

Italians Cheer New Left

by Carl Oglesby

I just spent almost two weeks in Italy as a guest of the National Committee for Peace and Liberty in Viet-Nam (NCPLV), a party coalition whose alliance on the Viet-Nam question is of some political consequences; it mirrors and in fact seems to accelerate the leftwards stirrings among some Christian Democrats (CD) and the Socialists (PSI), who are growing quite comfortable with the idea of working with the Communist (PCS).

The PCI is the dominant party in the NCPLV. No surprise. Much more important point is that the NCPLV also includes important Catholics (Enze Agnoletti), Socialists of both the dissident left (Alberto Scandone) and the Nenni right (Fernando Santi), intellectuals (Carlo Levi, author of "Christ Stopped at Eboli", Ettore Biocca), and the newer and more militant leftist party, the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity PSIUP (called "soup").

My guide and interpreter was a most excellent comrade named Goetano Pagano, who

in his forty years has fought with the Chinese guerrillas against the Japanese (they killed his father), for the Marshall Plan (it made him a Communist), been evicted from the United States (for political reasons), and played an important role in developing Cuba's fishing industry (the Cubans want him back).

After the March 27, Rome rally at the Piazza del Popolo where, by the way, there were maybe 70,000 in a very ugly rain, and not at all the 7,000 that was apparently reported here -- Pafano and I traveled to Bari, Naples, Palermo, a Sicilian village called Piana degli Albanesi, Rome again, Cagliari and Guspini in Gardinia Genoa, Florence, and back to Rome. The first stop in Rome and the stop in Cagliari were for mass rallies, and on these occasions I made mass-rally type speeches, very much like any visiting politician. The other stops were for more substantive talks to smaller groups of activists and FBI agents (2000 in Italy, says the PCI but I wouldn't know), the gatherings ranging from 100 to 300.

At these meetings, I talked about the New Left. What I said about it was necessarily

quite basic and not worth repeating here. What is most interesting is the response I got from these widely different audiences spread through almost the whole length of Italy. First, there was everywhere a very rich mood of brotherhood. Many Italians have by now heard some vague rumor of a "New Left" in America. Their term for it is the "Other America" -- a phrase that has nothing to do with Harrington's book, but rather with their impression that Americans can't all be as bad as Johnson and Rockefeller, that there must be something else. For them, our movement is that "other America", whose existence has for too long been in doubt. They are very grateful for so small a movement. It was not me, but this American movement that received standing ovations wherever I spoke.

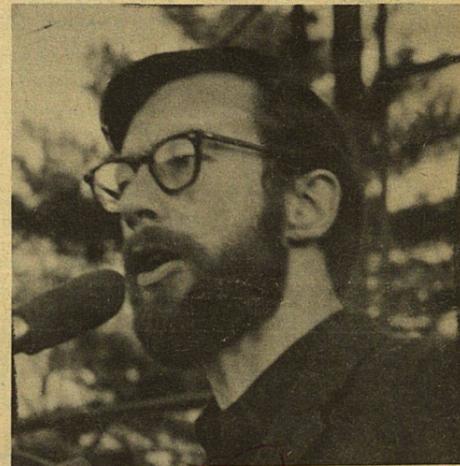
But besides warmth, there was skepticism. Maybe the thrust of that skepticism will be instructive to us.

Everywhere I went from the Sicilian village of Piana degli Albanesi to the very cosmopolitan Florence three questions were always asked, the first usually more than once "Where," they said, "is the American worker in all this? Why is he silent?" Most of them knew the answer and the explanation as well as I. I think the question arose on a sigh with a kind of social pathos or class nostalgia that made it impossible for them to accept what they understood only all too well: Yes, yes, they had heard of the short working hours and the low unemployment and the high wages, but a working man, damn it, and he ought to be a Socialist! Maybe this capitalist-proletariat coalition is -- temporary? Please?

The second question was not nostalgic at all. "How long can you sustain your movement," they wondered, "without a rigorous ideology to give it shape and to set its goals?" Sometimes this seemed to be a very simple question based on a suspicion that the movement was merely pacifist, opposed to the

war but not taking sides in it and not aware of the war's political origins. But more often, the question was aiming deeper: Did the New Left understand capitalism? Did it grasp the need for fundamental changes in the distribution of American power? Did it have an economic analysis of the injustices of American society?

The third question was closely related to the second: "When are you going to become



political?" I don't know how translatable my answer was.

A few notes on the Italian political scene: One gets the impression of a very strong left movement that promises to pull the left-of-center government more and more leftwards. The basic clusters are as follows:

On the right, the new-facist Italian Social Movement (MSI), the Monarchists and the Liberals (big bourgeoisie) command at most 3 1/2 million votes and are in a marked national decline. The powerful rightists work through the Center -- like Scelba, whose Mafia connections did not keep him from

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sds
new left notes
an internal newspaper of
students for a democratic society
1103 e. 63rd st. chicgo, ill. 60637
VOL. I, NO. 14 sds APRIL 22, 1966

The movement and money: Kissinger asks contribution

Who will pay for the revolution? Half in jest but more than half in seriousness SDS must begin to ask itself this question. Our current (and periodic) financial problem serves basically to remind us that we have only begun to build a viable social movement among young people, yet our annual budget already runs close to \$100,000. As both a theoretical and practical problem we must learn to ask ourselves how a movement 10 times or 100 times our present size can possibly be financed.

A look at the history of the labor movement is instructive. The organization of the CIO was not bankrolled by "rich white liberals", but rather from the treasuries of existing unions and from the nickles, dimes, and dollars of those men whose lives stood to be materially improved by the existence of the union. The union impinged upon the worker's life at the source of his income and in such a way as to increment it, and the union was thus entitled to a legitimate cut. The result was that the labor movement not only existed and grew, but became enormously rich.

