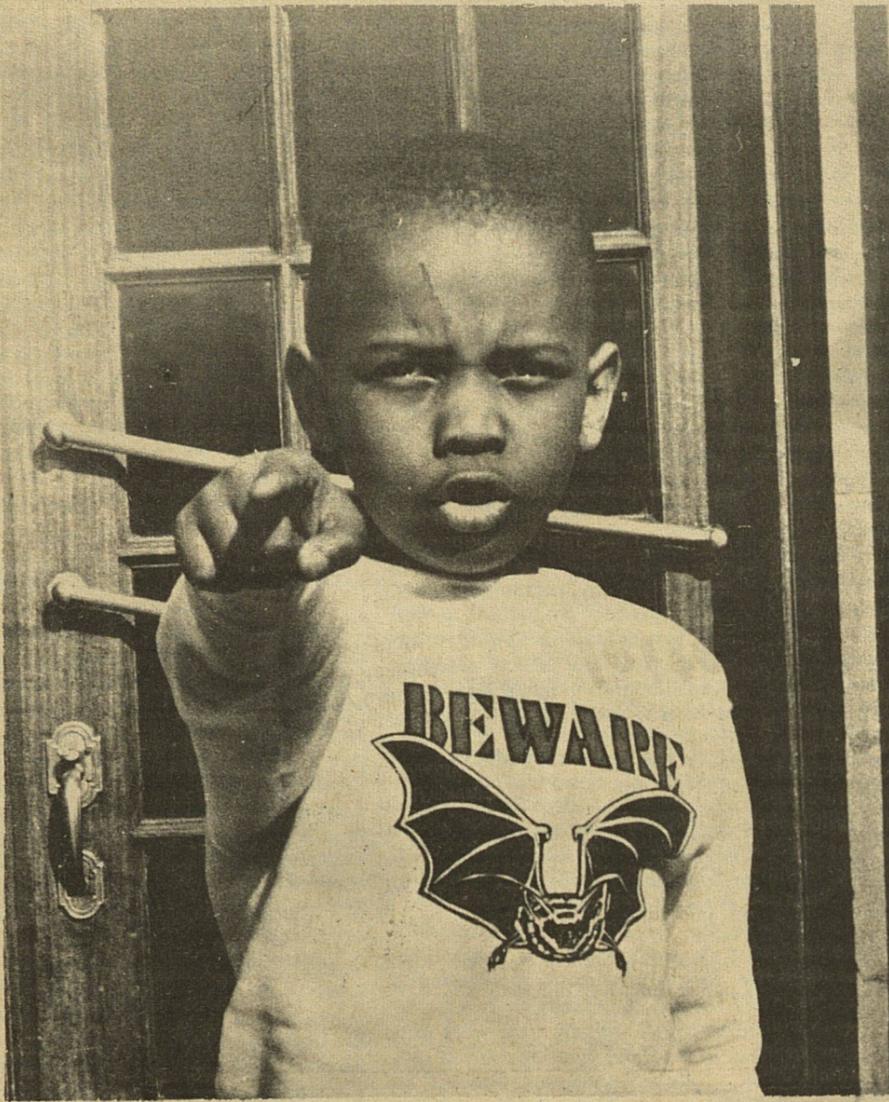


Berkeley, Stanford, and BLACK POWER



John Saari
Stanford SDS

Word has reached me thru the amazing SDS grapevine that the Black Power Conference at Berkeley has upset some of our brothers and worse, our financial contributors out East -- too bad. It is surprising after the countless times the press has misrepresented SDS, SNCC and every other radical group in the country that it is still uncritically accepted by some of our members.

Okay. If it is necessary to explain why Berkeley SDS called its Black Power Conference and why the newly formed Stanford chapter chose to support it by having its own Black Power Day the day before, I will. First, it is SDS's position *nationally* to support SNCC and SNCC's concept of Black Power. Both Stanford SDS and Berkeley SDS concur with this *national position*. What does it mean to say we support SNCC and Black Power? Passing a statement at an N.C.? People at Berkeley and later people at Stanford thought not. We thought we should do more. We thought that the least we could do was to raise money for SNCC and give SNCC a forum to explain Black Power to the white community. More than that, we thought Black Power had something positive to say to the white community and to white radicals in particular. The too often forgotten part of Black Power is its call for whites to organize whites. Thus, the purposes of the Black Power Conferences were threefold: (1) to raise money for SNCC, (2) to explain what Black Power means, and (3) to motivate whites to organize whites. In the rosey afterglow of the conferences, they seem so successful on all three counts.

But of course, the Black Power Conference at Berkeley had statewide, perhaps national, political consequences. Rightist Ronald Reagan is running for governor against "liberal" Pat Brown, and horrors!--Regan looks like a winner. Berkeley is an issue in the campaign, and thus the Black Power Conference became an issue. Worst of all, it was an issue that could only help the "fascist" Reagan. Naturally, Berkeley SDS knew this: and to some of its members, this made the conference even more attractive. For they knew that gas Chessman--jail the Auto Row demonstrators and the FSM students--can Si Casady--pass the riot law--ignore the farm workers--question the Rumford Act Pat Brown was no different and no better than Ronald

Reagan would be. They also knew that the California left had called for a boycott of the gubernatorial election at the state-wide Conference on Power and Politics and that the organized poor and blacks agreed with this position: The case in California is that the lesser of the two evils is too evil. However, while it is necessary to know the political context of the Berkeley Black Power Conference, it is equally important to ask who defined this context? Who made the Berkeley... (Continued on page 8)

letter to the Chapters:

NOVEMBER 4, 1966

This morning's *Chicago's American* carried a major attack on SDS under banner headlines reading:

*Leftist Students Planned to Hurl Paint
BARE PLOT AGAINST LBJ HERE*

A plot to spatter President Johnson's car with paint during a Chicago parade scheduled for today, was uncovered by police intelligence officers.

Chicago's American learned today that a hard core of about 20 demonstrators from Students for a Democratic Society and other left-wing groups planned to throw paint when Johnson's limousine passed State and Madison Streets.

etc.

Johnson did not come to Chicago after all. The following statement was released to the press. We are sending it to you so that you will be informed of the situation and will be able to reply locally to the charges.

November 4, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

This morning's *Chicago's American* accuses Students for a Democratic Society of being involved in a "plot to spatter paint" on Lyndon Johnson's car during his projected visit to Chicago. The National Office of the organization has consulted with chapters in the Chicago area and has found that the story is based only on vicious rumors. The story is an obvious attempt to smear SDS and the anti-war movement by portraying anti-war demonstrators as conspirators. It is an attempt to discredit those who oppose American aggression in Vietnam and to win sympathy for the Johnson Administration's policy on the eve of the elections. Students for a Democratic Society is not a conspiratorial organization and will not be intimidated by red-baiting tactics. We are a democratic organization of radical youth committed to fundamental social change in America. As such, we are determined to oppose the reactionary foreign policy of the government. We will not stand by while dissent is stifled; we will continue to demonstrate against Lyndon Johnson wherever he appears.

Greg Calvert, National Secretary

new left notes

an internal newspaper of
students for a democratic society

1608 w. madison, rm. 206

chicago, ill. 60612

Vol. 1, No. 42 let the people decide November 4, 1966

NATIONAL POLITICS

by Gerald Markowitz
Michael McCropool
Stephen Rankan
Madison, Wisc.

If the left is united in any desire, it is united in the desire for radical change. The greatest obstacle to radical change in this country is the strangle-hold that the power structure maintains over the minds of the vast majority of the population. Discontent may be widespread but at present it is unconscious and voiceless. The main task before any radical movement is to articulate all discontent, both latent and manifest, and to create understanding of the corruption of our society. From this will come gropings towards solutions. We must emphasize, however, that the all-important first step must be taken. Discontent must be mobilized and a radicalized population must be achieved.

Because of the regional and other diversities of the United States combined with the federal system of government, the only way to really achieve radicalization on a national level is first to radicalize the community. There are problems facing almost every community in the United States which demand radical analysis and radical alternatives. City, state and regional issues must be faced to demonstrate the relevance of a radical approach to the problems of today. Radicals should advance solutions to such problems as air and water pollution, and urban transportation. The work-a-day issues that seem irrelevant to radical politics are basic preludes to more radical activity. A perfect example is the development of a strong radical sense among students at Berkeley and recently in the population at large in the Bay Area. First, there was a long struggle about the basic American right enshrined in the First Amendment, Free Speech. Because the Free Speech move-

ment challenged the University bureaucracy, the people who participated learned the truth about our "democracy." The next step was the large Vietnam Day Committee. The radical spirit that made the VDC as large as it is was conceived during the Free Speech Movement's struggles. The next step in radicalization has been the enthusiastic support for Robert Scheer's campaign among the rank and file radical students. They have taken the campaign's messages into the Oakland ghetto and, in fact, produced a majority for Scheer in that section of his district. The Bay Area is on the way to being radicalized, and it all started with the unblinking unradical demand for Free Speech.

This example illustrates a point that can be demonstrated again and again from the history of American radicalism. The American people have only responded well to radicals when the issues appeared close at hand. Radicalism that has succeeded in capturing the hearts and minds of many people has been rooted in American experience and dealt with the local and regional issues which were important to people every day of their lives. Examples such as Populism, Industrial Unionism, and today's Freedom movement are good representatives. Thus, we are left with a proposition with which all people seriously interested in radicalizing America (not reforming it) must agree: The only hope for success by American radicals is a start at the grassroots by presenting intelligent solutions to local problems and organizing around these issues in the community. From small issues will come larger issues; as the community radicalizes

(continued on page 2)

Jeff Segal gets 4 years

An organizer for Students for a Democratic Society was sentenced Monday to four years in federal prison by U. S. District Judge James B. Parsons for failure to report for draft induction Feb. 8, 1965.

Jeffery B. Segal, 23, of 1103 E. 63rd, was found guilty in a bench trial. He is a former Roosevelt University student, and former member of the S. D. S. National Office staff.

When Segal's attorney, George Pontikes, remarked that the term was too severe, the judge noted that he had had twice as many draft violation cases this year as last.

Judge Parsons added that he found half of his recent call in Freeport were draft cases. As a result, he said, this year he is giving four-year sentences where he gave three last year when a trial is demanded. If a defendant pleads guilty, the sentence is two years, he said.

He pointed out that the majority of those sentenced, having no prior record, will serve only a third of their term.

A former federal prosecutor who handled draft cases, Parsons said the Justice Department will not prosecute a second time if a youth is released from jail before age 26 and drafted a second time.

Records of the U. S. attorney's office show there have been 32 persons indicted in 1966 in Chicago. Last week, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested three alleged draft violators here as well as five alleged deserters from the armed services.

it will attain a new level of consciousness and will begin to see the connections between what is denied to it and what is denied to other people. Thus, the Negro people in the South can make the connection between their struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese people as some woman did with these words, "Maybe they can't register, too."

