

# SDS CONSTITUTION

PAGE 2

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

VOL 1, NO. 42 let the people decide NOVEMBER 11, 1966

## The Left in America...

...and the new left is no exception, has almost always been in the position of putting its strength behind someone else's program. This is not because that is the way the left wants it, but because the left rarely has the actual power on its own to change even the smallest thing. The new left, having neither power and/or a program of its own, worked until around the year 1965 with the understanding that there was a certain limited area of mutual interest between itself and the liberal forces in our society. It was, after all, Kennedy who put poverty on the national agenda while SDS was still committed wholly to the university, and it was Walter Reuther who provided the money to establish the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). There was then, not a left liberal alliance, but a coincidence of interests which led to complementary activity. This state of affairs, while it felt much to be desired, on the part of the new left, did have advantages and was certainly not harmful.

In recent months, there has been a gradual shift in the position of the new left. Day by day its activities have ceased to complement and backstop the stronger forces of liberalism and have started to operate in favor of the right wing and the conservatives. Operating in what Bayard Rustin has called the "confluence of negative factors", the new left has gone down on issue after issue with those who should be its major opponents. The

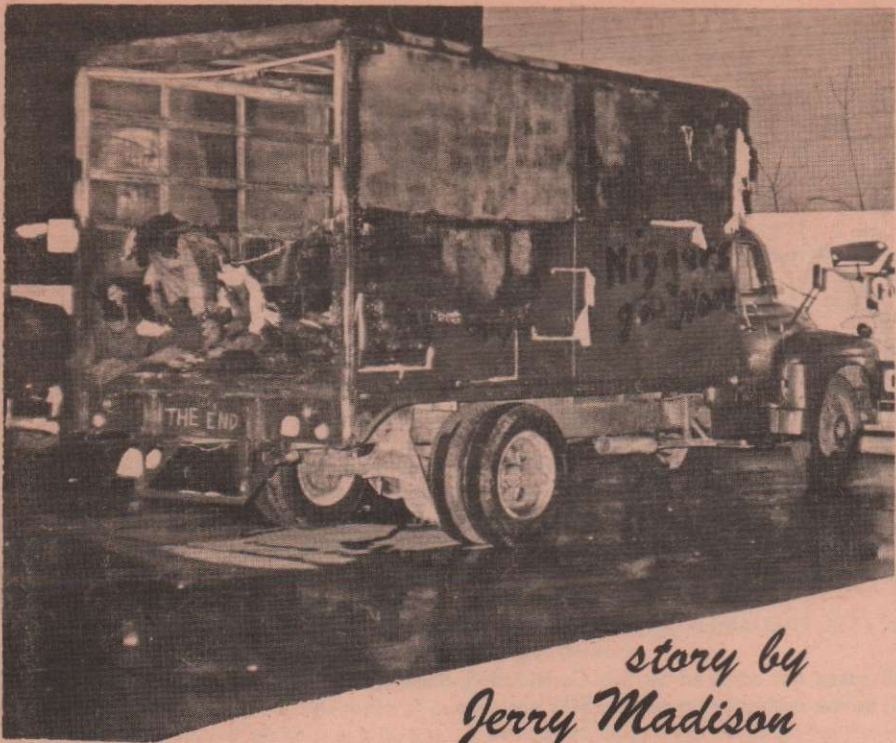
by Steve Max  
New York City

Senator Douglas in Illinois and Gov. Brown in California. In both cases those who felt that these men have done too little for peace did not support them. Those who felt that they have done too much for peace did not support them. Those who found them weak on civil rights vowed not to participate in the campaign, while those who felt that they were too strong on civil rights also refused to back the candidates. The same is true on the issue of poverty, civil liberties etc., etc. The result? The left and the right agree on one thing; victory for the right! Instead, delivering a state for the Black Nationalists, the new left and some civil rights forces have turned around and are on the verge of delivering the state of California to the white nationalists on the grounds that it is somehow more moral to turn the state educational system, the police force, and the whole of the state payroll over to the Birchites, than it is to vote for "Liberal" Gov. Brown.

There are more examples of this process at work. The Congressional race in the 19th District of New York was one. Here a primary fight took place in the Democratic Party between Ted Weiss, a peace candidate, and Leonard Farbstein. In addition to his strong opposition to the war, it was Weiss, a City Councilman, who spoke out in defense of the

(Continued on page 4)

## FREEDOM DRIVERS



story by  
Jerry Madison

For the last two years, there has existed, almost unknown to anyone, in or out of the Movement, a small beleaguered band of nuts, organized and headed by a 25-year-old schoolteacher, who have done a lot to keep the Southern Freedom Movement in business.

