

SDS BULLETIN

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March 1964

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL: A REPLY TO THE
SWARTHMORE POLITICAL ACTION: A HISTORY

by Carl Wittman

Four years ago, in the Spring of 1960, the emphasis of student politics at Swarthmore was on a multitude of single-issue movements: peace, civil rights, civil liberties, anti-HUAC, abolition of capital punishment, etc. The organizational form this took was mostly an umbrella Student Council committee, the National-International Affairs Comm. (NIA), together with Students for Peace (a local group -- in line with the current idea that Swarthmore students never join anything national) and the Forum for Free Speech (still existing today, but rather defunct). NIA consisted mostly of second generation Marxists, few in number but very loud, and rather alienated from the rest of the campus. During the Spring and Fall of 1960, the sit-ins, anti-HUAC petitions, pro-Cuba demonstrations, peace vigils and the like kept people busy, and a group went to Cuba over the Christmas vacation. Most leftist students at that time -- a small clique, mostly sophomores and freshmen -- carried on these activities.

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PRESIDENT'S REPORT

by Al Haber, past
SDS President

Conflict exists in SDS, and the issues are important. One might never know this from Todd Gitlin's report, or indeed from the N.C. proceedings themselves. SDS tries to hide its conflict behind the rhetorical flourishes of high-toned resolutions that refuse to take stands. The Hayden proposal adopted by the N.C. was an all-things-to-all-people document that avoided all the issues.

This "reply" will state some of those issues. I hope it will provide a stimulus for serious debate, even argument, in SDS about what we are doing and why.

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Read I. F. Stone's Weekly - Muckraking Journalism at its Best

An absolutely indispensable aid to understanding what's happening in the world today, especially in the foreign policy field, is I.F. Stone's Weekly, which is now in its 12th year of independent muckraking journalism. A close reader of the domestic and foreign press and of Congressional proceedings, "Izzy" is an expert at exposing the myth that US foreign policy is always peaceful, conciliatory, rational, and in keeping with the principles of the UN, OAS, and Christian morality -- and at shedding much light on domestic politics and policies. On pp. 17 and 26 are brief examples of the Weekly's work. The \$5 spent for a yearly subscription is an invaluable investment.

Many SDS members are receiving with this issue of the Bulletin a sample copy of the Weekly. Pardon its age; arrangements were made to obtain the Weeklys (then Bi-Weekly) during the 1962-3 school year but we were unable to send them then. A recent issue can be fetched by sending a self-addressed, stamped envelope to I.F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave, NW, Washington, D.C. Better yet -- subscribe!

CHAPTER REPORTS

new chapters

HAVERFORD

from a report by Russ Stetler

SDS members at Haverford, though not organized into a separate group, are very active in the following programs:

Vietnam: We've organized a campaign to raise money to send for medical supplies for the Liberation National Front. As a result, we are controversial enough figures to be invited to lots of colleges to stir up talk on Vietnam. I spoke at a SPAC meeting at Swarthmore recently; in the next month, I will speak at U of Penn Bryn Mawr, Vassar, and Yale. Other guys will be speaking in behalf of our project over spring vacation when they go home to areas like Washington, Baltimore, and Boston. When we've reached enough big-name colleges and universities, we'll launch a mammoth press campaign to get our concern publicized in order to arouse some public concern and generally to make a stink over what the U.S. is doing in South Vietnam. We'd very much like to receive speaking invitations: write me at Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

University reform: our tuition was just raised \$300 per year. We're trying to organize people to promote other ways of obtaining the money colleges need to operate today. SDSer Joe Eyer is on Student Council and will be plugging for good things there. We're interested in co-ordinating with other colleges with the same problem of high-priced education, to work to promote Federal aid (with student lobby in Washington, demonstrations, etc).

Kitchen help: A recent Haverford News (the campus paper) included a big article on the feature page describing the slum conditions of the kitchen workers' quarters, which are on campus. Many people are concerned now and are working on it.

SNCC: We're planning to get as many people as possible to give up one dinner this semester in order that the cost of the meal may be donated to SNCC.

Reaching people: Joe Eyer, Roger Eaton (an SDS member), and their roommates have begun publishing the Twopenny Press. We have printed articles on Chester, Pa.; Tougaloo, Miss; and a Vietnam-Cyprus issue. It's been reaching a lot of people here and at Bryn Mawr; people read it because of its handy 2-page size. Great idea!

Ardmore (the neighboring town, with a sizeable Negro ghetto): We're trying to organize our Civil Rights Comm. (which Roger now heads) to go door-to-door in Ardmore to talk to people about Scranton's war against the poor, especially his new unemployment bill.

Educationals: Mark Lane recently spoke here on the Oswald case. Bill Hinton, a post-1949 resident of China, will talk about China sometime in mid-April.

KALAMAZOO

As the Bulletin was being prepared, the news arrived of a new chapter at Kalamazoo C. (Kalamazoo, Mich.). In lieu of a chapter report, the following excerpt from their Statement of Purpose follows:

"We, as students, are essentially related to the political needs of a self-governing democracy. Our dedication to the ideals of liberal education morally necessitate an open-minded inquiry and reasonable examination of our democratic society with the ultimate aim of its betterment... We... will attempt to contribute an informed and pertinent criticism of the American community to its citizens and attempt to act toward a greater realization of the imperatives of social reform."

U OF KANSAS

by Lee Bryd

Currently the most active project of the KU Liberal Action Comm. (KULAC, the SDS affiliate here) is the organization of and participation in a demonstration on March 21 aimed at the Sigma Nu fraternity on campus, which conforms to a national constitution which provides that no Negroes be permitted to join Sigma Nu. In addition, on March 28 we are setting up a

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large picket line protesting the de facto segregation in our entire fraternity system. For both of these demonstrations, we estimate that we shall have at least 120 picketers.

We have successfully participated in a Negro voter registration drive in Kansas City for the past two weekends (and several weekends to come); our groups of about 30 people each weekend were responsible for registering about 250 Negroes for a public accommodations election on April 7.

We are all quite pleased with the progress of our organization within the few short weeks of its existence. In addition to the projects mentioned, we are planning on establishing our own political party on campus, setting up speakers forums, and sponsoring a voter registration drive in our own city of Lawrence. This Saturday, March 7, several individuals are sponsoring an "Un-Military Ball" in response to a "Military Ball" being held by the campus ROTC. Should the financial benefits be reaped as we hope they will, all profits from the affair will be deposited in the KULAC treasury as a donation from these individuals.

NORTHEASTERN

from a report by Hope Luder

Northeastern U. SDS, formed during the Fall, sponsored during our last term on campus (we are alternately at school and on work periods) speakers on the test ban (Mass. PAX's Jerome Grossman), civil rights (Tommie Blunt), militarism (SDS's Mike Appleby), and front groups (conservative Jim Gladis). These were attended by 20 to 40 students each. This term, we have continued our speakers series with Thomas Atkins, Elaine Tarmy (a student-age person) on Social Action in the U.S., and -- in the future -- Stuart Hughes and an ACLU person. And we are involving ourselves in the school boycott campaign here in Boston.

U OF OKLAHOMA

from reports by Jim Russell

The recently-formed Oklahoma U. SDS chapter has been working in a couple of civil rights-related areas, and plans to branch out to cover a wider range. Much of our efforts has gone into trying to win the adoption of a non-discriminatory clause for off-campus housing. As of December, only 3 of 139 facilities listed by the U. were integrated. Also, we sponsored a speech by Clara Luper, a leader of Oklahoma City sit-ins, which was attended by about 100 persons.

On March 11, we will sponsor a filmed version of the Murrow interview of J. Robert Oppenheimer of Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study and recent Fermi Award winner, who describes the Institute and gives his views on nuclear warfare and the future of scientific inquiry, among other subjects. We plan a series of monthly speeches, starting with OU economics prof Paul Brinker on poverty in Oklahoma. The first issue of "SDS Voice" -- a biweekly mimeographed newspaper -- is out. We may start a concerted drive to end compulsory ROTC on campus.

U OF TEXAS

by Jeffrey Shero

Texas has been known for its special brand of political turmoil -- probably best called rugged provincialism. At any rate we, the politically active, are able to come into direct contact with the forces we are trying to affect (or should it be infect?). The proximity of Johnson's home, the clannishness of Texas liberals, the present power Texans hold in Washington -- all these give us special opportunities that most small groups of our nature would not enjoy.

The UT SDS has been approved on campus for about a month. We have 32 members, a
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mailing list of 200, and (as the only active broad interest left wing group on campus) have become a focal point of political attention. Now, about our activities:

The failure of the Austin City Council to pass a public accommodations ordinance provoked our fledgling chapter to sponsor civil rights demonstrations.

50 students from UT and Huston-Tillotson (H-T; a predominantly Negro, church-supported college) picketed and attempted to gain admittance to Piccadilly Cafeteria, the last major segregated restaurant in Austin. Lusty improvised verses were sung for the occasion: "Until we get our dinner, We shall not be moved." The demonstration attracted wide attention and some vocal support from homeward-bound evening crowds.

On the next day a larger demonstration at city hall was planned to demand an end to city employment discrimination and passage of a public accommodations ordinance. That morning, H-T students were forbidden to participate in demonstrations without parental permission. As a result, the afternoon demonstration had only 30 students. After picketing and passing out leaflets, we marched to Piccadilly Cafeteria, then to the State Capitol.

That day, H-T students went on strike in protest of the college's ruling about demonstrations. A boycott was organized against that and other restrictive campus policies; part of the action included refusal to eat meals at the H-T cafeteria. Our SDS chapter called off planned demonstrations, to help in collecting food for the striking students. The strike lasted only a week and won minor concessions.

Among the demonstration placards used in the action described above were several that read, "Austin's Segregation Embarrasses L.B.J." Because the mostly conservative business community is opposed to rapid integration, our strategy is to generate enough publicity to prod the President's behind-the-scenes efforts to speed progressive city action. It is thought here that an earlier picket at

Lynda Bird Johnson's segregated dormitory caused the President to phone Gov. Connally to spur the Board of Regents to hurry litigation which would integrate the dorms. Pres. Johnson's daughter's vulnerability to civil rights demonstrations may have influenced the decision for her to attend school in the north.

The news media have given our activities good coverage. The Houston Chronicle had front-page coverage for three days. Other papers in Texas, and radio and television carried reports. Even the conservative Dallas Morning News had a short article in the depths of the third section.