In contrast, today's southern civil rights movement is precariously dependent on massive external financing. More than one organization has had to face the prospect of closing projects and laying off staff because of a slump in northern fund-raising, and many a capable organizer has had to suspend his more important work to make the trek north for money.

Somewhere in between lies the situation of SDS. Because of our particular history (being a part of the League for Industrial Democracy) SDS was able to receive large personal and institutional (foundations, unions) contributions during its formative years. In addition to the obvious problem of

"he who pays the piper calls the tune", our relative affluence discouraged us from taking the necessary steps to really build a grass roots fund base. On the hand, SDS's basic attitudes toward structure and local autonomy have meant that our chapters projects, and regional offices have always been conceived of as autonomous and we have avoided creating a centralized financial bureaucracy with a huge weekly pay-roll to be met. When it became obvious last year that we were going to lose our ability to receive tax deductible contributions, we took steps

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Poor tell it 'like it is'

An uproar from poor peoples' delegates at the convention of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP) Thursday the 14th has had a deep impact on the liberal Coalition. CCAP, an anti-poverty effort substantially backed by AFL-CIO industrial unions, and involving church, civil rights, and voluntary anti-poverty organizations, has been the arena for coalition activity in the poverty field.

The convention, attended by almost 1000 poverty warriors, including several dozen poor people, was unable to deal with a proposal from a workshop on maximum feasible participation of the poor. This proposal would have demanded that poor people be granted a majority on all war-on-poverty boards, and on the Board of the Citizens Crusade.

The Thursday afternoon debate on this question saw two prominent Coalition leaders walk out, and was animated by shouts and demands to be heard from poor peoples' representatives.

The convention had been fairly quiet for its first few days, but on Thursday morning, during the address of Sargent Shriver, it erupted. Halfway through his speech, poor people from Southeast Washington D.C., Mississippi, Cleveland, Watts, and Harlem demanded to ask questions. "At the finish he could hardly be heard", the New York TIMES reported. He rushed out of the hall and an aide was quoted as saying "Nothing like this has ever happened to him."

Bayard Rustin, coalition spokesman, said that when "people heard him describing what was happening in their own neighborhoods" --

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Urge political action

The confluence of several trends makes it important for SDS to make a primary direction of its action program for the next months engagement in electoral campaigns.

First: SDS has grown in its local base to the point where its active membership and potential membership in many locations can provide important force to such efforts. In a number of cities at-large chapters based primarily on non-students have begun to gain strength, and for them there is no more natural arena for activity than electoral politics (for the student the campus is that arena). There is a very large "young adult" constituency which is looking for a way to be involved in SDS but to which we have offered no program.

Second: In our activity aimed at organizing against the war in Vietnam, the universal experience has been that for the bulk of Americans, Vietnam does not fit into a realm of experience which is immediate and therefore requires of them a more than passing consideration. For most people, a political campaign is an occasion in which there is a greater expectation of the need to make judgments about foreign policy issues.

Third: SDS understands the necessity of making political connections between issues, which we understand intellectually, felt politically: an electoral campaign is an occasion for multi-issue organizing. Among thousands of young people who have

been moved into activism recently there is a sense that the problems are more far-reaching than their single issue protest activity would suggest. These young people are looking for a sensible form of action in which a general disaffection and opposition to the direction of the society can be brought to bear.

Fourth: those liberals whom LBJ has been unable to either coax or bully into his Great Consensus are being cut off politically, and are searching for allies. These include both liberals who are deeply moved by the Vietnam issue, and liberals who have been involved in reform and other insurgent movements in local politics against mainstays of the Johnson coalition such as Mayor Daley of Chicago. In almost every case they are open to more radical political approaches than before.

The most likely course of action for Vietnam activists to take is that of the traditional peace campaign: heavy emphasis on the need to end the war, and an attempt to use the forum of a campaign to carry on the educational job on the war. This will be unfortunate if it is the dominant type of politics entered into, for: (1) it fails to build anything permanent, although the war is a symptom of deeper facts of American life which require a more radical and broader critique and movement to change. (2) It will have no effect on the war, because such candidates tend to get very few votes,

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Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Phone (312) 667-6050. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for nonmembers. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor, James Russell.

Students for a Democratic Society

Carl Oglesby, president; Jeffrey Shero, vice-president; and Paul Booth, national secretary.

National Office: 1103 East 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637; Phone (312) 667-6050
New York City: 49 West 27th Street, New York, N. Y. 10001; (212) 889-5793
New England: 1785 Cambridge St. (Rm. 199), Cambridge, Mass.; (617) 547-5457
Southern California: 1332 Miramar, Los Angeles, California; (213) 629-8218
Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.; (415) 362-7922

Vol. 1, No. 14

sds

April 22 1966

THE POOR TELL IT...

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which they knew to be untouched by the poverty war, they became upset.

This sentiment persisted into the afternoon debate. A rule had been adopted that on the maximum participation proposal no vote would be taken. During the uproar of demands from poor people that the rule be suspended to allow a vote to occur, Rustin walked out, declaring "I do not think there can be a logical discussion in this atmosphere."

The vote on suspending the rules carried, according to Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, chairman at the time, by 87-61. At that point, before Blake remembered that it takes two thirds to suspend the rules, Jack Conway, director of the Industrial Union Department, told the delegates that IUD would not be able to continue its support for CCAP — \$1 million has been contributed by the UAW — under the conditions of the resolution. "They have turned on the people who wanted to help them," he said.

After reversing his previous interpretation, Blake said "There won't be anything to take over after you've taken over."