The Freedom Drivers grew out of the 1964 Summer Project, when returning summer workers remembered the plight of those in the Deep South who had cast their lot with social change -- the farm laborers fired for demanding a living wage, the families turned out of their homes for attempting to vote, and thousands more in similar desparation. They decided to do something more meaningful about it than writing their Congressman. They started by renting trailers and running loads of food and clothing South on weekends and holidays. However, when

they lost a trailerful of supplies during a chase by the Klan, they realized that they'd need a cheaper and better organized way of getting the stuff where it was going, and FD was born. The keystone of the group was then, and still is, Barbara Mitchell, a native white Mississippian and the mother of two small children. At first they tried a rental van, but the cost of a run proved prohibitive. From August to December of 1965, they drove a half-ton panel truck, but around Christmas-time the truck lost a wheel, rolled three times into a Southern Illinois ditch, and was totally wrecked (the drivers escaped with minor injuries). Finally, in February of this year, they managed to raise \$800.00 at a film benefit, and with it bought their present vehicle, a 28-foot International van, vintage '53.

(Continued on page 4)

## BLACK POWER AND POLITICAL STRATEGY

by Alen Jehlen  
Cambridge, Mass.

The proliferation of riots and the nationalistic turn in SNCC and CORE were the outstanding internal political developments of this summer. Many radicals looked with favor on the riots, and most applauded SNCC without reservations. These reactions result from a general tendency always to like best the most militant and angry statements or actions. I disagree with that attitude and I will use these two important examples to try to show why it results in inadequate analyses of developments and hampers effective political action.

The riots could conceivably have some important good effects. For one thing, they could frighten the authorities into granting some concessions. But so far only token concessions have been gotten in this way. The kinds of changes needed to improve significantly the lives of poor Negroes is stepping on lots of rich and politically influential toes. Therefore, those changes can not be made unless there are powerful, consistent, and well organized political forces pushing for them. I am using "political force" in the broad sense: any force which can influence the socio-economic conditions in society, either to keep them the same, or to change them. A riot is a powerful political force, but it is not consistent and it is not politically well organized. There is no one who can say that the pressure will continue until specific demands are met. There is no one who can make sure that promised changes are carried out by threatening to resume rioting. As a result, the authorities prefer to sit tight for a few nights until it all blows over. If things are really bad, they may try to speed the cooling off process with a few fire hydrant water sprinklers.

In fact, a riot may make basic changes harder to accomplish, by stiffening the resistance of the white community. A riot scares the whites, and they want to do something about it. But since there are no specific demands, and since most of the riots involve so much looting and property damage, the whites are more likely to want more police sent into the ghetto than more money. In most riots, the police commissioner has refused to admit that social protest played any part. While most whites probably wouldn't go that far, a great many probably do see riots more as an aggravation of "crime on our subways" than as a reaction to years of injustice.

I rather doubt that the rioting will get much worse. It is interesting that so far, no ghetto has had more than one major riot. I am not sure why this has been so. It may be that after there has been one riot, a second one lacks the galvanizing appeal of new events. Another probable factor is the severe police action, which inflames on the spur of the moment, but deters after some time has passed, just as often happens in civil disobedience demonstrations. In that case the possible number of serious riots is more or less limited by the number of ghettos. But if this analysis is proven wrong, and if radical Negro political action does not supplant the riots, I think the most likely outcome will be more police abuses in the ghettos, and crackdowns on the ghettos' fledgling radical organizations. Most of those groups are in no condition to survive the kind of harassment that is possible.

But maybe the riots can make possible the development of the strong and consistent political organizations which are a pre-condition for real improvements. Riots create an atmosphere of turbulence, which makes change more conceivable. This in turn makes it appear more likely that political action might bring results, and that makes it easier to involve people in political action. What's more, rioting itself is an act of revolt against the authority structure. When people get used to the concept of rioting, that orients them more towards all kinds of revolt against the authority structure, and political action is one kind.

Unfortunately, that is not the only possible effect. Riots are more dramatic than all but the largest scale political actions, and we all like to be dramatic. Once there has been a riot -- even in another town -- the political action necessary to develop the roots of a strong organization may seem puny by comparison. There is a strong tendency for both organizers and organized to release their bitterness at the system by growling about the impending riot, instead of carrying out political action and organizing.