The publicity has provoked action throughout the city: a spokesman for the Austin Human Relations Council lectured on TV that demonstrations would not promote progress but would harm the city's image, and said that "we are studying the situation"; the torpid Austin NAACP announced the possibility of lie-ins; and a city businessman flew to Washington to confer with Attorney-General Robert Kennedy.

Prospects are not bright, however. A wedge is presently being driven between the elements of the student movement. Opponents have rumored that SDS is ultra-left wing, Communist-infiltrated, etc. Because of a lack of political sophistication, and frantic Texas anti-Communism, these rumors have met with a large measure of success.

Our most recent meeting presented H-T student Jacob Banda of Southern Rhodesia, who spoke on "Nationalism and Social Transition in Africa". Members of YAF attended, and a spirited debate followed. One YAF protagonist argued that if the Blacks had power in Rhodesia, public services would suffer. An irate Indian student exclaimed: "Patrick Henry said, 'Give me liberty or give me death', not 'Give me liberty or give me efficient health service'."

With great enthusiasm we have embarked on plans for the future. We are sending a delegation to the Hazard conference, and are doing a large picture spread and story in the U. daily paper on Hazard. We

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will soon sponsor a Communist from San Antonio who is currently involved in a publicized civil liberties case (see p. 14). His presentation will be on the government's activity and the constitutionality of Texas anti-Communist laws. It will be a fascinating test of the U. administration's stand on academic freedom. Finally, research is being conducted on our poorer economic sections.

old chapters

DETROIT

by Pete Werbe

Good possibilities of a joint SDS/NSM summer project in Detroit arose as a result of both groups' involvement with the Barbour Community Student Movement (BCSM). The BCSM, a group of Negro junior high and high school students, began as an after-school discussion group, but took to the streets this year and integrated a barber shop after two days of picketing for its first project.

For its next target the group chose a neighborhood supermarket that handled the milk products of a man who was on the board of directors of a bank that the NAACP has attacked for its discriminatory hiring practices. The picket, although called by the NAACP, was manned entirely by the BCSM, Barry Kalish (BCSM's advisor), a teacher, Sharon Jeffrey, NSM national chairman Frank Joyce, and me.

The line was marked with unusually arbitrariness by the police and finally resulted in a copy striking a 15-year old demonstrator in the face on the pretext that the boy had brushed him with his sign. When the boy informed the sergeant in charge that he wished to file a complaint against the cop who had hit him, the sergeant responded by placing the boy under arrest (later charging him with felonious assault).

As the boy was about to be driven away by the police, nine other juveniles sat on, under, and in front of the squad car to prevent it from leaving the scene. They were carried away and also arrested. The rest of the day the picket line looked

like a scene from Mississippi. Carloads of cops began to arrive, including detectives with sawed-off baseball bats, until there were more cops than picketers. Fortunately, there were no more incidents that day.

The next day, the girls who had been arrested (charges had been dropped that night against all the students) were suspended from school by a policewoman; and the Movement's advisor, Barry Kalish, was arrested for contributing to the delinquency of a minor (a father had been intimidated by detectives). The group decided to call a boycott of the school for the next day in protest of these actions and sent out a line to picket the school. The next morning the school officials readmitted the girls to avert the boycott, which was then called off.

Still, Kalish (now a full-time NSM worker) stood accused in the eyes of the community, so the BCSM called a major meeting to explain their activities and the role of Kalish to the community. The call for the meeting was distributed to the neighborhood by the combined efforts of BCSM, NSM, Detroit people, and Ann Arbor SDS people. The meeting, attended by 250, was successful in rallying community support for the students and Kalish, and a decision was made to begin a parents group that would support the students and begin to take action on community issues.

Since that date -- about a month ago -- Ann Arbor people have come in for the weekly meetings of the students and of the parents to begin to familiarize themselves with the community and its problems with the idea in mind of establishing a summer project here.

Although Kalish is still charged, the group is beginning to ready itself for its next direct action project, more than likely at a Jim Crow construction site.

Other chapter activities have included: sponsoring Communist Party spokesman Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who spoke on the McCarran Act; sponsoring a rally for open housing in the Wayne St. U. area, where there is bad discrimination; sponsoring

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the BCSM on the Wayne campus to explain their activities, after they and Kalish had been attacked in a school paper editorial.

U OF ILLINOIS

from reports by Penny Chaloupka

The work this semester in the chapter will deal mainly with putting together the conference on poverty which is being co-sponsored by us and the Young Dems and will take place May 1-3.

We feel that it is, at this time, very important to get SDS known as an organization. Before the conference, we will be co-sponsoring with the YDs a series of discussion groups on poverty and possibly some local speakers on the subject.

Possible other areas of activity will be in the area of academic freedom. The U. has increased fees again by \$15 in order to build an intra-mural sports palace -- which is a subject of much debate and could be used as the basis for some activity. The old athletic discrimination controversy may flare up again.

Liz Krohne, SDS sec'y, has a regular column weekly in the Daily Illini for the sole purpose of espousing liberal ideas and questions. There is a good deal of interest among regular-type campus people to go south this summer, and June Brown, member, is compiling a large file on possibilities of various summer projects.

There is a reform movement opposing the regular Democratic Party of Champaign-Urbana. One of our chapter members, Dick Hutchison, is running on the reform ticket and looks as though he has a good chance of being the next committeeman from his district.

Friends of SNCC has grown from nothing to 110 people in the last two weeks, and the interest is high on campus and in the community. Much of the work being done in this organization is by SDSers Rudy Frank and Carol Stevens, both of whom spent their intercession in the south.

There is a possibility of running someone good for president of student senate, who would run on a definite platform of university reform. He would probably lose, but it would bring a lot of brewing issues into the open.

LOUISVILLE

by Jim Williams

UL Students for Social Action (SSA; the SDS affiliate) has been rather busy of late. At Spring registration, we signed up 50 people for our mailing list and have already begun to reap the membership gains from it. At registration we distributed many copies of SDS and ADA documents -- including about 100 of Fred J. Cook's "The Ultras".

Our first major meeting was held Feb. 26, when we sponsored indicted Indiana U. YSA-er Tom Morgan, who spoke on his sedition case. On short notice, about 45 persons showed up and some money for Morgan's defense was raised. The meeting was orderly (though some conservatives were present) and many were impressed with Morgan's presentation.

Feb. 8, we helped set up a meeting for Berman Gibson and the Comm. for Miners. Although the meeting was not too well attended, considerable interest was aroused among the students who were there, leading to the formation of the Louisville Student Comm. for Miners, with previously uninvolved Les Holzer as chairman.

SSA also issued its first newsletter, which was mailed to over 100 community contacts and distributed widely on campus.

On Sunday, March 1, about 15 SSAers and others picketed the convention of the segregationist National States Rights Party for 2 hours. As picket captain, I had the dubious pleasure of dealing with KKK head J.B. Stoner, White Citizens Council of American chief W.J. Simmons, NSRP leader "Dr." Edward Fields, and Nazi fuehrer Lincoln Rockwell. Pickets were harassed by uniformed storm troopers. The convention was being kept a secret until

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SSA was tipped off by friends in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. Of course, the meeting was held in the "Plantation Room" of the Sheraton Hotel.

The main project which SSA has been absorbed with is the March on Frankfort (see p. 10). SSAers organized both in Louisville and in rural areas, and assisted in many capacities. We were also instrumental in supplying state-wide contacts among college students, and also enlisted the support of Berman Gibson and the Hazard Miners.

At UL, SSA made an effort to achieve the broadest possible support for the March. With the staunch assistance of the UL Young Democrats, a broad March Coordinating Comm. was established. Geoffrey Morris, SG member and Lambda Chi Alpha frat member, was elected chairman and chief coordinator; while YD Board member Paul Wallace served as Transportation coordinator; Rev. Syngman Rhee of United Campus Christian Fellowship took the lead in organizing the religious groups; and SSA Chairman Cletus Anderson served as Community Action Coordinator.

As support for the March developed, the Student Council and the University Council (faculty-administration) both asked that students participating in the March be given excused cuts. Dean Richard Barber immediately recommended that all instructors give free cuts for the March -- as well as participate themselves.

On March 3, SSA initiated a campus-wide rally in support of the March. Speakers included Frank Stanley (chief of the entire March), Rev. Rhee, Mrs. Mary Tachau (faculty coordinator), and Mitch McConnell, Student Council president. Earlier that morning, UL students were given a chunk of free time over local Negro radio station CLOU to publicize the rally and the March.

U OF MICHIGAN

from a report by Dick Magidoff

The first meeting of the Voice Community Action Project took place on Feb. 20 to discuss possibilities for Voice partici-

pation in the community beyond the campus. Three activities were discussed: organizational participation in the Ann Arbor City Council campaign, work with a community civil rights group in East Detroit and action in connection with the issue of the predominantly Negro Jones elementary school in Ann Arbor.

The possibility of supporting Leroy Cappaert, the Democratic candidate for City Council in the 5th Ward, was discussed. The discussion centered around the conditions under which Voice would mobilize itself to support a particular candidate, rather than the entire D.P. ticket. It was pointed out that Cappaert is quite liberal, committed to civil rights, and concerned with the problem of poverty within affluence in prosperous Ann Arbor. He has said that, if elected, he will support a research program into sub-standard housing conditions in the Negro section of his ward, and will support any appropriate community action in the area, including a rent strike, if grievances cannot otherwise be redressed.

During the past few weeks, a group of about 10 Voice people have travelled occasionally into Detroit to work with and help out the Barber Community Movement, a civil rights group composed of students at the Barber Jr. H.S. in east Detroit, and a few high school students from the community (see Detroit SDS chapter report). The youngsters hold discussion workshops, and have picketed local businesses; for people their age, they show a great deal of enthusiasm and surprising sophistication. Their activities have spurred some of their parents to form an adult community civil rights organization.

The Voice people have helped the Barber kids with leafletting, and have sat in on their workshops. How Voice can give future help to a group 40 miles away is unclear; we will be discussing that in the future.

We ran four candidates in the recent Student Gov't elections, only one of whom, Barry Bluestone, won. Their platform was a wide-ranging one, from increased student participation in decision-making in
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University, to encouragement of the U. to build low-cost student housing, to the conducting of a investigation into retail prices in Ann Arbor, to establishment of a UM Student Employees Union.

Proposed for the near future is a "Poverty Week", which would include: (1) the making available of material describing the nature and extent of American poverty; (2) a saturation of the campus paper with letters to the editor and the solicitation there of a feature story on poverty; (3) the inclusion of special articles on poverty in the Voice Newsletter; (4) the showing of films on poverty; (5) the bringing to campus of SDS Field Sec'ies Joe Chabot (Chi. unemployed white organizing) and George Goss (Texas, Appalachia); (6) a special fund-raising drive.