The remainder of Thursday's session heard outspoken comments on the war on poverty from the poor people. One Negro delegate said that he wouldn't fight "a white man's war in Vietnam", and that the poor people were down there doing the job of the war on poverty — organizing — and now demand that the poverty warriors come through on their promises or "we'll be so far ahead of you you won't even be able to see us." This, and a comment by Lillian Craig of the West Side Community Union in Cleveland, that CCAP had heard from everyone but the poor people, were carried on national TV.

Blake adjourned the meeting after an hour and a half of loud discussion on the 51% control resolution; poor people then took a standing vote on the resolution which carried heavily.

AFTERMATH

In the aftermath of this episode, charges and counter-charges appear likely to turn this epi-

sode into another Atlantic City — the watershed of the civil rights coalition. Shriver declared Friday that the demonstration had been the job of "professional poor people." In a Washington POST article, reporter Eve Edstrom identified two of the demonstrators as persons associated in the past with Students for a Democratic Society, "the anti-draft, anti-Vietnam group with headquarters in Chicago." Some of the poor peoples organizations represented in Washington were community unions with which SDS people have worked.

Discussion began at the DC meeting of a poor peoples national convention which they could control and for which they could set their own, more militant, timetable and political agenda.

Within the liberal Coalition, sharp differences have emerged. Many of the church and other delegates sympathized with the demands of the poor for majority representation. Richard Boone, the director of CCAP, in contrast to Shriver, interpreted the events as evidence of the well-founded unhappiness of the poor with the performance of the War on Poverty.

Other coalition leaders appeared to have seen the events as evidence of the bad faith and unreasonability of the movement in general. SDS specifically has come in for criticism from these quarters. As well, the charge is being made that it was a "wrecking operation", and the lack of a coherent alternative thrust by the poor peoples' organizations up to now is being used to substantiate that charge. John Doar of the Justice Department told a Washington convention of Public Administration officials and scholars that the unchecked right to protest is doing more harm than good, and seems likely to run wild in the immediate future unless some action is taken.

SDS, although invited, did not have an official representative at the CCAP conference. Very few of the projects were represented there, and none of the demonstrations had been anticipated in advance. These were planned on the spot, and few "SDS people" there were involved with people from insurgent poor peoples movements from all over the country in the almost spontaneous protests.

Hecklers at Boston Rally

A Report on the Battle of Arlington.

(I don't know how you can use this, but we think what happened might be good for morale; it was great for ours.)

The highlight of Boston's activities during the International Days wasn't a rally or a speech. Rather, it was a physical confrontation between an SDS organized defense and monitor squad and a gang of hecklers in front of the Arlington Street Church in Boston. The encounter occurred at the end of a march from the Cambridge Common to the church located across from the Public Gardens in Boston. The previous week we had organized a combination self-defense and monitor squad, having in mind the sort of random hecklers we had encountered during the First International Days of Protest. In order to make sure that marchers got seats in the church first, we had planned to keep the doors of the church closed until the marchers came up to them. The monitors then were to funnel the marchers inside, keeping other friendly demonstrators out until all the marchers had passed into the church. Arranging for the monitors to serve this funneling function was extremely fortunate, as events were to prove.

The marchers were in touch with the ushers at the church by means of walkie-talkies. Those of us at the church were informed that a substantial number of hecklers, perhaps forty or fifty, were grouped together leading the march. We also noticed a group of college-age kids forming directly across the street from the church, apparently under the direction of two men in trench coats, about forty to fifty years old. (In trench coats—honest.) A crowd of onlookers, numbering in the hundreds, also had gathered.

The ushers moved outside to stand on the steps of the church. When we saw the marchers turn the corner two blocks away and begin to come down the side of the street which the church was on, we moved down to the sidewalk.

One of us talked to the police who were about ten to twenty yards on the far side of the marchers from the church directing traffic. Our representatives notion was to have a policeman stand near the ushers as they asked hecklers to leave the march line. We at the church still had not fully realized that the hecklers in the march were all together and were not about to leave the march upon request. The hecklers in the march were also mostly of college age, led by someone in a veteran's uniform who appeared to be around thirty to thirty-five years old. The hecklers then made their one big tactical error. They stayed in the street and marched to in front of the church, where they were faced by about eight ushers from inside the church. Meanwhile, thirty yards before the church entrance, our marchers had gone onto the sidewalk and already started to enter the church. Our best monitors — our "flying squad" if you will — headed our part of the march. They mounted the first few steps of the church and started sending the main body of the march into the church. Other monitors, marching one yard on the outside of the march on the street side every twenty or so people, started moving up to join the church ushers at the sidewalk's edge. At that time, we had 1300 marchers still with us, 700 having been pulled off the end of the march to go to a second church whose existence was unknown to the organized hecklers and where a similar rally with the same speakers was to take place.

All of a sudden, eggs were thrown at the marchers entering the church — at first a scattered few, but then a torrent. The two groups of hecklers, now merged in the middle of the street directly before the entrance of the church, rushed the line of ushers and monitors. Our flying squad, sensing the crisis when the eggs started flying at an ever increasing rate, shot down the stairs. They backed up the wall of defense, as we met the charge, standing shoulder to shoulder. We took punches and gave them back, maintaining our position at the edge of the sidewalk and holding off approximately

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NAC MINUTES

We have received money to install Wide Area Telephone Service (WATS) and the NAC discussed how to do that. The WATS line will be used to carry out the mandates of the NC in the areas of Vietnam Exam Program, emergency fund-raising campaign, switching to summer addresses, NC referendum, and general improvement of contact between the national office and the chapters.