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

We propose to link this idea of local organization on local issues to the national political arena. We propose a national campaign in 1968, not for the purpose of winning the election but for the purpose of facilitating organizing work on the local level. We suggest that every local organization that so desires, and especially local groups who have already run peace candidates, attend a convention to be held in 1967 to nominate a national slate. The coalition supporting these candidates may be as diverse as the New York Parade Committee. We should not expect to win power through these elections; therefore, we need not be united on all counts. Since the national campaign should function primarily to enhance and coordinate the efforts of the various groups operating on the local level and because the left is still divided on fundamental questions we propose that the convention skirt the stumbling block of ideology. Instead, it should respect individual differences and reach agreement on broad (short-run) demands. Only basic agreement in this respect is required. Three possible ones would be Immediate Withdrawal from Vietnam (Bring the Troops Home Now, Alive), Jobs or Income Now, and an explicit support for Black Power. These demands should be broad enough to keep SDS, the Du-Bois Clubs, the WSP, SNCC, CORE, SWP, etc. together while being radical enough to keep SANE and Bobby Kennedy out. The principle in the campaigns should be local autonomy though local groups should probably (tacitly at least) support the three demands. The positive proposals dealing with these demands will be sufficient to indicate the importance of radical change. Therefore, there is little need for the national campaign to be unified upon a broad and

encompassing ideology.

The purpose of this campaign will be to let local movements join each other, giving their own efforts in their own communities a national focus. It will provide for communication and exchange of ideas between local movements. It will also provide publicity and help the education campaigns so vital to building the movements. For instance, the presidential or vice-presidential candidate (of national stature) might provide much needed publicity and drawing power for local groups' meetings where they will expound their local radical alternatives. Even without the presence of the national personalities, the enthusiasm and interest generated by a national campaign could help stimulate concern with local issues on the part of people who might otherwise ignore them. In other words the group that is reachable with a radical critique will be expanded by the heightened political interest which surrounds a national campaign. Each local group should, of course, have complete autonomy, and it goes without saying that they should stay together after the election and keep working, organizing, and educating.

The recent meeting of California groups (*National Guardian*, Oct. 15) seems to have followed this prescription on a regional level. It is not surprising that California should have advanced to this stage since the Scheer and other campaigns though nominally for democratic nomination were really directed towards establishing strong bases within the community. Even had Scheer been elected, his main job would have been to continue organizing his community and to use his office in Washington to spread the radical message to other Congressional districts. The Connecticut campaigns of Bob Cook and Fred Harris are on the verge of achieving this kind of unity that Scheer brought to his Oakland-Berkeley campaign. One is also struck with the resolution of peace candidates in other areas to continue organizing after the election.

NATIONAL

POLITICS

The national campaign should in no way detract from other forms of protest and education, be they Teach-Ins, demonstrations, civil disobedience, rent-strikes or door-to-door canvassing. All radical people in any area of the United States will have an opportunity to devote time and energy on any level of activity they care to. The way to victory, given the American federal system and the divergence of regions, is the grassroots up, separately. There will be unity for certain actions or on certain issues only; but there should always be contact. If it is done correctly, the national campaign in 1968 could be an important beginning. It could result in many well grounded local organizations and a vast amount of publicity for the movement.

THE POSITIVE PROGRAM

The three issues we have suggested as the basis for the national campaign are not the only three possible. We believe in total flexibility as far as this program is concerned. We do think that certain modifications of these demands to make them more acceptable to a broader group of people might be dangerous.

For instance: the demand to withdraw from Vietnam immediately. The war is not the root of all the evil in the United States; it is a result of the great rottenness of our society which is why a radical change is necessary. Staughton Lynd has summarized the "contradictions" of American society aptly:

"American capitalism is not a permanent or stable system. It cannot provide constructive and remunerative work for all its citizens. It refuses to support those without such work at a level of life consistent with human dignity. The technological progress to which it is driven by corporate competition for profits puts more men out of work by automation. The only public works it is willing to undertake which alleviate unemployment significantly are war and the preparation for war. . . ." (*National Guardian*, April 16, 1966, p. 8).

In his speech to the *Guardian* dinner last year Professor William A. Williams said succinctly: "We cannot dismantle the empire abroad until we dismantle the empire at home."

Our job as radicals is to constantly attempt to increase the number of people who desire a basic change in American society. A demand for immediate withdrawal meets the basic phenomenon of American society as it functions in the international sphere: international anti-communism leading to anti-nationalism and military and paramilitary adventurism. We must show the average American that foreign revolutions will not hurt him, that the Vietnamese are fighting one such revolution, and that contrary to the President's hypocritical intonations there is nothing to negotiate since the Geneva Agreements of 1954 already have stated that Vietnam is to belong to the Vietnamese. All more compromising approaches to the Administration will run the risk of co-optation.

Jobs or Income Now is something the economy is physically capable of providing for everyone. The over-haul in the political economy required before this will occur is nothing short of a radical revolution. The trade unions' demands for shorter hours with the same pay do not touch our most immediate constituents who are unemployed and often unemployable. The local movements of welfare recipients indicate how timely this political demand would be in some community organization projects.

The support (either tacit or active) for the Black Power demands of SNCC and CORE is a must for any radical movement serious about itself. We support Professor Genova's observation that

"For American Socialism, the black revolt opens an opportunity for relevance that has been missing for decades. What we do with that opportunity, as the leaders of SNCC have rather rudely reminded us, is our problem, not theirs." (*National Guardian*, October 1, p. 2)

The national campaign must get the support of SNCC and CORE both for the local

political support this will give it in places like Alabama and Mississippi, and because Negroes are the most immediate constituency of a radical movement bent on organizing the community. Following the advice of Stokely Carmichael, the national party should be the place where Negro and white community organizations can meet as equals and share experiences. We are not opposed to integrated community organizations but they must be in integrated communities. Scheer's campaign solicited votes both from the ghetto Negroes in Oakland and the white middle class intellectuals in the Berkeley area. Here as always, local autonomy should be the rule. The largest possible radical constituency for the campaign will be generated by keeping to this rule and accepting the three suggestions as the lowest common denominator for the attendance at the convention in 1967.

THE CONVENTION AND AFTER

The convention itself can produce, through the sharing of the experiences of different local organizations, a massive well-documented indictment of the Johnson administration. The "war" on poverty can be exposed on the testimony of expert opinion, people who have worked in it, and its own publications. The fact can be driven home to our future constituents that the war on poverty has systematically excluded the communities it is supposedly aiding from any direction of the program. The experiences in Syracuse and elsewhere can be cited in support of this well-known fact among radicals. The fact that a true war on poverty is impossible within the political economy of the United States could also be driven home. Each local organization can lay down a challenge to the power structure in the form of a demand that each local community act to make the war on poverty a reality. The specific proposals will almost certainly step on the toes of many vested interests and the communities will be taught important facts of life about what is possible in America. The illusion of Civil Rights "progress" can be shattered once and for all with special documentation of the half-hearted moves towards full integration of schools, not to mention the decidedly unequal opportunities that persist for southern and northern ghetto-dwelling Negroes. The power structure's fears of Black Power can be explained in terms of the apprehension on their part that they will not be able to buy off the new leadership. The results of the War Crime's Tribunal run by Bertrand Russell can be used to full advantage re Vietnam. Also, we can publish new material about the course of the war, the "elections" in South Vietnam, and the growing disaffection within the armed forces. The manifest can be an island of truth in a political mainstream of lies.

The national headquarters that will coordinate the national campaign can remain in existence after the election just as local organizations should remain in existence. The headquarters can act as a clearing house to provide local groups with experts on various problems and as a focal point of communication to share experiences. It should have at its disposal a pool of willing specialists. These might include city planners, economists, agronomists, lawyers, etc. These people would be available as consultants for community organizations to aid in the pursuit of well thought out radical solutions to whatever problems may exist in the community being radicalized. This pool need not consist of a paid staff. Interested specialists would notify the national headquarters that they are willing to serve local organizations desiring the specialist aid they are capable of giving. Requests from local organizations can be sent through the national headquarters to the kind of specialists requested. It is hoped that the numbers will be great enough to guarantee that at least one will have enough time to answer the call. At a later date, the national headquarters might want to maintain a staff, but at the present time that is not necessary. As time goes on, through these contacts and their own experiences, local communities

(Continued on page 8)

to the editor:

It seems to me that Marc Lendler's questions in your issue of October 7 may be fairly reduced to one: will democracy work? Marc is quite right about one thing - the belief of SDS in democracy as a viable social system is just that, a "belief." Democracy, except in rare isolated instances, has never been tried. We have no basis for determining whether people will make the "right" decisions until we have the opportunity to observe democracy in practice. The necessity for democracy as a primary goal of a radical movement, however, does not depend upon any proof that it will succeed (whatever that may imply), but on the fact that it is the only just means for organizing society. Any other system must result in the domination of one man by another whether by overt tyranny or by more subtle methods of manipulation. In other words, democracy and equality are wholly interdependent. One can not exist without the other. So long as some hold political advantages, they will attempt to reap the economic benefits of society in an unequal measure and so long as some hold excessive economic privilege, they will continue to dominate others politically. If, after being granted the most exhaustive tests, democracy should fail, then maybe we should all join our local Jaycees and work for clean one-dimensional society with a full community chest, for radical hopes will be forever doomed.

SDS, however, has good reason for believing in the efficacy of democracy. But only if by democracy we mean an egalitarian decentralized, participatory form. (It is my conviction that these concepts are implicit in any real democracy.) The example Lendler cites of strip miners making a decision inimical to the interests of others would not be so likely if the citizens affected adversely by the stripping of the land also took part in the decision making processes. This, of course, would not prevent decisions to prohibit the teaching of evolution or to wage unjust wars, but it would preclude state or nationwide decisions to do so and it would at least allow those opposed to such decisions an opportunity to state their case rationally, whereas at the state or national level their arguments would be smothered by pious

platitudes and demagoguery.

It is also the hope of most of us, based on some empirical observations of man interacting with man, that when people cooperate in reaching decisions which affect their own lives, they will come to have a better understanding of the forces at work in society and to have more compassion for their fellow men. In other words, there is a reasonable faith that a loving, humane community is possible and that this community can and will make wise decisions.

This vision, of course, is premised on a complete restructuring of society with an emphasis on economic equality as the primary requisite of a functional democracy. No democracy can be just unless each participant is on a reasonable equal basis with all others. This requirement underscores the desirability of "Black Power", organizations of the poor and other movements designed to redistribute power more equitably in this country.

New Radicals are also on solid grounds in advocating democracy as a means for creating a just society as well as a necessary component of that society. In addition to the questionable truism that the means always condition the end, it seems to me that democracy is a difficult art which must be learned and experienced by all those participating, cannot be successfully handed down from above. A democracy worth aspiring towards, as differentiated from a quasi-democracy like that created here by and Adams-Hamilton-Madison aristocracy, must be developed by all the people cooperating on an equal basis.

Despite any implication to the contrary in the above ruminations, Marc Lendler is right: we should constantly question our faith in democracy, holding its every tenet up to the most scrupulous examination. But, unless it should finally prove to be a fraud, democracy must continue as a basic premise in all SDS programs and ideology (such as it is) if SDS intends to remain a truly radical organization.