A March 5 Voice-sponsored debate pitted former Voice president Tom Hayden against Young Socialist Alliance National Secretary Barry Shepard on the topic, "Independent Political Action vs. Political Realignment."

A Voice discussion group on the economy has been organized. The first two meetings' topics were: (1) Overview of our economy, with readings from SDS publications -- Ray Brown's "Our Crisis Economy", "The Nyack Papers", and "America and the New Era"; (2) Decision-making in the economy, with readings from A.A. Berle ("Economic Power and the Free Society"), Robb Burlage ("The American Planned Economy: A Critique"), Gabriel Kolko ("Wealth and Power in America", ch. 4 & 5), Hal Draper ("Neo-corporates and neo-reformism" from the Fall 1961 New Politics), and Robert Engler ("Politics of Oil", ch. 16).

OBERLIN

from reports by Tim Craine

By far the bulk of Oberlin SDS members' efforts are going into the African Freedom Day Action Against Apartheid (see p. 15). In addition, we are publicizing the Appalachian situation, collecting food and clothing for the miners there, and plan to attend the Hazard Conference en force. We are also forming a "pressure

group" on poverty at Oberlin's mock GOP Convention -- we hope to be able to bring the issue to people's minds and to lay the groundwork for future involvement.

SWARTHMORE

by Vernon Grizzard

The activities of the Swarthmore Political Action Club (SPAC) during the past month can be divided into two categories: the actual projects in which we were engaged and the development of ideas and policy which came as a result of our involvement in these projects.

In passing, I should note that the five SPAC seminars (2 sections of "Marxism", 2 sections of "The Northern Movement", and a lecture series on the history of the

Negro movement) are in their second week, and seem to have a definite status. All were prepared and are being led by SPAC members: Paul Booth, Alex Capron, Nick Egleson, and Carl Wittman. Over 100 students are participating in the seminars.

The arrival of Rennie Davis and his corps of ERAP workers should also be noted. Rennie spoke to about 40 students on the possibilities for work in SDS summer projects. SPAC is working now to solidify plans for projects in Chester and Phila.

But most exciting to us was, as usual, our involvement in the Chester movement. SPAC worked with the Comm. for Freedom Now (CFN) for two weeks preceding the city-wide school boycott of Feb. 13. The boycott was postponed from Feb. 11 because of a heavy snowstorm which resulted in the schools' being closed that day without our insistence. Though we were worried that enthusiasm would die down, a mass rally and march on the night of Feb. 12 had 300-400 participants, and over 600 picketers (35 from Swarthmore) helped make the boycott 40% successful (Bd. of Education figures).

Two things were very significant about the boycott. First, we found the block organizations to be very effective in mobilizing community participation. Often decisions were made with little time to

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inform large numbers of people, and the leaders who had emerged from the block organizations in the past few months proved invaluable in this situation.

Second, CFFN was most effective at the junior and senior high school levels, where the students felt old enough to decide for themselves to join the boycott. There was a conspicuous lack of success at all the elementary schools except for Franklin, where demonstrations had taken place in the Fall. It appears that an extensive personal house-to-house campaign or some extended program of direct action has to be waged to convince the parents of elementary school children to participate in a boycott. The school must be the focal point of community anger, as was the case with Franklin in November.

Two major developments within SPAC came about as a result of our involvement in Chester in the past few weeks. First was a policy decision that was reached after three hours of discussion at a meeting. We were disquieted because the movement did not seem to be falling into all the paths we had outlined for it. This was most evident in the few demonstrations that followed up the boycott. They kept CFFN in the newspapers, but they were not used to push any program of demands -- they were strong expressions of discontent, but no direction was given to this discontent.

To dramatize and to disrupt were two legitimate aims of mass demonstrations in the earlier stages of the Chester movement. But the Negroes of Chester know now that they hold power, and so does the xiry government. We in SPAC felt that now there were only two justifications for mass demonstrations:

1. they can provide enthusiasm necessary to form more block organizations
2. they can be used to force recognition of and accommodation to a program which expresses the consciously recognized needs of a community.

SPAC decided that since the second condition is not present in Chester yet, and since the first condition had been provided by the school boycott, our first priority would be the organization of 4 new block organizations; demonstrations would have less of a demand on our time.

Still on the agenda is a prolonged discussion of how the block organizations can result in the development of a movement which is conscious of its needs and confident enough to express them -- it is the first condition that we are most concerned about now.

A second development within SPAC was the formation of an interim executive committee composed of the President, Vice-President, 2 members elected for a semester, and 4 members elected each month. The creation of this committee was in response to the need to make decisions on such short notice that SPAC meetings couldn't be held in time (SPAC meets each Sat.). These decisions, often of major strategic importance, were being made by only the Pres. and V-P under very hurried conditions. This resulted in much confusion and a day-to-day conception of the movement. Organizational reform is somewhat less exciting than actual participation in a movement, but most SPAC members felt that this reform was basic to our functioning in a way which is consonant with our long-range goals.

VASSAR

from reports by Peggy Dauber

As a follow-up to the Carol Merritt case (reported in last month's Bulletin), we have co-sponsored a petition to the Attorney-General and have publicized the general situation in Canton, Miss. (Carol is a 1963 Vassar grad who was arrested in Canton as a result of her SNCC activities there).

As part of our campaign to increase the degree of student involvement in decision-making at Vassar, we have presented to student government a list of grievances and suggestions in this area, and are continuing efforts to have SG meetings open. We also tried to get favorable candidates elected to SG, but this was unsuccessful. As always, letters and articles on many subjects from and by SDS members appear weekly in the campus paper,

Along with the usual education effort of sponsoring speakers, we plan two new ploys this coming semester: leafletting (cont. first column next page)

20,000 MARCH ON FRANKFORT - jim williams

Twenty thousand Kentuckians marched on the state capitol on March 5 in support of a state public accommodations bill. The marchers -- about 30% white -- ranged from Paducah Negro high school students to Roman Catholic Clerics, Hazard coal miners to Southern Baptist ministers.

The March's featured speaker was Martin Luther King, Jr. He called segregation "nothing but a new form of slavery", and urged mass action from all people in Kentucky to end segregation. King paused briefly to hail the recent nuclear test ban treaty and to attack U.S. militarism. Other speakers were Revs. Ralph Abernathy and Wyatt Tee Walker (both of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and famous sports figure Jackie Robinson.

The March's leader was Louisville Negro editor Frank Stanley, Jr., head of the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights, which called the March. Stanley made a speech urging continued support and action until the desired public accommodations bill was passed. Kentucky Governor Edward Breathitt praised the March as a "historic" moment in Kentucky history. The Governor supports a much watered-down version of the bill which the marchers called for. NAACP leader W.J. Hodge told newsmen that the demonstrators would return again and again until the right bill was passed.

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and soapboxing. We are especially anxious to try the latter; it might be just what is needed to shake the campus up a bit. Hopefully, we can get N.O. staffers to come to soapbox outdoors about SDS, values, democracy... and try to attract passers-by as well as educate SDSers.

U OF WISCONSIN

by C. Clark Kissinger

With the beginning of the second semester the Madison chapter registered on campus. The officers are: Clark Kissinger, Pres; Carol Bloome, Vice-Pres; and Barbara Majewski, Sec-Treas.

The chapter has undertaken a project on poverty which entails surveying the economic conditions of Indians in the State and, on campus, the showing of films and slides on American poverty; A project which would involve us in a local aldermanic race came to naught. We will be actively involved in spreading literature on SDS's summer projects.

With regard to university reform, the chapter will be publishing a critique of the University Library, and a critique of how economics is being taught here.

Since we registered on campus, membership has increased from 7 to 22.

The demonstration was peaceful, contrary to fears of possible violence perpetrated by members of the segregationist National States Rights Party

The largest delegations came from Louisville, while other Kentucky cities contributed heavily. Rural representation was also very strong with such eastern Kentucky areas as Berea and Hazard well-represented. Striking coal miners from Hazard were among the most militant of the marchers and carried posters demanding full and fair employment.

College students from all over the state turned out in force, especially from Belknap C. in Louisville and Berea C. in Berea. The U. of Louisville and U. of Kentucky (Frankfort) were also well-represented. Union support came from the Greater Louisville Central Labor Council, the United Auto Workers, and the United Teachers Federation.

Although 50,000 persons were expected, heavy inclement weather prevented many areas from sending full delegations.

Civil rights leaders predicted that this march marked a turning point in the struggle in Kentucky, and that passage of the bill (which would make Kentucky the first Southern state with such legislation on the books) would be a great step forward.

A REPORT FROM SAN FRANCISCO AND BERKELEY

by Becky Adams Mills

Unfortunately, neither SDS nor NSM has come to the Bay Area. Though many of the same things are done here that are done in the East and Midwest by these two organizations, there is not the continuity and possibility of building something permanent that exists with formal organization. On the other hand, there are developments here that may be of interest and serve as models for others across the country.

Of prime interest to many students here is activity in tutorial programs, especially when these are linked to local issues, like an urban renewal fight. As far as I can tell, none of the sophistication in the use of the tutorial that is demonstrated by NSM has reached this area. This is primarily because the tutorial programs are not controlled by the tutors and tutees, but by various agencies who are not willing to experiment with social action and human exploration through the tutorial.

Perhaps most exciting in the Bay Area is the "San Francisco New School". The New School will begin classes on March 4; "teachers" and leadership in the School are from the New Left, with help and participation from older friends of the New Left. Saul Landau and David Eakins (Studies on the Left), Bob Scheer (Root and Branch), Carl Werthman (New Univ. Thought) are all involved. Others include Judy Stiehm, Laurel Weinstein, Alvin Duskin, Paul Jacobs, Lincoln Fairly, Mike Miller, Jerry Mandel, Ronnie Davis. Classes are in US Economic and Political History, Origins and History of the Cold War, Greek Political Theory and Greek Politics, and the Politics of the City. The classes will meet simultaneously on Wed. evenings and will be followed by a general forum on a topic of general interest. The School is radical "in the original sense of going to the root". With this basic commitment, there is an internal dialogue going from left-liberals to radical democrats and socialists. Information is available from the SF New School, Box

34012, San Francisco, Calif.

