

# Leroi Jones in Atlanta

## BLACK POWER and

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"Let my people go! Or else I'll strike your first-born dead -- let my people go!" LeRoi Jones sang and preached this message to white America from the campus of Atlanta's Spelman College on July 6, 1966. He had expected to speak only to his black brethren at this Negro college in the heart of Southland. Nevertheless, at an afternoon poetry reading and in an evening lecture, Jones set forth the message of "black power" to an integrated audience in a way few whites have heard since the death of Malcolm X.

Jones is a charismatic figure. His poetry had a savage splendor. He said unforgivable things about white liberals and black bourgeoisie; about Lyndon Johnson's ancestry and Jewish girls who castrate Negroes by marrying them; about Negroes aspiring to be white and Negro politicians who sell out their people -- all the more unforgivable for their hyperbolic truth. To a few of his listeners, Jones' language was mere filth. But many found his obscenity to be integral to his poetry. In a world where sincerity is used to sell soap powder, a man must sometimes curse in order to be heard. More important, Jones made clear that he was using his people's language, the speech that he and they use on the street and in the bedroom. He found it necessary as an artist, "to tell it like it is." At the same time, his was a

political act, for Jones has chosen to redefine his culture as Afro-American, for which the speech of white America is inappropriate. Defining the role of the black artist in a sense analogous to that advanced by the social realists of the 1930's, Jones insisted that he must refine the consciousness of his people through his own sensibility. In his poetry Jones brilliantly manipulated images of race, sex, and violence to create a dialectic between the world he knows and the one he would call into being.

In his evening lecture Jones stalked up and down the platform, resplendent in African costume. His focus was "black power." He reiterated that black unity was the prerequisite for black power, asking how black people could determine their destiny if they did not first bar white people from their deliberations. He drew upon Marshall McLuhan's notion of the revolution in media -- particularly TV -- to argue that the white world can impose concepts of white supremacy in myriad ways upon unsuspecting blacks.



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# WHITE LIBERALS

Against this he counterposed a thesis derived from Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*: that revolutionary violence will ennoble the oppressed.

Jones brought three major themes into play. One was the notion that black people had to return to their own culture. They were a captive people, brought here against their will. They had had an alien culture imposed upon them. They would not be free until they threw off this culture and resumed their heritage. Without elaborating, Jones postulated the idea that black people possessed a collective unconscious, to which every member of the race had potential access. "Black people are a spiritual people," he insisted. By contrast, he saw the white man's culture, the Western tradition, as a debased and dying materialism. White were devoid of spirituality and of any possibility of attaining it, said Jones, a rational enough proposition insofar as he defined spirituality as the fruit of an African and Afro-American heritage. Jones denounced Negro integra-

tionists, like Whitney Young, who used "we" to include all Americans. He asserted that a Negro who aspired to and attained the presidency of this America, as it now is, would sign the death warrants not only of Vietnamese patriots but also of black militants.

This identification of the struggle for black power in America with the struggle of the colored peoples all over the world was Jones' second major theme. The West, led by white America, was the common enemy of all peoples struggling to manhood; it must be swept away. Some day the colored majority of the world's people would confront their oppressors. On that day they would ask American Negroes which side they had chosen, and if they had chosen to stand with the whites they would share their fate. Interestingly, an African student in the audience identified himself with Jones' version of history. Jones had noted that continuation of present population trends would create (continued on page 2)

## HUAC STRIKES ANN ARBOR SDS

Ann Arbor, Michigan

Eric Chester

On August 4, the University of Michigan received a subpoena from HUAC calling for the membership lists for three on-campus organizations. The three were Voice, the local chapter of SDS, DuBois Club, and the Committee to Aid the Vietnamese.

For ten days the University debated whether to deliver the records, but it never consulted the students directly involved. The news of the subpoena and the U's compliance with it were first read in the mass media.

Voice members were extremely disturbed by the actions of the U. in two ways. Voice felt it was the obligation of the administration to consult students on questions concerning them. Also SDS felt that the subpoena should have been challenged in court both as to its basic legality and its scope. A delegation was sent to Vice-president of Academic Affairs Smith, the ranking administrative officer since president Hatcher had disappeared. Smith said that he needed to consult with the Regents before issuing any statement.

The next day, August 17, another delegation from Voice saw Smith, but was given a run-around. That night a hastily called meeting decided to sit-in at Smith's office until the administration publicly answered three basic questions. The questions were: 1.) Why were students involved not consulted? 2) What was its position on HUAC; 3) What guarantees would be given that this action would not be repeated?

At 10:00 the next day 40 Voice members and sympathetic faculty converged on Smith's office. Smith had left, but shortly after lunch he and the V-P of Student Affairs issued a statement to the press denouncing HUAC. The members of the sit-in then decided to remain until Smith and Cutler agreed to answer all the questions in person. Shortly afterward, Smith and Cutler came down for a three-hour discussion.

The argument was held at Smith's office with over sixty students and faculty as well as press attending. This was a remarkable number considering that it was the last day of the summer session finals. The V-P's were willing to apologize for not consulting students and guaranteed this would not happen again. They would not apologize for their abject submission to HUAC's subpoena nor would they agree to any form of effective student-faculty control to prevent future actions. Cutler was finally forced to explain

the criteria which were used to determine whether or not to fight HUAC.

Cutler stated that we had to realize that many powerful groups were strongly for the war and that the U could not afford to antagonize these forces. He further stated that this situation made it necessary to sacrifice the 65 people on the lists to HUAC so that the U could continue to coexist in the society. Most people at the meeting were shocked at the value system within which the University administration operates. Yet, it has to be noticed that the Michigan administration is not reactionary, but liberal, to the extent that Hatcher is openly against the war.

The consensus at the end of the meeting was that the administrators had shown themselves to be unfit to be officials at a university. Their value system is incompatible with the operation of a university so that it will fulfill its proper functions. The administration sees its role as cooperating with the Federal Government, including support of the war in Vietnam. Ranks have been compiled and a great deal of classified research directly related to the war is performed on campus. Since the administration is committed to this policy, students and faculty must demand the control of a basic U policy. The first step in this program will be a broadly based push for a binding referendum of students on the compilation of ranks.

A major confrontation is developing in Ann Arbor, but, unlike Berkeley, it will not center on the right of students to organize, but on the more fundamental question of the role of the university in society and who will control it.

## Further Clarification W. E. B. DuBois Clubs

On July 30 a press release was distributed from the National Office of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in Chicago which incorrectly listed SDS and SSOC as co-sponsors of our National Action in Washington to be held August 27-28. The fact that SDS, because of procedural requirements, could not act on the question of supporting our action before the meeting of the SDS National Convention had been clearly stated and explained by SDS national leadership to our national officers and was so understood. Unfortunately, the press release referred to above was hurriedly written and distributed by a volunteer helper from Chicago (in the wake

of the ransacking of our National Office the night before) and this person obviously did not understand that SDS was not a co-sponsoring organization. This press release was reprinted in some left publications and was also quoted in statements on the National Action which were circulated by various of our local clubs. We have taken steps to notify publications and clubs that SDS is not co-sponsoring our action and should not be so listed. Our national leadership accepts full responsibility for this unfortunate error and we deeply regret any inconvenience or misunderstanding that may have resulted thereby.

## labor project organizes in boston

-- By Hal Benenson

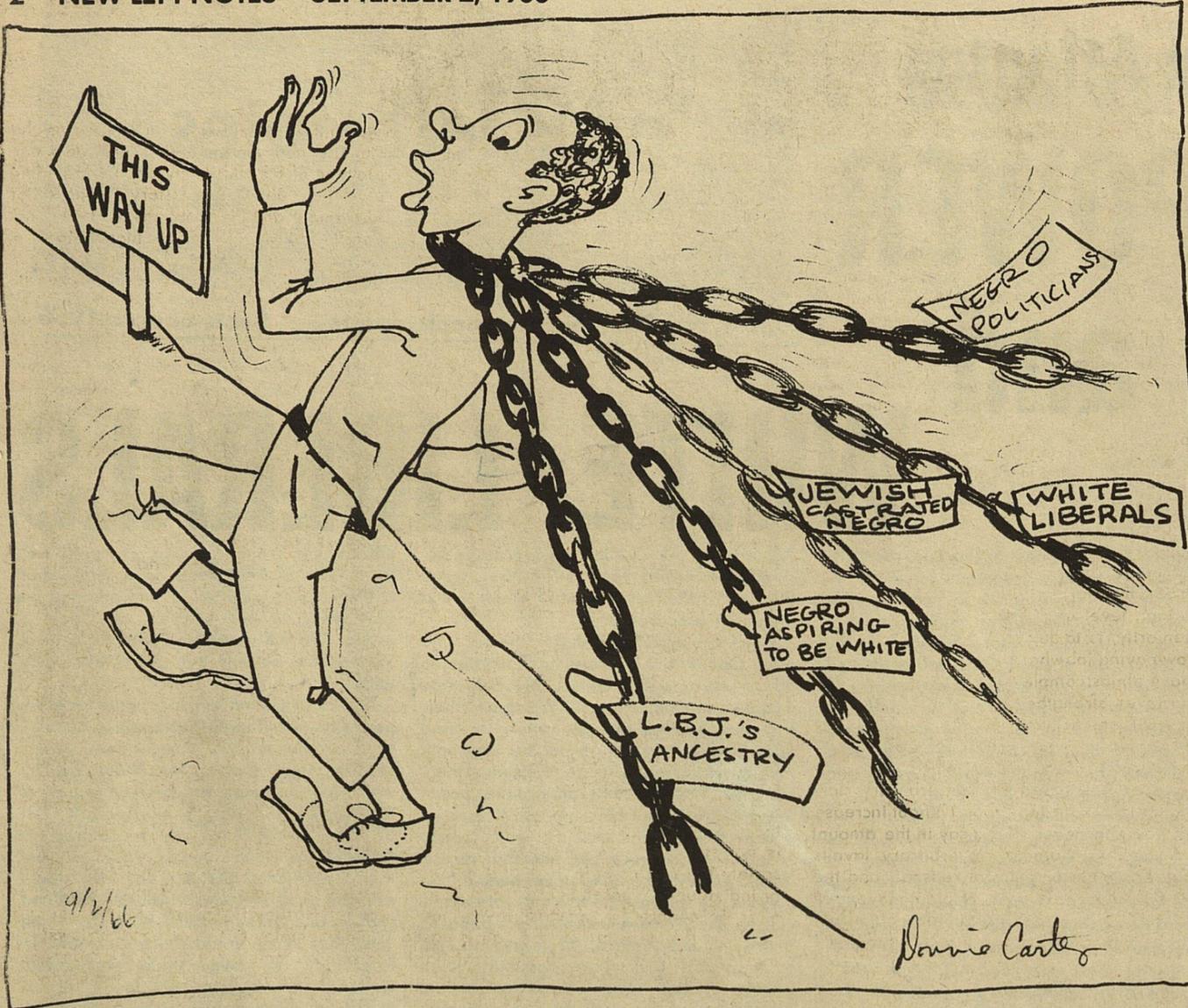
At its first meeting in early February, the Boston Labor Committee heard reports from students who had worked on the Thompson Rivet Co. -- UAW strike in Waltham, and discussed plans for Grape strike activity, for doing organizing with the United Electrical Workers by SDS people getting jobs in shops, and for Vietnam-trade union activity. Some of these projects got underway; others did not. But since that time the main focus of labor work in Boston has been our participation in the Hospital Workers organizing drive from April through August. The committee has also invited speakers from various unions and from labor publications, and has held discussions on labor history and on SDS strategy in doing labor work.

The following report on our work will be divided into three parts. First, I will discuss how we got involved initially with various unions. I hope this account will be useful to people who are interested in starting labor activities for chapters in their area. Second, I will give a brief history of how the most important projects developed, what we learned from them, and where we stand now. Finally, I will put forward some ideas on an SDS labor strategy and on the problems for radical organizing in unions.

There are two ways we got involved in various labor projects. The first was through

contacts with old radicals and liberals in unions in Boston; the second was by helping out unions in situations where they were open to outside support from students. We found that under normal circumstances most unions are very unreceptive to involving students in their activities. And they are even less receptive to students with a civil rights or peace movement background. This does not hold, however, for some old left trade unionists. Contacts with these kinds of union leaders resulted in good working arrangements with the Packinghouse workers (we leafleted workers about the war) and with the United Electrical Workers (we can do organizing work for them--they have already put a number of former SNCC people on staff in New York, Pennsylvania and the Midwest). We got into the two other major projects mostly by attentiveness to possibilities for supporting labor struggles, and luck. In the fall some Brandeis students noticed that a rivets factory near school was on strike, and offered to help out. They walked picket lines with workers and were planning a strike bulletin for workers and a community rally when a settlement was reached. And in April the SDS Regional Office was called by two hospital workers who were interested in getting SDS help in their attempt to organize an independent union in their hospital. (I will give a full report on this in part 2). The labor committee also tried to get to know local labor people through asking their support for such things as the Grape strike, the Adams campaign for Senate, etc.

All these kinds of projects can probably be undertaken wherever SDS people are ready to devote a good deal of time to labor work. Chapters in large cities will usually be able to find co-operative old left or liberal unions or strikes (and possibly an organizing drive) where support from anyone is welcome. Or they may know of locals in their area of unions that we have already made contacts with in other places. But short of these opportunities, a newly formed labor committee at an SDS chapter can always invite local union people to speak to students about labor issues or can do a survey of labor strength and problems in the area. The upshot of these initial projects will be little more than some basic experience and a greater familiarity with unions. Yet this (continued on page 4)



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absolute black majorities in many large American cities by 1975, and called for them to use this majority as Irish, Jews, and Italians before them had done -- to take over political power. The African student observed that 1975 had been established as the deadline for the creation of a black Africa -- void of white supremacists and colonialists.

Jones' third theme was his identification with black youth -- not only the youth of the ghetto, but also young black intellectuals. He said that Negro colleges were institutions maintained by white money to "train" imitation white men, and referred to his host institution as a "freak factory." You have wondered why your parents, all their lives, have put up with the white man's bullshit. You have asked "Why didn't you die, before you brought me into this world?" But if you continue to put up with it in your lives, your children will damn you and justly call you "punk", Jones said. And the young SNCC workers in the audience, who had earlier met separately with Jones, punctuated his every point with stormy applause. Perhaps he reached his greatest rapport with them when he spoke of Malcolm X. Malcolm was a prince, a great leader. And the black people showed they did not deserve him by allowing him to be taken from them -- a deed which Jones flatly blamed on white America. One could perhaps detect in their response a resolve that this leader, Malcolm's successor, would not suffer a similar fate.

Answering questions from the audience, at both meetings, Jones displayed unlimited patience with his black brothers. But he refused to concern himself with the agonies of white liberals frozen out of any possibility of brotherhood by the notion of "black power." Never discourteous, he was always implacable. Clarifying his oft-quoted statement about the murdered young white civil rights workers, Jones said: "I cannot mourn for Goodman and Schwerner; I have my own dead to mourn -- mountains of them." When the showdown came, Jones declared, some white liberals would shoot Negroes in the back; others would hold back his gun arm with their preaching of non-violence, and by thus impeding his right of self-defense, leave him at the mercy of white violence. Put not your trust in white men, but in black power, Jones insisted.

Few whites could hear Jones unmoved. This brilliant black man was telling them straightforwardly that the only thing they could do for colored people, in America and all over the world, was to get off their backs and out of their road. Many whites in the audience, shaken by Jones' evident contempt, and no more perceptive than Hubert Humphrey, took Jones' words merely as assertions of hatred and of black supremacy. It was hard not to, for surely those elements were present in his speech. Yet there was

a good deal more, and it is essential that white liberals somehow back off from their emotional response to comprehend the full meaning of "black power."

For one thing, Jones anticipates and justifies violence. Not merely the right to fight back against klansmen in Alabama and U.S. troops in Viet Nam, but also the right to fight for the abolition of every shred of white control over the lives of Negroes. Get your white slumlords and your white social workers and your white cops out of our lives, he is saying. Let us decide how and what to teach our children in the schools. We don't want your culture, or your women, or your money -- though we will take that share of your money and your land which is rightfully ours for 350 years of uncompensated toil. But if you do not get out, quickly, out of Harlem and Watts and Lowndes County, Alabama, then we will drive you out. The cost may be high, but the cost of enduring the indignity of being a Negro in a white man's world is far higher, and we are paying that every day. And the gain is that infinite treasure, our manhood.

Furthermore, in defining "black power" as the right of black majorities to control their destinies, as other ethnic groups have done, Jones is not implying that black power can be incorporated into the status quo. On the contrary, he insists that it must be used in a revolutionary way, to destroy "the American way of life." Certainly these doctrines are contrary to the prevailing American temper, which seeks moderation in all things. Yet, an overview of American history, as seen by Negroes, might enable us to make better sense of "black power."

How much does the good will of white liberals weigh in the scales against 350 years of history? Where was it in 1619, when the first slave ship landed in Virginia? In 1787, when the United States wrote slavery into its Constitution? During Reconstruction, when white supremacists overthrew Negro participation in government by force? In 1900, when Progressives simultaneously justified Jim Crow laws at home and the white man's burden overseas? In 1919, when white mobs, North and South, murdered Negro veterans asking equal rights? In 1964, when the free citizens of California voted for a racist housing clause in their constitution by a two-to-one majority? Too little and too late, white folks. Now you ask me to be patient, to be non-violent, to go quietly off to Viet Nam to kill my colored brothers so that Chase National Bank can open up a branch in Saigon. I say "shit." Or, as LeRoi Jones summed it up: "Somebody called me a 'nigger' before I called him a 'white bastard.'"

If we choose to ignore history (which Negroes cannot do, because it is part of their lives), there is the question of what we are doing now. Our intentions are good, our deeds are inadequate. What does it

mean to teach about the achievements of Ralph Bunche to a teen-ager who drops out of a ghetto high school which would have prepared him for a job from which lily-white trade unions bar him? The Civil Rights Bills are quite irrelevant to the lives of Negroes in the urban slums. Too many of them see, correctly, the "War" on Poverty as a minor skirmish which opens up a few \$10,000 jobs to highly connected Negroes and to white social workers, while providing stopgap jobs with no futures for Negro youth who will be drafted anyway. And they see the Viet Nam war as a white man's cause, but a black man's fight -- and the casualty records bear them out on this, too.

American liberals have not entirely abandoned their own revolutionary heritage. They did not find it difficult to support the establishment of the state of Israel or the Algerian struggle for independence. Nor would some European intellectuals (to say nothing of Africans) find LeRoi Jones hard to understand (one might read Satre's preface to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* for an example of this comprehension). Why, then, do American liberals rise up in indignation at the notion of "black power?"

In the first place, I suggest, liberals see "black power" as a threat to their belief in limitless progress, gradually accomplished. Have they not been assured by Daniel Bell, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., that we have reached the end of ideology, that revolution is passe? But Jones is an ideologue preaching revolution! Another article of faith is the liberal's conception of power. Power is a hard, realistic fact of life, to be confronted pragmatically. Properly understood, it is diffused throughout society, held in countervailing quanta by the many overlapping interest groups that make up America. Change in such a system can only be accomplished gradually, by wheeling and dealing. But Jones insists on polarizing society into black and white, and describes the relation between these groups as one of unrelenting struggle, whose goal is the overthrow of existing social structures.

Another liberal platitude is the notion that life is tragic. Camus' *The Rebel*, we may note, was a major source of inspiration to many in SNCC until recently. But in the hands of some liberals, Camus' poetic insight into the human condition has become a sentimental cliché justifying the status quo, and as such is being rejected in favor of a more dynamic and revolutionary ideology by the new black left. Fanon's revolutionary socialism is one of the founts of the new thought. Summed up, I believe that white liberals are quite unprepared to entertain the notion that revolution is an appropriate concept to apply to their United States, but this is the meaning of "black power," as LeRoi Jones used the term.

White liberal rejection of the idea may also be explained insofar as it strips away

one of their main justifications, their sense of benevolence. If we cannot help the Negro to attain equality, with our money -- and with our lives, if need be -- what can we do? What does the social worker do when he has no more clients? Perhaps the Peace Corps will be the last relic of our earnest willingness to do good. Those who have been developing the notion of a liberal-labor-Negro coalition to propel America to finish her task of creating a great society -- like Bayard Rustin, Mike Harrington, and Irving Howe -- must see "black power" as a terrible threat to their vision. Without the Negroes, they will have to confront the American power elite without any hope for change within the existing structure. They will then be forced to choose between revolution and "coalition with the marines," equally unpalatable alternatives. Furthermore these liberals have avoided a confrontation over Johnson's foreign policy in the name of his "progressive" Civil Rights policy. "Black Power" will force them to confront the salient fact that American neo-colonialism, in Viet Nam as in the Dominican Republic, poses the greatest threat to world peace and to the achievement of national independence by all peoples.

But the opponents of coalition -- the new left of SDS and similar groups -- also find themselves deserted by those who were their closest allies. What does it mean to those who have gone on Freedom Rides and spent the summers in Mississippi to be told that they have worked in vain, that Schwerner and Goodman have died in vain, that they can no longer participate in the councils of their former black comrades? Interestingly, some of the whites most deeply involved in SNCC were the first to get the message. They left voluntarily because they understood their presence was blocking the ability of black militants to develop and carry through their own programs. But what can

they do? LeRoi Jones would not give them any answer; their problems are none of his concern. But Malcolm X, in his *Autobiography*, suggested an answer, one which Jim Forman of SNCC echoed recently: Don't tell us about how this world is being run and misrun, baby -- we know. If you have something to say, tell it to your white brothers. Set up Freedom School for the white liberals and for the white racists; talk to the lily-white trade unionists and to the politicians who are drafting colored boys to die in Viet Nam for the democracy they don't have here.

Forman's advice answers the question of what committed whites can do now. In fact SDS, already committed to organizing among the white poor, has approved the idea of black power. But what if, despite our efforts, the ghetto erupts, and the race war in America begins? What choices will white liberals have then? I do not believe they can run away, because there's no place to run to. Leave America? For where? South Africa? Australia? New Zealand? These racist countries will have to answer in their time. Even the non-racist, non-colonialist powers, like Sweden, share in the benefits of the white man's civilization and the white man's imperialism, and so will have to share in the reckoning. Whites who run to the suburbs will find their water and their electric power cut off when blacks take over the central city, and may have to face raiders from the ghetto long before that. Sooner or later whites will be faced with Eichman's choice. Will you pull a trigger for white supremacy, or will you defy the lawfully constituted authorities?

Some who decide the second answer will, as pacifists, choose to be conscientious objectors. The problem with that solution, as Randolph Bourne pointed out during World War I, is that it is a sort of "cop-out." The conscientious objector announces that he has no quarrel with the end, but only with the means: He will gladly roll bandages in a bad cause. Those who believe in non-violent resistance to evil -- men like Staughton Lynd and Bayard Rustin, A. J. Muste and Martin Luther King -- may join hands and interpose themselves between the warring parties. I do not believe, however, that either the children of the ghetto or the white police, equally brutal in the moment of conflict, will be deflected from their purposes, even if history might some day applaud the noble gesture of reconciliation.

There is another alternative. It is for those who believe that though both sides are brutal, both are not equally brutalized. It is to choose black justice over white injustice. It calls for people who will do everything in their power to impede the counter-revolution. For French Algerians who felt this way, it meant giving out leaflets, disrupting the morale of the forces of repression, even blowing up power plants and police stations.

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# SDS AND LABOR

By Nat Stillman

Until recently SDS has rejected the working class as a major part of the constituency desiring basic social change in America. This is so largely because labor has been confused with the present leadership and spokesmen of the American labor movement. The new left has largely failed to realize that only 25% of the labor force is organized into unions and that the unions that do exist do not adequately represent or fight for even the economic needs of their membership. Student radicals share a middle class conception that the problems raised by the militant sections of the labor movement in the thirties have been solved and that now we can move on to other problems. While it is true that the problems of quality of work and control of workers' lives in the workplace concern workers in addition to material problems, those material problems and the whole question of the distribution of power and wealth have still not begun to be solved. An active labor movement no longer exists, not because it achieved its goals but because much of it was smashed, while some sections of it, especially capitalist-minded leaders and bureaucrats, did gain many benefits.

The reality of the labor movement today is that it is not a movement. First it is not a movement because it has failed to organize the majority of the work force, and secondly because most of the unions are not struggling either in the workplace or in any broader movement for social change. The only remedy for this will be the organization of workers into unions genuinely concerned not only with the material needs of the mass of the work force but also with building a democratic society in which full participation and meaningful work are possible. This will come about with the building of a more democratic labor movement led by people who will struggle to satisfy both the material and the other problems of working people. This should not be the only area of work for people seeking to realize the

vision of a democratic and humane society which the new left has put forward, but that society cannot be achieved without the active support of the working class. This is first because workers make up at least a majority of the population, and secondly because their work is what has built and continues to run the entire social machine. Thirdly the mass of the work force suffers from the present organization of society.

Most workers must work many hours of overtime in order to keep up with an increasing cost of living and to meet the exorbitant demands of credit financing companies and landlords. Federal and local taxes take an increasing share of workers' incomes with the expanding war economy. In the factory, workers are continually shoved around by foremen and even by union stewards, who together have almost complete control over them. The only defense the worker has, if he does not have a high level of skill and education or long seniority, is to quit and move on to another low-paying job where the company will again have almost complete control over him. High turnover strengthens the position of those few with seniority and decreases the number of people who can get it. In all basic industries and increasingly in office work, employees are forced to meet arbitrary standards of production, often without increase in pay and never with a say in the amount of speedup. Automation, arbitrary layoffs for economic or political reasons, and the continual possibility of plant movement create great insecurity about keeping the job. Lack of an adequate unemployment and welfare system and the scarcity of modern retraining programs make job loss a very frightening possibility. There is increasingly little possibility for workers to better their economic position by going outside the factory or office (eg. by starting their own businesses). At the same time within the plant, requirements for high positions have become very formalized and depend on the amount of formal education and training a person has. This makes promotion also an

unrealistic hope for most workers. These things are shown by the fact that 60% of the people below the government poverty figure of \$3000 a year are working. Workers' awareness of these problems constitutes a very real potential for the organization of an active and militant union movement. Because of the increased role of the government in maintaining a favorable environment for corporations and the increasing burden of taxation on lower-class people, such a new movement would be increasingly involved in questions of government policy and of the control of society. Because of the present position of both organized and unorganized workers, a movement to meet these problems is going to become an increasingly radical opposition force. It therefore, will probably not be organized unless radicals in the student and civil rights movements and those presently inside unions begin to organize it. (The present union shop is not working for and often tries to crush the development of such a new movement.)

The problems of workers are not confined to material questions. Factory work, office work, and even many areas of professional work have become boring, highly specialized, and meaningless to those who perform the work. The scale of economic organization has become so large that no employee has control over the job he performs or the product he produces. Work done socially is not seen as work for the benefit of the society but rather for individual sustenance or individual advancement. Not only do jobs offer no chance for personal involvement but also the structure of the job is based on a hierarchy determined by the company and not those controlled by it. In this authoritarian situation employees are forced to see each other as rivals in the competition to please their superiors. The unsatisfying nature of the jobs creates great need for escape and forgetting during the time outside the job. Because the job which defines an employee's life and provides his income is meaningless, his whole life becomes meaningless. There are questions about the nature of the revolt against these conditions, and how this revolt can be organized; but the increasing number of rank-and-file insurgencies over job conditions as well as economic questions, the kind of separation from the job that Harvey Swados writes of in "The Myth of the Happy Worker," and the gripes that I heard from workers in union and non-union factories I worked in this summer, point to the fact there is much openness for organizing workers.

In order to build the kind of labor movement which fights for solutions to all of the above problems as they confront most American workers, the left will have to become involved with these workers in the process of organization. This will mean first of all that we will have to overcome the arrogance and ignorance we have had in the past towards the majority of workers and work directly with the rank and file to organize militant and democratic unions. In some areas this will mean the organization of caucuses within existing unions, in other creating entirely new unions. The question of membership in the AFL-CIO vs. independence is not meaningful unless the democracy and the militancy of the rank and file group or local cannot be preserved within the established union. The criterion for making decisions about such questions or about questions of the politics of workers must be based on the goal of organizing and radicalizing rank and file workers. The present leadership of most unions is conservative both on economic questions and on political questions. Our criticism of this leadership now must be combined with a drive to organize the rank and file inside these unions to choose a new leadership and to build more democratic and progressive unions. This will not be an easy process; it will take a deep and long term commitment by many radicals.

SDS now should help set up labor committees on and off campus to recruit people to get involved in the labor movement. The most important function of these committees will be to provide full-time organizers in factories and offices to do the kind of rank and file organizing I've talked about. Sometimes this will mean people going into work they wouldn't have done otherwise as a career, or even for a few years, in order to organize. In other cases it will mean people forming unions in the professional or white collar jobs most SDS members take after college (e.g. teachers' unions, engineers' unions, writers' unions and doctors, lawyers, etc?). Campus labor

committees should work on organizing the student, non-student and professional employees of the university and on providing education about the history of the labor movement and the problems of workers not dealt with by colleges or high schools. It may also be relevant to consider the formation of students' unions to fight for the satisfactory, economic, educational, and social needs of students. This will be especially important at schools with large numbers of lower-income students, places where SDS is generally weak. Any such labor committee could provide active support for union strike action or educational work, and could provide active support for union strike action or educational work, and might even help with part time work in organizing drives, as was done in Boston, Delano, New York, Chapel Hill, (N.C.), and other areas. This is especially relevant for non-campus labor committees or groups of organizers who work with civil rights groups or community organizing projects. These organizers can encourage the people they're working with to organize unions in the place they're working or to set up caucuses inside existing unions. They can also launch drives to form new unions directly connected with the community based organizations, as was done in NFWA, Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, and Maryland Freedom Union. These labor committees can work with existing unions and community groups whenever possible on certain kinds of political campaigns: around issues of direct concern to unions (e.g. repeal of Taft-Hartley, extension of minimum wage and unemployment compensation laws), and around community issues (e.g. urban renewal and rent control, schools, fighting urban political machines). Finally they can start programs about the war both through the union and through direct contact with workers. (Some of these things have already been outlined in papers by Lee Webb, Clark Kissinger, Al Haber and Jim Williams)

It seems to me that it is now possible and crucial for SDS and other groups in the movement to organize workers in a radical and active labor movement. Some work has been begun but the numbers and commitment of radicals in the labor movement must be increased. Besides the direct benefits it will bring many workers, this will be an important step in building a left no longer trapped by apathy and sterile debates about correct positions, but rather concerned with organizing the mass of unrepresented workers toward participation in a popular radical movement in this country.

## BLACK POWER (cont.)

(continued from page 2)

Many would call that treason, though that word did not deter Patrick Henry or John Brown. But we live in a different age from theirs. Our age is one in which French paratroopers tortured to death men like Henri Alleg; it is one in which U. S. Special Forces officers in Viet Nam specialize in the torture of prisoners. How many white radical intellectuals could stand up to this sort of treatment for five minutes, whatever their convictions and commitments? Very few, I fear. If history reaches such a juncture, it will pose the unanswerable question, "Would you rather be black or dead?" We will be the hollow men, who die not with a bang but a whimper.

That time is not yet here. Perhaps we were allowed to eavesdrop on LeRoi Jones' talk with his black brothers in order to infuse us with the energy of despair so that it may never come. To avert it, we must make "freedom, now" a reality. Technically, the problem is a simple one. Civil Rights Commission consultants have drawn up a program for educational parks which would provide a first-class education for all children. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., has proposed a \$50 billion program to renovate the ghetto while providing jobs and job training for its occupants. The negative income tax, or the guaranteed annual wage, or some similar program can be employed to wipe out poverty forever,

as cybernation changes the entire employment pattern in America. Furthermore, all of these reforms could be accomplished within American capitalist system. What is lacking is understanding and will, and any attempt to develop this understanding and will is further inhibited by American commitment to the American dream at home and abroad. At home it means a pig society with energies focussed on the rush to the trough; abroad it means killing for peace in Viet Nam under the tattered banner of anti-Communism. LeRoi Jones is telling us that we cannot expect to have those luxuries very long.

We may have a year's breathing space, we may have ten. If we do not use that time creatively -- to get our white brothers off the backs of colored men everywhere in the world -- then we will have had it. It is cold comfort to think that in her last spasms, white America may manage to make the planet uninhabitable for the rest of mankind. We may somehow manage to accomplish the miracle, with the help of black power and the Viet Cong. If we do, then we may have entitled ourselves to some share, in keeping with our real merits and numbers, in the reconstruction of a world in which love and non-violence prevail. But there are no short cuts. That is what LeRoi Jones, in his own way, may be telling us.

Robin Brooks

### NEW LEFT NOTES

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# anti-imperialism and the american

By Dave Cunningham

Iowa City, Iowa

While there are many excellent points made in Tom Condit's "position Paper" in the June 24th issue of *New Left Notes*, there are many serious weaknesses as well. Since comment and replies to the article were requested, I would like to set out my own observations on the subject with which he deals. I have three major objections to his article. To my mind, he seriously underestimates the potential radicalization of the American working class (although he does not go so far as to reject them entirely as a revolutionary force, as many of the "new left" radicals under the influence of Mills seem to do); he does not credit the Negro movement with any particular role in a future restructuring of the society, nor does he appear to see the link between the Negro Liberation and the anti-imperialist movement; he seriously underestimates the role of the socialist countries, especially China and the Soviet Union, in the anti-imperialist movement. Allied to this last issue is his general misunderstanding of the real problems involved in the financing of economic growth in the subdeveloped countries -- the so-called "third world". Despite the tendency to think, as American radicals, about specifically American problems, I think the real crux of the problem of social transformation here and abroad -- the revolutionary lever, the proper understanding of the problems and possibilities of these countries -- and a fair estimation of their probable development -- will give us a guide in order to see the realities of the world situation more clearly, to make our estimates, strategies, tactics more in line with the real dynamics of social change in our epoch. So I would like to deal with my disagreements with Condit on this last issue, and assume that the other two points are problems of strategy and a variance of viewpoint.

The essential contradiction of the decade of the 60's is the struggle between the forces of imperialism and those forces which oppose this thrust. By the first term I mean the governments of the United States and the industrialized, so-called "western democracies", and those individuals and combines who would and do directly benefit from the extension of the present, capitalist system of ownership; by the latter the workers and peasants of the subdeveloped and exploited countries, along with the socialist bloc nations, peoples and governments. Tactics and approaches within each of these opposing blocs are quite flexible and occasionally apparently contradictory, but the basic alignments are static and rigid. I prefer to deal with the anti-imperialist forces, within which camp I place most of the American left (however much some of them wish not to have the line drawn so strictly). And, since Condit develops his views of the "third world" within the framework of highly critical views of China and the Soviet Union, this seems a not inappropriate place to begin my critique.

Condit is quite violently hostile to the foreign policy pursued by people's China in her relations with the countries of the "third world". Of them, he writes:

"They maintain that the capitalists of the advanced nations have no more intention of industrializing the Upper Volta than they have of providing a living wage to Mississippi Negroes. All their pretenses of doing so are aimed merely at lulling opposition or at co-opting it into an essentially capitalist planning structure as the labor unions have been co-opted into the welfare state. The "Third World" countries should choose the revolutionary course, decisively break with the capitalist nations, and rely primarily on their own resources and on mutual trade to build an industrial base.

The aim of Chinese policy is therefore twofold: to secure external military and trade alliances while increasing the internal cohesion and discipline of the regime.

Now, despite the tone of all this, it is essentially accurate in so far as it points out China's basically "socialism in one country" ideology and aspects as predominantly non-revolutionary and opportunistic policy abroad. There are many similarities, in this respect, to the foreign policy pursued by Stalin, especially in the 1930's. The charges of Ultra-leftism and "Trotskyism" lodged against it by both the Soviet Union and the West are self-serving and quite inaccurate: despite the indignant and revolutionary rhetoric, the actual policy as it is pursued is quite conservative.

But at this point I would ask: so what? Is this necessarily bad? And what are the alternatives when one is raising the question of the well-being and future of the "third world"?

Industrialization, as I assume Condit and I are agreed, is the fundamental necessity to the well-being of the subdeveloped countries. It is basic, in that only in this way will it be able to give to the peoples of these countries the material resources for a good life. And if affords these peoples the power necessary to overt political takeovers and external subversion. Where does Condit expect the capital necessary for basic industrialism to come from, if not internally? Paul Baran, in his *Political Economy of Growth*, points out the pitfalls which come from external, capitalist implementation of funds and investments into underdeveloped economies. And his outline for the internal constitution of a strong economy appears unchallenged as to its accuracy and value.

Condit makes a quite sophisticated argument against Carl Oglesby's formulation of the problems of nationalistic revolution in the third world. I do not agree with his is so naive as to think either the United States or the other capitalist countries are going to subsidize marxist revolutions and argument is reasonable, and he attacks the real weaknesses in Oglesby's conception. Are we then to believe that Condit is so naive as to think either the United States or the other capitalist countries are going to subsidize marxist revolutions and co-operative organizations and institutions, that they will get with in a hundred miles (or at least ninety) of anything that smacks of real nationalization, of expropriation, of shooting landlords, of SOCIALISM? If so, he hasn't been reading the same capitalist press I have.

Is this stacking the deck against him? But then he must answer; where else do you expect the outside cash to come from? It takes a lot of money to industrialize an agrarian, nearly precapitalist country. Where from? The Soviet Union, China, the socialist countries of Eastern Europe? Or Cuba, perhaps? If one considers that these countries, almost entirely, are still themselves within the era and process of primitive accumulation, this seems highly unlikely. The Soviet Union can build an Aswan Dam in the U. A. R. A steel mill complex in India can help Cuba withstand the blockade by buying some of her sugar; she can hardly contribute cash or technology to these countries to such an extent as to qualitatively change their basic economic development. Nor, for that matter, can she do more than barely tangibly influence their economic infrastructures. As for the other countries in the socialist bloc . . . well, one need only read, say, Jan Myrdal's *Report from a Chinese Village* -- an excellent study, by the way, of the tremendous psychological liberation and socio-economic transformation which accompanied the Communist Revolution in China -- to see how a country, in the state of economic development described there, with a G. N. P. of barely one-tenth of the United States, can hardly expect much besides good wishes and some gratuitous political advice.

of the United States, can hardly expect much besides good wishes and some gratuitous this sentence from the excerpt already quoted: "After 50 years of this ("pulling up by your bootstraps") policy, accompanied by forced labor, brutal collectivisation of agriculture and totalitarianism of every aspect of life, the Soviet Union, despite its vast internal resources, remains one of the most backward of the industrialized countries." Too slow, according to Condit.

Alright: if the development of the third world countries by internal allocation is going to be slow, it will just have to be slow. The choices are obvious: the capital will have to come from inside, or else from without. But if one argues it would and must come from without, and since as I have shown above, it cannot come from the socialist bloc countries, then logically it will have to come from the developed capitalist countries--as Condit argues, the only developed countries. Who are we to use for a model, then? India?

I think it can fairly well be assumed that few of the subdeveloped countries actually wish to be allied with the capitalist countries; that, to develop itself, the nation is, rather, forced to accept aid by an unrealistically planned economic tempo of development; that the end result is some sort of playing a

blackmail game, one side against the other--the capitalist vs. the socialist countries. And it is interesting to note that in the most "successful" of the countries who have operated in this manner--like Egypt, say--the result has been to abort both the social and political revolutions--a ruthless dictatorship of the non-aligned bourgeoisie. It is precisely this danger which is the central argument in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. More likely, the end result is that the formerly unaligned country is simply opening itself up to economic penetration and ultimate domination by the "donor" country--the exchanging of old-style imperialist exploitation for the "new-style" neo-colonialist exploitation. The only real difference appears to be that the puppet strings are more subtly concealed.

There is, moreover, a quite good reason against Condit's habit of using the experiences of the Soviet Union as a paradigm of the difficulties inherent in internal primitive accumulation, as a model of the slowness and contradictory aspects of the method. (There is also a pretty good reason--a moral one--about teaching the agony of the Soviet people with such condescending smugness.) Does Condit really think, as he implies, that when he outlines the tribulations of socialist development in Russia, that the Soviet leadership were acting as free agents outside the historical process, that they actually wanted things that way? That, in fact, they had any real choice in the matter? One need only read the Party congress and Comintern debates: they all deal with tactics and with tempo. Self-preservation and military defense of the Soviet state, agricultural and industrial development: the question was how to grow and still not leave oneself open to the imperialist onslaught. In 1931 Stalin

said something to the effect that "We have a hundred years of industrialization ahead of us in order to catch up, and we have ten years in which to do it. Either we catch up, or we perish." And the period around 1930 was one of the few breathing spaces in the whole of the Soviet Union's last half century. Behind her at this point, Russia had the terrible devastation of the loss of World War I, the Civil War and loss of territory to the victorious annexationist powers which followed defeat: which devastation quite literally brought the country to paralysis and starvation. Then came the struggle for the laying of the ground work for industrialization, for the five-year plans. Stalin was right: the Soviet Union had exactly ten years to do it in, ten years of incredible agony and turmoil to transform Russia into a modern nation, to reach her industrial aims. Then came Hitler, and the litany of horrors continued. Invasion, nearly four years of occupation and destruction, between 20 and 30 million of her people dead and at least a third of her economic base destroyed. Then came the Cold War, the whole problem of re-organization and re-building again, this time with the threat of thermo-nuclear war overhead. It is quite easy for Condit, writing from a citadel of comfort and wealth in the United States, some three quarters of a century after our own period of primitive accumulation, to toss about terms like "forced labor", "brutal collectivisation" and "totalitarianization" (sic!), but the miracle of it is that the Soviet Union as a nation and the first socialist state, her people and her system have even managed to survive such a catastrophic era. Along with the Soviet Union, Socialism survived; had it been destroyed, the era would have proven con-

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## boston labor project

(continued from page 1)

is necessary before SDS people will be able to get involved in those activities which have a potential for doing radical political work or organizing with workers. In fact, the most fundamental experience necessary is that of having worked in a shop. But any kind of work with labor can be a valuable stimulus to our developing a general approach or strategy for bringing a radical perspective to those workers who are potentially sympathetic to a broad-based movement of the left.

Our limited experience in Boston has shown us how difficult radical organizing with workers is. The Waltham UAW-Thompson strike lasted from November through April. Students walked picket lines with workers, both at the factory and at the home of the owner, for about three months of this period. The students decided on a policy of not wearing "movement" buttons and of trying to get to know the workers by first talking about the day to day strike news. Unfortunately, the first contacts of the students were with the union leadership, and they found it very difficult to really establish relationships with the rank-and-file workers. The overcautiousness of the students in terms of telling the workers who they were (i.e. their affiliation to an organized radical movement), or why they were there didn't help either. No student worker discussion group was ever set up. After the strike ended, little remained besides the names and addresses of a few friendly workers and a contact with the UAW International Representative from Boston.

The labor committee discussions about the Waltham strike covered many of these problems. In April we were contacted by the two hospital workers. This time we hoped to develop a clearer idea of our objectives and of how to communicate our ideas to workers.

From April to the present about thirty students have at one time or another walked picket lines, run off leaflets, contacted community organizations and attended general membership and executive committee meetings of the Hospital Workers Association. One former student now works in Jewish Memorial Hospital (where the union started) in the kitchen. And others have begun work on organizing workers in other hospitals into the union.

Two problems were posed at the outset; neither of them has been completely resolved. First, the question was raised whether the students were in a position to carry

through on their obligations to the Association, and what the nature of our relationship to it would be. Would we be able to stay on during the summer? Could we give the support they expected from us? Just how long had we committed ourselves for? Three of us have stayed to work full-time on the hospital over the summer (about four or five others work part-time). We have contributed successfully to the unions winning recognition at Jewish Memorial. However, it is still not clear what our future role in the union will be. This is closely tied to the question of whether the Association will tie up with an AFL-CIO union, like RWDSU (which includes Local 1199 of Hospital workers in New York). The Association has been approached by about seven or eight labor organizations, ranging from Common Laborer's to Operating Engineers to the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. So far it has chosen not to go in with any of them. If it did tie up, it is probable that we would have a different role in the organizing drive.

Second, we were unsure as to why we were getting involved, what were we trying to accomplish? Why did we expect the Hospital Workers' Association to be any different from the many undemocratic, conservative "business" unions of Boston.

Historically, most unions have performed the role of integrating workers into the 'system' by only working within the narrow apolitical scope of trade union activity as defined by the Wagner Act, by creating a privileged sector of workers (less than 30% of American wage-earners are organized -- and unions have been particularly slow to expand into low-paying fields like farm work, institutional and service employment and urban Negro jobs), and by institutionalizing potential radicalism in labor bureaucracies. Our initial answers to the problems raised by this negative view of unions were 1) to work for as much democracy in the internal functioning of the union as possible, 2) to try to maintain a close tie-up between the union and community civil rights groups, (and to work for a view of the union as part of the movement). In addition, the plight of the hospital workers -- many working two shifts, often making \$1.30 an hour, without Blue cross -- Blue Shield protection, nor job security, was symptomatic of the conditions of wide-spread poverty and inadequate community services in America. To set the struggle of the hospital workers in a wider context and to discuss the causes of their conditions was another

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# left; a reply to Tom Condit

siderable bleaker than it has so far.

In this context, does Condit think it will be necessary for every developing nation, although forced to improve her lot by the structures and limitations of the methods of internal resource allocation -- "by your bootstraps" -- to go through a qualitatively similar series of problems? Isn't it the case that, rather than functioning as a negative example and a warning, the survival of the Soviet national system guarantees for the most part that the subdeveloped countries will at least not have to suffer similar agonies inflicted upon them by their colonialist enemies?

China certainly has not had an easy time of it, but by any reasonable evaluation her progress has been spectacular -- a developing industrial base, no starvation and, with the exception of one period of austerity due to extreme flood conditions, not even any particular difficulty in feeding her people. She has and will not become modernized overnight, although evidence exists which indicates she has moved into a "take-off" situation, is already at the plateau which is conditionally basic for the full use of modern industrial and technological methods. Are these not the things any nation existing in pre-industrial squalor and poverty would want for her people? The argument is even more pertinent because in many cases the countries to which China's ideological appeal is directed are at about the same level of development as China was at the end of the Second World War. Such tremendous change in a twenty-year period does not go unnoticed, nor is its lesson missed.

It seems particularly appropriate and viable to make a comparison between the differences in social and economic development in China and India, particularly because the capitalist countries have chosen to elevate the latter country to a sort of ersatz paradigm, a "showcase of democracy". China is politically independent, has transformed her country both socially and economically, unified her peoples and reached a level of industrial development in less than a score of years that appears more and more to be offering a real threat to the present superiority of the capitalist countries. India before her political revolution was a British satellite; having failed to institute a social revolution, she has been unable to maintain her political independence and has drifted back into a satellite dependency upon the United States. The neo-colonialist economic penetration has been complete. India starves, is thrown a few bones -- mostly excess storage grains. She is loaned a little money, gets arms and military supplies from the U. S. for which she is supposed to reciprocate by allowing her land to be turned into a U. S. fortress to assist in military encirclement of China.

Which of two models are going to make the largest impact on the subdeveloped countries? Which form of organization are they going to want to emulate? Since her revolution, China has been relatively unmolested from outside: this is a result of the survival of the Soviet Union and the "nuclear umbrella" she has been able to offer the members of the socialist bloc of countries. Within this context one may say that this is due to the survival and rapid economic development of this bloc: it thus functions not only as a model for emulation by the underdeveloped countries but as a spur for their independence from imperialist military venture, and neo-colonialist manipulation. That Cuba survives bears witness to this fact. From this one may conclude that, so long as the developing nations are subject in any major way to outside economic control or infringement, the probability of the re-establishment of political counter-revolution and neo-colonial control is quite high -- witness the fates of both Algeria and Ghana, to choose but two examples from the many available.

One may assert that the internal allocation of capital from primitive accumulation methods is not only possible; it is also quite healthy in its psychological and cultural ramifications and in most cases adequate in fulfilling the needs and real aspirations of its people. Such a projection of course is of necessity static and therefore distorted. It is based on the assumption that the essential balance of forces between the two major blocs of nations -- socialist and capitalist -- will remain as they are now. This appears now to be a false assumption, since the rapid development of technological methods, in the socialist countries, particularly in China, are becoming more evident. So, one may

assume the situation of the balance of forces is fluid and subject to immediate changes.

All the above is an attempt to indicate that the methods rejected without much insight or consideration by Condit -- even postulated on the grounds of a static interplay between the capitalist and anti-colonialist forces, and on the assumption that the underdeveloped nations will have to begin their revolutions on the present very low level where they now are -- are possible, viable and self-sufficient. Even if, in the foreseeable future, little outside aid were available to the new countries from the Soviet Union and the more highly developed of the socialist countries, this would still be true, although the present high rate of economic growth in the latter nations makes the prospect of little available aid most unlikely.

There is, too, always the possibility that the working classes in one or even several of the more highly developed western capitalist countries may make their revolutions and begin their transformation to socialism; such an eventuality would mean, of course, the release of a good deal of surplus capital in the form of profits and internal corporate allocation; it would also make available the uses of great industrial complexes to the needs of the developing countries. The impact of such unexpected and presently unanticipated aid would have a tremendous speeding-up effect on those countries whose economic systems are geared to pull through on far lesser expectations. Despite all its problems, the Soviet Union has proven that by rational and centralized planning internal allocation is adequate for its needs. Indeed, the situations of the developing countries are in many respects similar to that of Russia in the early 1920's -- the willingness, like Cuba or Tanzania for example, to go it alone if necessary, but with an always-present outside-chance hope of revolution in the west. And of course, with the decline of imperialist strength and influence, the likelihood of any successful attempt at "Capitalist encirclement" and/or planned future invasion, as the history of Cuba over the past eight years has shown, is thereby weakened. This hostile effect of reducing possible action on the part of the imperialist powers in the main to that of harassment and internal subversion and sabotage.

I think the acceptance of the general line of argument set out above is important to the American peace movement because of the strategic and tactical possibilities it opens up for radicals within the movement. I think it is much more valuable for us to view the problems of the Third World as due not essentially to its own inherent weaknesses and underdevelopment, but rather as the major battlefield in the basic contradiction of our era -- the contradiction and confrontation between the forces of imperialism and the forces of anti-imperialism. The term "third world" is a misnomer here, because it implies an ideological separation from the socialist camp instead of a point on a curve leading by necessity toward it: certainly the third world is far from neutral in the anti-imperialist struggle. It is absolutely imperative that we gauge accurately the fundamental interest which the so-called under-

developed nations have in the defeat of the anti-imperialist forces. It is their only guarantee that they will be able to maintain political independence, that they will have the chance rationally to develop and industrialize their countries, their chance for a measure of political and economic self-sufficiency. Such self-sufficiency is not abstractly a "good thing"; it is the absolute precondition of democracy, of national integrity. And self-sufficiency in the modern world is impossible without an efficient and nationwide industrial base, without a rational exploitation of the natural resources of the country, without an end to the sweated labor and economic dislocation of what has here-to-fore been basically a foreign extractive and/or peasant-based agrarian society.

Yet the so-called "third world" is not a "third force" or a "third camp"; as I have tried to show above, these countries are in reality an integral part of the anti-imperialist movement. The introduction of a "third camp" ideology into the American peace and political movement in the late 1940's and early 50's had an extremely serious debilitating internal effect, dislocating many radicals from an objective understanding of the true dynamics of social change in the post-war world, and allowing their supposed "disillusionment" with the achievements of the Soviet Union to become an ideology in itself, an ideology of non-resistance, of capitulation to capitalism. Although this precept had an implied theoretical basis in the "independent nationalist" movements of the underdeveloped world and a general attitude of "neither capitalist nor communist" for a formal ideology, recent historical developments have proven what Marxists had already known: this theory is untenable. Just as these countries were not immune to the class struggle between their native owning and working classes, so there have been only two courses of action for their nationalist for their nationalist and independence movements: either they have carried out the revolution beyond the point of formal severance of ties to the mother country and instituted a socialist transformation and realignment of economic forces within the nation (which, as in the case of Cuba, has forced them to join the socialist bloc for military protection from outside imperial power), or else, like Algeria and Ghana for instance, they have succumbed to neo-colonialism, the reinstatement of capitalism and political counter-revolution. "Third camp" ideologies then, within the peace and radical movements in the U. S. and other imperialist countries, despite their claim to be working in the interest of some sort of self-determination for the underdeveloped nations, have had only a negative influence -- with the consequences of splitting the movement, rebaiting the anti-imperialist wing, isolating the left leadership, and thus assisting in the disenchantment and depoliticalization of its rank-and-file. As Sartre has written, speaking of Fanon's book "...the Third Forces" don't exist, or if they do they are only the tin-pot bourgeoisies that colonialism has already placed in the saddle."

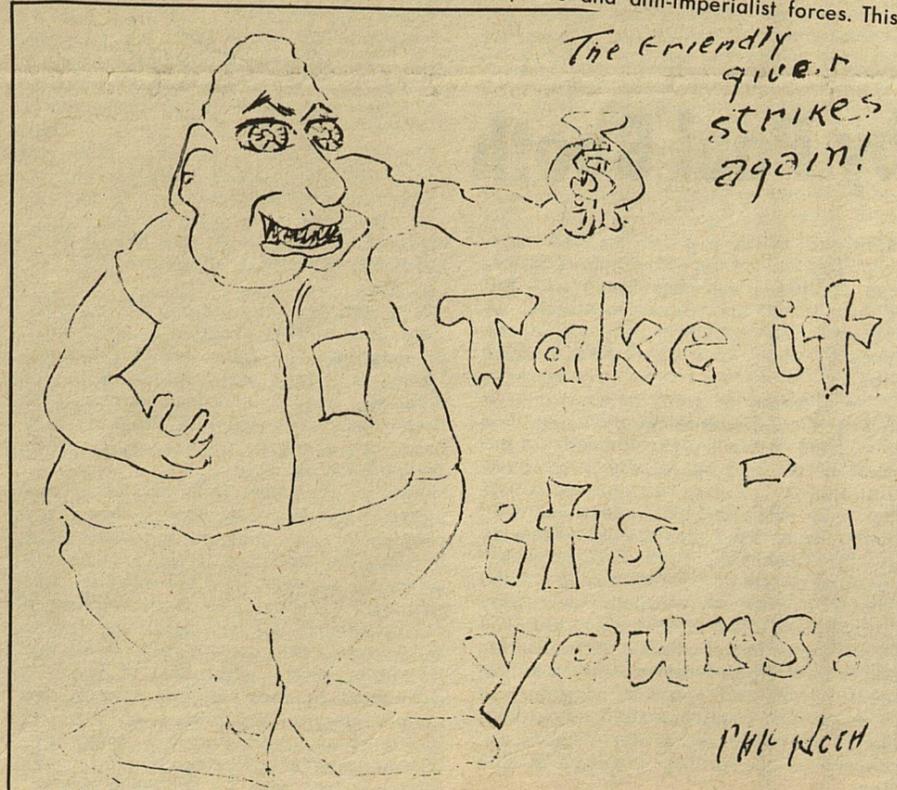
Thus one can see that strategically what is needed in the imperialist countries, and especially in the United States, is a fusion of the peace and anti-imperialist forces. This

has both theoretical and strategic implications. Theoretically, it demands a lot of hard work and an ideological overview, the latter because of such basic problems as a lack of relevant information among the American people, a press dedicated to the protection and preservation of capitalist interests, and those problems peculiar to anti-imperialist struggles: a diffuseness and disorientation due to fighting on many different fronts at the same time, the fact that the organized working class in the mother countries is a privileged class and as such benefits to some extent from imperial exploitation of satellite countries, etc. Some of these problems may be rectified, or at least minimized, by a more structured, centralized movement to coordinate activities, and a rather high-powered ideology to draw conclusions, to articulate positions and make demands. In this manner do theory and tactics intertwine, strengthening both and making both relevant to the demands of given situations. The formal structure of this projected movement is not an essential issue right now; for one assumes the conflict with imperialism will be a protracted one; but the ideology and theoretical aims of the movement are essential problems just now.

At this point, one must insist that the fact be recognized that the socialist camp constitutes the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement. Such a position for the peace movement to take will perhaps prove not too appealing an outlook for some of the present participants in the peace movement, especially those with a social democratic political position, but it is nevertheless a fact. The acceptance of this position will not of course enhance the popularity of the peace movement, at least immediately, but nothing of value will be achieved if one takes popular mythology as a necessary starting point. Theory on the left or else where is meaningless unless wedded to fact and to action; socialism is a fact in the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the socialist bloc; it does not exist in Great Britain, Western Europe or the Scandinavian countries; the struggle against imperialism and for socialism will them into consideration when formulating strategies and positions. Without the economic and military force to actively oppose imperialism, whether in the form of neo-colonialism or military intervention, political counter-revolution and the re-institution of capitalism in the newly-liberated countries will prove inevitable. Sentence deleted: Recent history testifies to this much. The socialist countries have the necessary power to countermand this. There is no other choice to be made.

I do not wish to get involved here in an argument on whether the Soviet Union or China possess the better method of opposing imperialism, or which of them is more appropriately entitled to leadership of the anti-imperialist forces. Tactics vary; each of the countries which make up the Third World have certain internal features, and problems peculiar to them alone which should not be forced into a simplistic theoretical mold; the situation of the struggles, both within these countries and also between the capitalist and socialist camps, are quite fluid and elastic. Such debates over tactics, as for example the question of the role of the national bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism, and so on, are neither new or a product of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Those debates over tactics have gone on, in practical terms, almost from the founding of the first worker's state in the Soviet Union: consider, for example, the opposing theses on the problem of national liberation presented by Lenin and M. N. Roy at the Second Comintern Convention. It is not reasonable to insist that a single line be imposed the entire anti-imperialist movement. Within the revolutionary commitment, it ought to be noted, there are many paths to socialism; without it, there are simply none available.

For the American left the revolutionary commitment, at this point in history, means the acceptance of the socialist bloc as a progressive force, the *sine qua non* of anti-imperialism. The acceptance of this position by the American peace and radical movement is the precondition of effective struggle against imperialism. And the effective and successful struggle against American Imperialism is a pre-condition for the radical social and economic transformation of American society, also.



# FACING THE AMERICAN LEVIATHAN

## IV. OUR MANAGED CULTURE

American Society and culture are thoroughly managed and administered; power over the lives of each American is exercised through the media of mass culture as well as through the political and economic institutions in which authority and power are concentrated. Men are made into competitors, idealizing material possessions and status, fighting to get ahead on the job and to keep up with the Joneses. The system of economic rewards, the suggestions of mass communications, the forms and content of education, and the authority of the state and the power of its welfare institutions make men dependent and teach a selfish individualism.

In school, on the job, in search of entertainment, as a consumer, ordinary Americans face the organization of social relations on a topdown pattern. Increasingly the patterns of successful business management are transposed on the rest of the culture. In business calculations, people are "personnel inputs", or "buying power." Their work and their tastes are manipulated to fit the corporate scheme. In the organization of its cities, the society houses people according to principles of maximum use of space, in between superhighways, and with no attention to the human scale as it might be expressed in attractive architecture, or in decentralizing the location of work, the control of government, and the media of cultural expression to the neighborhoods.

This is distinctly an anti-social arrangement; wasteful and harmful. Consumers are taught to value the horsepower and design of cars above their safety; reinforcing this is the planned obsolescence system, by which products are constantly altered. The law of the land requires manufacturers to stock spare auto parts for only five years; it is thus positively dangerous not to conform by buying a new car at least that frequently. One critic has described this as the "Borrow Spend Buy Waste-Want" system.

People manipulated in this way face a theme that is general in the culture--the absence of control. Ordinary people feel important in their social and personal lives; underlying apathy and resignation is an estimate of the meagre possibilities of effecting change. Those people who fail to adjust successfully to the prevailing pattern are taught by the culture that theirs is a personal problem; people who do adjust and hate it are called "neurotic".

The pessimistic judgment of the possibilities of change is partly based on the facts of power in the hands of a few; it is also a reflection of the overwhelming dominance of the organized and administered dimension of social relations over the private, autonomous realm. Universities and labor unions, to cite two examples of institutions that might operate as part of a private, independent sphere, are thoroughly integrated into the prevailing scheme of things. Finally, people will not revolt unless they have an understanding of how things might be different and better. And the system does not provide experiences on which that understanding might be built.

To distinguish America from authoritarian societies, in which the individual is equally powerless, our system is called "pluralistic." And the signal quality of pluralism is its tolerance.

We have a long tradition of religious tolerance, although one examination it seems to extend mostly to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Buddhists and Muslims should not expect to "make it" in America. Moreover, the culture is not very tolerant of agnostics and is hostile to atheists, perhaps because these groups reject the institutionalized churches which are so comfortably integrated into the American way. Institutionalized religion provides a Sunday morning morality, and chaplains to bless institutionalized killing, perhaps as the price of their toleration.

Workers' collective organizations are also tolerated, and their right to strike is pretty generally respected. Organized labor plays according to certain rules of the game; by calling strikes only at the expiration of a several-year contract, by having disciplined picket lines that respect property and management rights, by regularizing grievance procedures so that work isn't stopped, by respecting the President's calls based on "the national interest" to postpone or arbitrate strikes.

Strikes started by the rank-and-file are fought by labor and management alike. The limits of pluralism in this realm are demonstrated by the effects of inflation, victimizing the unorganized wage worker while the union member gets enough wage gains to keep abreast of the cost-of-living.

America also contains a whole melting-pot of nationalities, and it tolerates the ethnic associations through which national identity is expressed. Although assimilation has occurred, it was not forced by the culture; the ethnic institutions which have been encouraged were those which articulated and accepted the prevailing American values of getting ahead, like the Urban League. The culture is intolerant of those who would counterpose their own cultural patterns, like the Hutterites of South Dakota in the communistic society, or Black nationalists, or American Indians.

The overwhelming intergration of ordinary Americans through their associations and through the institutions with which they are involved has a suffocating effect on the possibility of change. But an opposite trend is gaining momentum, challenging the myths and symbols of the culture if not the authority of the institutions buttressed by those myths and symbols.

Traditional explanations of the American way of life are in disarray as more and more Americans from an increasing variety of backgrounds find their experiences are not made meaningful by the old truths. Not that the culture has lost its coherence; we can still feel the great pull of the key ideas of the frontier, mobility to suburban comfort, the Cold War, and often religious and sexual standards. But to everyone these ideas are increasingly tinny, and to many they are useless and rejected.

The evidence is ample. The "alienated youth culture" is well publicized; young people reject their parents' values and compromises, and desperately seek self-expression and freedom in a society that offers almost no opportunity for that kind in legitimate vocations. The appeal of the Horatio Alger path to success is thin; those who accept the idea of competition for a place in business or the professions and the best middle-class comforts do so cynically almost from the outset. The wisdom of the Fifties as

Even the Cold War is stale. Witness the widespread apathy with the war in Viet Nam. Witness the great difficulty our determined President had in whipping up enough war fever to expand even as far as he has. It is the lack of enthusiasm for the war (not the articulation of opposition in some quarters) that has made it possible for the Fulbrights to speak out. The Cold War culture is just not as resonant or deeply rooted as it once was, or, for purposes of comparison, as the racist culture still is in a state like Arkansas.

Much of the disaffection among rock-and-rolling "ordinary" American kids is very significant; these kids have been growing up absurd for years, and know it. And for others, even the old economic mobility is less enticing--although unemployment has fallen considerably in the mid-sixties, the jobs people have in the automating industries and in the warboom are not a great source of security.

The collapse of the secondary standards of sex and religion has been most dramatic. Although America was never a religious society, the current pronunciation of The Death of God by the Protestant clergy is indicative of deep dissatisfactions. Typically, this is the form of the Sixties' reaction to the widespread recognition in the fifties of the decadence of the churches which has been reduced to Sunday-morning moralism. The standards of sexual morality have been swept aside by the Playboy ascendancy, the emancipation of the men on the make. The "drug culture" also represents a disintegration of old personal standards; its spokesmen proclaim emancipation of the consciousness. The feature stories on California focus on the symptoms of the disintegration of standards, and hint at the role of Los Angeles, Frisco, and Berkeley in the society on the make. California contains America's contradictions in sharpest relief, both the extremes of the ratrace in LA's freeways and defense industries, and the extremes of its anti-thesis in the alienated youth culture.

Perhaps the depths of disillusionment are illustrated by the nagging impact of the Oswald case. For large numbers of American citizens to doubt the integrity of the official explanation of how power changed hands from Kennedy to Johnson, even in the face of all the symbols of authority mobilized in behalf of that

ances, and otherwise given exposure to millions of people. When we open LIFE and read ten pages of reflections by Thomas Merton on war, the fallacy of the frontier, the military-industrial complex, or when we find Paul Goodman explicating the roots of the turmoil in TIME's feature book on youth in turmoil, we are not encountering the good intentions of the men in control, or some dastardly plot to dull the voices of dissent by putting a television camera between them and their audience. Rather, this shows that the men who make important decisions in the culture are deeply confused, and radicals and other young people with long hair currently have a monopoly of excitement, dedication, and spontaneity. The old folks are jealous.

### Mass Media and Commercial Culture

The culture is every bit as much a web of decisions and communications as the polity or the economy. And the control of these decisions, the quality of the values communicated and inculcated, the nature of the process through which cultural products are brought into being; all these are key concerns for radicals.

The essence of commercial culture is its promotion of the values of competition. Schools, mass media, religion and tradition all promote the way of life of possessive individualism. From James Bond identifying the brand names for the Playboy-on-the-make, to the children's books portraying the image of suburban, anglo-saxon white, middle-class, professional families as the ideal American type, all Americans are subjected to powerful forced learning. The kids who don't decide on their own that they have to compete to get ahead face public schools in which powerful authority relations try to convince them that all life is graded on a curve.

The same lesson is broadcast over TV, whether you switch on the program or the commercial. Both portray characters that fit into the ideal type. The situation comedies are almost all set in suburbia, and Father is a businessman. The newer melodramas have professionals--doctors, scientists, lawyers--and the older westerns had frontier individualists, but the lesson of competitive individualism are there just the same. The cowboy and the soap opera hero are moral types,



by Paul Booth

expressed in the pop sociology of those years has had its impact; people are much less excited about keeping up with the Joneses, and are more interested in privacy and keeping away from the Joneses, whom they didn't like to start with.

The frontier is gone. In its place we have a television entertainment; smiling astronauts indistinguishable one from the next fly off into space. The excitement with this is wearing off with each new technical feat, although Lyndon joins millions in watching TV on the days of spaceflights. Generally, President Johnson's attempts to stir up the kind of enthusiasms briefly elicited by Kennedy have been duds, as the case of Beautification. The Peace Corps had something of the frontier spirit in it (it also captures some Movement spirit) but even it cannot meet its recruiting requirements. And our GI's hardly feel they are a new wave of explorers in the grubby trenches of Viet Nam.

explanation--the Chief Justice, TIME-LIFE-NEWSWEEK, etc.----suggests trouble.

The artists no longer provide explanation; in fact, they practice a cult of anti-explanation. The most creative talents, like Bob Dylan, deny the possibility of meaning, and by relating powerfully to their audience's sense of disarray they carve out a sphere of privacy. But they do not guide us.

We of the New Left are especially aware of the desperate search of ordinary people for new insights and sources of meaning for ordinary lives. This search is so widespread, and the agencies established for satisfying it so helpless to perform their task, that TIME and NEWSWEEK and radio and TV talk shows are forced to give a great deal of attention to outspoken foes of the system. No sooner does a muckraker of a social critic or an activist acquire some credentials than he is lionized by pulp magazines, invited onto TV for guest appear-

examples for the youth of a traditional American individualist morality. The family situations all have a happy ending conveying the promise of happy white suburbia to those who don't have it. Only the middle-class youth can reject this image as insipid because they recognize in it their own experience; the upwardly mobile integrationist expresses in his collective activity the desire to attain precisely that status.

In the fifties, as the pop sociologists of the period pointed out, the dominant pattern of ordinary Americans was keeping up with the Joneses in the effort to reach the world of good grooming. Today the emerging pattern of competition is a hipsterism. This is the competition that takes place within bureaucratic and hierarchical structures like most modern corporations, universities, mass media ad agencies, aerospace outfits, the CIA. The men and women on the make in these situations are dependent professionals,

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and their competition has a latter-day cynicism to it. The multiversity is increasingly the training school for producing this social type; the university rat-race is a prelude to these rat-races in the real world of plate-glass windows and expense accounts. The real Playboy Philosophy is a new laissez-faire; no holds should be barred in the fight for the room at the top. The Secret Agent Men are natural heroes because they employ every kind of device—sex, money, violence, persuasion, cunning and craft—to achieve their mission. This is a model for people who have to win a contract, get a promotion, sell a product.

It is no surprise that these should be the images and values propagated in the culture, because this is the content of the social experience inside the bureaucracies that produce TV, education, movies, paperbacks. Cultural institutions are increasingly organized along the model of the leading corporations. One feature of this is oligopoly control—the big three TV networks, mergers in book publishing, local monopolies in the daily press. Another is bureaucratic structures in “cultural production”; at TIME and NEWS-WEEK, for instance, and in the networks and the press services, the division of labor is thorough. In the set-up of the mass media, or of the university faculty, the old professional concern for news reporting or teaching is lost in the maze of reporters, rewrite men, editors, producers, executive producers, and advertisers, in the one case, and lecturers, teaching assistants, researchers, and examiners in the other case. On the top level are executives and administrators whose concern is the advancement of the institution, to which they are always willing to downgrade professional values.

The communications industry is a primary mechanism for social control in America. The “free” press unilaterally restrains its journalists from printing the truth about matters which might embarrass the Administration or its advertisers through which comedy is purveyed (primarily TV and movies) believe that satire is too controversial to handle. The university social sciences train intellectuals in the false homiletic wisdom of “the fact that the (S.M. Lipset) fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved? The questioning of the legitimacy of institutions is for the most part left to a cultural underground, only to burst out into public view when the unquestioned practices require some explanation.

Behind the manner of organization of communications lingers the profit motive, further warping the quality. There can be no drama with one-minute interruptions every twenty minutes. There can be no serious journalism in magazines in which most of the space on each page and the more attractive layout are in the ads. Profitability is of necessity a false value for determining the quality of a cultural product because it respects the taste of those with money (both rich buyers and advertisers) as the judging constituency.

Recent experience demonstrates how the quality of the products depends on the constituency that judges them. We have witnessed the rapid increase in the quality of rock-and-roll. The bands that make the records are in direct contact with dancing and jiving constituencies which demand a certain quality, a certain beat, and which respond to quality. Rock and roll has been infused by performers who have just come off the beaches, or out of ghetto night clubs, or British dance halls. There is a great deal of mobility among the rock-and-roll top ten, due to the inexpensiveness of making a master recording. There is not parallel contact with the constituency in producing a TV show. These are dreamed up in air-conditioned rooms in Los Angeles and Manhattan, and move from one set of air-conditioned people to the next until they appear on the screen, somewhat duller than last year's fare. TV has no summer stock, no audience in front of which it can try out. The results of the Lou Harris Survey, that 75% of the sets on metropolitan New York stay off during evening prime, should be no surprise except to the TV executives and critics who believe ordinary Americans are boobs.

The demands of ordinary people for cultural media with which they can achieve some identification is producing other trends parallel to the improved rock and roll sound. In cities where there is a monopoly daily press and where the Federal Communications Commission has let the local power structure control TV we see a rise in neighborhood newspapers, and of small radio stations. In response to a palpable demand, there are 24-hour news stations. And intellectuals have created a market for FM and educational TV. Over these industries tower the new monstrosities demanded by commercial “tastes”: witness Muzak, inc., which produces the kind of “entertainment” airports and bus terminals go for. A recent Business Week ad informs us that “Koppers Co., finds this secretary works 20% more efficiently with

Muzak.”

A NEW CLASS

A class of managers and technicians occupies a powerful station in the managed society. They approach the social problems with which they are charged as technical matters; they deny the bearing of politics on their work. If politics has any effect on their work, it is felt by the top managers and businessmen who otherwise set the direction and social assumptions of the managerial work, and businessmen who otherwise set the direction and social assumptions of the managerial work.

The managerial class includes scientists, advertising and public relations men, personnel managers, hospital administrators, deans and superintendents, traffic engineers, industrial psychologists, survey researchers, engineers, media men and merchandising experts, “middle management” in business, military experts (the civilian militarists of the RAND Corp., etc.), corporate numerous other professionals. As the society increases its tendency to meet social problems with techniques, new professions are spawned; perhaps poverty warriors is the newest to emerge in the new anti-poverty bureaucracies.

This group is rated by the Occupational Outlook Handbook of the Department of Labor as the fastest growing. A hint of its size is the figure of the 1960 census that 7.6 million Americans had 16 or more years of education, and be doubled by 1980. So congressional districts are basically suburban, and for apartment would give then 20 million.

The most important aspects of new-style entrepreneurship are in the hands of managers and technicians. New products come out of corporate laboratories; new projects come of bureaucracies. The most important skill is the ability to get “backing” in the organization, whether the organization is RCA of New York City. The new arts and sciences are the manipulative ones, such as “human relations.” As practiced by industrial psychologists or any other planning profession, this is the science of manipulating greater productivity out of the workers by introducing a more congenial atmosphere to compensate for increased production requirements, of rearranging conditions to “buy off” the desire of the objects of manipulation for control.

The new class is made up of the organization men first noticed in the popular criticism of the Fifties. All the exposes of status seeking and expense-account living had no significant impact on that way of life—one indication of its deep-rootedness. These have now become the American Way of Life, displacing the symbols of private initiative. The expense accounts, which themselves are a product of the business expense deduction in the income tax law, have produced a credit card industry, in order to do the bookkeeping for the managers' expense accounts.

The frequently remarked upon conformism of the managers is a result of the new conditions in which our competitive way of life is principally played out within the bureaucratic world. Because the men are on the make, their wives become part of the status game; their woman's personality is hitched to the hopes of the husband for success. A good wife is the most useful of the items in the status inventory which includes a big car, suburban home, an executive washroom, the country club, vacations abroad, trips to New York. The mobility is not confined to trips; typically the business manager is located first in a field office and “making it” means being transferred to the central office. The airlines are run for these men. “Making it” means achieving the level of top management” at which real power is wielded.

Class consciousness in the “new class” is expressed in the sentiments that the experts should have even more power than they have now. The proposal to transfer economic decision-making from the businessmen and financial interests to planners is more often motivated by an elitist concept of expertise than by a socialist concept of democratic control.

A “managerial revolution” has been hailed by some as bringing solution to the outstanding social problems of advanced industrial society. Daniel Bell speaks of “the end of ideology”; Daniel Moynihan advocates “the professionalization of social change”. These spokesmen assume that the technicians work in the public interest; but it is painfully obvious that the public interest in which they work is defined by the prevailing power relations in the society. The professional schools and colleges which produce managers make no attempt to inculcate a broader social purpose for the professions, or even to suggest that there are serious social problems with the notion that progress is the necessary outcome of technical endeavor. The lesson of the atomic bomb has had considerable impact on the scientists who made it, but none on the engineering schools which

persist in turning our skilled manpower as fast as the company recruiters demand it.

WORK

If managers are as ascendent middle class, other professionals might be called a “descendent” middle class. Teachers, welfare workers, government clerks and other public employees, and insurance workers are white-collar workers whose conditions of work are being “proletarianized.” Alienated labor remains as important a feature of American life as ever before, despite all the talk of automation heralding a new age of leisure. And the extremely specialized division of labor makes men more readily manageable.

We generally think of alienating conditions of work in connection with manufacturing industry, and although most Americans of all classes have focus is not misplaced. The factory floor is still the scene of workers doing a few operations over and over again, hundreds of times in the working day. Automation as often as not accentuates the awful boredom; the worker has to rivet his attention on the machine for the full eight hours, because a foulup is now a hundred times as costly as it used to be. The machine and the foremen exact tremendous regimentation of the human being, eliminating or confining drastically everything from conversation to bodily relief. If automation has brought any leisure, it is the enforced leisure of joblessness, especially for the men over 45 who typically can't get rehired once laid off; the work-week remains 40 hours, often includes considerable overtime, and actually has been increasing steadily if we count the time expended commuting to work.

There has been a decline manufacturing employment, more than offset by an increase in service work. Service work is no less harsh; the rise of service employment has spread sweatshop conditions in thousands of laundries establishments, hospitals, restaurants, hotels, and even universities. These are industries exempt from minimum wage coverage, unemployment insurance coverage, and other laws; charitable institutions are charitable to everybody but their employees, who are lucky to earn \$1.25 an hour.

Another section of service work is white collar work in the “lower” professions. Teachers, social workers and nurses are supervised and superintended in the same authoritarian manner as industrial workers, and their pay is of the same level. With heavy caseloads and large classes, the professionals have little opportunity to show creative talents. In this area, the trade union movement has become increasingly relevant. Over a hundred thousands have joined the American Federation of Teachers in recent years; public welfare workers have for the most part organized independent unions, successfully in Chicago, New York, and other large cities. The professional reticence against striking has vanished, even in public employment; recent strikes and pray-ins of municipal employees in Lansing and Dayton herald new militance among civil servants. In most cases, the organizing issue is pay; but in the New York unions an active concern with working conditions has led the teachers to initiate proposals for reforming the public schools and the welfare workers to fight for lower caseloads and to discuss guaranteed annual income.

The unions have failed in the other two areas. Almost no energy has gone into the organization of low-paid service workers. The organization of the hospital workers in New York has not been followed up significantly in other cities. The proper standard for measurement is provided by the rhetorical commitments of the merged labor movement, periodically announcing a new organizing drive, but remaining stagnant in membership since the AFL-CIO merger in the mid-fifties. The energies to organize the working poor apparently are not to be found within the AFL-CIO; the most notable advances in this field have been registered by the farm workers in California, organized independently by Mexican-Americans and only forced to join the AFL-CIO by a Teamsters Union challenge. Smaller independent successes have been made by hospital workers in Massachusetts and retail workers in Maryland; the key resource in building the unions has been community support, making up for the unwillingness of the labor movement to exercise its power on behalf of the working poor.

In automated industry the failure of the established unions is more complex, but failure nevertheless. The approach has been job-conscious and a political. Relying on their ability to retard the pace of automation and not seeking to gain the political power to create new jobs and regulate automation in the public interest, the unions are fighting a losing battle. The great Mine Workers union has been reduced to a shadow of its former strength and has abandoned hun-

dreds of thousands of coal miners in order to hold on to a few more stable contracts. The greatest impact of automation is not visible in layoffs. The new technology must run 24 hours a day, the labor force can only be reduced gradually in order not to let it drop below the threshold necessary to maintain it successfully. When a recession forces the plant to close down, layoffs occur and the re-hiring on the other end of the business cycle is also gradual, and reflects the true impact of automation. The current boom has been maintained by heavy capital investment, including a great deal of automated machinery whose impact has not yet been fully registered.

The commitment to the 35-hour work week of the union movement seems mostly rhetorical; its lobbyists are fighting for other bills first. Business is not going to make a gift of added leisure time to the workers; if automation is going to be a boon then its liberating potential will have to be won by the workers, fighting for better contracts and new legislation. This sense is spreading among industrial workers, who in the past half-dozen years have fought increasingly hard for work-condition demands at contract time. The extensive control of shop-floor conditions won by the CIO in the late Thirties was relinquished under the pressure of war production and never regained—the 1946-47 wave of strikes was directed at pay, not work rules. But the rank-and-file in the steel, auto, rubber and other industrial unions have accumulated thousands of grievances against their foremen, want some control over the speed of the assembly line, and demand opportunity for relaxation from the work. The union leadership has not wanted to fight on these issues, which management insists are its precious prerogatives, and instead wins pensions and money gains. Rank-and-file insurgency has also caused a change in the faces of the leadership in a number of unions, but the policies have remained more or less the same.

The fights for control of work conditions and for a reduced work week are direct assaults on the managed society because they impinge on “management prerogatives” to manage lives. And the call for workers control parallels demands from students and the poor for participatory democracy.

THE PRINCIPLE OF STATUS

Workers fight to carve out a sphere of freedom, and it is likely that they identify freedom with privacy. But the real private sphere in America—the sphere of the aspirations people have for their kids, the conceptions people have of the good life for themselves—is riddled with the quest for status. Almost no one wants an equalitarian society; people want, at best, that their kids should have equal opportunity to earn more money and get better medical care and join “a better class of people”. And in the program of equal opportunity, the major burden is placed on the public school system; the ideology does not see how giving people equal amounts of income or wealth would mean equal opportunity to express and enjoy themselves.

Universal education has been one of the principal collective gains for ordinary people, perhaps even more important than universal suffrage. Yet instead of turning it into the means for enhancing the common culture, and genuinely opening the minds of the young, liberating them to a whole range of cultural possibilities, it has been harnessed to the competitive machine. The public schools are made into training institutions, vocational training for the slow learners and college preparation for the fast learners. Exams and grades, and preparation for the ability to score highly on them, permeate the schools downward from the high school level. The pragmatic skills, the ability to do exercises and come up with the “right” answer, are cultivated, as opposed to the conceptual skills, the ability to understand processes and methods, which are neglected. And the parents accept the competitive framework of public education.

Their demands cause the school systems to segregate the students in favor of the highest aptitude students, as selected by the multiple choice tests. The school boards put the best teachers in the “honors” track and invests in lab equipment for the use of the top students. Studies of big-city school systems show marked class discrimination. To let this pattern have its most complete impact, parents choose neighborhoods, on the basis of the quality of the school even though this jumps the gun somewhat on the ideology of equal opportunity. The education-conscious managerial class clusters in suburbs around the best high schools—Newton, Bethesda, Scarsdale, Evanston—and the most bitter and anxious competi-

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# Leviathan

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tion is for college entrance. Half the high school students now go to college, with the proportion increasing.

Much of the increased college attendance is in community (junior) colleges. These are explicitly vocational in their purpose. Because of the considerable unemployment rates for young people, employers can force the school board to pay for vocational training that employers ordinarily pay for in a scarce job market. And the premium on work skills for non-professionals is so great that the young people favor practical classes to broadening education. Not only does occupational stratification get determined during the school years, but the whole system adjusts to low expectations. Slum schools become disciplinary institutions, lower-middle class schools become vocational institutes; and upper-middle class schools become preparatory schools. The logical extension of the pragmatic style is the transformation of high schools into speed-reading institutes, complete with the teaching machines that teach so much more accurately than mere humans.

School reform under the slogan of making schools engines of social change means inculcating somewhat higher expectations; even when the schools follow through with preparation for that higher level in society, the society usually isn't ready to open up wide enough to provide a place for the aspirants. This is the fallacy of the competitive aspirations; if some people are going in to be on top others will be on the bottom. The schools rationalize society's job of choosing.

A radical program for the schools must go much deeper than question of control; it must confront the purpose of schooling. A program of equality must describe the quality of the culture we wish to create, understanding that the public schools are the major agency for bringing that into being. The keystone of the conception is that the schools should enable people to understand and thereby control their world, both its natural and social processes. This is a liberating program both for teachers and students.

It is no accident that a radical program in the field of health also has to extend beyond the question of control and to confront the ignorance of people in regard to their own health. It is not only a matter of health being a commodity to be purchased, a bad principle in itself, and therefore lower-income people have distinctly worse care, contributing to the vicious cycle of poverty. As a basic step, we advocate free health service for all.

An equally important problem is that the conditions of health are shrouded in obscurantism; this is the basis of the authoritarian doctor-patient relationship. The patient, in both mental and physical diseases, is often the victim of a social relationship in which he has no rights to know what is being done to him, and why. The abuses of the right to good care are common in the setup of hospitals; the standards of care derive from an impersonal concept of care, and sick people are crowded in waiting rooms, hospital rooms, treated rudely, given only mechanical sympathy. A radical program must start from the patient, and insist on satisfying his curiosity about his own health and in humanizing medical practice by giving patients some power over it. But it must also include a social perspective, a perspective which is not shared by the doctors or their powerful instruments, searching out the causes of disease in the arrangements of the society. These include both the institution of slums, which produces disease in many ways, and in the protection and power of whole industries like smoking which are antithetical to public health. The pollution of the air and the water are not opposed by the AMA, and the medical schools do not even suggest that doctors have to care about those problems; the people, therefore, must be organized.

## Discriminations

The culture, lacking a unifying idea of community, rather segregates out those types of people who do not fit its ideal image. Old, black, and young folks, and women are all victims of individual discrimination. Although the idea of integration has become tied up with the competitive aspirations of equal opportunity, it also comes out of a vision of community in which individuals are respected and cherished for their contributions to the group life, and for the individual humanity.

It is such a failure of social imagination that results in the segregation of the aged. In contrast to the model provided by the senior citizens programs in some unions, in which the retired members are involved in retraining programs and other fulfilling activity, the society pensions its older members off to Arizona and local old age homes, and does its best to ignore them.

In a less impersonal past, the community's older members passed on its traditions and history to its adolescents.

A similar failure of imagination victimizes the youth. We have a very narrow understanding of education, seeing it as inculcating the ability to master a job or a profession; only token recognition is given to the responsibility of a real community to teach its traditions, culture, and other tools by which the young person may come to master his social and natural environment. The widespread youth unemployment represents much more than an economic problem of job scarcity; it reveals that the society cares so little about its young people that it doesn't structure any learning, working, or recreational experience that they can get their teeth into. It is a commonplace that the youth are "starved for attention", so the society hires professional attendants--teachers to keep discipline in high school classes, detached workers to keep an eye on the gangs, probation officers and drill sergeants. Not surprisingly, Job Corps camps see teaching discipline as an important function; the kids "drop-out" in heavy percentages.

American women are subjected to systematic subordination, and the subordination is enforced by a pattern of dependency. The subordination and discrimination are found in the pattern of employment, which reveals the reservation of the lowest white-collar jobs for women and substantial barriers in the path of women attempting to follow the career path which is the society's prescribed route to personal satisfaction. The cultural norm is the housewife, whose expression is through her husband, and later through her children; child-raising is far more productive socially than most of the jobs rewarded by high salaries and prestige. Diverting civic and artistic activity are not meant to be the basis for an independent personality; on the contrary, they are typically hobbies to take up the hours when the husband is at work. This dependency is enforced for women without husbands, who are tied to public welfare institutions for their survival. The traditional attitudes toward sex play a part in the dependency of the women; the initiation in personal relationships is the role of the man. Laws prohibiting abortion and restricted access to birth control also contribute to the victimization of the woman.

## Brutalization

But the segregation of Negroes is the deepest and most brutal in our society. Its proportions make it different in quality; it is a violent aspect of a society whose only barely submerged violence is an integral aspect of its culture. The violent side of American life is prompted from a second level of cultural vehicles, through comic books and comic strips, through Grade B movies and TV serials. Yet in

the glorification of war and regimentation is contained the seeds for the social violence of racism, as well as for the personal violence of the Charles Whitmans.

The slavery of the Negro and the conquest of the Indians are part of the American history of brutality. Enforced subjugation remains with us today. In the South, the instruments of the state are mobilized to the task of subjugation; sometimes they are stymied by the enforcement of federal laws, at which point they adjust. At other times a member in good standing of white rural society murders a civil rights worker, or burns the home or church of participants in voter registration campaigns. These facts are part of our lives; there is ample recent demonstration that the Mason-Dixon line is not a limit to racism. Even the Ku Klux Klan is there; and the Nazi Party is cheered by Polish-Americans whose fear of losing the slight security they have acquired overwhelms their memory of German Nazism.

Although racist violence sometimes seems exceptional, the legalized brutality of the war in Viet Nam ought to prove without question that violence is part of the American way of life. To the image of the plodding GI, just doing his job, must be countered the Brigadier General of our Big Red I Division in Viet Nam, who describes his mission as "The way I see it, I'm just like any other company boss, gingering up the boys all the time, except I don't make money. I just kill people..." "Zapping" "Charlie Cong" is not far removed from General Patton's speech to the troops before D-Day, which has its own insights: "Men! This stuff we hear about Americans wanting to stay out of this war --not wanting to fight--is a lot of bull..... Americans love to fight, traditionally. All real Americans love the sting and clash of battle. America loves a winner. America will not tolerate a loser. Americans despise a coward. Americans play to win. That's why America has never lost and never will lose a war, for the very thought of losing is hateful to an American.

"Every damn man has a job to do. Each man must think not only of himself but of his buddy fighting beside him. We don't want yellow cowards in the army. They should be killed off like flies. If not, they will go back home and breed more cowards.

"We want to get the hell over there and clean the goddamn thing up. And then we'll have to take a little jaunt against the purple-puking Japs and clean them out before the Marines get all the credit."

The ability to "zapp, zapp, zapp" is predicated on the objectifying of the enemy, the stranger. Organized killing has been sophisticated in our time into administered killing. Mass murder is enacted from bombers; the pilots keep their eyes on the instrument panel as the napalm explodes far below. This distance is increased with missile technology and push-button war. The RAND corporation scientists who stimulate nuclear wars in games in the snack bar in order to better pro-

gram the nuclear-war computers are the most extreme example.

In administered killing, the participants are administered as well as the technology which is "administered" onto populations. They are trapped by Catch-22, "which specified that a concern for one's own safety in the face of dangers that were real and immediate was the process of a rational mind. Orr was crazy and could be grounded. All he had to do was ask; and as soon as he did, he would no longer be crazy and would have to fly more missions. Orr would be crazy to fly more missions and sane if he didn't, but if he was sane he had to fly them. If he flew them, he was crazy and didn't have to; but if he didn't want to, he was sane and had to."

Growing up in a violent society creates the need for self-protection; in the dangerous slums, young people create gangs. These institutions mimic the system; they arm, draw boundaries, and "zapp" anyone who crosses the boundaries.

The violence of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or Dallas and Austin, is not on the way to being replaced by a more sophisticated and urbane American way of life; it is the other face of that America. Napalm is manufactured by white-gloved chemists in shiny research and production facilities. The highly educated, responsible men who are elected to the Presidency or selected to the Cabinet are the best men from that urbane culture; and they make the decisions for the Hiroshimas. Byron de la Beckwith and Charles Whitman have learned too much from the culture; not too little.

## Democratic Culture

The idea of participatory democracy is fundamentally a proposal for rearranging the cultural relationships of the society. It is suggestive of human expression through artistic forms, through their work, in neighborliness, in organized communications, as well as through politics.

The notion of control and the idea of community are central to the radical program for America; however, people will not naturally organize to gain control and create community unless radicals describe the possibilities. At the very least, a democratic culture would:

(1) Use education as the vehicle for making men powerful, both by giving them the understanding of the ways nature and society really work, and by providing the occasion to learn the techniques of insight and mastery:

(2) Enhance the common culture by putting cultural media in the hands of the people... community radio stations, newspapers, theatres, centers:

(3) Break down the administrative top-down apparatus; work would be relocated in the neighborhoods, political control would be decentralized, and it would be asserted over private decision-making:

(4) Include all men and women for their inherent value.



# FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS

Steve Baum & Bernard Faber

## Introduction -- Appearance & Reality

In a few brief years, SDS has grown from an infinitesimal and unknown group largely cloistered in the academic community to a mass student action group beginning to relate to numerous forces in the larger society. Consisting largely of students of white-middle-class origins, SDS gave expression to the growing alienation of young people from their roots and their disillusionment with the failure of the "American Dream", which their high school and grammar school teachers had talked about, to be created as a reality. "When we were kids," the Port Huron statement said, "The United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; . . . an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people--these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency. As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss . . ."

Since the 30's, the predominant ideology of America has been liberalism--it pervades the mass media, the schools, the churches, the assumptions of scholars and, indeed, of the great masses of people in the conversations of their daily life. But the ideology, the appearance, the semblance of liberalism, was a facade maintaining an edifice of illusion over the reality of a society that still operated "of, for, and by" a small group of powerful men who controlled the quality of daily lives of millions of people, not only in America but all around the world.

Underneath the appearance of a "pluralistic" society in which government acts as an impartial "mediator" of disputes to the benefit of the whole society, was the reality of a government dominated by a military industrial complex and serving its interests -- interests which demanded the suppression of all social revolution abroad--for revolution not only endangers the immediate interests of United Fruit or Standard Oil, but also serves by force of example to give inspiration and hope to oppressed people all over the world to liberate themselves and claim for themselves the full fruits of their labor and control over the plentiful natural resources in their country which the Good Earth has provided. Similarly, the interests of this power group--call them power elite, power structure, Establishment, or ruling class--demanded the prevention of the growth of mass movements for social change in this "wealthiest and strongest country in the world," where forty million lived in poverty (even by the admission of the ideologues of the ruling group); twenty million black people (who with their 300 years of unpaid labor enabled America to reach its present pinnacle of power) suffered the deprivation of not only basic economic needs, but also the merest "civil" liberties, protection, and human dignity for the individual supposedly already guaranteed by the system; and almost all Americans lacked control over the conditions, directions and quality of their daily life--at work, in the universities, in the communities, in all conceivable social situations.

Because of a growing realization of the importance of our role in the present American scene and in the Left, many people in SDS in recent months have expressed interest in "Becoming more political". This is healthy; but, if we are serious about this, if we INDEED, ARE INTERESTED in changing American society, then we must start developing an adequate view of how American society really functions.

## American Society - An International System

Although since the first days of the Republic, when the Constitution was ratified by conventions of aristocratic landowners, down to today there has always been a tremendous concentration of wealth and the power that goes with it in America, today's monopoly concentration was in large part developed during the Second World War when the government gave cost-plus jobs to industries to encourage increases in production to provide for the needs of the military - industrial complex. Increasing numbers of industries developed a vested interest in the continuation of massive military spending, since they became dependent upon it for a large portion of their profits; and large corporations with interests of this sort invariably strive to control the political situation and to attempt to insure that

there is always an enemy to fight.

In order to answer why and in what ways these conditions have developed, it is necessary to deal with the nature of the economic and political system which we are striving to change. The Federal government basically acts in the interests of the same small group of men who control America's largest corporations, banks, foreign investments and the military. Although formally there are, we are told, "two parties" in competition for political office with alternative programs, internal competing factions, and differing "philosophies" of government, in reality the two parties differ, both between each other and within themselves, merely in matters of formulation, emphasis, and tactical questions--they do not differ in goals -- their one basic goal being the continued existence, expansion, and success of the current political and economic system. Beyond the questions of whether an inadequate and irrelevant "war on poverty" (which carefully avoids pinpointing and attacking the real roots of the problem -- for its aim is, in fact, to defend those roots from the possibility of attack) is necessary to prevent the radicalization of sectors of the poor, or whether open fire hydrants or a new hospital are needed to help lessen the possibility of new riots occurring on the West Side of Chicago or in Watts, both parties continue to manifest their concern with the maintenance, in its essentials, of the present status quo, the present complex of social relations; they are merely willing to perform patchwork repair or emergency surgery when they perceive stresses and conflict beginning to tear the social fabric. Examples of the operation of these procedures are readily available. Recently, the Machinist's Union struck against all the major airlines in the country. This effects, as did the New York Transit Strike, large numbers of industries, and indeed the whole economy--for all kinds of goods could not be transported, and in this case, military supplies and equipment for the war were probably effected too. Union leadership negotiated a contract with management which the rank and file rejected by three-to-one. United States Senator Wayne Morse, supposedly the most progressive Senator in the Democratic Party, which many seem to feel is to be the vehicle for social change in America, sponsored a most unusual measure which forced the Machinists to return to work after they had voted to reject the contract. Here the Federal Government acted as nothing other than a strikebreaker. Three Days later, the same corporate interests, the same government, the same party, the same people discovered that the steel industries wanted to raise the price of steel from \$2 a ton--an increase of 30%. After warning the steel industry that such price increases might be inflationary--that is, that they might tend to reduce the purchasing power of the dollars earned by the Machinists who are now unable to strike to get an escalator clause (which would guard them against inflation by making automatic an increase in wages as the cost-of-living-index rises), the government allowed the manufacturers to grab what they wanted, while continuing to insist "wage guidelines" which are also "necessary" to "prevent inflation" must be set at increases limited to 3.2%. The Steel Industry gets 30% increases in its prices. The workers (some of them, that is) get 3.2% increases while their dollar loses purchasing power. One wonders where the other % goes to? One does not have to be a top rate economist to understand that the steel industry is getting that 26.8% and it seems that some of the Machinists who voted to reject the contract understood it too.

The "two parties" are, in fact, nothing more than two sides to the same coin. In today's America there is, in fact, only one party--the party or corporations, banks and the military. Through gerrymandering, vote frauds, legislative privilege to rule on the qualifications of its members, and control by monopoly corporations of the mass media which shape distort people's understanding of social reality, the "two parties" attempt to prevent the creation of meaningful alternatives through minority parties. Julian Bond was twice elected to the Georgia legislature by the people of his district who wanted--and needed--a radical alternative. But the legislature refused him his seat. Today's mass media helps to allow people to choose between alternatives--so long as the people themselves are not allowed to decide what those alternatives are. In Herbert Marcuse's phrase, we have developed a "one-dimensional society" in which those in power attempt to create a

situation where people begin to feel that there has been an end to "politics", "an end to ideology," and in the words of Mario Savio that bureaucratic rationality (or rationalization) will attempt to act as though there has been an "end to history". In the mass media, everything is handled a-historically, nothing is thought of as in the process of becoming, of developing, of having roots in the past and prospects of blossoming and being transformed in the future, as most things in the real world are.

An interesting individual example of both the role that the mass media play in shaping what Lippmann called "the pictures in our head" which seldom truly reflect the "world outside", and the way in which interlocking directorates and critical monopoly corporations allow small groups of men to have absolute control over a large variety of social activities is the number and types of things owned by Marshall Field. Field Enterprises owns the Childcraft books, which contains fancy tales, nursery rhymes, and nature stories for children, along with a number of volumes of psychological guidance for parents as to how to raise their children. Also World Book Encyclopedia. Also the Chicago Sun-Times, the Chicago Daily News, and at least one other daily paper that we are aware of. Just recently, Field Enterprises began broadcasting on TV on Channel 32 in Chicago. It owns a number of radio stations. And, of course, it owns the Marshall Field Stores. A child, growing up in Chicago, could read the Sun-Times and Daily News for information about public events and politics, get his music, culture and entertainment on Channel 32 and one of the Field radio stations, and all the time his parents are being informed on the best method of raising him by you-know-who. His clothes, his radio and his television could have been bought at one of the Marshall Field Stores. Regardless of the fairly tales the child was told, he has little reason to believe in Santa Claus, the Easter Bunny, or the Good Fairy. But he has a hell of a lot of reasons to believe in monopoly capitalism.

In order to fully understand the operations of this system, it is necessary to talk about the divisions presently existing among American people. The black working class.

For three hundred years, black people in this country worked as unpaid slaves. Later, during the beginnings of union organizing in America, they were used as strikebreakers and played off against the white working class. This, in fact, is one of the roots for present working class racism. Black people tend to see their struggle in terms of working against "Whitey" rather than against "boss," because for those living in the ghetto, the bosses, landlords, storekeepers, bankers, cops, all the immediate exploiters are "Whitey" because American society, in order to attempt to justify its theft of 300 years of the labor of black people had to develop a theory excluding Negroes as a man, first on a religious basis, talking of Negroes as the "sons of Ham" who were, in the words of the Bible, to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and later, after Darwin's theory of the origin and evolution of man from lower animals had been popularized, by using biological data, I.Q. test scores and physical characteristics to compare the Negro to the Ape, arguing that he was an "a lower stage of evolution," in order to make their argument superficially "scientific." -- and this, in turn effectively excluded black people from full participation in the system. Having therefore, no stake in the system, having, in fact, almost nothing, not even their labor power, that they can fully call their own, black people constitute a politically advanced sector of the working class, now beginning to identify with black people in the underdeveloped world and an international consciousness of solidarity with other oppressed people, and are likely to be in the forefront of any struggle to fundamentally change the system. Some black people are already advancing demands which cannot be met within the existing system--for the demand for full human dignity and the redistribution of the economic wealth and political power of the country, linked with a sympathy for the growing tide of revolution in the colonial and neo-colonial world, directly challenges the very basis of the existing social order.

The White working class, as mentioned earlier has definite racist feelings. This is in reality a false division created between white and black workers by the system. White workers really have no common interests with white corporate interests and employers. But the white

working class had by-and-large been isolated from the growing struggles in the civil rights, anti-war, and community organization movement--which are acting ultimately with their interests. One example of this was the recent trip that the President of the International Longshoremen's Union made to Saigon at the expense of the union in order to help facilitate the speedy transport of arms and ammunition to suppress the Vietnamese people. But in the long run, labor and the working class will be the major force acting to bring about fundamental social change--for labor is the backbone of the system of production for profit and has the potential to strike at and ultimately halt the machinery of production. Presently, American corporate interests through the "Welfare State" attempts to co-opt the working class by granting them a portion of the super-profits gained from the exploitation of the raw materials and cheap labor of the underdeveloped colonial and neo-colonial world. But as an advancing tide of revolution sweeps oppressed lands in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, it is unlikely that such co-optation can long continue to be maintained and expanded -- as it must if the working class is to be kept in its present state, because much of America's wealth comes from exploiting these countries.

One of the factors limiting the areas of struggle between workers and management is the number of union officials who see their role as basically one of mediating conflict and antagonism between workers short and long-term interests (wages, conditions and security in the former, and control of industry in the latter) and the needs of the elites which control the wealth and power of the country. The conception of the role of a union held by our society is basically one of a political economic interest group which does not attempt to deal with larger social issues. There are even laws which prohibit unions from making direct contributions to political candidates and parties. But labor, realizing that it is, in fact, in politics whether it wishes to be or not, has attempted to work around these laws by establishing the Committee on Political Education (COPE). Industry is interested in retaining these laws and limiting the involvement of labor in politics to a minimum, realizing that when labor engages in politics, it creates the necessity for the system to deal to a certain extent with worker's needs and grant enough concessions to keep labor within the "two-party" framework. But the state of the working class is not a static, but a developing one. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, in the first quarter of 1966 strikes idled over four hundred thousand workers--the highest number of any corresponding period since 1953. Through deceptive means of determining statistics on what workers are getting, Management attempts to create the false impression among the public that labor is pressing for ridiculous demands. Industry's flexibility in dealing with labor, its concentration of wealth and resources, and its ability to attract top flight university graduates to its negotiating teams have created an understanding in the ranks of labor of the need to counter corporate power with increased militancy. For example, the Teamsters have begun to talk about the possibility of unions getting together and creating a situation in which all contracts would expire at the same time--which would present the possibility of a national strike.

This prospect is one in which the interests of labor would be nationally and conscientiously united, rather than divided and in competition, and in direct antagonism to monopoly. Industry has always been united in its tactics for dealing with labor, but now there is the possibility of labor understanding the need for it to counter the increasing and flexible power of corporations. These are good developments, and it is necessary that labor become militant in its immediate struggles for economic gain. But the whole question of social consciousness must be raised and labor must begin to relate to struggles in the area of the civil rights, anti-war, student, and community organization movements and the needs of exploited and dehumanized peoples of the underdeveloped world.

Between the small elite which owns American industry and the great mass of American people who belong to the working class, a new development in the last few years has been the rise of the middle class. Consisting of lawyers, doctors, teachers, social workers, and other professions together with small businessmen,

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these are the people who accept and articulate the values of America created by the upper class. Their values and goals pervade the mass media, the elementary educational system—even in the ghetto, and the daily lexicon of social intercourse. Unlike the workers, they tend to see their role in society largely as that of "consumers"—a role which has overtones of parasitism, and implies that they are not really producing anything of great value. The middle class is the very essence of the idea of consumption. First they buy a car, then a second, and then discover that they need a garage. First purchasing a machine washer, they disdain the lack of status that goes with the practice of hanging out clothes to dry and buy an electric dryer. Later comes the dishwasher and the garbage disposal in the sink. By the time the kids all own their very own electric toothbrush, the family is probably talking about their urgent need for a summer cottage by the lake which will, of course, require an entire additional set of all the conveniences they already have. Thus, they are the class which, through its conspicuous consumption not only articulates the values of the upper classes, but sets the pattern and pace for the rest of society, and in fact they are the ones who keep monopoly capitalism booming.

And the class system described above is influenced by, and has implications for the international scene. The question of foreign policy is basically an outgrowth of the need of the system to sustain itself. There must be a basic understanding of the needs of the corporate elite to continue to act in interests that will EXPAND their corporate system, their markets, and their profits. To understand the nature of capitalism as an international system at this point it is important historically to analyze the relationship of America to the underdeveloped world.

In a recent article in *Studies on the Left*, Ronald Aronson noted that, contrary to some people's assumptions, while armaments spending, waste consumption and non-competitive pricing are used to buoy up the economy, foreign investment still plays a vital role. 45 corporations control half of all U.S. overseas investments. Only 5% of capital investments are overseas—and are centered in Europe and Latin America—but these investments account for 11% of corporate profits. In the underdeveloped world, 2% of American capital investment is placed—but the return from these investments account for 8% of the total domestic after tax corporate profits. This furnishes American corporations with one in every six dollars paid out in dividends. These investments in the underdeveloped world are particularly important because they involve raw materials which are often obtainable from no other source.

Western capitalism, through its extraction of raw materials and economic surplus in the underdeveloped world, helps to prevent the accumulation of capital which is one of the pre-conditions for the growth of capitalism and industrialization. At the same time, it destroys the self-sufficiency of the rural based countries which it economically controls—introducing commodity circulation, destroying old means of livelihood and introducing few new ones.

One of the best examples of this process, as Baran points out in "The Political Economy of Growth," was the British exploitation of India. India was a relatively advanced country, he says, which produced and exported fine fabrics and other articles long before Britain emerged as an international power. Between 500,000,000 and 1,000,000,000 pounds were directly extracted from India by British colonial rule and some estimated that earlier in this century, Britain "appropriated annually under one title or another over 10 per cent of India's gross national income." Baran also mentions that this estimate deals only with direct transfers of funds and ignores wealth gained by Britain through her advantageous trading terms with the Indians. "Thus," he concludes, "the British administration of India systematically destroyed all the fibres and foundations of Indian society. Its land and taxation policy ruined India's village economy and substituted for it the parasitic landowner and moneylender. Its commercial policy destroyed the Indian artisan and created the infamous slums of the Indian cities filled with millions of starving and diseased paupers. Its economic policy broke down whatever beginnings there were of an indigenous industrial development and promoted the proliferation of speculators, petty businessmen, agents, and sharks of all descriptions eking out a sterile and precarious livelihood in the meshes of a decaying society." Turning from the recent past to immediate conditions, it is necessary to

understand the internal workings of the underdeveloped countries that allow for their continued exploitation by the advanced capitalist nations. "One measures a circle, beginning anywhere," Charles Fort once wrote. We shall begin with the beginnings of the circle—one individual peasant in Latin America. Living in an economically backward country in which the mass of the populace depends for its livelihood upon agriculture, it is likely that our peasant—call him Carlos—does not own his land, but rents it from a large landlord. The land Carlos farms must provide not only food for his family, but enough surplus to pay interest on his debts (debts contracted in lean years to survive), his taxes and his rent. This surplus goes to large landlords, money lenders, merchants and the state. Very seldom is it used to any large extent to make improvements in the land or to increase the industrial productive capacity of his country—almost always it is used by the landowning class for excess consumption—for their mansions, servants, cars, and trips abroad. In areas of his country where there are large estates, the expense of necessarily imported agricultural machinery and the existence of a cheap labor supply establish conditions which make it unprofitable for landlords to reinvest surplus in the land. Carlos' landlord rented him his land for just this reason—but it is also impossible for Carlos individually to purchase agricultural machinery, most of which could not be used efficiently on small plots of land anyway. So very little of any potential surplus is ever really invested in improving the productive output of the land. The idea of agrarian reform, Baran points out, does not necessarily solve anything, since a rising population causes a need for more subdividing of land and eliminates the gains in income caused by the abolition of rent. Secondly, small farm units do not allow for a concerted effort to increase production, for the reasons outlined above. Also, the division of large estates eliminates or lessens the amount of agricultural surplus available to support urban areas, to sustain trade relations and to reinvest.

The coalition which controls the governments of the underdeveloped world—a coalition consisting of large landowners, merchants, and the military—is by the very nature of its needs necessarily opposed to the interests of the peasantry. Having therefore, an interest in the continued oppression of the peasantry, which necessarily precludes the development of the prerequisite surplus and capital accumulation needed for industrialization, the national coalition has strong economic interests coinciding with those of the Western imperialist countries (vis, the United States) which also has an interest in preventing industrialization in the underdeveloped world in order that the raw materials extracted from these countries can continue to be exploited to create superprofits to maintain her own industries at home and her reinvestment needs abroad. Because of this unity of interest, America has, in the words of Ronald Aronson, sought "conditions favorable for American investment rather than direct colonial rule." The result of this unity of interests and the basis for coalescing in suppressing indigenous social movements is that the only method left to achieve fundamental social change in the underdeveloped world now is socialist revolution—a revolution which would enable the peasants to fulfill their full potentialities for creative endeavor, rationally order and plan society, and found new social relations upon an equalitarian basis.

America's fear of socialist revolution in the underdeveloped world, Aronson points out, is not necessarily in direct proportion to the immediate economic stake involved in an individual country—but a fear that, through force of example, a country liberating itself may spark revolution in other lands. An example of this could be the guerilla movements that are in process in Guatemala, Venezuela, Columbia, Peru. Military intervention in the underdeveloped world is necessary both to suppress social revolutions and to sustain the military machine and arms industry that has grown up in America since World War II and which forms an increasingly important sector of our domestic economy.

This machine arose primarily because of the need to resolve the conflicts created by the depression through massive arms spending. But these conflicts were not resolved but merely alleviated—and hence the need for continued military expenditures and an enemy or "menace" to fight. Although America attempts to justify its interventions—such as in Santo Domingo—by the rhetoric of "fighting Communism" and "defending freedom", at the bottom economic interests are at stake, both in terms of immediate economic

stakes (United Fruit Company), Guatemala, force of example, and need to justify a large and growing military colossus. In the last five years, direct American foreign investment has increased by 45% (at the same time expanding corporate profits from 49.7 to 74.7 billion dollars.) Military spending, however, has expanded during the same period by only 11.1%—but the war in Vietnam will certainly tend to rectify this situation. Because of the needs of the military machine and those who serve it to sustain massive arms spending, no "rational" voice is likely to ultimately arise—Kennedy, Morse, and Fulbright being just as tied to the preservation of American capitalism which depends for its maintenance upon the use of military spending to bolster the economy.

It is clear to see, then, that the theory and current application of imperialism is not a collection of stale clichés, but rather a dynamic interrelationship between different sectors of the domestic and foreign political economies. FORCES FOR CHANGE

Having dealt with a general outline of the characteristics and operation of American monopoly capitalism both internally, and in relationship to other systems, it is now necessary to take a brief look at some of the forces within American society that can compose the levers for social change. The forces which will be dealt with are: community organization, civil rights, university, labor, and the anti-war movement.

The question of community organizing has been an important one in New Left Debate. NCUP in Newark, JOIN in Chicago, and a number of other projects have attempted to organize the urban poor around questions of housing, welfare, jobs, and services. One of the recent successes in this sort of project was the negotiation of the recognition of a tenants union by JOIN—the first contract of this type signed in the country—in many years. A little more than a month after the signing of this contract, the landlord failed to live up to his part of the bargain, and the tenants union has taken over control of the building—with rent money going into repairs and maintenance of the building. So far there has been no interference from the police. NCUP has gone from the stage of dealing with the "war on poverty" to entering the political arena under the United Freedom Ticket, forming new coalitions of various militant organizations rather than operating under the auspices of the stagnant "Democratic" party. In Chicago, a number of grass-roots community organizations have formed a city wide Tenants Union—this development in other cities would have the potential for organizing grass-roots opposition to big city political machines and destroying sectors of the present Democratic Party coalition. These grass roots organizing efforts attack local machines on the question of who should control various federal or city programs, who should control conditions in their own communities, and whose needs should be represented in making these decisions. In "The Movement and Its Critics", (*Studies*, VI, 1) Ronald Aronson attacks the conception of community organizing because it challenges only local machines, immediate exploiters, did not present a threat to the larger corporate interests. This doesn't present the people in the project with a sense of the society's basic economic structure. But these community organizations do present the immediate possibility of attacking local machines, developing right now an opposition to local governments, and establishing permanent power bases in the community—power bases in the community which can in the future become allies for organizations which WILL attack the larger economic and political structure of society. Although Aronson's point is well made, and community organizations constantly have to fight to keep from falling into the mistake of reformism—attacking only the secondary levels of power. In the future, they will have to deal with primary levels, but at present the important thing is to involve people in a struggle to participate in decision making on the local level, even if they're not prepared to deal with the larger question. This process leads to a consciousness that their interests do not coincide with those of the big city machines. It is important for SDS to continue to stress the need for community organization and present the perspective of later integrating these local organizations into a national community movement.

Another highly significant force acting for social change is the civil rights movement. Up until 1954, the tactics employed were basically of a legal character such as going through the courts. The Supreme Court decision of 1954, although achieving few really concrete immediate changes, did create a mood of optimism about the possibilities for social changes in the immediate future. This new spirit of optimism and hope ushered in the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott which initiated the direct action phase of the civil rights

movement. In 1960, a series of sit-ins started the radical direct action phase of the movement, determined to TAKE rights rather than asking for them. Through a continuation of these tactics, an escalation of them in 1963, and a massive March on Washington, a coalition of white liberals, sectors of the labor movement, civil rights leadership and even Everett Dirksen achieved the civil rights law. The 1965 Selma March brought 50,000 into the South and achieved the voting rights bill through essentially the same political coalition. But the passage of these two bills coupled with the federal "war on poverty" has not really improved the daily lives of black people in this country. Disillusioned with the traditional coalition methods of the civil rights movement, black people have found these methods increasingly less real and relevant to their situation—and these feelings are manifested in a hundred communities—Omaha, Jacksonville, Cleveland, Chicago, Watts, Detroit, and Harlem. Black people have become disillusioned both because of the lack of meaningful gains from these laws and the top-down way in which this political coalition operates pointing out again the need for participation in decision-making at the local level. In a recent *Life* article, Bayard Rustin the logician of the political perspective of "protest to politics" (coalition between labor-liberal whites—civil rights movement to enact civil rights legislation through the Democratic Party) in speaking of ghetto "extremists" says: "These fellows have a bigger audience than we like to admit. They are saying 'let's get Whitey. Let's put his head in the bowl and pull the chain.' This says something to the poor guy on the corner who can only make a living by selling pot. There are too many poor guys like this we're not doing enough for him. While we're talking about a poverty program, the extremists are telling him how he can be black and still feel like a MAN."

An increasing sector of the black community is now raising the political demand of "Black Power!" Bayard Rustin's formulation of a transition from "protest to politics" into the Great Society has been transformed by a section of black people into from "protest to politics"—but BLACK politics for BLACK people into a TRANSFORMED society. Black people due to their special class situation of overexploitation and political suppression constitute the most conscious sector of the working class about the need for basic changes in American society. The perspective of integration by coalition politics, therefore, is essentially a method to confine within the existing social order the increasing black consciousness which impels black people in this country to demand control of their own communities, through the expression of black political parties, and their sympathy with growing revolutionary forces in the underdeveloped, overexploited world. This would mean that black people, as the most advanced sector of the working class would have to abridge their political and economic demands because white workers are not at the same stage of development. SDS should recognize and relate to these currents in the black community in such a way as not to hinder the development of the political and economic question of black power—but should encourage its development because it is the most advanced of the movements which have the possibility of transforming society. In essence what we are saying is the American Revolution has begun.

SDS should also begin organizing radical white constituencies—whether in the community, factories, or in the middle class professionals, which can later coalesce with black community organizations and political parties (i.e. JOIN coalescing with the community-based West Side Organization). For the black working class alone, because it is less than 10% of the American population, obviously cannot transform American society alone, without at some point coalescing with a larger section of the working class, or the at some point coalescing with a larger section of the working class, or the organized white poor.

Unlike the community movement and the civil rights movement, the "university reform" movement deals not with an attack on a complex of social institutions, but with the links between one institution (their university) and other forces in American society—large corporations, government and the military. In many cases, "university reform" movements have manifested themselves in the organization of "counter-courses," attempts to make technical changes in requirements, teacher evaluation guides, or in a few instances, the institution of a complete Free University. Perhaps the most dramatic example of a direct student attack on the interrelationship existing between their universities and other social institutions were the wave of sit-ins occurring this spring over the question of university cooperation with the Selective Service System by making class ranks available

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# Protest to Politics

for the purpose of drafting students for the war in Vietnam. The interrelationship of corporations, the military, and their control over higher education was clearly exposed at Roosevelt University where the President of the Board of Trustees, Lyle Spencer, also turned out to be President of Science Research Associates (SRA) which produced the Selective Service Qualifying Exam. Clearly, universities in this society are basically organized in such a way as to serve the manpower needs and ideological interests of large corporations, military and the government. Government contracts bring war research onto campus and help stifle dissent among professors and students. At Roosevelt, when we announced that we planned civil disobedience at SRA, the dean of students asked us not to hold the demonstration because it might "damage the fund drive, and local banks, industries, etc. might not contribute.

As one of the participants in these struggles, SDS in the past has talked either about the idea of reforming the university or of leaving it altogether by founding Free Universities. But if we merely plan to reform universities within the same social order, we do not raise student's consciousness to the question of actual control of the university. And to retreat to "Free Universities" is basically an attempt to run away from a problem rather than staying and struggling to solve it. If students raise the question of controlling the universities, this will have implications for the rest of society--for when they leave college to enter the professions or the movement, they will have the perspective of changing society and controlling institutions rather than attempting to reform them. SDS's slogan for the universities should become "Student Power". Similarly, they will begin to understand what the struggle of black people to control their community, and of workers to control the factories is really all about. Controlling the university means that there should be no administration--that those who work and study there should decide what is studied, and when and for what purposes. The question of university control should always be linked to a radical political perspective for America--the society in the present period the war in Vietnam--in order to expose, not only in the university but in the larger society outside, the true nature of the system.

Although the real basis for a struggle against the system must ultimately come from the forces of labor, many people in SDS tend to discount the potential of labor unions, and the working class and seem to write them off as "establishment." The reasons for the current state of labor are several. Back in 1948, radicals and communists who were the real basis for the organizing of the CIO in the later 30's, were expelled, together with their 11 unions and million members. By then, the cold war had very definitely started, and pressure was put on the CIO from government, mass media, and employers to "kick out the reds." Several years later, the conservatized CIO and the AFL made their Cold War marriage, vowing, however, to organize the unorganized, to fight for shorter hours while retaining pay, to take independent political action and consolidate the power of the labor movement. Far from organizing the unorganized (especially in the South, where little if any attempts have seriously been made) the unified AFL-CIO has lost two million members since its founding. AFL-CIO labor leadership (especially the Meany-Lovestone sector) has attempted to foist a political line on the rank-and-file from the top down, supporting the cold war and viewing their role as basically one of mediating conflict between labor and management. Domestically, this section of the labor leadership favors the reform of the Welfare State through Medicare, the war on poverty, and worker's profit sharing--to be achieved through understanding, discussion, (and maybe a little love) between the two economic groups. Instead of fighting for the interests of the workers and understanding the need for continual struggle because workers and employers do not have common interests, this labor leadership has acted the mediator between the real needs and interests of workers, and those "needs" which are imposed by employers, government and the "national interest," (i.e. Vietnam, Dominican Republic.) Because of the stagnation of the leadership of the AFL-CIO, significant gains in organizing new unions has come not from within its ranks and from independent new leadership such as the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union.

SDS has in the past had little labor activity--making the error of feeling defeatist rather than getting involved in a struggle to change the state of the labor movement. But in recent months, there has been new interest in discussing our possible role in the labor movement, through the new SDS Labor Newsletter currently edited by Nat Stillman and the beginning of SDS Labor Committee in Chicago and Boston. In Chicago this Sun-

mer, the SDS Labor Committee has discussed labor history and had union officials from the Packinghouse, United Auto Workers, State, County and Municipal, and Independent Union of Public Aid Employees (IUPEE) give talks. And in Boston, a hospital organizing project was started which recently unionized. Such committees should be started everywhere by SDS people, discussing labor history, theory, and what role we can play. It is important for people in SDS to start seriously considering going into the labor movement. Two-thirds of the potential labor movement in America is unorganized and this is a very open field. Just as we are organizing poor and communities, we should start organizing the disfranchised workers into independent radical unions interested not only in straight economic issues but also in the issue of foreign policy, racism, and other radical social concerns. There is also an important struggle going on in the established AFL-CIO unions, for the AFL-CIO is not one big monolith -- there are more and less militant sectors and SDS people should also work in the established unions to talk to the rank and file about building worker-opposition to entrenched labor leadership.

The fantastic SDS growth in the last year has come largely on the single-issue of Vietnam. Both because the current anti-war movement is very significant and represents an advance over past "peace" movements, helping to radicalize large numbers of people and also because the war is an important issue affecting many sectors of the American population--on the campus, in the factory, the ghetto; it is important to discuss the past development of the peace movement, SDS's role and mistakes in it, and a future perspective for it.

In the 1950's increasing numbers of people became concerned because of the poisoning of the atmosphere by nuclear testing. Out of this grew an enlarged "peace" movement, involving not only the traditional pacifists, but also many liberals, who ultimately organized into such groups as SANE and Turn Towards Peace. SANE took a third camp position, criticizing both sides sort of approach, viewing American foreign policy as a series of errors rather than outgrowth of domestic and international economic and political conditions. SANE also engaged in a good deal of red-baiting in order to retain its respectability, often using the "this is not the way to fight Communism" argument. SANE talked about bilateral universal disarmament, and an end to nuclear tests by both sides. On the universities in the early 60's, thousands of students were disillusioned with American foreign policy after its blatant attempt to overthrow the Cuba government in the Bay of Pigs invasion--here was not an error, but a planned-out plot against a popularly supported government. Students were horrified emotionally repulsed, but they still were not able to deal with their emotional alienation in political terms. The largest student peace group that emerged on campus was the Student Peace Union which also took a third-camp approach and concentrated on an end to nuclear testing. After a successful 5,000 man march on Washington in 1963, SPU largely collapsed later in the year because of the signing of the nuclear test-ban treaty--because of its limited goals, and lack of real analysis of American society.

In spring of 1965, SDS organized the first national manifestation of a movement against the Vietnam war when it issued a multi-issue call for a March on Washington. This march came under attack from the traditional "peace" movement because it operated on the principle of non-exclusionary organizational sponsorship, and its failure to "attack both sides." Out of the march grew many local committees to end the war in Vietnam, and Vietnam Day Committees. SDS leadership abandoned its chance to politically influence and direct the anti-war movement because of the prestige gained from the march, arguing that since we are a multi-issue organization, we should not organizationally lead a single issue movement. But SDS membership played an important role in building the anti-war movement and in many communities formed the backbone of it. Out of these committees, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCC) was formed in Washington at the Assembly of Unrepresented People in August. It has been constantly plagued by internal sectarian debates--often reflecting the debates of the old Left. In October, demonstrations were held in dozens of American cities and in many places overseas in the first International Days of Protest--exploding the anti-war movement into creating "a controversy in the land" as newspaper head lines, thousands of words of print, and news documentaries covered our movement as it has never

been covered before. The NCC held a convention in Washington over Thanksgiving which was torn by internal political division, but still played a role in the second International Days of Protest. Because of inadequacies in the political perspective and composition of the NCC, the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, the largest Independent Anti-War Comm. issued the call for nationwide demonstrations on August 6-9, the twenty-first anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Very little effect of public opinion arose out this last series of demonstrations--and for sure no effect on policy. Thus the history of the anti-war movement is one of rise and decline and there is currently a lack of political perspective for its future.

In the last year, SDS has allowed its name to be used on calls issued by other organizations and ad hoc groups, without considering the need to develop a continuing SDS anti-war program and a political perspective for that program. We seem to be unsure what we're doing and we participate in other people's actions (i.e., NCC, Parade Committee) without introducing our politics, the conception of a multi-issue approach linking the anti-war movement with labor, civil rights, and community organization; and have just tagged along. If SDS fails to interject its politics and its plans for building a broad-based radical movement into the anti-war constituency, it is, in fact, other organizations' politics that will determine the direction of the movement. At this point, the way in which the demonstrations have been organized and the political perspective which they express are basically obsolete. Just one demonstration after another cannot end the war, they do not change power relationships and a continuing series of such efforts which result in neither visible changes in government policy nor organizational growth will (and has) led to disillusionment and demoralization.

At this point SDS should begin to organize and politically direct again something which it has advocated for a number of months--anti-war programs trying to encourage people to begin community projects around the question of control of community resources as affected by the war, presenting political perspectives presenting political perspectives which will encourage union members and other workers to begin to struggle for not only better wages and job conditions but also cor their unions to take an anti-war stand and initiate discussion and educational programs on the war. We should encourage the development of such organizations based on the needs of the community and that will provide radical electoral alternatives to the status quo. While it is important to support independent candidacies outside of the Democratic party, it is necessary that these campaigns be viewed essentially at this point as educational -- and therefore simply taking a stand "against" the war is not enough--candidates must talk about the relationship of our corporate structure and foreign investment to military intervention abroad and attempt to arouse opposition to liberalism as the dominant ideology of big business. SDS has been haphazard in developing student anti-war programs and should present a programmatic perspective for student anti-war sentiment--at this point the question of ranking of students and the university becoming an arm of the military and the question of student control in universities are the questions around which the greatest student mobilization could occur. These sentiments could best be expressed at this time through a student strike that is international in scope, linking up the anti-Nato, nuclear arms, Viet-Nam and imperialism abroad to developing a radical student movement in this country. SDS AND SOCIALISM--THE NEED FOR A THEORY

Many will ask how all the "forces for Change" dealt with in the above section relate to each other, how their developments are interrelated, how (and if) they will be able to coalesce--and for what ultimate ends. This is an important question, but to deal with it in essence requires the development of an ideology. For some time there has been an anti-ideological "mystique" in SDS --as Ronald Aronson says, we have been "a movement without a theory." But there also, he noted, "a theory without a movement" --and that theory is socialism.

One of the reasons that SDS has shied away from the discussion of ideology and socialism is that many people have a stereotyped image of what these terms mean--largely because of some of the mistakes, both political and organizational, of the old left. It is important that we discuss fully all aspects of socialism--its past, present, and future and that we

openly discuss and fully criticize socialist and communist organizations organizationally, programmatically, and theoretically.

To discuss them programmatically means to speak of the types of activities engaged in and how they relate to the people they are trying to organize. To discuss them theoretically is to relate the previous two categories to classical and contemporary society, determining how they are applying it, how they deviate from it, and whether those revisions they have made are borne up by contemporary analysis of American society. Although we do not feel able to complete a discussion and critique of major left organizations at this time we will make a few general comments and observations which, hopefully, will initiate this much needed discussions.

The Communist Party has failed to make a serious application of Marxist theory to American society and has in many instances attempted to mechanically copy the Russian experience organizationally. They have outwardly adopted the liberal ideology, largely because of their failure to make an adequate critique of American society, and now attempt to act within the "progressive" arm of the Democratic party--formulating a theory of reforming rather than transforming society. Many members of the CP have been active in organizations such as SANE, and actually argued positions publicly which they did not privately accept--that "both sides are at fault, and neither right," that what they really objected to was "the way" in which America's military adventures abroad as a series of "errors mistakes, misunderstandings," while actually viewing American policy as a consistent pattern growing out of the societies economic and political structure--and this does not build socialist consciousness. In the past, many similar mistakes have been made. For example, during the second world war, the Communist Party was one of the forces in the labor movement--asking that workers give up pressuring for their needs in the "national interest."

And because of their position on the "no strike" pledge, the CP applauded the application of the Smith Act to Trotskyist union leaders who did not accept it.

The Socialist Party (SP--later SP/SDF) and other social democratic organizations, because of their anti-communism have wound up basically critically supporting American capitalism and attempting to continue to initiate minor reforms in it. The Democratic Party has been able to incorporate many of their earlier demands into the existing systems as means of maintaining, rather than changing, capitalism. In many organizations, they have been the ones who have initiated red-baiting and thus laid the groundwork for HUAC and SISS. (For example, they were engaged in redbaiting the SDS March on Washington in April, 1965.)

The Socialist Workers Party lacks flexibility and contains many dogmatic ideologies. It tends to base all its politics on a 30-year-old dispute -- which, while important historically to study, has by and large lost its immediate relevancy to the American working class. Presently, the SWP (YSA) has no multi-issue approach. Their emphasis is only on troop disruption (the Second World War) as the best means to bring the war to an end. They oppose any political content in leaflets, arguing that it may alienate people initially. Thus, they refuse to relate Vietnam to labor, civil rights, to U.S. corporate needs; in fact, they are not building Socialist Consciousness.

The Progressive Labor Party supports the political concept of National Liberation, which is a four class coalition with the national bourgeoisie for National Liberation. We would argue that the National Bourgeoisie (i.e., of Latin America) are by their own historical necessity in coalition with imperialism. That revolutions in Latin America should not be National but Socialist Revolutions.

Ideology, then, should not be a mechanical thing -- but flexible, able to change with conditions; and the product of study, analysis, and re-analysis of the actual situation. This is what needs to be done in SDS -- the development of an analysis and theory to give us a basis for understanding what is happening in society, why it is happening, and what are the best methods to bring about change.

We must begin to talk about short and long term strategy and the development of a political theory on which to base our actions.

And, in fact, we should begin to actually define and understand what it is that we've been talking about in the past.

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## Boston Labor

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objective we set for ourselves.

The progress of the organizing drive developed well for about a month and a half. The Association grew in size. We printed up petitions and union cards and started running off leaflets. We contacted community groups, and prominent professional people for support. The workers started picketing the hospital after work, after the president of the Association was fired for union activity. During this time there were many controversies as to the proper tactics the Association should use, and about the lack of democracy in the organization.

By May things looked much worse. Fewer workers showed up for picketing and at meetings. It was clear that picketing was not enough, but the Association was not sufficiently strong to attempt direct action tactics. Community-support marches were tried. Often there were more outsiders from CORE, Operation Exodus (a parents group), various churches and SDS than there were hospital workers.

From mid-June to mid-July the Association was able to regain its strength and finally win recognition. This was accomplished by means of stepped up publicity, largely through the efforts of the Association's officers and CORE, and by picketing at the homes of hospital-trustees. Another major factor were lunch meetings held every day outside of the hospital. Also two of the students spent four or five hours in front of the hospital talking to workers and keeping many who did not come to meetings up on latest developments.

The firing of a kitchen worker for inadequate reasons led to a walkout by the kitchen employees until he was rehired. The next day when he was told he had been fired, ninety workers staged a sit-in in the administrator's office, demanding his rehiring, the rehiring of the President of the Association, and union recognition. Within a week these demands were granted and collective bargaining for a contract began. In mid-August the contract settlement was reached by the negotiating committee although it has yet to be ratified by the workers. There is now much talk of organizing other hospitals and of the possibility of tying up with a national union.

In the course of the Hospital workers' struggle we had many opportunities to evaluate the kind of union we were helping to build and to formulate our ideas on what a radical union should be like. Before discussing these ideas and their relevance to an SDS labor strategy, I should also mention our efforts on Vietnam. Students (about ten of them) leafleted Packinghouse workers in early March on a number of successive Thursday or Friday lunch hours. We got an OK and advice from a sympathetic Packinghouse union leader. The students were met by strong reactions -- both for and against the war. At various times fights almost started. The leafleting only lasted a few weeks, when for no clear reasons it was stopped.

No attempt was made to get together those workers who had expressed interest in an anti-war position. The only other anti-war activities were one-shot speeches at union meetings and some discussion of trying to help in the formation of a Boston trade-unionists for peace committee. Little has yet come of either project.

Most of these activities will continue in the fall. Some former students may take jobs in shops for the United Electrical Workers' and we will be working on the hospital-organizing drive, and on new anti-war activities with workers. Also, the labor committee will conduct a weekly study-group on labor history, and general discussions as to SDS's position on labor.

The most essential work of the Boston labor committee has been its constant attempts to formulate an SDS labor strategy. There has never been anything near total agreement among committee members. Participants in discussions have ranged from social democrats, and CP communists -- who argue for a liberalization of existing unions -- to PL people -- who call for work in strategic industries to organize a revolutionary proletarian movement -- to leftwing SDS'ers who have tried to combine a model of democratic, radical unionism with a view of how

such unions could function heavily in their arguments from leftwing criticisms of CP strategy in the thirties (Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*; and Arowitz' summary, "On the labor project," in *SDS Labor Newsletter*, no. 3) and from the writings of the independent socialist "New Left" (non-communist, non-social democrat) in Europe (associated with the *Independent Socialist Journal*, and the *New Left Review*; see also Andre Gorz, *Strategie Ouvriere et Neocapitalisme* and the *Socialist Register* (1964, 1965, 1966).

The major issue discussed has been, how can we function as radicals in doing everyday (and not necessarily radical) labor work and union organizing? How can we connect the fight for wages or against undemocratic, sell-out leadership to a long-range radical vision? We can always talk about larger issues with workers, and make clear to them our position on Vietnam, the economic problems of American society, community issues, the power of large corporations etc. But even this is often fairly difficult given the fact that most people in a union struggle are only concerned with the day to day progress of the fight, and with the winning of fairly limited demands.

Two models of radical unions have been suggested. One is the "Freedom union" idea, which has been tried in Mississippi and Baltimore, and which might have been a possibility for the Farm workers. This kind of union is viewed as one instrument of an economically-and politically-oriented civil rights movement. It grows out of previous community organizations, and never loses its wide community focus. It is hoped that the workers will not view the union merely as a means for bettering conditions in their own shops or places of work, but rather as part of a broad struggle to win control over their economic and social conditions. The union would work with all direct action groups in the area, whether they were organized around shop issues, or housing, welfare, unemployment, or electoral politics. Presumably the jurisdiction of such a union would not be a craft or an industry, but a community, or more realistically, all low-paid workers in a community. So far this model has never been fully or successfully realized.

The other concept of radical unionism can be termed "syndicalist." According to this view, the union is seen as a primary means of struggle for social change. The union is to raise radical demands on the shop level, which center mainly on the fight for workers' control over their conditions of work. By challenging the power of the business enterprise through continuous struggle, it is hoped that the workers will develop a notion of the kinds of ultimate demands they would like to make if they had the power to completely control their economic and social environment. This will lead to a radical vision of the kind of society they are fighting to create. The union is not to forget about bread and butter issues; if anything, it is to fight as militantly as possible for wage demands, fringe benefits etc. But by raising other kinds of demands in a radical context, it might be possible to avoid being bought off by limited concessions. (I don't have space to discuss the kinds of demands that syndicalists would put forward -- in general they relate to training of workers and hiring, to "opening the books" to workers and letting the workers' struggle to control how automation will affect them).

At this point both of the strategies are probably premature for our purposes (since we will not be in a position to test them in actual practice for a long time). But they are worth discussing both in SDS and with those workers who have been radicalized in the process of our work with them. There are other issues of importance which I haven't gone into: What would a democratic national union look like? How can we insure that unions we build will be democratic? Should we work with AFL-CIO unions, with independent nationals like the United Electrical workers, or organize independent locals ourselves? Should students who haven't had shop experience do organizing? Should even those who have, do it? Which kinds of industries should we try to organize?

I hope the labor workshop at the Convention will provide an opportunity to go into these questions, and also that the experience of students in Boston will be helpful in SDS' search for an approach to labor problems and labor organizing.

## Baum-Conclusion

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To give an example of what we mean, let us quote a rather influential nineteenth century writer: "All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only insofar as the interest of the ruling class requires it,"

What Karl Marx is talking about here is basically de-humanization -- turning men into things and their labor power creativity into commodities to be sold on the open market.

It is important historically to understand at this point the budding basis in the social movement previously discussed that can begin to become a challenge and an alternative to American capitalism. Just the development of a movement alone cannot succeed by it-

self in changing American society, because American society is flexible and often able to co-opt movements -- a movement cannot succeed without providing an alternative political perspective. The next

historical stage which develops in the next 5 to 10 years out of what will be a blossoming movement at that time is the necessity to move from a Protest to a new Political Party. A party that

completely severs from the two capitalist parties and provides a socialist alternative to the American scene. At this point we should not just confine ourselves to talk of building a movement -- but also of integrating this with our perspective of building a party which will give meaning and coherence to the grassroots organizing we must do day by day. It is important that we begin to talk in terms of 5, 10, 15 years because that is the time and energy it will take to build a Revolutionary movement and socialist political party able to take power in America.

At this point, we in SDS must begin to write about and talk about socialist theory, so that we will be prepared to play a major role in developments, creating larger numbers of socialists, and developing socialist consciousness in all institutions in which we organize.

Many people may feel the need for an SDS "New Socialist Newsletter" which will provide a media for full and open discussion of historical, theoretical, and tactical questions raised above. Only through such discussion can people in SDS both understand their present and past mistakes and develop a political perspective that will be adequate for the future.

As the Bible says: "The letter killeth -- but the spirit giveth life."

## Proposed Resolution on PUERTO RICO

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Faced with the complete failure of the so-called U. S. Government Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico, North American imperialism is maneuvering to seek an out from the sharpening Puerto Rican colonial problem.

Pressured by the international situation which demands the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, worried as it is by the situation in the United Nations, where soon the case of Puerto Rico will be up for debate, and seeking to establish a so-called "legal" basis for its imperialist domain, the United States Establishment, and its stooges in Puerto Rico, have come up with a fraudulent new "solution" to the Puerto Rican "problem" which they hope to bring to the United Nations.

This is the so-called "plebiscite" on the status of Puerto Rico in which allegedly the people of Puerto Rico would have a "free" and "democratic" choice among "independence", "statehood" or continued "commonwealth" status.

History is replete with instance after instance in which despots and despotic empires offered fraudulent "plebiscites" to subject peoples in order to "legalize" their tyrannical rule over subject peoples. Such

was the case with Napoleon III in France. More recently, a master in the use of the "plebiscite" was Adolph Hitler, who used the on the German people, and as an instrument of territorial expansion.

In Latin America, Perez Jimenez in Venezuela and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic were masters in the use of this instrument to keep their people enslaved.

An outstanding example in recent history of the use of the "plebiscite" to keep colonial peoples enslaved is that of the French "plebiscite" in Algeria, according to which "officially" 98% of the people of Algeria voted in favor of "permanent union" with France.

The U. S. Establishment, after 68 years of psychological conditioning of the people of Puerto Rico, and with full military, political and economic control of Puerto Rico, wants to commit a similar fraud against the people of Puerto Rico and against world opinion.

The National Convention of Students for a Democratic Society therefore condemns the proposed Puerto Rico Plebiscite as a trick and a fraud, and re-affirms its support for the legitimate aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico for freedom and national independence. John Rossen

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