Fraternally,
Peter Schanck
Rockville, Maryland

R.E.P.

MEETING REPORT

The first joint meeting of the Radical Education Project Directors and Staff took place on October 9th and 10th in Ann Arbor. Response to the REP prospectus and to REP information forms disseminated by mail and through *New Left Notes* had been enthusiastic. Discussion at the meeting therefore, centered around the problems of making good on most of the expectations that have been generated. Participating were Mike and Evi Goldfield, Jim Jacobs, Steve Johnson, Steve Weissman and Peter Henig of the REP staff; Kathy McAfee, staff member at large; Greg Calvert and Jane Adams from the National Office, and REP directors Paul Booth and Dick Magidoff.

Having achieved a preliminary inventory of interest and resources and with a mandate for internal education from the SDS National Convention, it was possible to evaluate REP functions to date and to lay plans for future development in the areas of service to SDS chapters and organizers, catalysis and communication between radical scholars, a publications program which will hopefully serve both of these ends, and to make certain technical decisions about staff and office.

Highest priority was assigned to getting some REP materials into the hands of chapter people as soon as possible. Three study guides will be available shortly, but it was decided that before going ahead with very largescale printing the National Office would locate chapters willing to use the materials on an experimental "pilot project" basis and then report on their usefulness at the December N.C. It was felt that this meeting with chapter people and field organizers would provide the "feed-back" necessary to insure that the study guides and "how-to-do-it" pamphlets are genuinely usable and relevant and to perfect existing study guides. It is assumed that new ideas for materials will be secured at that time.

Between now and the December N.C., REP internal education work will, in addition to the "pilot projects," entail a mailing to chapters for the purpose of identifying "REP reps"—individuals who will take responsibility for leading educational program, and the production of a packet of periodical reprints on the subject of "Black Power" (again on a trial basis), and the publication of a small monthly REP NEWSLETTER which will have as some of its functions, the reporting of news about chapter educational programs, interim publication of suggested readings, announcement of conferences, and lists of speakers available to groups in their respective areas of the country. Publication of a full-scale REP magazine awaits the coming of an "entrepreneurial-type" person who can take the initiative in raising the considerable sums of money needed and in recruiting a staff. However, the first REP book, now being prepared by Steve Weissman, should be on sale across the country by September of 1967 at the latest.

In addition, it was decided that it would be worthwhile for a member of the R.E.P. staff to devote some time to the development of new educational techniques, among them tape recordings, photography and filmstrips, motion pictures, and printing processes. And in recognition of the fact, that, away from big cities and universities with good libraries and book and magazine stores, people may very well have difficulty obtaining books and periodicals, it was decided that a long-range program to develop a national distribution network would be undertaken.

There was some concern that through regular and organized direct communication with chapters, REP might develop into something of a "parallel hierarchy" for SDS, opening the way to confusion and competition in fund-raising, duplication of effort, and to political involvement by REP which might interfere with its legitimate functions. Procedures established to avoid such difficulties include an exchange of visits by R.E.P. and N.O. fund-raising staff and the forwarding to Greg Calvert of carbon copies of all correspondence between the chapters and the REP chapter contact person.

In one sense, however, it may be good that some REP functions, particularly in the area of communication and coordination, parallel those of the N. O. As Steve Weissman observed, it is desirable for us to develop multiple entities through which individuals can be brought into contact with the national movement. One trend which has clearly emerged is that most of REP's contacts have been with those who have

been reached through other than SDS organizational channels. They are graduate students, faculty, professionals of various types, and independent radicals. They are sympathetic to our ideals but, because of personal preferences and life situations, have found no way to be active in the movement.

It is apparent, from the responses to the REP information forms, that many such people not only have ideas but have formulated and pursued problems that are of vital interest to the movement. They seem eager to be put in contact and to engage in dialogue with others with similar interests. At the time of writing, it has already been possible to initiate twenty study groups composed of individuals who will eventually be in regular communication with one another for the purpose of coordinating research, exchanging ideas and criticism, and holding conferences. Undoubtedly a number of the study groups will soon be setting up discussion bulletins of their own. Some of the study groups now forming are in the areas of Law; Economics; Foreign Policy; Ethical Basis of Social Theory; Radicals in the Professions; Theories of Work; Labor; Educational Theory and Reform; and Counter-curriculum. Initial coordinators for study groups will be identified in *New Left Notes* and in the REP Newsletter as individuals agree to work in the coordinating role.

In the course of the meeting, it became obvious that if the study group idea lives up to half of the potential it is now displaying, the REP Staff will be dealing with a number of problems that would face anyone attempting to function as catalyst of an intellectual process without coming to preside over that process. It was finally decided, for example, that in the case of a local REP conference, the organizers should be encouraged to formulate problems and agendas on their own. The REP office would help out with resources and suggestions as requested.

With respect to the publication by the REP office of materials originating in study groups, it was decided that study groups would naturally exercise a self-editing power, thus sparing the REP staff the impossible task of reading all of the material likely to be developed, and reducing the danger of excessive centralization of control over editorial policies. As study groups develop "competence" and criteria of their own, the safeguards will be strengthened still further.

Although REP will be engaging in dialogue with new constituencies through its study groups, conferences, and publications, it was decided that at least one staff member would serve as a contact man with groups and organizations that are not part of "the movement" but which nevertheless share many concerns with us. There are a number of religious, professional and labor groupings in this category which could and should be approached for the purpose of engaging them in the radical education process. Allocation of staff resources toward this end will be regarded as long-range "seed-work" which should be evaluated by its effectiveness in changing the intellectual atmosphere of the country and not by its ability to produce immediate and specific political returns. It is hoped that in this way, resources can be created for the future and that we will be less likely to become isolated from sources of ideas and potential allies.

The REP meeting also arrived at an interim policy on the hiring of new staff. In the interests of continuity and in recognition of the fact that it takes new people some time to orient themselves, it was decided that new staff would not be taken on unless the individual involved was prepared to make a commitment of at least six months of his time. Rare exceptions will be made when someone is needed to implement a clearly defined project of limited duration.

CANADIAN border TIGHTENED

It has recently been brought to the attention of the National Office that immigration controls on Americans entering Canada have been tightened by administrative decision. According to Canadian sources, the new situation involves two innovations in policy.

First, Americans have traditionally been able to enter Canada as visitors, find jobs, and then apply for work permits and landed immigrant status. Now, Americans are being treated as any other immigrants would be. Chances of gaining landed immigrant status in this way seem slim at this point. This means that prospective immigrants must either apply via Ottawa while still in the United States or be judged at the border. Not only are young men being quizzed at the border about their draft status, but, in addition, we know of two instances of a student having been refused entry into the country.

Secondly, it appears that draft age Americans may no longer be able to gain landed immigrant status—not because they will be refused, but most likely because their applications will not be acted upon. There will probably be some sort of security check involving draft status.

The above information is tentative and the National Office will keep you informed on new developments in *New Left Notes*.

—The National Secretary

The Staff was mandated to secure an office of its own and a satisfactory office has just been found. It is located near the University of Michigan campus in downtown Ann Arbor. The REP mailing address will remain unchanged until further notice.

Because time ran short, a detailed set of procedures for the internal administration of the Radical Education Project corporation, submitted by Al Haber, was tabled until the next meeting of the R.E.P. Directors and Staff.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

by Kim Moody
New York

In a Convention paper entitled, "Toward the Working Class", I urged SDSers to begin considering organizing in the working class, the emphasis being on rank and file blue collar workers. Even before the paper was written a number of SDSers had been doing just that, while others were giving serious thought to organizing blue collar projects. Although I still feel that this is the most important things SDS can do, I realize that not everyone is cut out for, or even *should* do this sort of organizing. A number of student radicals, when they graduate, are likely to go into fields that are not usually thought of as working class, the semi-professions. Given this fact, it seems to me to be worth while to discuss the radical possibilities of at least one area of semi-professional employment, public semi-professional work—particularly teaching and public welfare.

As most people are aware, there has been a dramatic change in the structure of the working class since the end of World War II. It is now a fashionable liberal shibolth to point out that the industrial working class is disappearing and being replaced by unorganized white collar workers. The force behind this transformation is, of course, automation and the new technology. Although the notion that the industrial working class is rapidly disappearing is untrue, there is no disputing the relative growth of the white collar sector. Within the growing white collar working class the fastest growing sector is public employment on the state and local level. In April, 1947 there were 3,682,000 state and local employees, by March, 1966, this was up to 8,204,000. These figures include blue collar public employees, but this fact only emphasizes the importance of public employment in the entire working class. Employment in private manufacturing, on the other hand has risen only slightly above the 1950 level. Within the public employment sector, the largest single group of employees are those in education, mostly teachers. In April, 1947, there were 1,483,

000 employees in state and local education. by March, 1966 this was up to 4,298,000. In 1966, education accounts for more than 50% of all state and local public employment. The numerical significance of public employment is obvious, but what is even more interesting for our purposes is that something is happening in public employment.

Most of the history of public employee unionism is pretty dreary. Virtually all of the public employee unions before 1960 were conservative in style. All of them, including the Communist-run United Public Workers (UPW), officially discouraged strikes. Until 1960, these unions had very few written contracts—the minimal life-line of any real trade union. After 1960, however, the two surviving public employee unions, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), began to fight for contracts and other trade union issues. I will discuss AFT later. The AFSCME seems to have raised itself to the level of functioning as a genuine trade union, in the not too exciting American sense, and halted its development there. The first really militant upsurge of aggressive public (non-educational) employee unionism has come from public welfare workers. In the last two or three years, independent unions of public welfare workers have sprung up around the country. Some of them were formed by rank and file groups that revolted against the conservative policies of AFSCME or of the Building Service Employees International Union (BSEIU) and others grew up where there had been no union. In all cases, these new unions reject both the conservatism of the old unions and the "professionalism" of the social work associations. These independent welfare unions, now united in the National Federation of Social Service Employees, have rejected the old political pressure tactics of AFSCME in favor of direct action for a contract and demonstrations

and job actions for contract enforcement. What is even more interesting from a radical point of view is that most of these unions have been striving to build an alliance with welfare client organizations in order to transform the welfare system. Socialists and radicals can play an important role in making sure that this alliance is built on a radical basis by working in these unions. In almost all of the welfare worker unions, client organization is a hot issue and in the New York Social Service Employees' Union, independent socialists together with other radicals have done a lot to fight for a militant alliance with clients. Welfare unions also inevitably become embroiled in other important local political fights, so that the immediate political possibilities are greater than in most other unions. Furthermore, as most of the leaders of these young unions are somewhat politically radical in their thinking and more or less New Left in style, the political atmosphere is more free swinging. The advantage of working in these unions is that they are alive with action right now—three of the welfare unions have struck within the last six months and more strikes are likely this Fall.

Although the action possibilities of welfare unionism are more immediate, in some ways public school teaching offers more serious long range political work. For one thing, young people, especially radicals, who are not interested in social work *per se*, and that is most of us, will probably not work in welfare for more than a couple of years. Teaching is more likely a long range career. People who go into teaching have to have a special desire to work with kids and, therefore, are more likely to view it as a career. For another, teaching represents more people in our society, nearly 4,000,000, and education a more central institution than welfare. Indeed, there is a tremendous struggle to be waged in many urban, and particularly Ghetto, schools.