On the U. Calif. (Berkeley) campus, SLATE is selling Vol. I, No. 2 of its campus catalogue Supplement. The Supplement is a critical guide for an undergraduate seeking a good education. It offers course evaluations based on a survey taken at the end of last semester, suggestions on how to deal with the bureaucracy, and general comments on what an education ought to be all about. Response on the campus has been excellent. The Supplement is something that brings SLATE in contact with thousands of undergrads in a concrete way. Copies are available at 25¢ each from SLATE, Box 893, Berkeley, Cal.

Students at the U. of California played an extremely important role in a recent urban renewal fight in San Francisco. The site of the dispute is the Hunters Point temporary war housing project. At stake are 2100 low-rent housing units. The City's redevelopment agency wanted to tear the project down and replace it with "moderate-income housing", rental range \$95-135 per month. The agency claimed that present site residents would either be relocated in private housing, find housing in permanent public housing (they would have top priority in filling vacancies), or move into the new housing in Hunters Point. A group of Cal. researchers showed that the Redevelopment Agency study was biased and incomplete. The students, grads in political science, sociology, city planning, and other fields, designed a survey of tenants in the project and also studies of the whole S.F. housing market. They found that the Redevelopment Agency had grossly overestimated ability to pay, had ignored the fact that there are already 1000 people on the public housing waiting list, etc., etc. Undergraduates and grads participated in the interviewing. Estimated professional cost of the survey: \$10-15,000. Cost when done by people who believe in what they're doing: \$52. For more information, write Public Housing Survey, 1616 Josephine, Berkeley, Cal. Send 25¢ to cover postage and printing costs.

by PREP Director Dick Flacks

The next issue of the PREP Newsletter will be out shortly (about March 20). It is a special issue focussing on links between poverty and disarmament. Included will be articles by Dick Flacks on the aerospace industry as a barrier to both disarmament and the poverty war; a piece by Todd Gitlin on using the military to fight unemployment; a review of Boulding/Benoit's book by Tom Hayden and of Melman, Peace Race by Carol McEldowney; an annotated and exhaustive bibliography on disarmament and the economy prepared by Dave Strauss.... PREP is assisting in a conference on "teaching about peace in the high schools" sponsored by the Detroit Federation of Teachers, and in a conference on the role of social workers in achieving peace sponsored by a group of social workers in the Midwest.... The last issue of the Newsletter received a number of very enthusiastic comments from people on many campuses and from as far away as Japan, Norway, and Great Britain. Bulk orders for the Newsletter will be filled until the supply runs out. And we wish that every chapter would so order. PREP prepared a work-list memo on the Vietnam situation -- any member wishing copies should write to the PREP office. Two action suggestions for chapters and local groups: sponsor a forum or debate on Vietnam (these have been highly successful wherever held) coupled with an effort to get people to write to the President and Senators urging US support for a neutral Vietnam. Sponsor a community meeting (with local peace, church, or labor groups) on what can be done in your area with resources made available from defense cutbacks. A third suggestion: a campus debate or forum on "Dr. Strange-love" when it arrives in town.... PREP staffer Barry Bluestone will attend the UAW convention and will be conducting interviews with unionists from defense plants, attempting to find out what local union representatives in such situations feel about defense cutbacks and conversion problems.... Barbara Steinberg has joined the PREP staff and is putting in many hours on correspondence, literature orders, etc.

(PREP: 715 Arch, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

by ERAP Staffer Ken McEldowney

In the last several weeks, attention has been centered on laying the foundations for Spring conferences and Summer projects. Conferences include the following:

Wilson C. conference on poverty, March 6-8 (this will be over by the time the Bulletin is out).

Hazard, Ken. conference on the problems of depressed areas, March 26-29 -- will focus on the Appalachian region and Eastern Kentucky.

Ann Arbor conference on community organizing, April 10-12 -- will bring together students and young adults interested in community organizing around economic issues. Much of the planning for the Summer projects will take place here.

Cleveland conference, April 25-26 -- will focus on the weaknesses of the Cleveland Democratic Party; attitudes of low-income whites; political and economic obstacles to organizing in Cleveland; and industrial layout and activity in the city.

Boston conference, April 24-26 -- will deal with human needs of the Boston population; alternatives to the present inadequate government programs; the political forces that must be generated to enact democratically a comprehensive program; the general problems that Massachusetts will have to face in a period of sharply decreased arms expenditures.

U. of Illinois conference on poverty, May 1-3 -- will have special emphasis on the particular problems of the Chicago area.

The conferences are designed to educate students on the problems of the economy, but at the same time concentrate on what can be done in their particular region or city to bring about the changes that are necessary to end poverty. In each conference, special attention will be given to a summer work-study project: planning and research that is necessary; recruitment; workshops on organizing, etc. In addition, ERAP is cooperating with conferences such as the George Washington

ERAP (cont)

U. Intercollegiate Conference on Poverty in America, for which working papers are being supplied.

However, most of the focus of the project staff is on the planning and writing required in putting on summer projects in 8-10 areas. Rennie Davis, Rita Kopolowitz and others have been travelling extensively to cities laying the groundwork for the summer projects. During the next two weeks, virtually every potential city will be visited by the ERAP staff, in most cases for upwards of a week. In addition, the prospectuses which are vitally needed for fund-raising and recruiting are being prepared by local workers and ERAP staff members.

At present, summer projects are planned for Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, Hazard, Chester, Newark, Phila, Detroit, Boston, and Louisville. They vary greatly in their stages of development. The prospectuses for the following projects are now ready for mass distribution:

Cleveland: The project will be based in the Near West Side, a low-income area. A primary goal is to "eliminate racism, which is a product of frustration, by organizing around issues common to black and white." In April, a full-time organizer will be hired to establish a storefront office devoted to "building an organization of unemployed capable of becoming a viable, potent political force in the community." In addition, he will set up the Cleveland conference and "institute a comprehensive preliminary research program."

"The preliminary organizing and research will be put to effective use beginning in June 1964, when the project will be expanded to 15 full-time organizers who will live and work in Cleveland's Near West Side. These organizers... will aim to catalyze the development of a self-sustaining, indigenous community organization whose general goals will be to generate social pressure for full employment, decent housing, quality education, and the extension of political power into the hands of a majority of Cleveland's citizens." Two basic patterns of action will be used -- continue to work with the

organization of unemployed in developing a "political realignment responsive to the articulated needs of the Near West Side", and utilizing demonstrations and education to press for these same goals; and research and planning that is directed "toward presenting Cleveland authorities with a detailed, comprehensive set of demands and proposed solutions to the chronic problems of the Near West Side."

Appalachia: In the coming weeks, movements of unemployed similar to that in Hazard, Ky. will be set up in other towns in the area. "In particular, an organization of unemployed in Appalachia, Va., 40 miles from Hazard, will shortly rent an office to serve as the hub of the Appalachian movement." A staff of five, supported by SDS, SNCC, and the Comm. for Miners, will put on the Hazard conference at the end of March, publish a bi-weekly newsletter for the unemployed of the area and develop specific plans for the summer.

In June, 15 to 20 SDS organizers will begin to work in Eastern Kentucky, Eastern Tennessee, Northwest Georgia, and Western Virginia for the following goals:

- "to set up social centers for young miners or unemployed youth...
- "to dramatize the inadequacy of government retraining programs...
- "to develop county-wide newspapers...
- "to compile an inventory of grievances...
- "to develop a regional master plan...
- "to assist the people of Appalachia with legal problems..."

"People with certain skills are needed in this organizing effort in Appalachia: those experienced in photography, journalism, law, union organizing, and city planning are especially needed."

Chester, Pa.: "We feel that an economy that has been constantly subject to an unemployment level of 6% may never offer economic security to all citizens.... Assistance is needed on the national level; their own city just does not possess the resources to give everyone a good job, adequate housing, and adequate schools.

"For these reasons we believe that a concerted effort must be made to develop a strategy designed to create a demand for, and then to help effect, a basic change
(cont. bottom next page)

CIVIL LIBERTIES

texas book confiscation

SDSer Charles Smith of the U of Texas reports the confiscation by state and local officials of many books and records owned by John Stanford of San Antonio. This occurred on Dec. 27. Stanford, who the day before had been ordered to register as a Communist Party member by the US Security Activities Control Board, operates a mail order book service entitled "All Points of View", including many works by Marx and on Marxism, Cuba, etc. Thus, the searchers took all the pro-Castro material but not the anti-Castro literature. In addition, many personal papers were confiscated, including correspondence with an attorney.

In a Statement, Stanford said, "Following a literal interpretation of the Texas anti-Communist laws, the raiders confiscated 19 copies of Pope John's 'Pacem in Terris'. There is no doubt that Pope John's writings fall within the definition of Communism in the Texas laws. However, I am unable to cite the exact sections that cover him, since my copies of the law were also confiscated... One of the more serious aspects of the raid is that it greatly impairs my ability to defend myself in the McCarran Act case. All correspondence with my defense committee was confiscated," along with pamphlets and books about the Act, copies of the Act itself, statements he had written and his 10,000-name mailing list. "My main defense in the McCarran Act case is an informed public opinion..." Stanford's address: 1118 W. Rosewood, San Antonio.

ERAP (cont)

in social institutions primarily in the community."

While the Committee for Freedom Now has won most of the battle against discrimination in hiring, great unemployment still exists. "Where will the movement look for more jobs? This is the sort of question which will have to be answered in the coming months."

The summer project will have the closest connection with CFFN. "The project should

u.r.i. censorship

by Nada Chandler

A recent situation at the U. of Rhode Island demonstrates the precariousness of freedom of expression at American universities and raises questions concerning the university's role in immorality cases.

The situation also demonstrates a powerful tool of student reformers -- damaging the U's "public image". Universities which are state-supported are vitally concerned with public image. An early Fall incident gave URI students the opportunity to expose the U's hypocrisy and repressiveness, thus forcing the U. into an uncomfortable position.

Another, more recent, incident occurred on Jan. 6, when the Dean of Students halted the showing of a pornographic film at one of URI's 19 fraternity houses. He told those present that nothing would come of the matter if it were kept silent, except that the fraternity could expect disciplinary action. By the next morning, the incident was common campus knowledge but the story was kept from the press. On Jan. 10, the editor of the Beacon (the student paper) was called to the Dean's office and told that if the story appeared in the paper, she would be removed from her position and the paper placed under a publications board. Fearing the repercussions, the editor did not print the story.

Two days later, a group of student lead-
(cont. next page)

provide three essential services for CFFN -- (1) it should work to strengthen the organization of the movement in the ways that CFFN directs; (2) it should do the research necessary for the development of a comprehensive program for the solution of the economic, social, and political problems of Chester; and (3) it should assist the movement in looking for other groups in Chester which may be added sources of strength for the movement."