It is often argued that the act of striking back at whites is in itself liberating for Negroes. It is supposed to build the self-confidence and self-reliance necessary for the development of indigenous, grass roots, political movements untied to city political machines. There is undoubtedly an element of truth in this argument, but not a very big one.

Many Negroes, after growing up in the racist American culture, do feel they are inferior to whites, but not in physical strength or fighting ability. They feel they are incompetent to deal with whites in the relationships which determine vital parts of their lives. They cannot get a decent deal from slumlords. They can not get employers to hire them. They can not get respectful treatment from social workers. Often they can beat up these people individually, and they know it, but they also know that usually this will not improve their conditions of life.

Many things, including the rise of inde-

(Continued on page 3)

## ATTENTION!

In approximately two weeks, as soon as the files have been checked thru, we will send out bills for 1966-67 dues to all members who have not paid dues since 1 February of this year. You could save us a 5¢ stamp, and ensure your continued SDS membership & receipt of NLN, by sending \$4 to the national office now. This would be particularly welcome since at this writing (8 November) we have exactly \$169.71 in our bank account and petty cash combined, plus 64 one-cent stamps and 21 special delivery stamps, and the staff has not yet been paid for the week. This situation is extremely inhibiting to office functioning.

Perhaps if each chapter made a special point of placing collection of national dues on the agenda of business meetings, the situation would be somewhat relieved; but the ultimate responsibility for carrying his share of the load rests with the individual member.

--Tom Condit



# CONSTITUTION

## PREFACE TO CONSTITUTION

This is, as far as we know, the one and only authentic version of the SDS national Constitution as amended at the Clear Lake Convention. There has been some question as to the accuracy of minutes, so people who have additions or corrections which they remember as having been passed by the Convention should write into NLN, & we can get into a long involved hassle.

There is one constitutional amendment pending in a national membership referendum. This would change Article V, Section 3 (Convention representation) to provide for chapter delegates having five votes each rather than two. The rest of the section would stand. This must be voted on by membership referendum since it would affect the composition of the next Convention. Arguments are elsewhere.

- Tom Condit

## National Constitution, STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

(as amended at the 1966 National Convention, Clear Lake, Iowa)

### 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: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership is open to all who share the commitment of the organization to the 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 2. *Dues.* The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

Section 3. *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 III. 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 by the regional council of the area in which it is organized, or by the national council. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification 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."

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 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 IV: REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

Section 1. All or some of the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a region of S.D.S. 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 S.D.S. shall hold at least one membership Convention each year, and may establish regional officers as deemed necessary. Regional programs, staff, and offices shall be responsible to decisions arrived at by a democratically constituted regional council.

Section 3. While fundamentally responsible to their regional constituency, regions are expected to operate within 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.

Section 4. If 1/3 of the duly chartered chapters in the geographic area of a region so petition, the national council shall immediately consider whether to declare the regional organization defunct and to prohibit it from speaking or acting on behalf of S.D.S.

## ARTICLE V: CONVENTION

Section 1. 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. (amendment pending)

## ARTICLE VI: NATIONAL COUNCIL

Section 1.(a) The National Council shall be composed of one (1) representative from each chapter with from 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.

(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 S.D.S. members in the area concerned received prior notice of the meeting and election.

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 groups and fraternal organizations; and 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 the budget, and organization of fund raising; interviewing and appointment of the national secretary and such other staff as budget allows; appointment of committee chairmen and representatives to other organizations; overseeing the functioning of the administrative committee; drafting an annual report and making arrangements for the Convention.

Section 3. The national council shall have the power to appoint standing committees to carry on its work between its meetings.

Section 4. The National Council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall may be represented by designated alternates from their groups.

## 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 fifteen 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 such 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 S.D.S. at least two months prior to election.

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 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.

Section 5. The national secretary shall be the chief administrative official of the organization, responsible to the president and 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: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

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

## ARTICLE X: 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 XI: AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended by one of three procedures:

a. 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;

b. by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced by distribution to the membership at least a month before the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption;

c. 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, June 1964, June 1965, September 1966.