(Continued on page 6)

letters to the editor

Dear Ed.,

I read The Calculus of Improbabilities (NLN Oct 7) with interest. I am not sure that SNCC would agree that SNCC Plus SDS Equals New Left, we ought to ask them about that some time. I am also not sure why you lump the Young People's Socialist League with PL., WEB, DuB. and YSA. The latter are all offshoots of the Communist Movement while the YPSL derives from the Socialist Party one day we shall have to discuss the calculus involved in that distinction.

Did it come to your attention that we had some contact with the Susskind situation on this end? The show also called the League For Industrial Democracy (LID) for a person to appear on the program. One of the LID staff did go down and after a short conversation was also told that they wanted a really dramatic type of person and sited the example of a guy from Watts whom they had contacted and liked because he started shouting over the phone.

The LID staffer told them that they wanted to assemble an unrepresentative far out show and pass it off as the New Left. The reply was that they had discussed the matter and wanted to do it their way.

Later on the New York Regional Office of SDS was contacted and having been forewarned by the experience of the NO and the LID asked if the program would accept whoever was sent. Again they were told to send several people and one would be chosen. The REGION DECLINED+

What I can't fathom is how SDS people can show such good sense on an occasion like this and then turn around on a picket line or public demonstration, and through unusual appearance, ill chosen slogans or Viet Cong flags provide the national TV with precisely the spectacle that the Susskind people tried to stage. The problem is we should want to avoid being had by the mass media not for the sake of being cooler than they are, but because no one knows better than they how to isolate us even from the majority of the student community. But still it seems that we will "bare our teeth and snarl into the cameras", every chance we get unless we are requested to do so in which case we refuse. That's not a political approach. It's pure contrariness.

Steve Max
N.Y.C., NY

Dear N.O. People,

In view of your continuing financial crisis, may I suggest that dues be raised to ten dollars a year. Furthermore, to insure that every member pays, the N.O. should bill members directly, allow 30 days for a response, and then remove from the files the names of all those who fail to reply. Instead of billing all 6,000 members at once, you might mail dues notices (at bulk mail rates) to 500 members a month to insure a continuous inflow of funds. Assuming that a third of the membership is so lacking in seriousness that it cannot come up with ten dollars a year, you would still have \$40,000 a year from the membership with which to operate the N.O., publish N.L.N., and keep in stock the priority literature (basic brochure, Port Huron Statement, SDS Constitution, America and the New Era).

The REP is a great idea, but attaining tax exempt status is essential. It should publish a quarterly journal, a monthly I. F. Stone sized newsletter, and pamphlets as funds permit. For the present, N.L.N. should go to a bi-weekly publishing schedule (26 issues a yr.), 8 pages an issue, occasionally expanding to 12. This more leisurely schedule would help to conserve scarce funds, and allow for improvements in editing and composition.

Meanwhile, since a non-member subscribing to NLN at \$5 a yr. is of more assistance to the organization than is a member at \$4 dues a yr., I'll become a non-member until you adopt my \$10 a yr. proposal! A check for \$5 is enclosed. It is not intended to further the pattern of deficit spending. Reform ye sinners in the N.O.! Return to financial responsibility!

Peace, Gary Smith
North Conway N.H.

To the Editor of NLN:

Three comments on Edward Jahn's letter, "MDS or What?" in NLN, October 1.

First, agreed that SDS as it stands is an inadequate vehicle for expression and action by ex- and non-students. The discussion of MDS and other possible remedies is the objective reflection of this fact: whatever solution is correct, the problem does exist, or people wouldn't be proposing solutions.

Second, creating "a separate adult organization . . . bound to SDS by fraternal ties" seems to me a bad idea for two reasons. (1) Our experience with LID indicates, when you back off from the specific politics, that organizational independence leads to increasingly divergent political courses and hence to eventual splitting. An ideology in favor of cooperation is inadequate; cooperation must be hammered out in practice, i.e. within some sort of integrated structure, or it will wither. (2) Jahn believes that "adults and students quite properly belong in separate organizations." Why? There is a gerontocratic assumption here. A national election in which a 40-year-old veteran ran against a 20-year-old student would not necessarily create insoluble problems; it might create productive ones. Good for 40-year-olds to be led by 20-year-olds and for 20-year-olds to avoid youth-arrogance. It seems to have worked in Cuba. I think it is desirable to bridge the generational split rather than emphasize it, and to break the isolation of the student movement.

Third, on structures. Given that chapters should reflect an objective constituency (e.g., college chapters: organization based on place of work), largely-student and largely-adult chapters would probably result. Integration would occur representationally at the level of conventions and NCs, programmatically in national programs. Such an arrangement would reflect the differing orientations, needs and social lives of adults and students; would provide the basis for a split if divergence made one inevitable; but would avoid conceding one in advance.

Fraternally,
Christopher Hobson
U. of Chicago SDS

To the editor:

I found Marvin Mandell's article, "Against Paranoid Politics" (NLN, 9/23) revolting. It was revolting not so much because of the political position it advocated (although I disagree with that too), but because of the speed and assurance with which he dismissed intelligent radical leaders and some of the most important radical achievements in modern history, and because of the facile analogies he drew between phenomena poles apart.

I do not agree completely with the direction of the black power campaign, and I don't like the Chinese proletarian cultural revolution. But both are led by people who have basically the same goals as S.D.S., and discussions with those people must be carried on with that huge fact in mind. I don't have the space to quote chapter and verse, but it must be clear to anyone who has read SNCC literature and Communist ideological writings that both are working to achieve a free, decentralized society in which people can control their own destinies.

I think there is a slight racist tendency in SNCC now (disliking whites because they are whites)† But it is more emotional than intellectual, since racist statements are often counterbalanced by statements making it clear that what SNCC really thinks is that whites functioning in a basically white racist America can not escape involvement themselves. One may agree or disagree (I disagree), but that is not a racist opinion. It is an opinion about the effects of white racism.

But there is also an immense difference between the most racist black radical and a white racist: no racist black radical wants to exploit whites or keep them in an inferior position in society. To equate the actions of the oppressors with the angry reactions of the oppressed is certainly a great leap although not forward.

Despite Mandell's statement, no news service has reported that red guards have raped peasant women. On the other hand, a great many peasant women were raped by Chiang Kai-chek's armies. And red guards tying someone to a lamp post and cutting off his Western hair cut are qualitatively better than Nazi hoodlums murdering helpless Jews.

Mandell's one sentence dismissal of the Russian revolution left me almost speechless with indignation. Fortunately, not quite. I would like to point out to him that no one starves in the Soviet Union, or in China, and that that is very important. Furthermore, if Mandell has ever walked around downtown New York, he has probably seen more beggars there than there are in all of China.

Beyond that, the socialist experiments, despite many horrible and condemnable things that have done in carrying them out, have created new cultures involving new patterns of interpersonal relations and new values. I do not think it is yet clear that they are evolving toward a quality of life better than that of the comfortable members of capitalist societies. But there are many indications that they are, and that is well worth looking into.

Sincerely,
Alan Jehlen
Cambridge, Mass

To the Editor:

We are writing this to inform the other members of SDS of some of the projects and progress we have had in the past few months.

Having acquired at last an office in July of this year we were able to set up with greater efficiency programs; the office serves not only as the headquarters for SDS but also as a Community Action Center. As such, it houses our library from which free literature is available and other books and pamphlets are for sale; in addition, it is the auditorium for speakers. To date we have had several speakers including James Boggs from Detroit speaking on Black Power; recently the Center was used by the local ACLU for their meeting and was offered to but declined by the John Birch Society for the speech of Selma, Alabama's sheriff James Clark sponsored by the Society's series of speakers in Toledo. (This offer was made immediately after we learned that the Knights of Columbus retracted their offer of their hall for Clark when they learned that we would be there to demonstrate.) As it is at the time of this writing, Clark will still speak here, but the new location has not yet been made public.

For the past few weeks we have been leafletting churches on Sunday morning, after the services, with such literature as Senator Fulbright's "The Vietnam Fallout", "Insights into the Problem of Viet Nam", and anti-napalm leaflets. As a result of this and other actions, there is in the process of organization a Toledo area high-school SDS.

We are hoping to set up some debates (possibly on the Toledo University campus) between SDS and the Young Americans for Freedom, the meeting of whom several of us attended and engaged in a dialogue of sorts.

At the SSS draft test in the spring of '66 we formed a small picket line holding on high such signs as "War Erodes the Great Society" and that old favorite "Make Love Not War". We coupled this with the distribution of the SDS Vietnam exam.

Future services will include more speakers and further demonstrations wherever and whenever necessary, plus the publication of The Toledo Free Press, which has had three issues, so far.

from,
Toledo SDS
1013 Adams Street
Toledo, Ohio 43624

NLN,
Concerning Marc Lendler's Question (NLN 10/7):

There should probably be a great rush to get, not a new ideology, but a New Man to fulfill the finer aspects of old ideologies (do we ally with Dr. Leary?).

It seems to me that an underlying assumption of "Let the People Decide" is that if this political approach were to become general rule, we would ipso facto have a social order in which the heightened sense of community would give rise to a moral awareness and social consciousness on man's part, which would in turn lead to the humanistic decisions for which we hope. There is of course no way of verifying this faith, but retain it we must. The question that concerns me is the chicken-and-egg one: to save ourselves from possible destruction at the hands of irrationality must we suspend democracy until the New Order is created (where is that copy of "On Contradictions?") or do we struggle for large-scale democracy as a condition for achieving the New Order, in which case we risk a great deal, if not our lives?

Doug Chaudron
New York City

N.C.N.P. DIALOGUE

by John Maher
Boston, S.D.S.

When it comes to the NCNP (National Conference for New Politics), Paul Booth's facts and my own may not square for some time to come. Let the reader decide. My source for the 50-50 split between Chicago CIPA and the Morgan campaign was Clark Kissinger. Bob Scheer's first words at the Ann Arbor Institute was that he had not been invited. Most people at the Institute blamed the NCNP staff for the poor showing there, perhaps because Paul was considerably more reticent than now about assuming his share of the responsibility. So much for fact. My article was in response to a report from Paul, which while giving a fairly glowing account of NCNP's contributions to the movement, discussed its problems in Aesopian language such that one had to be an insider already to understand them. I found the discussions at Ann Arbor with Paul, Clark Kissinger, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Steve Max and myself much more frank and to the point. Properly, these discussions belong to a meeting of the National Council, but the next best thing is to continue them here on the pages of NLN.