Prospectuses for the other projects are being developed and will be available from the ERAP office (1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM, &

ers, including the Beacon's board members, were called to a special meeting at the Dean's home. At this meeting the students were told that it would be unwise to print the story since a Federal offense was involved and as long as the matter was kept quiet nothing would happen. On Jan 14 the editor was approached by the local correspondent of the Providence Evening Standard, the state's largest paper, and was asked for a statement on the incident. It then became apparent that the Administration had not kept the matter quiet and that both the local police and the local press were aware of what had happened.

The next day, a group of four students prepared a statement condemning the Administration for "violating the whole tradition of the American press", and for "perverting the values of integrity, honor, and free speech". The same day a story appeared in the Standard bearing the headline "URI Dean Halts Smut Show". Feeling among both faculty and students was high; the Faculty Senate at its regular meeting proposed a resolution endorsing its earlier stand on student freedom of expression and called a special mtg. for the following week. The 4 students involved were called before the Dean and, later, the President of the University.

For the next week, URI was on page one of the Standard -- but the issue was censorship, not pornography. In an editorial entitled "Unwise Censorship on the URI Campus", the Standard -- normally conservative and anti-URI-student -- stated that "...A Dean's job is not to silence a campus newspaper when it tries to publish a story." A later editorial attacked the URI president for suggesting that the facts would have been incomplete; if that thesis were accepted, it said, a murder would not be a story until the murderer had been convicted. The editorial also suggested that even the president had no right to censor the newspaper.

The issue is by no means closed; letters and editorials continue to appear in the paper, the faculty senate and the AAUP have committees to investigate the situation, and the student senate has not yet decided what course of action it will

take. The legislature is now in session and one of the pending items is URI's budget. It can be assumed that the U. will not risk unfavorable publicity by continuing to pursue its present policy. For the first time, students have an effective weapon against the administration. Throughout the whole incident, it was a group of students who kept the press informed and kept the issue alive on campus. An issue such as this one, with enough interest to sustain front page headlines, might be the appropriate way of forcing an endorsement of freedom of expression by the administration.

(Editor's PS: The story was finally printed in the Beacon's Feb. 12 issue -- not that the issue is closed yet.)

SO. AFRICA CONFERENCE

The internal situation in South Africa becomes increasingly explosive; more and more African leaders declare their willingness to contribute to the cause of freeing a fellow African people; South Africa becomes more isolated from the rest of the world, as it withdraws (usually under pressure) from some international organizations -- while American and other Western countries continue to reap huge profits from investments and businesses in South Africa. The country is rapidly moving toward disaster.

This is the context in which an April 10-11 conference is being held, designed to coincide with African Freedom Day, April 14. Named the African Freedom Day Action Against Apartheid, it aims at increasing efforts in three general and interrelated areas -- education, publicity, and pressure. Decrying the virtually complete ignoring by public officials and the media of the extremely dangerous situation in South Africa, the conference's sponsors hope to involve a broad cross-section of American students in continuing concern and action.

The conference will be held in Washington. Interested individuals should contact AFDA, 153 E. College St, Oberlin, Ohio.

UNIVERSITY REFORM

CIVIL LIBERTIES NEWS BRIEFS

Bulletin readers will remember the story in the Dec. issue on Frostberg (Md) State C. where the firing of four "avant-garde" English profs touched off student demonstrations and faculty action leading to the "temporary" leave of absence of the college's president. The "new regime" (headed by the Humanities Dept. Chairman) has rehired the four.

*

A survey of efforts to censor textbooks reveals pressure greatest in Cal, Fla, and Texas, and subjects most frequently under attack international relations and racial and religious matters.

*

Questioning into religious discrimination in admissions to Northwestern U. (Evanston, Ill) has resulted in threats of withdrawal of the school paper editor's scholarship by the admissions director. The latter seems headed for a firing.

*

The N.Y. CLU, on behalf of noted peacenik Dave McReynolds, has challenged the constitutionality of the law under which the P.O. censors foreign mail which is unsealed, determines some of it to be "Communist propoganda", and forces the would-be recipient to declare his desire to receive the item in order to get it.

*

Negro students threatened to withdraw from Savannah (Ga) St. C. to protest the dismissal of economics prof Cleveland Christophe, who sought to bring white students into his classes.

*

Referring to remarks sharply critical of US policy in Cuba and Red China made by Prof. G. Harrison Daggett at the U. of New Hampshire, which aroused controversy, U. President John McConnell said that after talks with Prof. Daggett, he believed that there would be no recurrence of such an incident. McConnell said that the University must foster patriotism and still keep alive the spirit of free inquiry and independent thinking.

After conferring with school officials, Colorado ACLU reported that a book of poems by E.E. Cummings, which had been removed from two high schools in Denver, was back on the shelves.

*

Because of involvement in civil rights organizing and forthright outspokenness about racial conditions in N.C. and Miss., Allard Lowenstein, Ass't Prof. of Social Sciences at N.C. State, is under pressure from a N.C. State Senator.

*

7 students (3 SG officers and 4 top honor students) were suspended from Paterson St. C. (Wayne, N.J.) for "participating in actions detrimental to the college" -- namely, forming a Council demanding the right to form on-campus clubs and permission to distribute pamphlets on campus.

*

Strongly objecting to the "inoffensive", cleaned-up version of "Huckleberry Finn", which Phila. Sr. HS students are given to read instead of Mark Twain's original version, the Greater Phila. ACLU said that "pap" was being substituted for "one of the greatest literary works of all times".

*

The attempted printing of an allegedly libelous article has resulted in the setting up of a censoring board for student papers at 4 Illinois state teachers colleges.

*

A proposed tuition hike at the U of Colorado prompted a one-day boycott of UC classes by 2000 students on Feb. 5.

*

Suspension of the student publication at Catholic Seton Hall U. (So. Orange, N.J.) resulted in a student riot recently.

"Freedom of expression was being abused", according to SHU's president, who cited "misrepresentations of facts" and "an unwholesome spirit". The paper had criticized SHU policies, especially women-in-

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G. J. Stone on A Manufactured Crisis

The recent downings of US planes violating E. German air space remind us of the Autobahn crisis of last October, when US troop convoys were held up at checkpoints for 2 days, while international tensions soared. IF Stone's Weekly of 25 Nov 1963 demonstrates that, far from being the Soviet-manufactured crisis proclaimed by US papers, it seems to have been American-made. Ironically (or was it?), the crisis began on the very day of formal ratification of the test ban treaty; thus, a major detente move was partially offset by a tension-heightening confrontation.

The issue was the conditions under which Allied soldiers would leave carriers to be counted in traveling on the Autobahn between W. Germany and W. Berlin. The West claims an absolute right to access to Berlin -- subject to no Soviet (and certainly no E. German) check -- tho the Soviet right to check is recognized de facto. But the exact conditions under which US troops will dismount to be tallied are kept a secret -- both on the "principled" legalistic basis that no Soviet right to check exists, and also on the political basis of using this situation to wear away the Soviet position on the Autobahn and, thus, in Germany. It is in the latter context that the October crisis must be viewed: a former Army officer very close to the Berlin situation described the crisis as an attempt to "nibble away" at the Soviets' right of inspection.

Apparently, the situation was very serious: "Few Americans realize," writes 'Izzy', "how carefully planned the incidents of Oct. 10 were and the risks incurred. Once the Russians refused to let the convoy pass, contingency plans were put into effect which might easily have escalated. 2 convoys met at the Marienborn checkpoint and refused to dismount. One was eastbound to Berlin, the other westbound; the latter, the larger with 73 men in 25 vehicles, had passed thru the checkpoint outside Berlin without incident. Presumably its men had dismounted.

WHO BENEFITTED?

"Revival of the Berlin crisis as a live threat to Europe could improve the climate for a number of pending measures for strengthening NATO, including a program for a nuclear surface fleet armed with Polaris missiles and manned by mixed crews from 6 or more nations." (Wall St. J, 6 Nov) Only US & Germany favor this plan.

It was essential for this convoy to reach Marienborn without delay in order to make a joint stand there with the incoming convoy because the first step in the contingency plan was to block all traffic on the autobahn. This required large convoys in both lanes. This was the first time the US military ever tried this, and it might have led to serious trouble," but the Soviets let them pass. "When the Berlin-bound convoy reached the other end of the autobahn 3 or 4 hours later, it was again held up for refusal to dismount. Here again a similar double play seems to have been prepared. A 2nd convoy, made up of 164 men on 26 vehicles leaving Berlin, had already been cleared thru the checkpoint with no trouble, presumably because its men dismounted to be counted. But it didn't move on; it waited for the inbound convoy. Again there were large convoys in both lanes, one already cleared in the westbound lane, the other newly halted in the eastbound lane where it had refused to dismount for counting." The 2 convoys again could block all traffic both ways.

The stopped convoy's commander was ordered to "test Moscow's intentions by raising the barriers at the checkpoint in an attempt to get away without permission" (NYTimes), a very dangerous move. The Soviet response was to bring up 2 armed vehicles, but again they "backed down", allowing the US convoy to proceed without dismounting. The crisis subsided.

Who benefitted from these incidents, if not those opposed to the emerging detente and profiting from cold war tensions? Were they in charge, giving orders? Why?

NEWS BRIEFS (cont)

apartment regulations, and had urged consideration of Rockefeller for President despite his divorce and remarriage.

The Wis. CLU has protested a County sheriff's proposed purchase of a transistor-size wireless transmitter and receiver, powerful enough to transmit three blocks distance. This was termed a violation of citizens' right to privacy.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The running-down of a Negro co-ed by a white driver on Feb. 3 resulted in the shooting and beating of a number of young people by Jackson, Miss. police. Lynch St. runs directly through the Jackson St. C. campus; it was there, on an unlit portion of the street, that the girl was struck. A crowd of about 500 Negro students gathered, and in the process of dispersing them, police beat two staff members of the Mississippi Free Press and a third youth. Later that evening, at a basketball game, SNCC workers passed out leaflets urging a protest against the driver's speedy release and police brutality. 1000 students gathered, walking back and forth across the street at the point of the accident, singing freedom songs and asking for installation of a traffic light (a long-standing demand by Jackson students). Again police strove to disperse the crowd, this time firing guns over their heads and then (when a brick was thrown by someone on the sidelines toward the police) directly into the crowd, wounding at least four people, including two SNCC workers. Here occurred the widely publicized successful effort by NAACP Miss. field secretary Charles Evers, who urged the students to go home lest more violence ensue.

