be organized. The specific issues to be addressed by this workshop would include the following: what constituencies are appropriate for new organization? What models exist for local organization: a) independent political action; b) organization of professionals; c) radical education in communities. The problem of national coordination and the role of SDS:

Some people might argue that we should begin now to explicitly build a new political party. Others might take the position that it is time for the formation of a Movement for a Democratic Society, linked or not linked to SDS, to be formed at a national level. Others might take the view that even the latter is premature; instead SDS, together with other groups such as the National Conference for a New Politics, should devote resources to building local organization among available constituencies. Still others would argue for the development of regional "movements" which tie together a variety of organizational efforts around a common program and perspective. In this view, SDS would concentrate its efforts in a few regions that promise substantial growth. To what extent are these positions in conflict?

What role can SDS play, realistically, in such development? -- What resources, especially in terms of people, exist now for full-time organizing work.

The workshop should aim for the formulation of a concrete program for adult organization, including both general perspectives to aid people in local work, and, hopefully, recommendations for national coordination.

and Puerto Rican areas adjoining ours, meaning that we would be working in two wards, an entire congressional district, the entire area covered by the Urban Progress Center, and the entire urban renewal area. We need people; as usual, the movement needs people.

P.S. Here are some verses from a few songs we sing:

Keep on the Firing Line  
Keep on the Firing line boys,  
Keep on the firing line.  
If we're going to get what the  
poor ain't got yet,  
Gotta keep on the firing line.

### WORKING ON THE BUILDING

Oh when we're marching  
We're workin on the building  
We're holding up the blood stained  
banner to our lord  
We never get tired, tired of working on  
the building  
We're gonna go to heaven, get our  
reward

### WILL THE CIRCLE BE UNBROKEN

Mr. Police, Mr. Police,  
Why do you treat us so,  
What's the crime lord, for being poor  
lord,  
What's the cause to make us go.



Phil Koch  
The "cheerful GIVER" whom God knows he loves. Ed.'s note.

# CAW

REP PROGRAM PROPOSAL: Arts Newspaper

CAW is a final utterance impregnated with a new vision as in Van Gogh's last paintings as in Allen Ginsberg's *Kaddish* as in all works of art created in resistance to death.

Students for a Democratic Society, through its *Radical Education Project*, will publish monthly a literary newspaper called: CAW!

We aim to print poems, stories, essays, translations, photographs, and drawings by any artist having a need to identify with radical left resistance in this country, and whose work, in the judgment of the editors, is powerful.

We aim to print reviews and news of books, films, theater, recordings, small magazines, and other artistic events whose spirit is radical.

We aim also to attack smugness and fakery as we see it, in the artistic life of this country.

In addition, we will print articles of political and social criticism which, in the judgment of SDS, are of crucial importance to the education of our artistic and intellectual community.

Our aesthetic is that works of art are events on this planet and they tremble with the fragility and sturdiness of being alive.

Our politics, with reference to art, is that such works are relevant to the pain and aspirations of people.

Our goal is a more powerful and articulate movement for a democratic and just society.

Our beginning is CAW!

BEST WISHES  
FOR A  
SUCCESSFUL  
CONVENTION

John Sieving

A particularly interesting symptom of the decay and decline of America's "old" left was the complete disappearance of satire and humor from its publications. When the movement lost its contact with masses of Americans, when it became "dehumanized", "institutionalized" and bureaucratized, it lost its sense of humor.

A pompous bureaucrat, whether of the Establishment or of the left opposition, can't stand jokes, especially at his own expense.

The old American Socialists and radicals had a great sense of humor; they know how to use it not only to ridicule the Establishment with devastating effect, but also to help radicals take a good objective look at their own sometimes ridiculous shortcomings.

There is so much to satirize in our country and in the world today! It would take a hundred Jonathan Swifts to begin to do the job. But let us of the New Left not wait for them to blossom out. Let's spice up our ponderous pronouncements with a little salt and pepper.

Let's work on the great American sense of humor; let's see if we can do as good a job on Lyndon Johnson as Charlie Chaplin did on Adolf Schicklgruber!

Irreverently,  
John Rossen

P. S. And will somebody tell me why New Left Notes has to look like eight solid pages of dry legal notices? What about an occasional drawing, a picture or a cartoon? Would that be "sacrilege"?

Editor,  
NEW LEFT NOTES

NEW LEFT NOTES  
Room 206  
1608 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill. 60612  
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Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois

J. Walton Senterfitt  
2115 S St. NW  
Washington, DC 20008