SDS is not simply a collection of interested individuals; at present the Board of the NCNP claims to be. This difference in organizational form may have posed a painful dilemma for Paul and Lee. Nonetheless, in retrospect (and I say in retrospect because if I'd been as smart then as I think I am now, I would have attempted to force the issue at the June NC) it seems clear that the only basis on which a National Secretary or any other individual who uses the name SDS in an enterprise like the NCNP "for purposes of identification" can do so is as a representative responsible to and removable at will by some democratic body within SDS (something for hotshots to consider now that some "individuals" are being asked to subscribe to a December conference to plan a student strike for the spring). Like Paul, however, I think that for the NCNP to succeed, the relevant constituency for the Board must become local community-based organizations and organizing efforts rather than national organizations, in which case the members of the Board would be responsible to the local groups who sent them. This perspective is by no means universally accepted within the NCNP. Furthermore, a reorganization along the lines which Paul has suggested would tend to eliminate some of the national figures from the Board, which would create problems for the fundraising. In our Ann Arbor discussions we proposed a division between the fundraisers and the Board. I would like to see some concrete proposals from Paul and Lee which speak to this point, for unless the NCNP grounds itself soon in real organizing work, there is a real danger that it might become an organization which goes no further than funding "peace campaigns" at election time and "national events" in between. I think we will find that these are fast becoming relatively useless and terribly boring.

a STATEMENT of VALUES

by Pat Hansen &
Ken McEldowney
San Francisco, Calif.

When we first started this paper we know that we were going to quit campus traveling full-time close to the end of this semester, but have since decided to quit within the next week or so. We end this paper asking that people begin to deal with frustration of work and pressure that eventually manifest themselves in lack of communication. We're quitting partly because of this very problem; we feel that under the present direction while working full-time it is only possible to deal with the day-to-day administrative and political work. It is not possible to deal with the deeper problems facing the movement. Instead of being a place where the values we talk about in this paper are carried out, the movement has become an umbrella for everything from political power fights to haggling over minutes of programs and administrative details. It seems to us that the original closeness, values and goals that brought people into the movement have become submerged by rapid growth and apparent successes. Unless this direction is reversed it seems to us that sds will collapse or become yet another organization fighting for power in the name of its uninvolved members.

We are not quitting because we have lost all hope for sds. Part of the reason is that we have become very tired both mentally and spiritually from an extended period of full-time day-to-day work, a large chunk of which revolved around the regional office in Northern California. We need and want time to think, travel, read, and to enjoy life. But more than that we believe it to be impossible to get any sort of long-term perspective on the movement, and sds specifically and to develop ideas on what sort of direction it should take. Even more, what continuing role should we play within the movement. We want to talk to others about what we and they are thinking and read what has been written and to do some writing of our own.

This paper is a first attempt. It is a rough attempt to sketch in why we consider continued to work with students to be important and is a statement of our goals and values we have specifically related to campuses and campus organizing. As such it is a critique of the present direction of sds and specifically of the individual chapters and the ways in which organizers and offices are working. We would appreciate reactions and comments.

WHY STUDENTS?

... One of the most disturbing things about almost all white supporters of the movement has been that they are afraid to go into their own communities - which is where the racism exists - and work to get rid of it. They want to run from Berkeley to tell us what to do in Mississippi; let them look instead at Berkeley. They admonish blacks to be nonviolent; let them preach non-violence in the white community. They come to teach me Negro history; let them go to the suburbs and open up freedom schools for whites. Let them press this government to cease supporting the economy of South Africa.
- Stokely Carmichael

It seems to us that students are becoming alienated from their society. Symptoms of this can be found in the rising juvenile delinquency rates among middle class youth and the sharp increase in those trying to withdraw through use of drugs and liquor. The causes are much deeper. In school students daily face courses and teachers who are at best dull and not relevant and at worst dishonest in attempts to color America's role in the world. In addition, and perhaps more important, the student feels impotent to affect his situation in the least. All decisions are made for him. To have a role similar to that of his parents all he has to do is attend class for sixteen years but he sees this role as being without meaning, importance or challenge. Middle-class adults are beginning to have many of the same feelings and sense of being alienated but we have chosen to work with students because they are far less tied to or dependent on society either financially

or emotionally. Two other points should at least be mentioned: the nation is becoming a young one and one that for the most part is in school. In the next couple of years more than half the population will be under twenty-five with several million in college in California alone. The second and more important point is that students are members of an institution that is a microcosm of society and at the same time closely connected with other aspects. But the size of the school or college is still small enough that the individual student or the organized student can acquire a sense of power and be able to bring about the small successes that are so important for the growth of a movement.

WHAT ORGANIZING MEANS?

Perhaps the most difficult thing to talk about is our set of values, and what we mean when we say we want to get close to the people. But we will attempt to do this because we feel that it is at the heart of what organizing is and is perhaps the strength of the movement. It seems to us that it is not our position on Vietnam or the demonstrations that is causing the growth of the movement, but rather the offer of a sense of community and an opportunity to affect at least a portion of our lives.

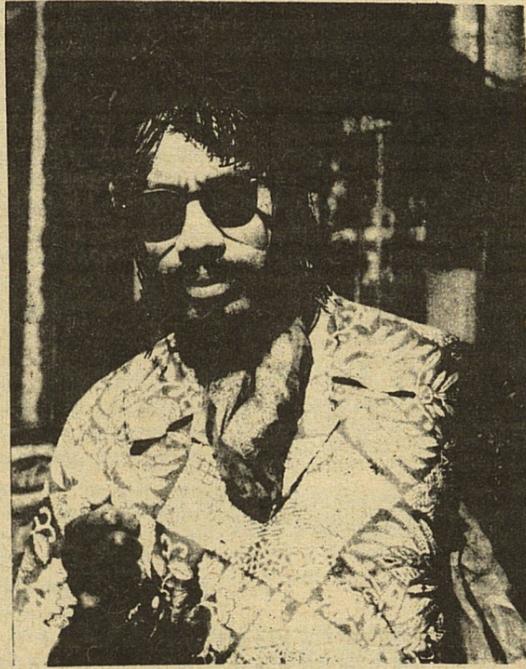
In the South, much of the closeness and openness came from conflict and confrontation not so much with outside forces such as the police and local racists as from within those working with SNCC. There was almost constant suspicion and doubt on the part of the black organizers toward the white, and between the whites who had been there for a while and the new students who were constantly coming into Mississippi. The questions of why were you, a white, here, what role you saw yourself playing forced self-examination of one's own values and purposes and, perhaps as important, an examination of society itself in class and racial terms. The deepness of one's understanding of one's self and relationships with others came from the need to understand, explain, defend and expand thoughts, values and actions. The whole meaning of being white and being middle-class in a country such as ours became increasingly clear. In many ways similar changes took place in students working in poor communities in the North. Unfortunately this has not happened in most Northern campus-oriented movements.

Understanding of ourselves and an ability to be close and open with those who are working with us or with whom we would hope to draw into the movement is key to what we are saying. It means coming out of the personal shell that society has placed us in that makes it impossible to be honest with those we consider to be our friends and fellow workers. It means not being scared to express our doubts and confusions or not being scared to say that we aren't exactly sure of what we are doing or why. It means talking about and caring about other than just the political world whether it is a personal life or a love of art or music and being able to say that the political must not make serious inroads into this equally important sphere. It means taking the time to become close even at the expense of immediate political tasks.

What we are working for is far more than changes in the structure of society and it's institutions or the people who are now making the decisions. It is more than bringing greater numbers of people into sds or into politics or the movement. It is more than creating radicals or revolutionaries. While it is all this it is also bringing about real changes in the individuals that we involve as well as in ourselves. The primary goal is not to reach and somehow affect some students so that they will be better social workers or better teachers or better political leaders; better in the sense that they adhere to the rhetoric of the movement and attempt to search out the loopholes within the system to gain benefits for those who are less fortunate, or try in their own way to help those that they come in contact with. This will almost be a fringe benefit for better or for worse. (An example now is the fact that a significant number of those going into the Peace Corps and VISTA have been on the edge of the civil rights movement in the South, i.e., summer volunteers, or around SDS chapters in the North.)

YOUR PRIVILEGE
YOUR DUTY
GET OUT AND
VOTE!

FOR YOUR LOCAL



ANARCHIST

The stress should rather be on wrenching people out of the system both physically and spiritually. The priority should lie with increasing the number of people who see who will not be content with small reforms or improvements but will push for radical restructuring of society and the ways that people relate to each other.

Of necessity politics, of some form, and a striving for power or control over one's lives is an important part of this. But this striving or the involvement in politics without fairly strict adherence to the values of honesty, openness, and that people should control their own lives makes a mockery of what we are about. Then how do we differ in any significant respect with the liberals we criticize? For example, what have we gained if a radical peace candidate or student government candidate is elected in a top-down campaign in which issues and positions were not discussed, and who is not directly responsible or accountable to a broad-based organization? We think very little. He may have a bigger platform on which to speak, but his campaign and the role that his constituents played differs little from most. The people's lives have not changed and they have no greater role in influencing their lives than before.

Once, talking to some Negro high school students who said that they wanted to go to white schools so that they could get the best education possible and use it to escape the ghetto, we suggested that they use the white man's money and facilities to study his society and learn how to destroy it.

It seems to us that people in the movement who challenge middle-class society and want so much to change it seem to suddenly become helpless and submissive when faced with it inside their college or university. For the most part, they are docile accepters of the regimentation, the control, the impersonalness, the race for grades and generally accept the whole ethic that is associated with education that has been drummed into their

heads since grade school: you shouldn't cheat even on meaningless exams, you should follow the rules and regulations even though it robs you of a meaningful education, research and papers should be objective and removed from real world concerns, and so forth.

As such, their whole involvement with the movement, whether in research or action becomes little more than a hobby. The bulk of their lives is occupied with an activity that actually distracts and destroys the very orientation of challenge, imagination, creativity and non-acceptance of authority that is necessary if work in the movement is to have meaning. The lives of the students have not been changed; SDS plays the same role for students as civic groups or peace politics play for their parents. We are creating a generation of weekend demonstrators; people who have to be careful to have bail ready when they are jailed because midterms are coming up. We are seeing chapters formed that we know will largely fall apart when exams roll around or when papers are due. The movement is only deluding itself if it believes that these are going to be the full-time workers in the coming years.

It is precisely this way of thinking on the part of the student that we are trying to change. It has to change if we are to have any hope of real growth in the movement or in the restructuring of society.

Students, if they are going to remain in school, should take advantage of a fairly

(Continued on page 8)

R.E.P.

The REP program, American Radical History and Political Thought, is now underway, and the first mailing has been sent out. All those wishing to help, take part, or offer suggestions are urged to write to: Paul Buhle, #2C Knollwood Acres, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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"BULL" at the Supermarket

From Maine to California and from Oregon to Florida, hellzapoppin in shopping centers as insurgent housewives "hit the bricks" in protest against outrageous food-prices.

Although primarily a spontaneous movement among many middle and lower-middle class women, it has already been denounced as a "leftist plot" by neanderthal Barry Goldwater. But sharper reactionaries are using a different tactic in an effort to make political hay for themselves. Their line is: of course the housewives are right; they are the victims of outrageous inflation caused by wild "government spending" and this inflation can be cured by eliminating the miniscule government expenditures on health, education, welfare and anti-poverty.