# BLACK POWER and POLITICAL STRATEGY

pendent African states and the black power campaign's stress on self-reliance and pride, can help diminish the feeling of inadequacy. But the only real way to solve the problem is for Negroes to prove to themselves that they can force white authorities to give them a fair deal. Riots can end the feeling of inadequacy only if they can bring real improvements in conditions of life, and so far they haven't. Negroes can secure real improvements, and the self-confidence that comes with getting them, only through well thought out, carefully prepared, militant political action, "direct" or electoral, depending on the local circumstances. This is a boot strap method, since self-confidence is necessary for radical political action and

ATTN: PURDUE SDS MEMBERS  
Mailings to your chapter address have been returned. Please get together & let us know where to send chapter mailings.  
--Tom Condit

## NAC minutes

November 3, 1966 -- 8 p.m. Members present: Earl Silbar, Tom Condit, Jean Tepperman, Greg Calvert, Rich Berkowitz. Members absent: Paul Lauter, Steve Kindred, Brent Kramer, JOIN. Others present: Mark Kleinman, Sasha O'Reilly, Bob Schwartz, Thane Croston, Don Tylke, Martha Katz.

1. Finances. a. SDS has \$2,650.00 in outstanding debts. Contributions are beginning to slacken off after having a good period of receiving money at a steady pace--enough to keep the office running without major financial difficulty. We may have another financial crisis if more money does not start to come in. We now have \$195 in the bank. b. Two cars have been given to SDS for general office purposes. They will be picked up in Connecticut and brought to Chicago. c. Calvert is going to New York over the weekend (Nov. 4-8) to set up fund-raising events and check on New York Region. d. Policy of the NO that no new members will be accepted from the regionals unless their cards are accompanied with \$4. All membership cards received will be sent back to the regional office and will be accepted only when the new dues are paid.

2. New Left Notes. a. A discussion was held on whether we should acquire justifying equipment. There have been some difficulties at T.W.O., and our owning such equipment would greatly cut the cost of NLN. Croston and Calvert will investigate and report their findings next week. b. There was a discussion on the possibility of inserting The Movement (ex-S. F. SNCC publication) as a supplement to NLN once a month. It was unanimously carried that Calvert should look into the matter and report back.

3. Printing and Staff. a. Calvert will request our printing contractor to place his assistants under the supervision and scrutiny of the NAC, just as any other staff member. He will also be requested to have them attend staff meetings and take part in all staff functions. b. Calvert sent out a notice to Oklahoma and Texas chapters regarding the hiring of Bob Speck as their regional traveller.

4. Chicago Draft Conference. Paul Lauter was given permission to solicit articles in NLN to stimulate thought on the draft and the Chicago Draft Conference. There was a discussion on SDS instigating a counter-conference to the Chicago Conference if it fails to deal with issues which we think are basic.

5. Jeff Segal Draft Case. Jeff Segal, an ex-SDS staff member and organizer, was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment for draft refusal. The NO will cooperate with Segal if asked and if possible, and Calvert may attend a press conference with him.

6. December Conference. The planning committee has been appointed and will meet on November 5. NLN is to carry an article discussing the conference. There was discussion on whether having the NC before or after the conference. Nothing has been determined yet.

7. LID. Calvert is to inform Brother Max that our chapter contact list has been published in NLN and that if LID wishes to send the IUD agenda and The American Federalist to our chapter contacts; it would be all right. Also Calvert is to negotiate an exchange mailing with LID.  
submitted by Rich Berkowitz

political action is necessary for self-confidence, but riots are not a short cut.

I have yet to hear that riots have stimulated political organization, either in a riot area itself or anywhere else. If that has happened, someone should report on it. Otherwise, we had better not wait for Molotov cocktails to lead to steak dinners for the poor.

The reactions of many radicals to the riots are, in a sense, similar to the feelings of the rioters themselves. We have seen the establishment manage to avoid moving to improve the horrible conditions of the ghettos. It has ducked away from pressure by bureaucratic run-arounds, or by tokenism. It has coopted leaders and organizations. It has meted out jail sentences to those whom it could not elude or coopt. We are all frustrated and bitter.

What's more, we are sick of being told to work through the normal procedures and to give the authorities more time. We know the normal procedures are interminable, and the authorities use time not to carry out improvements, but to wait for the pressure to ease. Therefore, we identify with the frustration and bitterness of the rioters, and with their refusal to restrict the expression of their grievances to the normal and sanctioned avenues.

But if we want things to improve, we must think about the riots' effects. Riots are cathartic, but they will not work.

What we think about riots is mostly of academic interest, since there is really little we can do about them. On the other hand, activists in the movement, even white activists, can influence the course of the black power campaign.