A number of staff have been assigned to man the phone. Aerlin Weissman will be full-time on the phone, and Jack Kittredge will work part-time on it until he goes off to the regional office in Madison. Nick Jones from North Dakota was asked to join staff to fill in the other jobs that will be left by Aerlin. As well, we have asked the University of Michigan chapter, where exams are completed this Friday, to send staff for the phone. Booth is also spending time on the phone.

Walt Kelly was hired to replace Greg Kaslo as New Left Notes mailer and lit orders person. Lou Goldberg of Johns Hopkins who is in town for a while doing his thesis will be helping out with New Left Notes.

Meetings.

Regular meeting times were set. The staff meeting will be every Wednesday evening; it will determine the agenda for the subsequent NAC meetings. The NAC will meet Sundays at 4 at Mike Goldfield's place.

An allocations committee of Speck, Booth, and Judy Kissinger was created.

New Left Notes.

The departure of editor Jim Russell threw our whole operation into a tailspin. The last issue was stalled because a machinery breakdown at TWO the compositor made us miss our time slot at the printer.

We are doing this issue through Carol Ackerman's shop, and hope to get all the necessary facts before us at the next NAC meeting to make a longer-range decision.

Concerts.

We ended up with only two Phil Ochs concerts in mid-May; Champaign-Urbana fell through. He will be playing at Ann Arbor and Northwestern.

KISSINGER...

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immediately (the "New Economic Policy") to begin developing a broad base of small but regular contributors — people who aid us because they believe in us and want to see a new left built in America. And we hope to see the creation soon of a new tax-exempt foundation which can service those aspects of the movement which are legitimately educational and of charitable in nature.

But for some reason SDS has shown the greatest fund raising laxity with the group that ought to care the most; the SDS membership. For too long the attitude has been that we would do the work and let the "richies" pay for it. Now it is true that there is a certain community of well off radicals and liberals who over the years have been more than generous to SDS, SNCC and other movement organizations. But the sad truth is that while the civil rights and anti-war movement grow every day, the community of well-to-do sponsors has remained relatively static, and every organization with large scale operations, offices, and staff is beginning to feel the pinch.

It is in this context that the recent decision of the SDS National Council to begin an internal fund raising drive is particularly gratifying. The time has come when SDS people are going to have to take financing the movement and a serious personal responsibility. Hundreds of young people are already sacrificing careers and even the most primitive luxuries (movies, magazine subs) to eak out an existence as radical organizers. How serious is the commitment of a student who mouths the rhetoric of the movement but cannot give up \$50 a year to see it become a reality?

The war in Viet Nam is for real. Poverty is for real. Racism is for real. And Lyndon is for real. The question is: are we for real? The only people who are going to pay for basic social change in America are those who really want it.

Critiques Oglesby U.S. Policy stand

As for Carl Oglesby's first installment of World Revolution and American Containment, permit me to congratulate the editors of New Left notes on finally printing a theoretical statement about the nature of American foreign policy. I think that the news component should be handled by a mimeo newsletter and NLN should concentrate on discussion of perspectives.

Of course, I have many sharp disagreements with the content of Carl's piece. First, I find no poignancy in the attempts of U.S. corporations and their political lieutenants in the Pentagon, Capitol Hill and the White House, to foster counterrevolution throughout the world. The last paragraph of the article describes one of the aims of American policy aptly. Carl seems to stand between the "good men misguided" theory and the notion of the U.S. as an Imperialist power. Although I agree that the pseudopsychanalytic interpretations of U.S. policymakers as a cause for our conduct abroad throws little light on the subject, the model put forward here is no better.

Second, there is a curious view presented of the cold war which puts more weight on the problem of "preserving" or extending conflicting value systems than on the real interests of opposing parties. Moreover, the origins and development of the cold war are dealt with so hastily as to leave the impression that it was conducted apart from the economic interests of the United States during the late forties (i.e. rebuilding its cartelized holdings in Western Europe and defeating socialist movements there-by) and the key Soviet interest of detente in order to undertake its own rebuilding. Thus, the Soviets acted out of an essentially defensive position (and sometimes stupidly) but the U.S. really had major concerns to extend its influence in a more or less aggressive way. The key to the dancing between the parties is stated by Carl, but is not explained. It resides in the fact that, having completed its major objective, the U.S. now turned to "cold warring" with its erstwhile partners, Britain and France on the one hand and to the growing threat of revolution in Asia on the other — seeing the Soviet Union as a tactical ally in some of these pursuits.

Carl's description of the conflicts inherent within the U.S. Cold War assumptions and the process whereby the detente was finally accepted is extremely good. But there is little analysis here except at the "diplomatic level." Ideological assumptions often reflect economic and strategic interests. The task of analysis is to make the connection. Perhaps it occurs in the second installment, I hope so.

The article is overly long due, perhaps to the fact that it is a speech. One could have edited it as a written piece thereby saving space as well as time (while preserving its best features). It is also quite impressionistic and disjointed which, again, may be accounted for by its speech quality.

Finally, the whole aspect of reliance on bureaucratic consciousness as causal in foreign policy determinations is wholly unproven and thus remains dubious. I suspect that an examination of the data would reveal many levels of understanding of our interests in Southeast Asia. The ideological explanations might be found strongest in inverse direction to the actual commanding heights of power both within the bureaucracy and among central decision makers outside of it. In any case, some of the statements made on this point in the piece deserve more attention and care.

Fraternally,
Stanley Aronowitz

Mozambique freedom rally

Bucknell SDS and the New York Region are calling a demonstration for freedom in Mozambique for May 7th at the United Nations. For further information contact Joe Pisarsky at the New York office, 889-5793.