Spokesmen for the big supermarket chains echo this line, and embellish it with high-pressure propaganda to the effect that the grocery chains are operating on microscopic profit margins, as low as "one cent on the dollar", and that it is impossible for them to lower prices without suffering financial disaster.

Among these sectors of the Establishment that rob consumers blind, it has long been a favorite ploy to point to the other guy and say: "Look now, our prices have only gone up X percent in the last year, but the prices of such and such items has gone up no less than XX percent." (The current issue of the *New Yorker* carries an ad of U. S. Steel, pointing out that bacon prices rose 45% in two years, and food prices generally, 17%, while steel prices went up only 2%.)

Many of the insurgent housewives put the main blame on the trading stamp, bingo and other fringe gimmicks which have become so popular among the supermarket chains.

But the radical who wants to understand the true causes of high food prices, and participate effectively in the insurgent movement of the housewives, needs to possess a few additional and more pertinent facts.

According to the classic "laws" of capitalist economics, when money is "tight" and there is no scarcity of consumer goods, prices should drop sharply, as they did, for example, in the Great Depression of the '30's. But this classic "law" has been substantially "amended" by the growth of the giant monopolies that are able to fix prices substantially without regard to the laws of "free competition".

The main cause of the high and continually rising cost of living is Johnson's war in Vietnam. By estimates of the Administration's own spokesmen, the cash cost of the war right now is two and a half billion dollars a month, or thirty billion a year, and this figure is continually rising with the prospect that it will soon reach three, or even four billion a month.

Who's to pay the bill? The masses of impoverished, working-class and middle-class people of the country, or the profit-swollen corporate institutions of the Establishment? The answer is given in the *New York Times* financial page headline: "BIG BUSINESS STILL LOVES LBJ".

Johnson and his war machine long ago made the decision that the bill must be paid not only with the blood and tears of the poorest and middle-class Americans, but with higher food and living costs, and retrenchment if not complete abandonment of even the insignificant welfare programs of the so-called "Great Society".

Thus the profit statements of the biggest of the monopoly corporations continue to break records, and the only real problem for them is to find new areas (Vietnam, So. East Asia) in which to invest their immense capital accumulations.

When with great fanfare the Johnson Administration announced its wage and price "guide-lines", it was presented as an effort to control inflation, and protect the consumers from high prices. But the 3-1/2% limit proposed on wage increases would not even cover the yearly productivity increase of the average worker, while a 3-1/2% increase in prices could result in a 50 or 100% increase in PROFITS, and Johnson of course, neither intended nor proposed any limit on PROFITS!

But the war in Vietnam, while the main cause, is not the only cause of high food prices. The super-profits of the huge super-chains and food packers and processors are another important cause. The propaganda about "only 1¢ profit on \$1.00 of sales" is pure baloney; with an investment of say, \$10 million, a food chain can easily gross as much as \$500 million, with a NET PROFIT of FIVE MILLION or FIFTY PERCENT yearly return on their investment. In actuality, many food chains and food processors and packers are getting yearly profit returns of from 40 to 60 and 70 percent of their capital investment.

The crap about only 1¢ profit on \$1 of sales covers up a number of salient facts: all the big chains own packing, baking and other subsidiary outfits from whom they "buy" large quantities of supermarket products. Some of the big chains even have their own produce and dairy farms, all of which show tremendous yearly profits not at all reflected in the bull about "1¢ on the dollar".

Further immense profits of the superchains are concealed in the fantastic "salaries", stock option plans, pensions and other "emoluments" to "management executives". Scores of such executives are in the \$100,000 per year income brackets, for the official record, draining off billions of actual profits that never appear on the books.

Another huge bite out of the consumer's food dollar goes to the Madison Avenue boys in the form of billions of dollars spent on huge advertising and promotion schemes for supermarket products. A recent article on the financial page of the *Chicago Daily News* points out that on many supermarket items, such as soaps, detergents, beauty preparations, cereals, etc., competition among the giants is such that they are continually forced to launch "new" and "improved" versions of their products with tremendous advertising campaigns that end up costing the consumer from 25 to as much as 80 and 90% of the retail price of the item!

The disciples of the "free enterprise" system have long pointed to the huge food chains as shining examples of capitalist efficiency. Even radicals have sometimes been awed by this much vaunted "efficiency" and hint that this type of centralized efficiency has to be copied in the "new order". But the alleged "efficiency" which is supposed to bring the consumer the lowest prices possible, turns out on close examination to be nothing more than Madison Avenue bull.

The *New York Times* of October 27 reports that a national convention of 1,000 delegates of the National Association of Food Chain Executives, meeting in Miami, heard a report, especially prepared for the Association by a Chicago Research firm. This report stated that gross waste and inefficiencies in supermarket distribution and transportation, if eliminated, could yield a saving to the industry of "at least \$1.2 billion a year". (If passed on to the consumer, it would amount to a saving of at least \$25 per family per year.)

And of course, the housewives are perfectly right in demanding an end to all the fringe gimmicks and services, the cost of which is naturally tacked on to the retail prices.

Are the insurgent housewives on the right track, with their "girl-cott" of the big supermarkets? Not all radicals are agreed. Some say that the net effect of the movement will be to eliminate the less efficient independent store owners. In the opinion of others, it just isn't so, and they point to the fact that the Department of Labor has just announced that the girlcotts have already resulted in a substantial drop in wholesale prices, which independents as well as the superchains can pass on to the consumer.

All radicals can certainly agree that the organization and existence of militant consumer "watch-dog" groups is a very good thing, and radicals must join and participate in their activities, bringing as much clarity as possible to the understanding of the consumers about the real causes and cures of high prices.

There are a few areas in the country where consumer and producer cooperatives can be a strong weapon in the fight against high food prices. Prices of co-op brands of supermarket items, because they do not reflect huge advertising and promotion costs of advertised brands, are generally substantially lower for comparable products and qualities.

Unfortunately, the large consumer co-ops, such as the one at Berkeley, and the one in Chicago's Hyde Park, are in middle class communities, and a good deal of their original objectives about protecting consumer interests have been either watered down or lost sight of. Fortunately, on the other hand, there are "nests" of New Leftists around such co-ops who are paying more attention now to the role and function of the co-ops, and there is a prospect that the large and wealthy consumer co-ops will start helping in the financing and organization of co-ops where they are most needed, especially in the Negro ghettos.

Johnny Appleseed

a MODEST PROPOSAL

(Continued from page 3)

marily over the questions of community, student and teacher control over staff, curriculum, etc. In New York this fight has already started with an unsuccessful fight for community control of Intermediate School 201, in Harlem. Teachers can, and in some though not in 201 schools are playing an important and decisive role in such struggles. In other schools teachers have helped the students organize insurgencies. A system as rotten as the American public education system is bound to produce dissatisfaction among its workers, in this case teachers, as well as in the community. In many cities, long fights over bread and butter have alienated the teachers from the school board, intensifying the possibilities of a teacher-community-student alliance. In general, radical teachers can play two inter-related roles, one in the community around his school, the other among his colleagues, particularly in the union, the AFT. A little background on the AFT will help to clarify the sort of union role that radicals can play.

For most of its history (from 1916 through the 1950's), the AFT has shared the conservative outlook of most public employee unions. The AFT was, for instance, generally opposed to strikes until the late 1950's. A 1947, AFT Convention resolution read:

RESOLVED, That despite the existence of these deplorable conditions we deem it wise that the American Federation of Teachers maintain a no-strike policy.

This was upheld by the AFT Executive Council in Dec., 1951 and carried on as AFT policy for years. There were, of course, teachers strikes, but they were few and short. By the 1960's, the AFT still had no real contacts in any major cities. As with the social workers, New York led the way. In 1960, the New York AFT, the United Federation of Teachers, struck for and won a bargaining election. In 1962, the UFT held a much publicized strike and won the first major teachers contract. The UFT was dominated by the Social-Democratic, with Charles Cogen as its President. This political fact accounts for why the UFT was able to establish itself as a fairly militant trade union, demanding even the right to bargain on educational policy matters, and also why the development of the UFT stopped at that point. The UFT, for instance, has not countanced the sort of direct and job actions that the SSEU uses. The social democratic, coalitionist, orientation of the UFT leadership has also limited that unions attitude toward the ghetto movement. The UFT leadership opposed the parents struggle for community control of Harlem I.S. 201. All of this is relevant, because in 1964, Charles Cogen, and his Progressive Caucus leadership, became the leadership of the National AFT. At first, this appeared to be a good thing. After all, Cogen was more militant and imaginative than the old leadership under Carl Megel. Furthermore, the AFT plunged into the Civil Rights movement in a way few unions have done. The AFT cooperated with SNCC and the MFDP in the summer of 1965 to set up 23 Freedom Schools, with AFT members actively participating. But this is the thing about the social democracy (SP, LID, etc.), while the Civil Rights movement was non-violent and student based, they could play a constructive role. But when the movement changed, and a real ghetto movement arose, the social democrats could not follow -- they were stuck trying to coalesce around the Democratic Party. Some groups within the AFT have been able to keep up with the movement, the Baltimore Teachers Union -- AFT accepted CORE's black power orientation and helped them set up neighborhood freedom schools to teach Negro history and even initiated its own picket lines against the conditions in ghetto schools. But the AFT as a whole has been left behind. The ghetto movement, of course, will continue to move on, and this will polarize the attitudes of teachers toward that movement. Radicals can play an important role in local AFT groups by forming left wing caucuses to fight for community control -- and, of course, for militant unionist policies as well. Whether it is in the community or in the union, radical teachers have an important role to play.

The unique significance of welfare and teacher unionism lies in its direct relation to ghetto issues. This is the positive side of working in this sector of the working class. But in terms of an orientation toward the working class, that is in terms of the working class nature of these groups, it should be understood that there are limitations. Interestingly, the positive and negative sides of public semi-professional unionism both stem from the same thing, the functional position of social workers and teachers in our society. On the one hand, these semi-professionals are workers. That is, they are ruled by bureaucratic bosses and have little or no control over their jobs or conditions of work. On the other hand, these workers are unusual, within the working class, in that they have power over other people. It is not power made or defined by these workers, but it is power nonetheless. This fact, distorts their working class nature. It makes them a sort of labor aristocracy. At the same time, the rottenness of the systems in which these workers work. makes this power something undesirable to wield. Teachers and welfare workers not only have to fight their bureaucracy for bread and butter, they also have to fight it over policy -- which in this case is one of the determinants of working conditions. Thus, very often when teachers or welfare workers are on strike or involved in some struggle with their bureaucracy, they talk not only about wages and hours, but about changes in the welfare and educational systems. This means that these workers' natural allies are welfare clients and ghetto parents and students. So far, the welfare workers have done much more to develop such an alliance than the teachers. This is partly because it is not a general teacher-parent alliance that is relevant. It is only with parents that are in motion in a progressive direction that such an alliance is workable, and given the nature and function of our educational system, this is only likely in oppressed areas such as the black ghetto. So far, teachers and ghetto parents and students have not been in motion simultaneously as have welfare workers and clients. One of the primary jobs of a radical teacher, of course, is to help create simultaneous motion.