Before going any further, let me say that, despite the criticisms which follow, I think SNCC and CORE are by far the best major organizations in the civil rights movement. I think the net effect of their present work is to improve the political situation in this country. I do think it could be much more effective yet if it were modified. But even if it is not modified, radicals should increase their support of SNCC, CORE, and other groups. On the other hand, it would be a mistake not to criti-

cize the direction of the black power campaign, just because many others are criticizing it for the wrong reasons.

Like the riots, the black power campaign is in danger of leading to lots of catharsis, but little political organization, at least in the North. But that doesn't have to be so.

SNCC says whites should not try to organize Negroes, because white organizers intimidate Negroes, make it impossible for Negroes to express themselves freely, and reinforce their belief in their own inferiority and inability to help themselves. This is all largely true (although it is not so clear that white organizers are worse than none at all). And I certainly agree that the key to solving the problems of the ghettos is political power. Furthermore, as SNCC members have pointed out, the slogan, "black power", can reach and has reached many people in the Northern ghettos who did not see "freedom now" as very relevant to their problems. But there are some aspects of the campaign which threaten its usefulness, and they seem to be getting more important. One is the blanket anti-white tone of the campaign, which goes far beyond saying that Negroes should respect themselves as Negroes.

Now it can be argued that it is necessary to dramatize the campaign for self-respect, because every Negro has been exposed all his life to the cultural attitude that as a Negro he is inferior and can not deal with society on an equal footing. It is also a sad fact that few whites have been reliable allies of the civil rights movement, and therefore SNCC should stress that Negroes must be prepared to go it alone. But one can boost self-respect and self-reliance without denouncing all whites, per se, as Carmichael himself demonstrated in the speech he made after being arrested on the Mississippi march: "You must build a power base . . . the power base has to get you a black sheriff . . . White people aren't going to do it for you . . . you have to stop being ashamed of being black and don't try to be white . . . Now that doesn't mean to be anti-white . . . but get the nappiest-headed mucksters and make him sheriff!"

I think that's great. Unfortunately, SNCC often uses a different approach. According

to a New York Times "Man in the News" article, Carmichael "recently addressed a racially mixed audience . . . and, with several whites of long acquaintance in the room, declared that he had never known a white person he could trust."

"A young white man who had considered himself Mr. Carmichael's friend rose from the audience.

"Not one, Stokely?" he asked.  
"Mr. Carmichael looked directly into his eyes and replied, 'No - not one.'"

According to excerpts from a SNCC working paper published by the New York Times on August 5, the prevalent view in SNCC is that: ". . . when we view the masses of white people . . . we view in reality 180 million racists." The paper goes on: "(When) the sensitive white intellectual and radical . . . admits this reality, then he must also admit his involvement because he is a part of the collective white America. It is only to the extent that he recognizes this that he will be able to change this reality."

Well, I don't think all white Americans are racists in any useful sense. Probably, all Americans, including Negroes, for that matter, do have a kernel of anti-Negro prejudice in the depths of their minds. But being deep doesn't necessarily make it of any importance in determining their actions. There is a minority of whites which does not oppose complete equality. There are even some groups of whites which can still be very useful allies for Negro organizations in the big Northern cities, where Negroes are usually a large minority, but still a minority. Among these groups are the large, white student populations of the Northern cities. On the West Coast, labor sometimes gives real support for social change. Most of the middle class, middle-aged people who have joined the Vietnam demonstrations can be mobilized to help if Negro organizations lead the way with concrete programs. There are others. These people are not, just because they have white skins, guilty for the racial injustices of this country, as the SNCC working paper strongly implies. It will be very hard to get many of them to work with Negroes.

But all this is relatively conjectural, since few of the Negro organizations, few of the white organizations, and few of the concrete programs of the Northern Revolutionary Alliance exist now. What is more important is that the blanket denunciations of whites are part of a general lack of strategic political thinking and speaking among many civil rights activists, white and black. Perhaps a good, concise statement of the problem is that the civil rights movement is very expressive, but not instrumental enough. It articulates the feelings of oppressed Negroes, but it isn't oriented enough toward actually getting things done to change conditions. The result of this is that black power, instead of being a rallying cry for political organization is becoming no more than a shout of defiance.

Self-respect and self-reliance are prerequisites for political progress in the ghettos, but they are not the only prerequisites. Another is an orientation towards using politics (in the broad sense) to solve problems. The black power campaign should help create that orientation, but in order for it to do that, its advocates must talk to people about what power consists of, and how to get some. It is important that a great deal of strategic thinking be done in public, so that people will get used to thinking along these lines themselves.