EDUCATIONAL PROPOSAL:

Calls for radical reconstruction

I. The Academic Disciplines.

It is well recognized that "higher education" even in our best universities, often approaches indoctrination. Students are moulded to the values, theories, and patterns of thought which subtly and cumulatively bestow legitimacy and inevitability on the status quo. History looks often only at the mainstream; the dialectic of tension and conflict within man, his works and his society is neglected. The type of objectivity canonized in social science methodology tends often to separate knowledge from values, and thereby from public relevance. In teaching and textbooks, the insights, analyses and alternatives of the "left" are generally dismissed, distorted or ignored. In the study of literature and the arts, formalistic analysis saps man's creative products of their social meaning and thereby, often, of their spiritual impact.

Yet, the dissatisfaction felt by many students and teachers has not expressed itself in a self-conscious criticism of the method and content of the established academic disciplines. It is not enough for intellectuals to support radical action movements; they must turn their minds to a systematic reconstruction of the tools and products of their own work.

This section of the project will attempt, through the formation of study groups in a few important areas, to begin this reconstruction of intellectual theory and teaching. The initial task of each group will be to develop radical educational materials for students in introductory liberal arts courses.

These materials may be: "a thinking man's guide" -- a radical critique and formulation of the discipline geared to the introductory textbooks that students are required to use (e.g. Samuelson's text in economics); supplementary reading material and annotated bibliography; guides for the organization of "counter courses;" question and answer sequences -- "scenarios" -- to force the instructor and class to deal with relevant issues and expose the value biases of the "accepted truth." These materials would be made available to SDS and other students through the local chapter or, hopefully, through sale at the local bookstores as a supplement to the required texts.

Initial groups:

1. Basic Economics -- preparing: (a) a "thinking man's guide" to Samuelson and Economics I, (b) a "thinking man's guide" to labor relations -- keyed to the several standard texts.
2. Basic Sociology -- preparing: (a) a "thinking man's guide" to Sociology I., (b) social science methodology with your eyes open.
3. Basic Political Science -- preparing: (a) a radical's guide to the American political system, (b) a radical's guide to international relations.
4. Basic History -- preparing: (a) issues in American history, (b) issues in the cold war period.

Other groups could be organized as there is interest, for example, in philosophy and literary criticism; and the above groups could develop material geared to other courses. The suggested material deals with the major problem areas and deficiencies in introductory undergraduate education. Their preparation and use, besides contributing to the intellectual development of students coming into the "movement" should make more coherent the intellectual substance of democratic radicalism and should make the classroom situation more exciting and dynamic for all concerned.

II. Radicals in the professions.

The left is well aware that the professions not only give poor service to those who need it the most, but that they also enshrine conservative values and function as institutional bulwarks to the status quo. Too often, it seems that the idea of a profession as a means of social status and mobility has replaced the idea of a profession as a means of public service. Yet many, if not most of the present campus radicals will in a few years themselves hold positions in the professions. The environment of the profession combined with the content of professional education or training will tend to make, increasingly, the individuals radical value commitment less and less relevant to his daily work.

Two lines of program are needed to counterbalance this natural tendency -- the tendency of the society to isolate and transform the individual before he can organize and transform the society. First, there must be an intervention in the process of professional education. The value issues in the profession must be made specific and concrete. The ways and opportunities for the radical to act in the profession consistent with his value commitment must become part of professional education. And second, there need to be professional associations or "fraternities" committed to radical social involvement which can reinforce and serve as a reference group for the radical in the profession.

This section of the project is directed to both of these objectives. It will attempt to organize study groups or fraternities of radicals in, or preparing for, various professions. And it will assist these groups in preparing educational materials and serving as an educational resource for students in the process of professional education.

The initial task of each group would be to prepare a pamphlet or pamphlet series on its particular profession. This would deal with: the structure of the profession, the dominant values of the profession, its links with and relation to the status quo, the treatment of dissidents in the profession, the range and limits of freedom, the nature and a critique of the nature of the professional education, a manifesto of values and professional responsibility, a program describing the institutional and technique changes needed in the profession, and a guide opportunities and ways of operating in the profession which contribute to the social change ideals of democratic radicalism.

In addition to this, each group would have the general functions of any study group in the Radical Education Project: (1) to write on issues pertinent to the profession, (2) to speak to SDS or other student groups interested in the profession or involved in programs of professional preparation, (3) to undertake and encourage research, (4) to serve as consultants in action programs, (5) to organize conferences and serve as a general educational resource.

The professional areas in which the project will attempt to organize groups are: (1) the law profession, (2) the teaching profession, (3) the medical profession, (4) the social work profession, (5) the scientific professions, (6) the newspaper profession, (7) the ministry, (8) city planning and urban development professions, (9) the business administration and management professions, (10) the labor relations and union staff professions.

The educational work of these groups would be focused on the professional training schools -- schools of social work, law, industrial relations, journalism, theology, etc. Its basic strategy would be to develop "caucuses" of students and faculty in these schools as the base for the educational efforts of the programs and to recruit students going through the school into nascent professional associations or into radical factions within the established professional association.

III. Political Philosophy, Ideology, and Strategy.

The activist movement is probably the most un-ideological radical movement in American history. There are a number of reasons for this: (1) the basic education of the universities avoids issues of fundamental conflict and gives little attention to the seminal thinkers who speak to the politics of our times. (2) The idealistic morality of the activists leads them to ignore or distrust intellectual analysis. (3) The conditions of direct action and community organization do not naturally encourage broad analysis and wholistic thinking. (4) Past "ideological models" particularly those of European radicalism, have not proven themselves directly applicable to the contemporary American Scene.

Nonetheless ideology and political education generally is essential for the deepening of the left movement.