So it is, that the functional position which prevents semi-professional workers from identifying fully with the working class, is also the thing that drives them toward an alliance with the ghetto movement. It may be that this fact will also prevent these workers from going as far as the ghetto movement must. It is impossible to say. We do know that similar groups in Europe have played a left wing role in their labor movements. More importantly, it is clear that the force that drives teachers and welfare workers into an alliance with their clients is one of self-interest, and, in the long run, this is a more stable drive than idealism. It is certain that the Left cannot substitute work in this sort of union for work among the industrial working class. But, at the same time, there are present possibilities inherent in this work which are not so immediately obvious with industrial workers. Furthermore, presumably, different people are suited for and can do different types of radical work. My modest proposal, therefore, is that a certain number of people enter these fields for the purpose of radicalizing the unions there and of building a movement to fight the welfare and educational systems from within as well as from without.

1. *American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (1935); American Federation of Teachers (1916); State, County, and Municipal Workers of America -- CIO (1937-1946); United Public Workers -- CIO until 1950 (1946); Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee -- CIO (1950-1955).

2. *The UFT was formed in 1959 by a merger of the Teachers Guild and the militant wing of the Secondary School Teachers Association. The more or less pro-Communist Teachers Union remained outside of the UFT for a while. The UFT's political history is fascinating, but this article cannot cover all of it.

Additions to

the Waning of Congress

by Steve Max
New York City

The *Waning of Congress* by Bill Higgs, (NLN Oct. 14), was a real service. At a time when so many on the new left think that congress means the sex act, we need more analysis of events in Washington.

There are a few points to be added to Bill's remarks on the changed sentiment in Congress and the defeat of the Civil Rights Bill of 1966.

That Stokely Carmichael labeled the bill a "sham" when it emerged from committee in June was to have been expected as much was lacking in the legislation, but the statement was not really news. SNCC and many members of SDS as well have, since 1964, taken that same attitude towards almost all national civil rights legislation, and there-on hangs a tale.

The bill as it went into the House Judiciary Committee, did contain some of the points which Carmichael has been advocating. In addition, several more of Stokely's points came up as amendments in the course of the debate within the Committee. It should suffice to quote from the report of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights issued right after the House Committee had completed its deliberations. The Leadership Conference is a broad lobbying organization which includes organizations ranging from the AFL-CIO to Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, and from the National Dental Association to the National Student Christian Federation. Both SNCC and CORE are nominal members of the Conference.

Here, in part, is the Conference report of July 5th, 1966:

"The Bill H.R. 14765, as it came from the House Judiciary Committee last week, con-

tains some gains and some disappointments.

1. *Jury Trials* - Still intact are the provisions of the original bill that would prohibit discrimination in the selection of juries for trials in state and federal courts.

2. *Desegregation of Schools and other Facilities* - The Attorney General would still be empowered, under Title VI of the bill, to bring suit to desegregate public schools and other facilities without waiting for a complaint. However, under an amendment by Rep. Richard Poff (D.-Va.), which the committee adopted, he could not sue under this title to desegregate facilities. It is still possible however, that he could sue under new Title III... a section that would enable the Attorney General to bring suit in defense of constitutional rights.

3. *Protection Against Violence* - The section designed to provide greater protection for Negroes and civil rights workers against any interference with their constitutional rights has been encumbered with a new restriction... an amendment to Title V that would restrict that section's prohibitions against interfering with a person seeking to enjoy his constitutional rights to those occasions where he is "lawfully" engaged in exercising them..

HOUSING SECTION REVISED

The Housing section of the bill, Title IV, as everyone anticipated, came in for the most changes, where before it covered all housing for sale or rent, down to single rooms in boarding houses.

Now it exempts apartment houses of four units or less where the owner occupies one unit, and sales by persons making less than three sales a year... Our proposal to create a Fair Housing Board to enforce the law, instead of leaving enforcement solely up to

court action by each private individual who suffers discrimination was offered by Rep. John Conyers (D.-Mich.) and adopted by a vote of 13-4.

OTHER AMENDMENTS LOSE

The three other Leadership Conference amendments were rejected. These are our (their) proposals to:

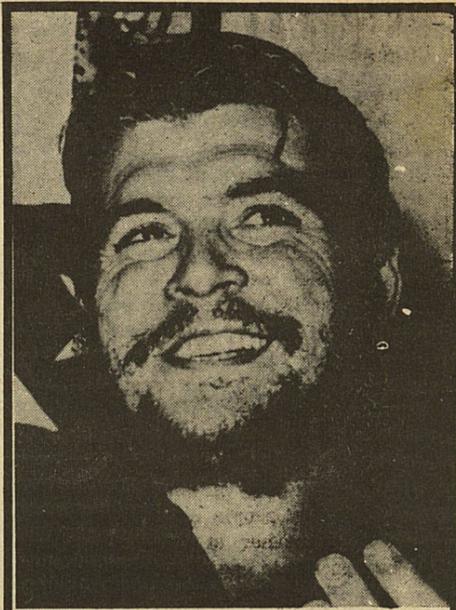
- Create an indemnification board that would investigate acts of violence against civil rights workers and make monetary awards to victims or their next of kin.

- Provide an 'automatic trigger' for setting in motion the procedures for selecting state juries on a non-discriminatory basis, and:

- Extend coverage of Title VII, the Equal Employment Opportunity Section of the Civil Rights of 1964, to require state and local governments to hire employees on a non-discriminatory basis.

The Conference also needs to consider an amendment that would permit removal of civil rights cases from state courts, where an unbiased trial might be difficult, to federal jurisdictions. The need for this amendment

(Continued on page 8)



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the fight for

STUDENT POWER

by Skip Taube
Ann Arbor, Mich.

At the U. M. the local SDS chapter - VOICE - is engaged in a running battle with the administration over the issue of class ranking for the Selective Service. (The U. compiles individual class ranks of just males solely for the purpose of aiding the S. S. in selection of students for the draft. They are under no legal obligation to do so, and they refuse to offer any rationale to the students as to why they do compile ranks; (though they do give a student the "choice" of not sending in his rank to his local board). The arguments against the rank are many; I will not relate them, but varied literature is available (we will send a file on request). A short history though, of the tactics and strategy of our anti-rank fight will hopefully be of some assistance to other people in similar situations, and will also lead to some discussion of applied student power.

Early in the fall semester (Aug. '66) VOICE - SDS gathered referendum on the U. M.'s policy of ranking. The administration of course, refused us and by semi-privately telling us NO - impossible. We then decided to solicit the open (very important now to make every move, every demand, every administration reply, and every supporter of a referendum public knowledge through the local paper, rallies, leaflets, speakers bureaus, and direct action - sit-ins and pickets) support of Student Government Council. They decided to join us (after being talked to and presented the petition) by resolving to hold an all-campus referendum which should be binding upon the administration. They in turn solicited the support of the Fraternity Presidents, Sorority Presidents, Inter-House Assembly, Young Dems, individual faculty, and others (note that this support was usually only for the bindingness of the referendum, regardless of the result of the vote). SGC generally assumed the responsibility of holding a legitimate referendum, the co-ordination of the pre-referendum educational program,

PLANNING for the DECEMBER N.C.

SDS Regional Office
924 Howard Street
San Francisco, CA. 94103

A meeting was called for Oct. 22, 1966 at Hayward State College for the purpose of discussing 1) the problems facing the Northern California Region. Attended by approximately 25 people representing some 10 Northern California SDS chapters, much was accomplished during the 4 1/2 hour conglomeration of ideas and 2) the December National Council meeting.

In keeping with the National Council's plan to scatter Nat'l council meetings, the site was given as somewhere between San Francisco and Los Angeles, and we were able to narrow it down to the campuses at either Santa Cruz, San Jose, or Stanford. Tentatively plans are for a meeting from Dec. 27 - Jan. 1 at costs of approximately \$3-\$5 per person. A committee of 11 was chosen from those present to serve as a planning committee for the conference. This committee will meet on Nov. 5 at San Francisco State to set the agenda, discuss costs (transportation, facilities, etc.) and etc. for the conference.

A few major agenda proposals are being worked on now. One idea has been to have the conference center around a few major questions concerning the nature of social change. What kind of change do we want to see? What are the methods available to bring about change? Who are the agents of social change? And, etc. The discussion could begin with a combination of SDS people, professors, etc., discussing their ideas of the nature of this society (who are the power elite, the nature of corporations, government, etc.), this could be followed by or included in a teach-in type of arrangement discussing methods and agencies of change (counter-community, - co-operatives, New Schools, etc., electoral politics - candidates, lobbyists, third parties, etc., direct action projects - demonstrations, etc., Violent revolution, non-violent revolution, Syndicalism and general strikes, etc.) and the agencies of social change (students, blacks, the poor in general, the workers, the hippies, left wing of the establishment, intellectuals, alliances of the above, the right wing, or none of the above). The group would then break into small workshops which would con-

sider smaller aspects of agencies for change (such as the relevance of New Left schools). The second day could be a debate of various intellectuals on methods of change, workshop reports, and combined and/or new workshops, and the third day we could have a discussion of past and present SDS project, fruits and failures, and open workshops. This is the proposal outlined by Walt Sheasby and Linda Kerley. This could lead into discussions at a later date on the ideology of SDS with the hopes of drafting a follow up document to the Port Huron Statement.

A second proposal for the Dec. meeting is that we should view the development of the left using the various social forces in motion or viewed as moveable in California as a case study. The rationale for this is that most of the forces we have thus far seen as potential agencies of change exist here and many of the modes of organizing that are being talked about around the country have been and are being tried here. Such a program could allow us talk ideologically but in concise terms using concrete examples.

A third alternative would be a strict ideology conference which would discuss past and present theories such as communism, anarchism, democratic socialism, with the idea of introducing these ideas to the members and in hopes of opening up discussions at a later date in hopes of drafting an ideological statement as a follow up of the Port Huron Statement.

A fourth alternative would be a fairly unstructured conference discussing mainly chapter programs and community organizing projects.

These are all sketchily drawn proposals and details would have to be filled in. It should be remembered that none of these proposals need be taken in the form that they are outlined, but can be changed in any way by the committee. None of these proposals need be taken and it is hoped that the delegates will bring their own proposals to be discussed. Remember that it is important that the agenda be of interest to the nation as a whole as well as of interest to California. Be sure that the proposals are carefully discussed with the chapter. It is imperative that an agenda topic be decided so that those around the country can make plans on coming.

HEY!

The number of people who walked out of NC meetings and Convention plenaries in disgust over the stifling effect parliamentarianism had on attempts to achieve a real dialogue was nearly large enough to form a splinter group if people had been so minded. Happily, the disgust showed a very deeply felt concern over what is happening to us, and why we are almost totally unable to function at large meetings. It would seem that parliamentarianism, even when used with the best of will is a very poor way of running meetings for us. People who are interested in finding other ways should contact me at the National Office. There is still time, brother.

Mark Kleiman

and the task of meeting with administrators on behalf of the students. (Also, by this time, there was a poll on the draft in general included in the election - mostly for the benefit of the President's Commission on the SSS run by B. Marshall). And of course, by then they had publicly run into the same narrow, flat opposition of the administration that we had; though the administration now stated that it would consider the student vote as another piece of data when considering their policy, but that it was impossible to accept the referendum as binding because there was no institutionalized process for students to realize their desires and votes, and - believe it or not - that since students were a transient group they had no right to make such decisions (the extreme of this argument would seem to dismiss students as totally irrelevant to the non-academic community).

By this time, the Michigan Daily had blasted the administration over and over on many issues (HUAC, police on campus, student rights, ranking, etc.) specifically hitting at the hypocritical situation whereby administrators were preaching student participation in faculty comm., etc. while at the same time refusing to hear students with complaints, demands, and proposals concerned with more delicate areas such as HUAC, police, and ranking. The administration also has just formulated, requested, and received complete authority over all non-academic affairs (a state of affairs which I will write more about in a later article on student power).

The fight now is at the stage where there are two distinct areas of consideration:

(1) Getting out to all the people and talking against the rank (this is being co-ordinated by SGC, which is placing VOICE-SDS speakers in living quarters, etc.) to make sure they know about the issue and that they vote against the rank;

(2) Planning the upcoming confrontation with the administration where we will somehow have to force them to accept the referendum as binding (assuming we win the vote). We have been somewhat forced to stage this battle after the voting, though we originally thought it would be a better thing to guarantee the bindingness beforehand. These are strategical considerations, subject to the existing conditions, so I won't go through them.

The referendum will take place on Nov. 16 (Wed.), and we will probably make our move on Thursday and Friday. (It is interesting to note that the Regents had planned to meet on that Friday, but they have now moved their meeting back a week. It seems that they are concerned that the wrath of the students will finally fall upon them, since they would no longer be shielded by the faculty and administration; since we have sat in two times already this semester, and the faculty is very irate about the HUAC affair and the recent usurpation of all non-academic power by the administration).

ADDITIONS TO

THE WANING
OF CONGRESS

(Continued from page 7)

results from a restrictive Supreme Court ruling after the Sub-Committee approved the bill. (The Peacock Case referred to in Bill Higg's article - S.M.)

That is how matters stood on the eve of the floor fight in Congress when Carmichael issued his condemnation of the bill. The results of the committee proceedings have been related here to indicate one thing. The battle for a really meaningful bill had already been lost by the time the legislation reached the House floor, but a fight had been carried on in committee for many of the very points that Carmichael called for in his press statement of July 1st. That fight had been conducted by liberal Congressmen and liberal organizations. Neither SNCC nor the New Left played any significant role. In spite of repeated pleas for action from the civil rights lobby, we did not picket, we did not demonstrate, we did not front door of every American, North and South. Combine the problem of millions of go to Washington to pressure Congressmen, we didn't even write letters. We did nothing at all but wait until the fight had been lost and then condemn those who did try for "sharing the hypocrisy of Johnson."

More is waning than Congressional support for civil rights and poverty measures. The recently published polls show a general disaffection with civil rights among the population in general. The proposed open occupancy provisions of the civil rights bill brought the question of integration to the front door of every American, North and South. Combine the problem of millions of people, confronted for the first time with the prospect of Negro neighbors, with the fear caused by the riots and then add a dose of nationally televised Black Power chanting, and you start to understand the make-up of the white backlash. This force which has been potent enough to kill even the emasculated Civil Rights Bill that emerged from the Senate Judiciary Committee has already left its mark on many primary elections and will certainly be felt in November.

Of course, the fight for open occupancy and the better parts of the 1st civil rights legislation must be carried on (in the case of the New Left - begun). At some point, however, the advocates of black power may find it necessary to demonstrate to their own constituents and the New Left as well that more concrete gains were made for Black Americans under that slogan than were lost in the ensuing backlash. Politics is, after all, the art of winning.

MOVING?

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A STATEMENT of VALUES

(Continued from page 5)

unique opportunity. For most there is little if any financial pressure either because of support from parents, scholarships or government financed loans or because the student style of life means that it costs very little to stay alive. Students are thus freed from the eight-hour work day routine that many outside the school are forced into. Actual demands on their time are almost minimal. For many people, time spent in classes and studying could be minimized to a great degree.

Students, for perhaps the only time in their lives, find themselves inside a community of their peers facing similar problems and having similar experiences. The student organizer on a campus can very closely identify with and relate to his fellow students as equal far more than with poor whites or Negroes. He is with his people. Movement people on most campuses do not capitalize on this fact and stand aloft from the rest of the students. They prefer to look toward the civil rights struggle for comrades, which is short-sighted and self-defeating.

If ever a student is going to reach people and change lives it is while he is on a campus. But it will not happen if he continues to submit to the university and not examine who he is and why he is in school. And he will not be able to build anything of meaning or significance unless he can convince others to go through the same process. The heart of organizing on a campus should be forcing people to deal with why they are in school, what are they doing there and how that jives with what they hope to do in society. What right does a student supported by a government scholarship who is also carefully following all that is outlined for him in school have to demand that someone quit a defense plant or to stay there and organize other workers?

Programs on the campus should maximize the extent to which students have to deal with these questions of identity and purpose. The student organizer should spend extensive periods of time talking with those who have taken part in these programs about his values, actions and thoughts. People who decide to stay in school or who say they want to become better teachers, social workers and so forth, should be forced to say why. Most organizers can't do this because they find themselves in the same bag.

University life provides an excellent opportunity for people to do movement research. Research in many areas is desperately needed, and students have the time and the facilities to do it. This is not to say that they should completely ignore their courses but that one of the ways to make school more relevant is to demand the right to work on stuff interesting to the student. Many of the courses that students take offer a perfect opportunity for real discussion, debate and education on problems facing the United States, and if the movement person will use his time to do a lot of research, he can begin to make that work more meaningful, to himself and others.

PROBLEMS

We have attempted to express what is close to our ideal of organizing and how we would go about it, but unfortunately, the situation is often not easy to control, and while there are things we consider to be important and precious, the more mundane sides of life often intrude:

One of the conflicts that seems to arise most commonly is the need for friendships both inside and outside the immediate area of work and the lack of time and energy to form these friendships. The desire for friendship is very strong because we not only want to see our values expressed in the good society some day, but to also begin to live that life now. But it becomes easy to justify not attempting to reach out to people with whom we would like to get close by saying to ourselves that we are tired, or haven't time or whatever. While it is true that the pressures of work often do intrude upon the time we wish to spend with people (which we will talk about later) we want now to try to explain why we think we often have to justify not spending time with friends. It is a very difficult step to begin to understand how separated people are from each other, and what the values are that we want and to begin to understand what is honest and what is dishonest. But it is even more difficult to begin to put those values into action. It seems to us that the basic cause for the separation between people is that we are all frightened of each other, frightened of becoming too close, of opening up, of admitting

that we are unsure and scared, and most of all, frightened of saying to each other and others that we really do want to become close but just don't know how in hell to do it.

PRESSURES OF THE JOB

It is true that not all of the work in the movement is creative and imaginative and that much of the pressure put on people is caused by the less creative work. Because we have been working in an office and because offices are now under attack in SDS, and since the whole disturbance in many people's minds, including ours, about offices continues to rage without any seeming solution to the problems we would like to mention some of the pressures and what happens when people become frustrated by repetitious work does not only exist in the office situation but also can become very common in the day-to-day work of the organizer when he is constantly faced with meeting time schedules, pushing programs that have been determined to have significance and talking to person after person. While the latter point is perhaps what organizing is all about, it is nevertheless true that it can become drudgery.

Some of the pressures are worrying constantly about funds, producing reams of literature, keeping files in order and so forth. We aren't arguing that the administrative tasks are what keeps the movement going, but perhaps they are to the movement what oil is to the car's engine. It seems to us that the kinds of people who work in an office are

not power-hungry or a different species of man, but are like all of you out there. What we are concerned about is not what kinds of people are drawn into offices, but rather what happens to them after they get there.

It seems to us that people come into the movement searching for a meaningful life, unlike the life offered to us by society. But somehow, offices in the movement are more similar than dissimilar to offices in society. But although we are discovering many ways to fight alienation in other areas of society, we seem to be rendered impotent when faced by alienation in movement offices. People outside of the offices resort to name-calling or at best, try to ignore this situation, and people in offices (perhaps no less guilty for the mess) put themselves on the defensive and cut off any possible discussion of the problem. We have no solutions to the problem, we are merely stating what we have observed and felt, but we would like to suggest one thing; that perhaps people inside and outside of offices, organizers and non-organizers could begin to join together to try to face and combat the problems created by such work and begin to dig deeper to understand and deal with the frustration that so often manifests itself in non-communication.

**BLACK
POWER**

(Continued from page 1)

ley Conference so crucial? Why was the conference at Stanford, a private university with a radical student body president, ignored even though Stokeley Carmichael was scheduled to speak at Stanford the day before the Berkeley Conference? Why did the political turmoil surrounding the Berkeley Conference prevent Ivanhoe Donaldson from speaking at Stanford? What is the real political relevance of a conference on anything in a state where there have been two riots in the last month, where farm workers are finally being organized, and where nearly every other worker depends on the defense industry for his job?

Another allegation, I am told, is that the Black Power Conference split the leadership of the black community in the Bay area. That's false. First, like everywhere else, the black community was already split. Second, if anything, the conference brought the black leaders in the Bay area closer together, particularly thru Stokeley Carmichael's closed door conference with them in San Francisco prior to the Berkeley Conference. Finally, because James Bevel spoke on the same platform with Ivanhoe Donaldson and Stokeley Carmichael and his position, except for his philosophical nonviolence, was indistinguishable from SNCC's, the unity of the national civil rights movement has been strengthened. However, this should not be taken to indicate that either Berkeley or Stanford SDS prepared their conferences adequately with respect to the local black communities. Local blacks were not consulted enough and consequently managed to alienate quite a few of them. This indeed explains the origins of the distortions which the press and the wire services passed on to you as the truth.

**NATIONAL
POLITICS**

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will produce their own experts not only well-versed in the mechanics of a radical solution to particular problems but also experienced in the arena of political struggle for these solutions. As similar problems are faced by the various local, state, or regional groups the national headquarters would serve as an ideal meeting ground to compare experiences and share solutions. In addition to the enthusiasm generated by the realization that one's efforts are part of a greater whole, the chance to pool resources and discuss common problems could lead to more imaginative and firmer solutions to the problems faced in each individual area.

Every local movement will be enhanced and the movements will proceed at their own paces slowly or quickly radicalizing the communities. State-wide and even national political union will occur when the time is ripe. Since we are not near that stage, no further speculation is necessary. Until that day, we should get to work at the grassroots and adopt the national campaign idea as a way to push all that much harder in the community. No one should misinterpret this call; it is not a call to a political campaign to put pressure on the government to be "reasonable;" it is not a call to a political campaign to win power; it is, in fact, a call to a political campaign to radicalize the community. Victory in 1968 should be measured only in terms of how many individuals have been reached in the local areas and in terms of the expansion of the local movements.

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