Strategic thinking about a proposed civil rights campaign involves analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of both the civil rights movement and the opposing forces as they might develop during the campaign. There usually is a good deal of thinking about the likely strengths and weaknesses of the movement in a proposed campaign, i.e., whether or not the campaign will catch on with various groups of Negroes. But there has not been enough thinking about the other side.

(continued on page 4)

## Yep, it's for real.

November 7, 1966

Local Board No. 63  
U. S. Court House  
South Park Row & State Street  
Erie, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

For some time now I have been receiving unsolicited mail from your office. You have sent me questionnaires that request information of such a personal nature as to be classified as indecent. You have made unheard of demands upon my person, requiring me to submit to a physical examination. Most recently you have pushed me to the limit of endurance by expecting me to prove my conscientiousness or face the consequences of indentured service in a dehumanizing machine of mass murder operating under the euphemism of the Department of Defense.

I can no longer put up with your impertinence. Since I do not consider myself to be in any way obligated to your agency, and since I have more important matters to warrant my attention than answering inquiries from your office, I would appreciate it if you would immediately delete my name from your mailing list.

Yours in Peace,

Robert Dewart

P. S. As I cannot consider myself a member of your despicable little club, I have destroyed those silly membership cards which you sent me some time ago.

### 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, Thane Croston

#### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Nick Egleson, president; Carl Davidson, vice-president; and Greg Calvert, national secretary.  
National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312) 666-3874  
New York City: 49 West 27th St., NYC, NY 10011; (212) 889-5793  
Niagra Region: 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY  
Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif. (415) 362-7922  
Southern California: 1347-1/2 Riviera Ave., Venice, Calif.  
New England: 138 River St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139  
Chicago Region: 2059 N. Larrabee, Chicago, Ill. (312) 944-3624  
Radical Education Project: 510 East William, Ann Arbor, Mich.

## STUDENT POWER

A conference on student power will be held in Columbia, Missouri, the evening of November 24, through noon, November 27, sponsored by University of Missouri SDS.

For further information, contact:

Michael Laitman, 1302 Bass Ave., Apt. 6, Columbia, Mo. 65201, Phone 216-442-6292; or, Gordon Burnside, 408 Hilt St., Columbia Mo. 65201, Phone 216-442-1808.



# BLACK POWER and POLITICAL STRATEGY

I think such analysis shows that it is a mistake to concentrate on attacking white society as a whole. Most white Americans do have strong prejudices against Negroes, but this does not mean that most white Americans will oppose all improvements in the living conditions of Negroes. Luckily, much smaller groups - slumlords, employers, skilled craft unions, branches of government, boards of education - are responsible for many of the bad conditions. In many cases, the civil rights movement can force these groups to make important changes without arousing the opposition of very large numbers of whites. Prejudiced white suburbanites will not really rally round slumlords under attack, because the great majority of white suburbanites have no interest, real or perceived, in maintaining bad housing conditions for Negroes. They will not be trustworthy allies, but hopefully they will be non-combatants.

Employers can be forced to end discrimination in hiring by boycotts and bad publicity. Although in a sense, at least in the short run, this may take jobs from white workers, it is unlikely that large segments of organized labor would react by backing the employers. Craft unions can be forced to open apprenticeship programs to Negroes by publicity and direct action. They have generally put up stiff resistance, but again, they don't command the support of broad sections of the white populations.

Some branches of government can also be forced to give in without running into broadly-based white opposition. Better treatment from the welfare department can be won and is being won where mothers on welfare organize. Well-planned action can probably force improvements in public housing programs, although here the pattern of forces determining policy is often very complicated and must be investigated and understood by the movement so that it can plan effective action.

In other cases, large groups of whites are involved, although not extremely deeply. For example, some improvements, such as upgrading public education in the ghetto, absolutely require higher taxes, and fairly strong resistance must be expected from

property owners.

Finally, there are some changes, like open occupancy, which involve a complete confrontation with the prejudices of the white majority, as happened in last summer's open occupancy marches in Chicago.

This, or course, is not an exhaustive list or a complete analysis, and the situation is different in every local area. But it illustrates the point that the prejudiced white society does not form a unified opposition to all the changes which the civil rights movement is fighting for. Different campaigns will evoke different degrees and types of opposition.

This does not mean that civil rights leaders should stop pointing out that the prejudice deeply imbedded in the American culture, and the injustices of our whole socio-economic system, are the roots of many of these specific problems. But an orientation towards changing things requires more than a description of what is. Prejudice is widespread, but its effects, and probably the prejudice itself can be tackled piecemeal, or at least there is no alternative for the foreseeable future but to try to tackle them piecemeal. More strategic thinking about how to do this must be done, and done publicly.