*

A four-county "Freedom Day" Feb. 22 resulted in "at least 100" attempts by Negroes to register in S.W. Georgia. Project head Charles Sherrod of SNCC emphasized that for the first time "we were able to picket and leaflet downtown without having arrests."

*

First-term Rep. Charles Weltner of Atlanta told his fellow House members on Jan. 28 that the South would remain poor as long as the Negro continued "at the bottom of the heap... Where before we sought to exclude him, we must now seek ways of bringing the Negro into a better life," Weltner said, citing the fact that white Georgians' annual income was \$2470, compared with Negroes' \$927.

*

35 Christian missionaries, at a meeting sponsored by the Virginia Council on Hu-

man Relations, have urged a deeper involvement in the area of race relations on the part of other missionaries and churches.

*

When 84 St. Louis CORE members sought to picket the hotel where Pres. Johnson was speaking on Feb. 14, they were arrested and held without charges until after the speech was over. The President had been urged by several thousand petition-signers to shun the city's 200th anniversary celebration because of the present racial climate there and city officials' failure to help force the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. to hire Negroes. Demonstrations over this issue have resulted in hundreds of arrests and sentences ranging from 60 days to a year. St. Louis CORE member Charles Oldham (a former nat'l chairman) said, "It is a traditional technique of a police state to arrest persons and hold them without charges to prevent them from doing things you don't want them to do."

*

Two of American U's (Washington, D.C.) six sororities have admitted discriminatory practices in a report to a student senate committee investigating such practices.

*

Harassment (including bombings, burnings, and threats) of Florida NAACP officials and of a mother whose child was admitted to a previously segregated school, has led national NAACP to call on the Justice Dept. to investigate the attacks.

*

National Aeronautics and Space Agency chief James Webb and Congressman George Miller (D, Cal; the chairman of the House Space and Astronautics Comm.) cancelled an appearance before a special welcome dinner for the Mississippi State Legislature in Jackson after SNCC protested that the meeting would be segregated because a meeting closed to all except members of the state legislature, local officials, and members of the Chamber of Commerce would necessarily exclude Negroes.

*

A Negro who saw a state representative

NEWS BRIEFS

kill another Negro then active in voter registration was himself killed Jan. 31. The dead man, Louis Allen of Liberty, Miss., was a half-day away from leaving the state (after his mother's death) when he was murdered. Fearing for his safety after the murder 2½ years ago, Allen originally testified that he'd seen the registration worker threaten the representative with an iron tool. 1½ years later, in Feb. 1963, he offered to reverse his testimony if given Justice Dept. protection. Though protection was denied him, he spoke out anyway. The Liberty sheriff reports having been unable to find "a single clue".

*

SNCC has been successful in obtaining "equal time" on an Atlanta television station to respond to the station's criticism of protest demonstrations in that city. 3 prime-time editorial spots were awarded under the FCC's "Fairness Doctrine". (See November Bulletin)

*

300 Tuskegee Institute (Tuskegee, Ala.) students staged a protest march on the campus Feb. 6 over the issues of community facilities (street lighting, paving, garbage collecting, etc.) in the Negro section of town, and compliance with Federal orders to integrate schools. Further demonstrations are promised.

*

D-Day in Chapel Hill, N.C. was Feb. 9 -- the date set by C.H. CORE for a massive demonstration if no progress had been made toward desegregating the town. 108 demonstrators were arrested in widespread civil disobedience actions, including especially sit-downs at downtown intersections, along highways leading into town, and in front of segregated restaurants. CORE groups throughout the state sent participants.

*

In the wake of the distribution of 10 tons of food and clothing sent by Boston Friends of SNCC, over 300 people have tried to register to vote in Ruleville, Miss. SNCC workers report conditions to be "most desperate... many people are

without clothes and some are starving."

*

A CORE-sponsored registration drive in Gadsden County, Fla. has enjoyed two kinds of success: not only has the number of Negroes registered increased steadily (especially after the jailing of four registration drive workers), but interest among high school students in nonviolent direct action has been aroused. A plan to expel students attending a CORE workshop backfired when too many students reported in response to their principal's request that workshop participants see him in his office.

*

The NAACP plans to focus attention in 1964 on the fact that Negro unemployment is three times higher than the national average.

*

The second vice-president of the Albany (Ga) Movement, who is a minister and also a sandblaster at the Albany Marine Corps Supply Center, has been notified that due to "conduct unbecoming a federal employeeit is proposed to remove you from your present position with the federal service." The Minister, Samuel Wells, was one of 9 indicted and convicted on perjury charges by the Federal Gov't. The indictment resulted from charges by a white Albany grocer that Albany Movement members had conspired to injure him after he sat on a federal jury that refused to convict a Georgia sheriff accused of shooting a Negro.

*

6 civil rights workers arrested in late Jan. for various bogus charges in Canton, Miss. (which was the subject of a recent full-page N.Y. Times spread citing voter registration work there) were moved to Jackson and held incommunicado. Other reprisals included the halting of all Negro taxis in Canton ("faulty permits") and the cutting of a service station owner's gasoline supply and his arrest ("burning trash without a permit") for being a civil rights leader.

*

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SWARTHMORE (cont)

ties, while the liberal upperclassmen engaged in the newspaper, NSA, and student council affairs. The big issue on campus was the passage of the "off campus amendment" which permitted the student council to take stands on political affairs, subject to referendum.

As a result of too-extensive participation and the lending of SC's name to an anti-HUAC rally in Philadelphia, the Student Council disowned NIA and set up in

its place a pure research body, the Off Campus Affairs Committee (OCAC), which would draft resolutions for Council to pass on political issues. It consisted of nine members -- 3 liberals, 3 leftists, 3 conservatives. Long debates and subsequent referenda (which all passed except for the last of the following list) were the focus of much of the activity of the politically conscious: on sit-ins, NDEA, the McCarran Act, and condemnation of the
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CIVIL RIGHTS (CONT)

Conn. C. for Women student Mardon Walker, charged with violation of Georgia's trespass law in a Jan. 13 Atlanta sit-in, has received a sentence of \$1000 fine, six months in the common jail, and 12 months on the public works. The Judge in the case, Durwood Pye, is noted for his stiff sentences and excessive bond amounts.

*

The threat of a CORE demonstration assured the mid-Feb. desegregation of bed-pattern assignments in the Dunham TB Hospital in Cincinnati, Ohio; Under the agreement, CORE has the right on monthly inspection.... Charleston, W. Va. CORE is undertaking a similar task in picketing at Charleston General Hospital.

*

South Jersey NAACP branches plan an all-out direct action offensive against discriminating coastal motels and hotels during the Spring and Summer.

*

When Cleveland Negroes who had been bused to previously all-white schools were put in segregated classes, members of the United Freedom Movement began a protest action which was climaxed by a night-long sit-in at Bd. of Ed. headquarters -- whereupon the Bd. agreed to integrate. In response to the Bd. president's statement that Negroes could not be successfully integrated with whites because they were "educationally inferior", efforts will be made to oust him.

*

9 Ministers were arrested in Hattiesburg,

Miss. for picketing in a "restricted area" (in front of the County courthouse) and urging registration to vote. Shortly thereafter, a state circuit judge issued a temporary injunction to halt picketing, demonstrations, and "acts calculated to breach the peace".

*

Selma, Ala. has seen two developments related to the voter registration drive there. Two civil rights workers were convicted of "unlawful assembly" for carrying signs urging voter registration during the Oct. 7 "Freedom Day" drive in Selma (see Nov. Bulletin). And two leaders of the voter registration drive have qualified to run for city council positions in the March 17 Democratic primary, the first Negroes to seek public office in Selma since Reconstruction.

*

A Pine Bluff, Ark. branch of nation-wide McDonald's eatery chain has integrated less than a week before a hearing to determine whether the owner could be awarded a permanent injunction barring demonstrations by SNCC, NAACP, and the Black Muslims.

*

A federal court order recently obtained by the Dept. of Justice bars 15 Americus, Ga. whites (including 7 public officials) from interfering with voting & voter registration in "Terrible Terrell" County.

*

Following negotiations with Los Angeles CORE, Safeway Stores has issued a policy order aimed at increasing employment of Negroes, Mexicans, and other minority group members in L.A. area branches.

SWARTHMORE. (cont)

Cuban invasion.

SPAC FORMED

Activists, cut off from funds with the abolition of NIA, formed the Swarthmore Political Action Club (SPAC). From the beginning, SPAC was merely a forum for political action and was headed by a clique of leftists. It had a relatively large following of liberals (about 20) at its inception (Feb. 1961). Activities in the first two semesters, under the chairmanship of Ollie Fein, were rather disparate: pushing SC resolutions from OCAC; demonstrating in Philly and elsewhere, mostly about Cuba and civil liberties; demanding that the college pay its employees better (a failure); and circulating many petitions. The one project which had some hope of being simultaneously extensive and intensive was interest in nearby Chester, Pa, where the NAACP Youth Council cooperated in trying to desegregate a roller rink. Large scale participation by Swarthmore students in the Fall of 1961 and the Spring of 1962 was matched by only a few middle-class Negro students from Chester: the "movement" certainly had not hit Chester. Our very unsophisticated and non-class analysis of the Negro movement made this merely frustrating, and not a learning experience of much magnitude.

There was, at this time, a generally accepted idea that "infiltration" of campus organizations was a good idea: get elected to Student Council, go to NSA, get to be editor of the paper.

SDS STARTS

During the Fall of 1961, Paul Booth became interested in SDS and collected a group (mostly seniors, liberal types from Student Council, the peace group, etc.) who were interested in reforms and looked upon the SPAC crowd as somewhat dangerous, although there were loose relations through the newspaper and OCAC. Especially when Haber and Hayden came to campus, Paul made attempts to include SPAC people, who generally rejected SDS as social democratic and antithetical to their interests. (A good deal of interest in southern civil rights developed from Mimi Feingold's Freedom Ride and Hayden's

talking and pamphlet, "Revolution in Mississippi".) SDS never really functioned after that year as a separate organization except on a sporadic basis, always around Booth. Periodically in the next two years, he talked to SPAC leaders, but to little avail.