There are two ways in which one can speak of "ideology." In the traditional sense all people have an ideology. Ideology is the view of the world which a particular group has and which serves to integrate the individuals in that group into the dominant social order. The prevailing American ideology involves the adjustment of the myths of the "American Way of Life" -- free enterprise individualism progress, pragmatism -- to the particular social conditions of people in different social locations. This adjustment gives meaning and integrity to one's life while at the same time justifying and giving legitimacy to the major elements of the status quo. The materialist view holds that ideology is based on an individual's relation to material objects, in particular the means of production and that it expresses the social relations of production.

To the extent that an individual's ideology -- his way of seeing and understanding his relation to the main processes of the society -- masks for the individual his "true" position in the social order and hides the ways in which his interests are offended by dominant power (or class) interests, then the individual has "false consciousness."

The objective of any radical movement is to break down "false consciousness." Its method is based on a combination of reason and psychological conflict. It seeks to reveal to an individual -- by facts, by emotionally powerful experience and by argument -- the realities of his actual life situation and continually to counter-pose that to his beliefs about his life, revealing the contradiction between myth and reality, between the American ideology and his true interests. The faith of the radical is that in the conflict between the daily life situation and the myths which the society propagates to explain and disguise that situation, that the former will be the more powerful and have the stronger psychological grip on an individual.

The success of a radical movement depends on its ability to sustain this process, the culmination of which is first to break down the myths on which the legitimacy of basic power relations is based, and then to cause withdrawal of support from institutions whose activities offend the interests of the individual. For the movement to sustain the process it must have: (1) an accurate understanding of the life situation of those it seeks to change; including an understanding of the "American ideology and the form in which it is held by various groups; (2) an abundance of factual information and styles of presentation which force a confrontation between myth and reality; (3) the ability to create "conflict situations" which give psychological force to the confrontation; and (4) a counter-view of man and society to which it seeks to transfer people's loyalties.

The second way of viewing ideology is related to this last requirement of a radical movement. When people in the movement speak of ideology, they generally mean a view of the world which makes manifest their radical

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(Ed. Note:

The National Council referendum on the so-called 'Booth Amendment' does not affect the organization's commitment to the Viet Nam exam program which should proceed ahead at full-speed.)

STRANGE TIMES

These are strange times to live in. Buffy St. Marie's "Universal soldier" appears in record shops side by side with Barry Sadler's a "ballad of the green beret"; Nat Hentoff and Jack Newfield report that the new left has never been strong while LBJ tells us that the government "shall prevail"; and, perhaps more important, the myriad of demonstrators and counter-demonstrators are offset by a larger group of those uncommitted, unknowing, or uninterested. Since the April March, we have concentrated on sophisticated forms of protest, finding new avenues through which to voice dissent. Yet, it seems to me that we are too often assuming that protest-action is the only meaningful road to a direct confrontation with the war. Though it is an important road indeed, it excludes that majority of Americans who accept the war simply because U.S. policy is what a person stands behind, 'right or wrong'. Demonstrations invite those who agree to participate; they provide a vehicle for personal commitment, and sometimes, for discussion. Yet, education, that awfully slow word, but one we sometimes have to use, is being overlooked. I would therefore like to suggest a program of education which should involve a larger portion of the population, and could possibly create much larger support for the next demonstration.

The idea is based on a co-operation between students and faculty members who are concerned about the war, and who feel that there is a crying need for information in order to make a decision about it. On campuses, student-faculty committees on the war in Vietnam can unite under the banner of the ever-present need for a critical approach to this government's foreign policy. Working papers can be written on such basic questions as the history of Vietnam, the Viet Cong, Ho Chi Minh, Diem, Ky, etc. Individuals or groups within the committee could research these and other basic factual questions within the confines of the college community. The papers can be discussed by the members of the committee as a whole, and, if accepted, can be distributed to the entire college by using a ditto machine or a multi-lith. If distribution is impossible, the committee can hold open assemblies and invite the campus to listen to working papers, and discuss their implications.

After initially providing the kind of facts which make a discussion possible, the committee can start looking into some crucial questions about the war: what are we, in fact, fighting for in Viet Nam?, does the domino theory work?, do the analogies to Munich and Korea stand up? What does the Viet Nam War mean in terms of over-all foreign policy?

A student-faculty committee on the war in Viet Nam was formed at Kenyon college one month ago. On a campus of 600, not particularly famous for its political awareness, 25 students and 10 faculty members have become active participants. It seems to me that, at the very least, an approach such as the one I am describing is the best possible way of starting discussion in any apathetic community.

The war is continuing; our protests are becoming more adamant yet, changes come very slowly, if at all. The time has come to commit ourselves, at least in part, to building a wider and more informed constituency; to seek, through self-education, the support that peace so desperately needs.

For peace, freedom and love,
Terry Robbins.

ERAP REPORTS

Cleveland: to build democracy

For nearly two years the Cleveland Community Project, initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, has been working in Cleveland's Near West Side. Our purpose has been to help build democratic organizations through which the powerless poor could make their voices heard.

The Neighborhood

The Near West Side is an almost all-white, poverty-ridden area of Cleveland's inner city. Much of the established eastern and southern European Catholic population has moved to the suburbs, being replaced by large numbers of southern whites, mainly from coal-mining regions of West Virginia and Kentucky, and Puerto Ricans. This fragmented population is itself a problem since the ethnic diversity both prevents a sense of "community" among residents and sometimes creates hostility between different groups, making organizing more difficult.

Some of the problems in the neighborhood involve the physical facilities: housing is run-down, overcrowded, and expensive for the many people who rent. Recreational facilities are few in number and those that exist are often poor in quality. Other problems stem from institutional neglect and abuse: the many welfare recipients in the area live a bare subsistence and dehumanized life. The inadequate medical facilities, hospitals and doctors, for the residents here create and sustain a variety of medical problems which are a constant source of anxiety and sometimes terror for many families. The schools, frequently insensitive to the needs and problems of poor children, contribute to the perpetuation of the "culture of poverty." An urban renewal program, planned with little regard for or consultation of the residents, now threatens many homes in the area.

In brief, the problems of the Near West Side are the problems of many poor neighborhoods -- physical dilapidation, social fragmentation, political neglect and abuse -- where the lives of most people are governed by forces over which they exercise no control.

The History

For the past two years the summer staff has continued the work of the full-time staff. The problems were similar, the work experimental and exploratory. Basically we were attempting to establish ourselves in a strange community, to test ideas about organizing, to explore different approaches to the community, to learn ourselves what organizing meant and how to do it, how to talk to people, how to involve them, how to represent ourselves to them. Because most of us had only had experience with upper and middle-class white culture and because there was no organizing experience comparable to what we were doing that we could draw upon, that job was frustrating and at times even frightening.

We approached these problems by trying to build the summer staff into a close and effective working group with the kind of internal cohesion that enabled us to think through the difficulties of entering and dealing with the community. Close cooperative living and working arrangements allowed us to spend considerable time planning, thinking, and talking about how we would approach the community, to share experiences, to try to get a grip on things, and to reinforce one another. We were also able to enjoy the rare experience of being with, for a whole summer, people who shared many of the same values, and who were working together to try to implement them.

Perhaps one reason that we were able to spend the time to create a close-knit effective summer group was, ironically, because we had not successfully built a community organization with a life of its own that demanded our primary energies and commitments. Without doubt our concern with the "group" probably reinforced that situation. The internal dynamic of the project cut people off from the very people

they were presumably trying to understand and organize.

In the seven months since the second summer project the most dramatic changes since the inception of the project have occurred. Most exciting is the growth of what we might call a "base" of people in the community who know and are interested in us and our ideas, who have a general commitment to organizing and building a neighborhood group.

Second and concurrent with a growing base has been the development of something called a community union. While still an amorphous, often informal, and undefined group with a fluid membership the community union is nevertheless an umbrella for the variety of activities in which we are involved: welfare organizing, housing and urban renewal, community theater, legal program, peoples' day-to-day problems, social events, a community newsletter.

Third, there has been a considerable growth in our own understanding and appreciation of the problems of organizing and living here: we've come to realize that our very

different style of life (a large coop which houses a number of single young people) not only creates and supports a variety of rumors about



prostitution, communism, and bootlegging, but to the extent that we've related to the community as a com-

munal group, we've restricted our opportunities to really learn about the community and become part of it. Finally we have learned that the notion of being an "organizer" in a strange community for just a summer is really pretentious -- it has taken full-time staff eight months, a year, and more to begin to understand the neighborhood and what being an organizer could mean.

What this means is that no summer project can now enter the community and have the opportunity of starting from scratch, of generating out of itself a new approach to what should be done. We have already scratched; there is experience here; there is a history that must be reckoned with, there are people and structures that must be dealt with -- whether one is happy with them or not, whether one would have done the same or not. We may live on a frontier, but we are no longer pioneers.

SUMMER, 1966

In trying to chart new directions for this summer, we must cope with two major problems: how will sum-

mer people work with the community Union? How will people live and relate to the community and each other.

While we still believe in the importance of the summer project belonging to the summer people, we must seriously consider the ongoing activity in the community. We want to provide summer people with the same opportunity for initiative, discussion, and group decision-making that characterized the earlier summer projects. But now this may conflict with the need for a program which will reinforce and supplement that of the community Union. Therefore this summer people will not come to the Near West Side as a group of organizers to initiate a completely new project. Instead each summer worker will be asked to select a particular role to play vis-a-vis the community Union, one which will reflect his or her special interest. Creating these functional roles seems to be the best way to integrate summer peoples' work into the ongoing life and program of the Community Union. Whenever possible, each summer person will

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Boston project plans school

1) Mothers for Adequate Welfare, an organization of welfare mothers which fights for higher allowances, better services, and recognition of the rights of recipients, has begun to attract considerable attention in the last six months. The Boston Chamber of Commerce is devoting the next issue of its magazine to problems of welfare and has asked MAW to write an article. Two mothers from MAW were on a panel on radio with Mr. Lally the Boston welfare commissioner. Two bills which MAW introduced into the state legislature, which would raise the rent allowance and publish the rules and regulations, are now in committee and MAW members are testifying on their behalf. In addition there is a whole series of bills which would completely reorganize the state welfare administration, for the better, which MAW plans to rally support for.

MAW very much stands on its own feet. A strong core of five or six mothers is developing who are able to speak and take leadership in the group. MAW has an office and puts out a regular newsletter, and has also published a welfare bill of rights. It is interracial including a number of Puerto Rican as well as Negro and white mothers. There is a mailing list of 250, and about 20-30 people come to meetings.

MAW needs more organizers. Marya Levenson, who has been the chief coordinator for the group, will not be able to work after this spring. A sympathetic social worker wants SDS people to come organize MAW in the Roxbury neighborhood where we have dozens and dozens of contacts that we have not been able to keep up. People interested, write to: Boston Project, 10 Brookford St., Dorchester 25, Mass.

2) Stemming partly from frustration at the results of the last elections, which returned racist Mrs. Hicks to the school committee, and partly from the intense desire of several parents to have a good school for their children to enter in the fall -- stemming from these two factors are the plan for a community school to begin next fall. The school will have a very small tuition with lots of scholarships and will operate on a first come first served basis rather than arbitrarily trying to pick more or less qualified students. It will probably begin with only a few grades and possibly add a grade each year. Parents will share in direction and administering the school from the beginning. An extremely sophisticated group of parents has already formed to carry out the idea. They are interviewing people for headmaster and teachers. They have visited several schools around the area in an attempt to clarify their own ideas about what the school should be like.

The concrete and most immediate focus of our educational program is the attempt to provide and direct our students toward the best resources of both Negro and white culture. Instead of trying to integrate Negro children INTO white society by concentrating on the tools which white people use to "succeed", instead of trying to make "white" children out of dark ones, we are trying to present a curriculum for meaningful and organic integration in which such subjects as Negro history, spirituals, and non-violence are just as important as reading, languages, science, and new math. We believe that the best way for a Negro child to appropriate that good and relevant values of white culture is for him to begin by affirming his own individual being and talents and the unique resources of his immediate environment and his culture.

While we do strive and succeed in presenting specific subjects, it is important to realize

that the core of our curriculum is not a curriculum as such. The primary object of any freedom class is to establish a trusting and loveful relationship between teacher and student. Out of this relationship the teacher's disciplined mastery of the subject matter and the child's interest in new ideas are the natural outgrowth. This means that the most crucial part of our "work" involves individual relationships that are very difficult to describe. As in a love affair or deep friendship we cannot describe the central bond itself so much as speak OUT OF that relationship. This particularly true in our case since Negroes function in an environment rich in non-verbal communication where the gesture or tone of voice carry the weight of communication. A poet perhaps with his words that gesture and dance could give wording to the ideas and feel of our work. I shall have to limit myself to indication some unifying concepts of our experience and concerns.

One such concept is language. Much of white western civilization is transmitted by written symbols and languages. While such things as music, drama, ballet, the deeds of the American Revolution and the Bible are essential elements of white culture, it has been, I believe, the written languages -- the languages of literatures, science, and mathematics -- which have been freighted the brunt of western civilization and giving it its most characteristic qualities.

American Negroes, however, have a tradition strong in non-written languages -- the language of gesture and touch, the language of song, the language of dance, and the language of demonstrations. This is partly because their African ancestors had powerful traditions of song and dance. (They had written traditions, too. Slave traders once came upon a city deep in Africa where classical Greek was known.) It is also because when Negroes were excluded from the fruits of white civilization, they developed the language of song and dance to help bear the sorrow and pain thrust upon them -- even as today the language of demonstrations and song challenge such evils. Indeed seeing that written and verbal formulations are often used to disguise and/or implement injustice, a knowledge of the limits of words became embodied in their culture.

It is not enough to just teach these various subjects and languages; they must be seen in their organic relationship to each other and to the needs of the students. New math, art, and reading are taught because the mind needs new modes of discovery as much as the stomach needs food. But while we are also mindful that mathematics and reading are useful resources for dealing with a technological society, we are not interested in creating an articulate elite unable or unwilling to communicate with those who cannot read or multiply. Our affirmation of the mind's needs are rooted in a deeper context of responsibility and identity. It is doubtful that many Negroes are ever going to be adequately educated unless more of us learn to challenge the system which excludes them and others from the adequate education. Thus, we also lift into discussions such questions as why painting and new math are not presented in the public schools, and why Frederick Douglass and Nat Turner are not mentioned either. We don't want those new cars and college degrees if it means we forget how to touch each other or how to sing a spiritual.

African art with its communal aspect and earthiness suggests much to us. A spiritual or freedom song is not a cultural showpiece, but

is often a very practical response to hunger or jail -- at times even becoming a political weapon. Likewise a good demonstration is not just political. It is a work of grace and art -- a visible "thing" which manifests a new way of seeing and doing to which we must respond and which can change our lives even as a great book changes lives. Drawing and painting, too, are especially popular with our children. More keyed up than rural Negroes or middle class children, they have an almost inordinate need for a mode of expression which is marked by only slight external guidance. In the end, too, it is doubtful that the ugly slums and tasteless suburbs and the despair of the people who inhabit them could last very long if we were a people who demanded beauty.

Following are quotes from the preliminary prospectus drafted by the group: "There has been something special about this school from its beginning, that we want built in as permanent part of its structure. That 'something' is contained in the word 'community'. We want this school to belong not just to the children and parents who are lucky enough to be in the first group admitted, but to all those still suffering the injustices of the Boston Public Schools. The group now meeting, and any who wish to join us, will comprise the community school steering committee. We hope this committee will become the servants of the greater community, will hear grievances, provide information, support others in their struggle to provide a good education for the children of the community."

The ERAP project itself, called the Dudley St. Action Center, is no longer a very tightly knit body of organizers who live together and meet constantly to allocate tasks. Rather, we now think more in terms of being long term members of the community and we are putting more stress on roles other than full time organizing.

In the past the Action Center was seen as a hub, with the spokes representing the various groups the center was trying to organize -- block groups, welfare mothers group, schools group. But the hub was always primary for the organizers, they looked to it for reinforcement. This hub defined their identity. But this hub was superimposed on the community and it was difficult to draw people into it. Now what is happening, particularly with Marya and MAW and with Pat and Ellen and the community school, is that the hub has broken up and they are developing from the community and with their own talents new primary groups. Marya is first a MAW organizer not an Action Center person. The Action Center remains primarily as a group of people who share similar long range perspectives about their work and need to talk about these ideas with each other.

The trouble with the concept we used to have of an ERAP "project," was that somehow this implied that a new person could come into an ERAP project and that project would provide him ready made with work and an identity. But each person must work this out for himself.

We would like more good people to come to Roxbury - South End, not just as organizers, but as teachers, doctors, lawyers, scholars, musicians, carpenters, architects, city planners, social workers. But it should be understood that we cannot provide ready answers as to how each of these skills can be relevant to building a movement here; people must be willing to plunge in and think and agonize and experiment and discover this for themselves.

Larry Gordon