In portraying the prejudiced white majority as the force opposing all improvements, civil rights leaders are also greatly underestimating the chances for winning major advances by militant political action, except where Negroes form an absolute majority of the electorate. This tends to discourage people from taking part in political action. The civil rights movement should instead stress the vulnerability of some of the groups opposed to improvement. And it should put forward and carry out well-defined programs for using high pressure, militant tactics against the weakest opposition groups. That is the way both to get immediate reforms and to build the more powerful movement needed for further advances. Unfortunately there is a tendency for general denunciations of whites, general proclamations of black power, and vague threats of impending upheaval to take the

The point is not to get everybody changing "black power". The point is to develop a new consciousness in people of what they can do to change the conditions of their lives.

I have been to mass meetings in Chester, Pa. at which a great orator bellowed out, "We want our freedom - we want it here and we want it now!" every night for several weeks. Everybody cheered and felt united and enthusiastic, but no one had a real idea of what we were going to do to get the schooling changes we were after. In fact, although it was clear that the school system was segregated and that the Negro schools were inferior, we didn't really know what specific steps we wanted the school board to take.

There were dozens of mass marches and

three civil disobedience demonstrations, in which 200 people were arrested. But there was never a plan to block the streets until the school board accepted a specific list of demands. There was no plan at all, and there was no list of demands. That was two years ago. Things are just as bad now as ever, and the organization that called those rallies is remembered in Chester with bitterness.

We had no lack of anger or determination in Chester in 1964. We lacked, as the Northern civil rights movement often still lacks, a well-based political program and a political strategy for carrying it out, understood and believed in by all those people at the mass meetings.

As a recent writer on the Chester movement put it, "Militancy is no substitute for real, ideological radicalism."

## The Left in America...

(continued from page 1)

Senate Internal Security Sub Committee might investigate them, and it was Weiss who spoke at a SDS sponsored rally in defense of those subpoenaed by HUAC. Farbstein on the other hand was vocal and strong in support of the Administration. Although the campaign was viewed by the press as a major test of the peace sentiment in the nation's most liberal city, what did the new left do? Many members of SDS became active in the Committee for Independent Action (CIPA) which is running *Studies On the Left* editor, James Weinstein for Congress in the general election in the same district. Oh, yes, they said that they preferred Weiss and that those who were registered Democrats might even vote for Weiss. But work for him? No! Weiss lost but a scant 150 votes. If the hard core of 20 activists which CIPA claims to have had taken one day off from their "socialist" activity and brought ten voters each to the polls for Weiss, they would have been the group responsible for his victory. As it was, Weiss got another election in the courts due to irregularities at the polls. Did CIPA learn newspapers claimed a great victory for Johnson. The supporters of the Administration and the new left opponents of the war agreed on one thing, victory for Johnson! It was the liberal forces of the "wishy-washy" Reform Movement that took to the streets day after day trying to prevent a show of strength for the Hawks. One could go on to cite example after example both in the North and the South; where the Alabama Primary stands out. One could cite the same effect in Washington where the two dollar minimum wage, the repeal of Taft-Hartley, and the Civil Rights Bill were allowed to become Dirksen's doormats while the new left, if it had heard of the legislation at all, frequently opposed it. The conservatives and the New Left agreed on one thing; victory for Dirksen!

Two schools of thought within the new left contribute to this strange new state of affairs. The first says that things can't get any worse, the second says that the worse things are better for the new left; both are the result of short memories and a false interpretation of history. It was true that during the period of industrialization in this country, the fortunes of capitalism fell and the new left rose and grew due to unemployment and

oppressive working conditions. This has not been the case since the end of the first world war or thereabouts when new technology, new legislation and the sheer affluence of American capitalism began to remove the very worst conditions which had given so many working Americans no choice but to fight or perish. Once most of the people were out of the basement however, the left ceased to flourish in inverse proportion to liberal reforms, and just the opposite, began to grow in direct proportion to it. One need only compare the old left of the Roosevelt era and the new left of the Kennedy-Johnson era to the no left of the Hoover-Truman-Eisenhower era to see this process in operation.