SPAC's big activity in the spring of 1962 was under the chairmanship of Mimi Feingold who took the gavel and ideology straight from Ollie. The Route 40 and Chestertown-Easton, Md. Freedom Rides occurred that semester, and we had our first experience with segregation and white mobs in the raw. During the pro-Cuba demonstrations that Spring, Phila. police brutality came out. A large number of kids in the class of '65 became temporarily interested in SPAC and politics, but didn't return in the Fall of 1962.

INTO CAMBRIDGE

Interest in Chester remained throughout 1962 and the Spring of 1963, but little happened: an abortive sit-in at the housing authority, etc. We continued to attend NAACP meetings, but could find no "in" to a lower class movement with much mass appeal -- things we looked for after having been in the South (Ga, Tenn, Mi) the previous summer (1962). The Fall of 1962 was disappointing -- leadership being down somewhat -- and many of the freshmen became disillusioned, and the class of '65 dropped out completely. A new anti-administration drive on wages flopped, and things in Chester didn't go any better. When I (Wittman) took over SPAC in Feb, 1963, we were looking desperately for "one project" which could be used to radicalize students and make for a larger-based group. Participating in campus groups (student gov't, etc.) seemed somewhat fruitless, and in March when we were invited into Cambridge, Md, we found "it". The class of '66 was the major group involved, except for the leadership; and most of the present leadership of SPAC was initiated in Cambridge and has remained active since. Most are not New Yorkers, not second generation radicals -- but were concerned liberals who have become radical through experience and the participation in extra-curricular seminars which we began that semester.

AFFILIATION WITH SDS

A major break with the past policy of not

SWARTHMORE (cont)

affiliating with outside organizations was achieved right at the end of the Spring 1963 semester, when the executive committee, after a long conference with Booth and some talks with Steve Max, recommended that SPAC affiliate with SDS. A great deal of skepticism prevailed, especially in older members, who feared red-baiting and a reformist approach. SPAC and SDS remained two entities on campus, with all action and most participation going on in the former, the latter being a Booth-centered operation with little effect on the rest of the campus or on SPAC, and not a complete coincidence of membership.

After the exciting and very fruitful summer (particularly in terms of experience and leadership training) in Cambridge in 1963, SPAC's leadership, continuing under my chairmanship, launched immediately into Chester, holding the class of '66 and attracting large numbers of freshmen ('67). With the Chester project, the stimulus of contacts with Lee Webb and the N.O., and our more knowledgeable approach to the Negro movement (developed in the seminars of the previous Spring and over the Summer in Cambridge), membership grew, and meetings were regularly attended by 30-50. Intensive participation in the four seminars during the first half of the semester turned into intensive participation in ghetto organization over Thanksgiving and since. The intercession project, just after Vernon Grizzard was elected chairman for Spring 1964, attracted an even larger group, many of whom had not participated before. Present leadership is in the hands of the most experienced people, mostly sophomores, but a large group (about 30) of rather sophisticated, very dedicated, and hard-working members participate in the making of major decisions, while a standing membership of around 100 (out of 1000 students) prevails.

LEADERSHIP - IDEOLOGY

SPAC has shown a remarkable continuity in a general development of sophistication about the potentials of radical activity in the country, and a close following of events in the Negro movement. Leadership transfer has always been very smooth, with no competition in five of the six

elections (the one exception being a personal rather than an ideological choice). The leadership has consistently been more leftist and action-oriented than the membership.

SDS consciousness has come slowly, and SPAC members still think of themselves as such, not as SDS people. Probably only half or so of the most active people are SDS members, but SDS ideology is very prevalent, and practically everyone feels warmly toward SDS personnel and ideas.

Ideological issues of disagreement have been very rare. There have been, especially of late, long meetings with a great deal of discussion, but there is usually a consensus; whatever division there has been at times has been mostly over tactics. Most recently a long meeting decided to make further block organization in Chester a priority over immediate city-wide mass activity; earlier a discussion of whether blocking construction of the cafeteria for alleged hiring discrimination was worth the negative effects on the education at Swarthmore led to some disagreement; in Sept, a discussion of whether to support a watered-down civil rights bill split the group. But on the whole there has been consensus -- after long hours at the dining room table, at the seminars, and after the recognized leaders have spoken. The influence of the latter is probably greater than should be for a real democratic functioning of the group, and is a recognized problem.

CAMPUS RELATIONS

A decision was made by the executive committee last spring to sacrifice large-scale participation in many diversified activities with little content and of superficial nature for intensive participation in one project with a great deal of education for an initially smaller number of participants. The criticisms of the Md. sit-ins in the Spring of 1962 were not repeated in 1963 when things started up again, however, for the action had been well-researched, and critics could must no facts to compare with those of the activists. The newspaper was critical, especially about unknowing freshmen allegedly being deluded into participation by manipulating elderly leaders (mostly me, I guess!), and SPAC members were somewhat alienated from the rest of the campus

(cont. next page)

SWARTHMORE (cont)

during periods of mass arrests. But both faculty and students contributed funds for the Cambridge summer project, and the administration was very concerned but underswandering. A great boost to our image came with the arrest of two respected professors. Some students were under pressure from home not to participate, but otherwise the response to the Cambridge project was not adverse.

However, with the advent of the Chester project, accompanied by large-scale demonstrations involving implicit violence and law-breaking, opinion became more adverse. Most students condemned the Nov. demonstrations at the school in Chester, but when the administration threatened to expel leaders for continuing illegal actions, other students came to SPAC's defense. Faculty was perhaps even more concerned, partly on ideological grounds but also on academic grounds. Perhaps only a third of the faculty actively opposed the administration's stand. The old feeling that SPAC is controlled by Marxists has been replaced in recent years by the image that it is controlled by dangerous radical activists who lead the others into things they don't understand. The large influx of liberal members into intensive Chester activities has only offset this feeling to some degree.

Recently there have been increased attempts to make more clear SPAC positions on Chester and elsewhere. There is a prevailing honesty within SPAC circles, large though they be, and the Marxism and Northern Movement seminars (2 sections of each) help bring issues to the fore on an institutionalized basis. The good intentions about communicating with the rest of the student body are frustrated, however, by the continuing state of crisis in Chester and the hurried and pressed character of our actions, which both limit time and suggest to others that SPAC members are running off without thinking. A recent panel and a lecture series which hopefully will attract larger numbers are helping to improve SPAC's relations with faculty and students. Since Nov, the administration has been cold and sullen, but inactive, partially because there has been little opportunity to intercede, and due to the adverse reaction (off- and on-campus) to their previous pressuring.

HABER ON THE N.C. (CONT)

First, Todd's report said that the main thrust of my proposal -- "community organizing around economic issues" -- had been accepted by the N.C. Such a statement grossly misrepresents the ERAP report and my debate. "Community organizing" was not the main thrust of my proposal. I am highly critical of the substance of such community work because it has been without radical direction, clarity of goals, or significant differentiation from liberal reform. And I am critical of its organizational role because it diverts us from more important things, ignores our role as a student organization and has become the base for an unfortunate anti-intellectualism in SDS.

Second, Todd said that the adopted prioritization was "a reflection of the involvement of SDS people in local insurgencies ... and no conceivable priority resolution could have ignored this fact." I argued that the function of the N.C. was to give critical evaluation to what the members were doing -- not simply elated ratification. Is our community involvement effective? Is it directed to radical goals? Is it the most important thing for the organization at this time?

The N.C. did not ask these questions, nor was it urged to be the leadership. Community involvement, the leap into the ghetto, a sleighting of chapter work and analysis: these things were never seriously questioned. The N.C. simply followed the enthusiasm of its more articulate members.

The community emphasis is thus perpetuated by default -- without rational consideration as to the consequences for SDS. The staff will spend its time doing community organization; the publications will be dominated by community organization; and we will look for and recruit people interested in community organization. People with other talents or interests will not be attracted to the organization, nor are there roles for them if they were.

Thus, from my view, the quality of discussion and debate at the N.C. was not "recklessly high"; it was recklessly irresponsible.

(cont. next page)

HABER ON THE NC (CONT)

Beyond these general considerations, the three specific arguments of the ERAP report were avoided or obscured by the discussion and rejected by default.

1. Our major programs are not successful. The criteria of success are whether a program contributes to the radical education of the members and whether it builds a continuing community base for radical politics. University reform, peace politics, demonstrations, campus speakers, reform politics, and other programs may be good for recruitment, but they have not furthered the basic radical goals of the organization. We must re-evaluate our programs, discourage the ineffective ones and develop new programs that do contribute to our organizational goals. The ERAP report made specific suggestions along this line. In general, it argued for a division of responsibility between chapters and projects: that projects should work experimentally to develop new programs and resources which would be fed into the chapters, and that chapters be the main attention of the national staff and should concentrate on membership education and the few programs in which we have developed a high degree of confidence.

The N.C. did not debate or set criteria by which to judge the "success" of program, so there was no coherent evaluation or discussion of how to deal with faulty program.

2. We do not have a political perspective for action. The Port Huron Statement, and America and the New Era give general values and analysis, not a strategy for the particular communities in which we live or work. The first task in approaching any community is to understand what a radical perspective for the place is: what will the SDS brand of socialism look like in Detroit, Chester, or Chicago. This is a research and intellectual job; it should accompany cadre organization, but it must precede mass organization. Until we can be concrete and specific about our radical goals, we have no unique place or contribution to a liberal movement (How is our war on poverty different from LEJ's?) Action is not radical because its form is different or "gutsy"

-- like a rent strike, boycott, union of the unemployed, or sit-down. It is radical because of the goals and perspectives that are shared by the participants.

There was a tone at the N.C. of fascination with the novelty and excitement of the new insurgencies and a willingness to ride piggy-back of their momentum (or to create carbon copies). The priority of determining goals was not accepted.

3. We can not do all things. Our resources are limited (not fixed); we must plan their use. This means deciding what is important and it means saying that some things are less important and should be discouraged. What are the problems that we, SDS, face in understanding the society and working in it to create radical change? How can we direct and allocate our limited organizational resources to solve these problems?

The N.C. refused even to ask those questions, so the answers proposed in the ERAP report and in my debate were irrelevant.

Todd said that priorities was a new word -- but not so. It is as old as the organization. But we don't set priorities when we avoid all the questions on which decisions of priorities must be based.

a polarity of political perspective

The N.C. also revealed (and covered over) a major polarity of political perspective in SDS, though one that has always been latent in the organization.

One view, in accordance with the America and the New Era statement, says that we must work in reform movements, but "the overall strategic goal is not merely the solution of problems by making incremental changes in the present structure, but the development of a revolutionary trajectory which starts with tactical demands built on the most elementary felt human needs, and advances to a thorough change in social and economic structure." (ANE, p. 26)

The other view says this is liberal false consciousness. Piecemeal reform is neutralized by concessions which make the reformers dependent on the existing system (cont. next page)

HABER ON THE N.C. (CONT)

tem and it increases the ability of the "power structure" to manipulate the terms in which people see their own needs. There is no limit to the ability of the system "minority rule, corporate directed capitalism) to give concessions: a totalitarian state can satisfy the felt needs of its people. The "revolutionary trajectory" depends on the revolutionary demands being explicit in any reform movement. Otherwise, there is no continuity of organization from one reform to the next.

Very different emphases for SDS follow from these different views.

From the first comes a willingness to work in any community insurgent movement. It produces an emphasis on place -- where is it important to be, and how can we get there.

From the second comes an emphasis on building a continuing independent center of radical thinking and action. The focus is on program -- what are our goals, and what institutional changes are necessary.

From the first view comes an emphasis on getting access to points of motion (presumably where the system is being stressed) and then what issues to raise and link together at that point, so as to maximize the stress.

From the second view comes an emphasis on the conditions necessary for independent organization: (in order) building solid chapters, getting a radical education for ourselves, doing community research to make goals concrete and decide what answers to give, then to become involved in political organization, first through coalition formation, then through direct political action.

From the first view comes an emphasis on the student member of SDS as a resource in developing a community movement -- of the poor. There is no particular differentiation between the student and anyone else in the movement -- except that the student is probably middle class and might have some special organizational skills.

From the second view comes an emphasis on

the student member as a student, getting an education in how to function as a radical in the society. His function in any movement is to be a radical agent and to develop his own talents to radical ends.

This last divergence has tremendous significance for the organization. The "into the ghetto" enthusiasm has become linked with an anti-intellectualism, a disparagement of research and study, an urging of students to leave the university, a moral superiority for those who "give their bodies", etc. "In the world" has come to mean "in the slum". Beside being slightly sick, this suggests a highly perverted analysis of American society.

Is radicalism subsisting in a slum for a year or two, or is it developing your individual talents so you can function as a radical in your "professional" field and throughout your adult life? Can a teacher be a radical in his profession? or an artist? or a lawyer? or does being radical mean that the development of your individual talents must be submerged to the collective effort of mass organization and insurgency in the ghetto?

The cult of the ghetto has diverted SDS from its primary and most difficult task of educating radicals. It says "come and do radical things". But when the student decides he has to make a living, SDS has given him no help in functioning as a radical in the middle class, professional world -- whence he came, and to which, most likely, he will return.

As an organization for students, SDS will have failed. It will have people deny what they are, and hence never learn how to apply their values in what they do.

Discussion Bulletin Ready

The current issue of the SDS Discussion Bulletin contains these special features:

- ** the resolutions from the December N.C. meeting (discussed in Al H's article)
- ** an eight page section of views on LBJ
- ** five articles by SDS N.C. members about SDS and SDS organizing

The DB is sent to members and is free to anyone else. If you don't receive a copy by March 30, contact the N.O.

And while you're at it, send an article for publication in the DB -- on anything.

IF STONE ON A SUPPRESSED STORY ON CUBA

The 2-17-64 Weekly summarizes a report on Cuba by the US's most "respectable" journalist authority on Cuba: Herbert Matthews, a NYTimes Editor. Tho he returned from a Fall trip (when he negotiated the reopening of the Times' Havana bureau, whence have come positive reports from Juan deOnis) with a vital story, the Times was unwilling or afraid to print it. We include here parts of Matthews' report (available at \$1 from Hispanic Institute, Stanford U, Cal; mention Stone if buying):

Matthews, fluent in Spanish, travelled and conversed widely. In an interview with Fidel, he elicited the statement that it'd been his idea to put missiles in Cuba in Oct 62 in the face of a perceived imminent 2nd American invasion. As to other kinds of Soviet aid, the Cubans insist they aren't Soviet economic pawns, citing that the Soviets own no sugar plantations or mills; "the Cubans assert they will take no dictation from the Russians and -- for anyone who knows Cubans -- this is plausible." Soviet aid, not a million a day (US-bruited figures), is nearer 1/3 of that -- perhaps \$100,000,000/year.

As to Fidel's being a puppet of the Soviets or the Cuban Communists (PSP), this is "a myth", says Matthews: "He is, by character, incapable of accepting orders, or even advice." Matthews chronicles how
(cont. next column)

conference on china

"Is it possible to assure world peace without the participation of Mainland China?" This is one of the questions to be asked at a one-day AFSC-sponsored seminar on "Mainland China and the Community of Nations". The March 30 event (which will cost \$1) will include visits to UN Missions in order "to explore the implications which the Chinese Communist Revolution holds for world order and peace among men." (AFSC, 2 W. 20th St., NYC.)

Membership (in the SDS) is open to students, faculty, and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership.

--from the SDS Constitution

MATTHEWS: FOOD IN CUBA

"There is enough to eat on the whole, but it is dull, with not much variety, and with constant distribution bottlenecks in Havana and other cities. There is no starvation or even serious malnutrition, but getting enough food is often extremely difficult and tiring for housewives. There is also enough fish in quantity, thanks to the high seas vessels bought from Japan and those given by the Soviets, but it is fish that Cubans never ate and do not like -- tuna, hake, and soon-to-be-marketed herring and cod. Children are especially well fed. Every child to the age of seven gets a quart of milk a day without fail. As a result of the hurricane (see Jan. Bulletin) the egg ration for adults in Havana was suspended while we were there, but not for the children."

when the PSP tried to take over the Revolution, "Fidel saw his revolution, his Cuban revolution, threatened; and (he) broke the power of the PSP so effectively that it has never come back." What exists now is one party of the Revolution: "Construction of the PURSC started at the grass roots. Each...working group of any type selected...their best men and women ...It does not govern; it has no administrative powers. Its function is to carry out the economic and political policies of the Government at every level.

MATTHEWS: RELIGION IN CUBA

"Today there is complete freedom of religion. I was told by one of Cuba's highest Catholic prelates that freedom of worship was 'total'. One of the most important US Protestant churchmen happened to be in Cuba when we were there, and he said the same for the Protestant community."

Unsigned articles are the responsibility of Bulletin Editor Don McKelvey.

SDS LITERATURE LIST

Please use order form at end of this list (note discounts). Prices are in parentheses.

ABOUT SDS (all items free; if possible, please contribute for PHS and ANE)

- Basic brochure on SDS
- Port Huron Statement -- 52-page manifesto of values and beliefs, Product of 1962 SDS Convention. **ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED.** (25¢ appreciated)
- America and the New Era -- 30-page analysis of "the American scene" and strategy for dealing with it. Product of 1963 SDS Convention. (15¢ appreciate)
- SDS Constitution
- SDS Discussion Bulletin
- What is the LID? Basic information about the League for Industrial Democracy

PAPERS BY SDS MEMBERS

- (5) Paul Booth: Politics and the Academic Community
- (10) Robb Burlage: The American Planned Economy: A Critique
- (10) " " The South as an Underdeveloped Country
- (5) Paul DuBrul: The Student and the Vote
- (10) Dick Flacks & Tom Hayden: The Peace Movement -- New Possibilities?
- (10) Todd Gitlin: Student Political Action, 1960-1963 -- the View of a Participant
- (10) " " Deterrence and Reality -- Where Strategy Comes From
- (10) Al Haber: Students and Labor
- (10) Tom Hayden: Student Social Action (**ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED**) (a speech)
- (10) " " Liberal Analysis and Federal Power
- (10) Harlon Joye: Will Negroes Use Guns?
- (10) Tom Kahn: The Political Significance of the Freedom Rides
- (5) C.C. Kissinger: The Bronx Strike -- a Case Study in Student Participation in Labor
- (10) Ken McEldowney: Disarmament and the American Economy
- (10) Don McKelvey: Economic Development, the Major Powers, and Peace
- (10) " " The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties
- (10) Michael Olinick: The Campus Press
- (10) Paul Potter: The Intellectual as an Agent of Social Change (a speech)
- (10) " " The University and the Cold War (a speech)
- (10) Bob Ross: The US National Student Association -- a Policy Critique
- (5) Tom Timberg: On Neo-Colonialism
- (5) Mary Varela: Catholic Students and Political Involvement
- (10) Carl Wittman: Students and Economic Action
- (10) Swarthmore SDSers: Chester, Pa. -- Community Organizing in the Other America
- (5) SDS and Campus ADA: A Joint Statement on the McCarran Act
- (5) Bibliography on the Economy: Lee Webb
- (10) Bibliography on War/Peace Books: Todd Gitlin
- (5) Bibliography: Civil Rights in the North
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I do not wish to join but would like to receive the Bulletin for this year; \$1.00 enclosed

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I am ordering the literature checked and enclose \$ _____ in payment

I am a member and need () a membership card and/or () a constitution

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- (10) Ray Brown: Our Crisis Economy -- the End of the Boom (ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED)
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- (10) Readings on Poverty (ed. Ken McEldowney) employment
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- (25) Donald Michael: Cybernation -- the Silent Conquest
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- (10) Alfred Baker Lewis: Why We Have Depressions and Recessions
- (15) Scott Buchanan: The Corporation and the Republic
- (10) A.A. Berle, Jr.: Economic Power and the Free Society
- (10) Down on the Farm, by the LID and Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund

4. MATERIAL ON OTHER SUBJECTS

- (5) Arthur Valenzuela: Latin America -- Continent in Revolution
 - (10) Two European Views of the Cold War: 1. Berlin -- Why Not Keep the Status Quo? by a German student; 2. Two Hungarian Students' proposal for Depolarization
 - (15) The Northern Student Movement: National Perspective and City Project Data (including Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, NYC, Washington)
 - (10) C. Wright Mills: An Open Letter to the New Left
 - (5) Dave Dellinger: The [Cuban] Revolution Not Seen
 - (10) "Towards a Quaker View of Sex" and "Is the Problem Really Sex?"
 - (10) Noel Day: A White America in a Non-White World (a speech)
 - (5) Swarthmore Pol. Action Club: The Negro Freedom Movement (suggested readings)
 - (10) ACLU: Academic Freedom & Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Univ's.
 - (75) Irwin Suall: The American Ultras
 - (35) Alfred M. Lee: Fraternities Without Brotherhood (159 pp.; list \$1.45)
 - (35) British Information Service: Health Service in Britain
 - (10) Sidney Hook: John Dewey -- His Philosophy of Education and its Critics
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