Another aspect of the worse the better theories is expressed in the second issue of the New York CIPA paper. "If Farbstein wins, CIPA expects that many of Weiss's leftist supporters will join the Weinstein campaign and that a sizeable anti-war vote will be registered in November. The problem of distinguishing CIPA's radical political approach from the many 'peace candidates' is a real one. The pressure on CIPA's human and financial resources will continue as will the debate on the left about the form that radical political activity should take."

So it comes about that a victory for the war candidate will be a big boost for CIPA while a victory for the peace candidate will mean continued pressure on the small resources of the organization and a continuation of the muddy debate over tactics. It was nice that CIPA hoped for a Weiss victory but the position in which the organization finds itself is none the less clear. The same argument has come up in many of the other areas I have cited. "If there was only a polarization between them and us how much clearer things would be to the people". The problem is that so far the evidence shows that from Alabama to California to New York, when there is a polarization between the right and the left, it is the left that gets smashed. The left does not have the strength to win alone. It is the failure to understand this that leads so many to disaster. For while SDS debates how to pay its phone bill, the Birchites debate how to best spend their twelve million dollar campaign treasury.

## FREEDOM DRIVERS

(continued from page 1)

Most of the FD runs have been marked by difficulty and danger - due in more or less equal parts to the mechanical whimsy of their ancient rolling stock and to the "opposition" of the Klan and the related species. In Itawamba County, Mississippi, five drivers faced four Klansmen and two state troopers in a lonely general store at 2:30 AM after throwing a rod during a three-hour chase. Their lives were saved by the local sheriff, who ordered the rednecks to leave because "ain't no shootin' in my county goin' to bring down the N-double-ACP and the FBI". At a Kentucky truck stop, a sixteen-year-old driver (Mark Kleiman of the SDS national staff) was beaten senseless by two Mississippi Klansmen. The timely arrival of Barbara and the other two drivers saved his life; however, the truck's engine was wired during the few minutes it was left unattended, and it blew up on the road a short while later. It's believed that the two had planned to follow up the attack, but were deterred by the sight of the drivers posted in armed guard about the shattered truck. And in South Chicago, four hoodlums, after beating one of the drivers, hi-jacked and burned the truck, heavily damaging the body and destroying a ton of relief goods (this damage has yet to be repaired).

Actually, the purpose of this article isn't to catalogue the inconveniences of running a Freedom Trucking line, but to help make known to a wider segment of the Movement the largely unpublicized work of this group and to make a few suggestions as to how SDS chapters can help keep FD on the road.

As things stand now, the Freedom Drivers are paralyzed. The big van is parked at a pro-Movement service station in Evanston, minus an engine and with extensive damage to the body. There isn't enough money either to rebuild the present truck or to buy a new one. And the warehouse is filling up with a log jam of donated food, books, clothing, and office equipment. Another problem has been the lack of full-time staff. My wife and I are now serving in this function, in addition to driving, but until recently FD had to make

do with the able, but part-time help of such people as Ferman Watson, a South Side (Chicago) Negro, (who, in addition to working with us on fund-raising, holds down a full-time job, goes to college, and raises three kids), and Mark Klaiman, Thane Croston, and Jack Batemann of the SDS staff. In addition, Jack Abernathy, an old friend and an ex-DuBoiser, lives with us and contributes a large part of his paycheck toward our support.

SDS chapters can help us in significant ways in getting us rolling again. Although donations of relief supplies would be appreciated (please include a warehouse with the shipment), our primary need is for BREAD, Babies. Namely, a thousand dollars or so to enable us to buy a good used truck to get our phone put back in. Following are a few fund-raising suggestions:

- (1) Faculty members should be encouraged to pledge to us a small amount each month out of their checks:
- (2) Students could "pass the can". This idea has limitless possibilities; door-to-door, public places, public transportation - or cans could be placed in the establishments of sympathetic businesses or stores:
- (3) Raffle tickets could be sold, with the prize being something out of the ordinary, like a free evening of babysitting, or a day's free rent on a motorcycle.

We have available upon request a 12-page illustrated leaflet explaining our work, some reprints from a Chicago newspaper article about FD, and paper coffee can covers (for two-pound cans) to be used in soliciting funds. We should have buttons available about a week after you read this. And, as an added attraction, one of our spokesmen can be made available for speaking engagements (please pay travel expenses and provide a floor or something to sleep on). Send all correspondence and contributions to:

Freedom Drivers  
716 Main, 3rd Floor West  
Evanston, Illinois 60202

NEW LEFT NOTES  
Room 206  
1608 W. Madison  
Chicago, Ill. 60612  
Return Requested

J. Walton Senterfitt

2115 S St. NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois