

COUNCILMANIC REDISTRICTING

by Joseph Mewshaw
John Hopkins Chapter

Baltimore has had its share of problems in the struggle for equal voting rights much less a radical electoral base. The recent primary for selecting gubernatorial candidates was one in which our observers witnessed such actions as the passing out of whiskey to vagants for the price of voting for an opponent whose sole platform was opposition to all forms of open housing. (the guilty candidates for this action included the Ku Klux Klan, The National States Rights Party, The Fighting American Nationalists, among others.); actual threats of physical violence, in clear view of local police and voting officials, to potential voters for their votes; the dubious disappearance of several thousand ballots after the precincts had closed, just to mention several typical illegal acts of that grand American institution: the urban political machine.

These actions should not surprise anyone who considers his design as radical; they have been, and will continue to be, symbolic of the American political picture. But now a new phase of electoral piracy is evolving out of a seemingly democratic decision of the Supreme Court, that is, the redistricting of the entire nation to the one man-one vote image of the court. I will discuss the importance of such corruption in terms of urban politics, which of course, most will agree, is the focal point of obtaining electoral equality.

Until the recent redistricting order was handed down, the big city machine had usually one of two choices on districting. District lines could be drawn to include large white neighborhoods with perhaps a quarter, a third, maybe even a half, of a black ghetto in the same region. But rarely would a councilmatic district encompass an entire large black ghetto. By gerrymandering the ghetto into two separate districts, districts which are controlled by white majorities deliberately, districts which are carefully controlled by whites, expert in "power politics", potential black power has been reduced to practically nil. This situation has been responsible for the increasing hold of the large urban center by the Democratic Party in many areas for well over a century. It is a leading factor in the selection of school boards, "urban renewal" projects, municipal courts of a wide variety and other facets of the Establishment's "civic interest". Recently in Baltimore an ex-

pressway was "re-routed" to spare a popular golf course to instead pass through an area of poor whites and blacks, hopefully to force these people out of the city so their pressing demands for better living conditions could be ignored. But the bourgeois whites are the ones migrating to the suburbs and the cities are becoming increasingly black. The Establishment is being confronted with embarrassing situations such as the Watts rising; white councilmen are being unmasked for the docile racists they are. In such cases, the recruiting of "leading Negro citizens" is required to deceive their own people into believing that concessions have been made, while in fact being controlled from the shadows by white politicians.

The Court decision is contesting these conditions by giving the vote on an equal basis to the poor white and, more importantly, to poor blacks. Baltimore, a city in which 45% are black and described as a potential "riot-city", is a prime example of the difficulties in redistricting.

In October of 1964, the U. S. District Court ruled that the City Council Resolution on Councilmanic Redistricting, known as modified Plan X, was unacceptable because the average voter registration per district deviated by more than 15% and because the suggested new boundary lines were not based on population. In conclusion, the court also ruled that another City Council election could not be held until an acceptable plan was submitted to the voters of Baltimore as a Charter amendment in November, 1966. This will be accomplished on November 8 when the choice will be made between the City Council Plan (Charter Amendment A) and the Modified Bard Plan (Charter Amendment B). In January of last year, Mayor McKeldin and the President of the City Council, Thomas D'Alesandro, jointly appointed a Commission on Redistricting to recommend new boundary lines for the Baltimore Councilmanic Districts. This commission was entitled the Bard Commission, named after its chairman, Dr. Harry College. The commission itself was composed of various "leading citizens" and four City Councilmen. May of 1965 saw the Bard Commission submitting its recommendations to the City Council for approval. The gist of the recommendations was that blacks would be given a higher plurality per district under the new districting proposals. The City Council
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new left notes

an internal newspaper of
students for a democratic society

1608 w. madison, rm. 206

chicago, ill. 60612

VOL. 1, NO. 44 let the people decide NOVEMBER 18, 1966

our MAN on the DRAFT

N. Y. ANTI-DRAFT CONFERENCE

The conference opened with an address by John McDermott of Viet Report. Emphasizing the necessity to attack the draft from many sides, he outlined the history of anti-conscription tradition in this country. Given that such tradition is relevant, he advised that we seek allies in the professions, churches, etc., and stressed that we shouldn't get caught in the bag of working for democratic reforms in conscription. As an alternative, he suggested building a militia of our own, a counter militia.

The second speaker was Prof. Melman of Columbia. His major thesis was that a new ruling class runs America. This ruling class controls industry thru industry's dependence on war contracts which must be approved by the Pentagon. It is in the power seekers of the Executive branch and the Pentagon, the managers of the largest economic enterprise, that Melman finds his new ruling class. Their Categorical Imperative is "to extend decision power", sell more goods, control more people. He theorizes that power is the end in itself for this class and that the classical definition of the primary need of the capitalist system to maximize profits is no longer applicable.

To support his thesis, Melman pointed to the extension of the draft and the wage-price 'guidelines' as examples of the extension of decision power over the lives of more millions of Americans. In fact, to justify calling those in power a NEW Ruling Class, Melman contended that their interests could be in contradiction to the 'old' rulers. Thus, the Vietnam War is being fought to extend the decision power of our new ruling class.

The huge increase in the military establishment is an increase in power for its own sake. The application of military and economic power channeled thru or residing in the state has no purpose other than power for its own sake.

A few major problems developed in the question session.

If the new ruling class of government bureaucrats is motivated by a desire to extend its decision power over more people, how does one account for the tremendous predominance of the military? Why didn't these guys develop such agencies as Welfare Conservation, etc.? This would have increased their decision power over all the recipients, job holders and contractors affected by the increased scope of these programs. Further, how is one to account for the use of this huge military power in some places and on some sides (like Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic and Harlem), but not in others (for the Angolan, Rhodesian and South African Blacks)?

While Prof. Melman pointed to the growth of power in the State machinery and its use in non-Constitutional ways, his conclusion that this is explicable in terms of Adlerian power-for-its-own-sake motivations seems not to be warranted. While provocative, he seems to mistake extended power in the service of definable interests for a new thing in itself, separate from its goals. Now, he says, the state no longer represents the interests of any ruling class; it has transformed itself and serves its own power needs which can be in basic contradiction to the needs of the "old ruling class", of the owners of the means of production.

In the question period, several of those present sketched a brief outline of post World War II American dynamics which integrated Melman's points on the rise in governmental and military power into the classical (read Marxian) analysis. Briefly, the World War brought the American corporate economy out of a deepening depression, served to destroy and weaken the other existing great industrial powers, while leaving ours intact and greatly expanded, and ended with American capital as the world's capital creditor. Vast profits were made in

the U. S. during the War, which their few holders sought to invest at the highest available profit rate. Generally, this turned out to be Western Europe, and increasingly, the over-exploited "under-developed" colonial nations that Britain, France and Japan either lost or were too weak to hold. Domestically, the war's end found a greater productive capacity, with a domestic market insufficient to absorb its products profitably.

The existence of a huge military complex was thus convenient to drain off "excess capacity" and to staff the increasing foreign commitments to protect and stake out ground in a rapidly growing world-wide system of neo-colonial domination. It is within this context that the real growth of autonomous power in the Pentagon and the increasingly unconstitutional exercise of executive power can best be understood. That is, American capitalism increasingly is based on neo-colonialism in an epoch of colonial Liberation Movements, of World Revolution. As our government becomes increasingly entangled in last ditch, huge mobilizations to meet this tide, we should expect increasing repression of people who attempt to challenge these priorities and their effects.

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BRIGHTON SUNDAY

Minister: That young people in both home and school may be taught to face and grapple with the evils in the world and grow into a generation with 'flame of freedom in their souls' . . .

Foster throughout the world every movement of thought, activity and good-will which tends to promote peace . . .

It seems long ago now, that grey October Sunday morning October 2, 1966 when we piled into the van and drove off through the deserted early morning streets of London. Destination was Brighton Methodists Church in Dorset Gardens. Plans had been hurriedly and secretly discussed the night before. I remember Susan's quick intense face and a few well-placed questions from Hazel and Brian. To me only one thing was really clear: this was a chance to put into practice and to state openly in a public meeting my deepfelt concerns about Vietnam and the terrible war going on there. Thus it was not a question or unresureness with me at any time whether one should do such a thing in a church or not. There it was: Harold Wilson was going to speak to the people about God and I was going to attempt to speak to Harold Wilson about his criminally failed duty towards honest action for the cause of peace. What better place to do this than the church which proverbially has always been the place where the people came to seek truth, strength and peace. There was no difficulty whatsoever about getting into the church, except lack of room. We solved this by going upstairs and joining the well-filled press section. I looked carefully at this congregation who were going to hear this morning not only the words of an old and revolutionary God, whose spirit is so rarely apprehended, but also the words of deeply disturbed and conscience -- stricken men and women whose actions are almost always condemned. In a sense I was examining my jury and I thought I had not much to fear for they were mostly gentle and thoroughly respectable looking old and middle-aged ladies, whose husbands always get their tea on time and sing their tenor harmonies without fault. But while the physical aspect of them reassured me, I also feared that there was probably very little fertile ground on which our forcible seed would fall. However, they were just the audience we wanted to reach, being mostly prominent labour delegates and representing many parts of the country. A few I spotted in the audience whom I did not know but recognized instantly -- it is almost impossible to disguise one of us from ourselves and even from other people, as I was soon to discover.

And Harold Wilson was there with his respectable suit and nicely pressed wife and clean shining head of white hair. Today again we would try to reach this man with our urgent plea.

The organ started up and quiet fell. The prayer was offered, first for ourselves, then for people in responsible places and then for our nation and her leaders. The burden of it was that we wanted peace, only peace and freedom. Well, I thought, then we are all in this together.

Then it was George Brown's turn to stand up and read the lesson. He read from Micah -- I didn't hear much except words like 'peace' and 'work'. People had settled down by then and it was almost just another morning in church. But not quite. Because suddenly before me stood Nick and his voice was loud and clear as he spoke with the words of Christ to the Pharisees: Oh, you hypocrites. . . and got no further for already, rapaciously, like a pack of wildly clawing animals, the tam-looking congregation had descended upon him, tearing at his face and hands and beating him with handbags. Nick went a well-trained limp and was presently sorted out from the mauling crowd by a large plain-clothes man who dragged him downstairs. At once the women turned to me, asking me if I was with him. It was all so ridiculously like that scene in the New Testament. But I spoke truth when I said that I was there on my own account and through my own willingness.

It was now Wilson's turn to read. The congregation had managed to resettle although there were still indignant snorts to be heard. Wilson's voice sounded and almost immediately Kathy got up downstairs and started an earnest speech about his responsibilities towards peace in Vietnam. And Andy got up and started reading his speech. The congregation was very disturbed and quick-

ly became very violent. Many hands grabbed Andy by the sleeves and collar and there is also a clear picture of a man trying to silence him with a hand over his mouth. Upstairs in the gallery, everyone was standing up and leaning over discussing the shameful of the thing loudly. Many suspicious glances were cast at me as I slowly worked my way to the front. Right at the railing I could see Tariq Ali frantically taking pictures. Hazel came in during this commotion and we exchanged swift glances.

Now I was to witness some more of the suppressed, deeply violent urges of these correct-seeming Christians. Hazel moved to the front and leaned over the balcony shouting: Harold Wilson, listen Harold Wilson. . . but she too, got no further because about eight women were on top of her scratching at her wrists, beating her head, dragging at her clothes. I moved to her, trying to protect her with my arms (I know that she is a nursing mother) and speaking to the women telling them that they should not be violent. (When she visited me afterwards in prison, there were long, bloody scratches on her wrists and arms). A policeman escorted her out and I could see white helmeted police walking up and down the aisles. They were trying to reach the speechmaking demonstrators who had, with careful intent, placed themselves right in the middle of pews and were therefore almost impossible to remove, especially as they did not walk out willingly but had to be forcibly carried. I heard many cries of 'hypocrite' and recognized Meg's voice and Heather's. All this while, Wilson was standing in the pulpit looking extremely helpless and chagrined. When the noise rose too high, the organist would start playing and after Andy and Jim had been dragged out, we even repeated the last hymn. Wilson then started to read again and at this moment I saw Susan, disguised in a

marvelous hat, walk right up to the pulpit and confront him directly. She was pounced upon by several blue-robed choirmen and hustled out. I looked around me and saw that there were not many of us left. Kathy was still speaking and had not been removed since no one knew quite what to do with such a respectable-looking, hat-wearing lady. I was standing right in the front of the gallery now and suddenly spoke loudly: "Brothers, let us pray for peace. . ." then I could say nothing more for someone had thrown a coat over my head and was pulling it tight, attempting to throttle me. I could feel handbags beating me and many hands pulling me. I went limp for the first time in my life--an incredibly hard thing to do, but in this case, a valid act of self-defense. Two huge arms came around me from the back and I was dragged downstairs between rows of gawking people who pointed fingers and said grimly: "There's another, take her away." A bobby took my legs and I was carried out. Outside, there was a large crowd and many T.V. men as well as some demonstrators who had been released and were now taking the further opportunity. I managed only one loud cry: "Peace in Vietnam, now!" before I was effectually silenced by being dumped in a police van. With me there was only Jim, who said: "Well done, girl!" and solemnly shook hands. The demonstration was practically over by now, although several more people spoke, no one else was arrested. The other police van held 7 more demonstrators and we now were driven to Police H.Q. where we were searched and dumped in new gleaming concrete cells. We sang many songs all afternoon and at 7 o'clock at night, we were finally charged with riotous behavior in church and obstruction. At this time we also received visits from those who had not been arrested and had been waiting outside the police station for 8 hours to see

us. These people included Nick's pregnant wife and 7-year-old child, Derek's wife and child, and Brian and Hazel's two babies. . .

The next day in court we were categorically remanded in custody for a week and refused bail. We were taken to London and jailed. Four days later, our lawyer succeeded in getting a high court order and we were released on our own surety for 50 pounds. The police have called for a further remand when the case comes on Monday 10th, because they want to pin a charge of conspiracy onto the case. If this charge is made, it means that our offense becomes a common-law offense and we can be held in jail indefinitely. Those being tried are determined to fight their case as vigorously as possible. Several well-known ministers have offered to testify in our behalf, arguing a case of freedom of speech in church. Newspaper men have put reels of film and many photographs at our disposal which show that the violence was not caused by the demonstrators, but by the congregation--they are also prepared to witness. . .

It will maybe be a long fight and an expensive one. We felt we could do nothing else but speak out and we will do so again and again until our goal has been reached. And we will not be afraid to speak anywhere and everywhere where there are people to listen. I ask you to support Jim Radford, Andy Anderson, Bernard Miles, Nick Walters, Derek Russel, Susan Abrahams, Heather Russell and Meg Walsh by writing them or sending money contributions to the Brighton Church Fund, c/o Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N. 4.

COUNCILMANIC REDISTRICTING

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cil immediately recognized this as a threat to their reactionary thinking regarding racial matters and procrastinated to such an extent on the Bard Commission proposals, that they had to be reminded by District Court that new Councilmanic districts had to be drawn before the September election ballots were prepared. In outright desperation, the Bard proposals were defeated by a majority of the City Council and substituted by the Pollack-Reed Plan or Best Plan.

This plan is designed to split black neighborhoods, to allow at best the black community to elect only 10% of the council, and to give predominately white districts one more councilman than districts with a sizable black voting bloc. Its sole objective is to force upon the black city voting of more than 140,000, 2 mere seats on the City Council!

The Bard Plan is attempting to base redistricting on population instead of registered voters, in accordance with the one man - one vote decision of the Supreme Court. It has proposed that population deviation be as near 0 as possible and has moved to this position by reducing deviation less than 5%. Perhaps most important is its contention that there be no gerrymandering, no neighborhood splitting and that each district have only three councilmen.

For this position, the Bard Plan is being supported by several civic groups including the League of Women Voters and the John Hopkins Chapter of SDS.

The Hopkins chapter well realizes that the Bard Plan is not at all perfect, but we support it on the "lesser evil" premise. The Plan will at best give the black community the opportunity of electing 30% or 6 councilmen to the City Council of a city with a rapidly approaching black population of 50%. But it is a small step forward in voting equality.

WANTED

Hate letters. A study of letters in which the writer does not seek to convince the reader along rational lines, but rather threatens and abuses him, is being conducted. Anonymity of both writer and recipient is assured. Originals will be returned if desired, and cooperators will receive copies of the final study. Recipients send letters to M. Oppenheimer, Box 90 Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., with your name and address.

PLEA TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OVER THE WAR IN VIETNAM:

We, the undersigned, citizens of Latin America, preoccupied by the misfortune that has befallen the people of Vietnam, preoccupied by the unjust attacks and invasions against it, preoccupied by the aggression which in the form of a true genocide is received by the children of the north and the south, by the Buddhists, Catholics, liberals, communists, men, women, oldfolk and children, make a plea to the people of the United States, uniting our voice to those from within and without that country which have made themselves felt so that their opposition be manifested in a universal manner against a totally unjust war which only discredits its government, unlooses the anger and the protest of millions of men, and destroys the lives of thousands of North American youths. Concretely, we address the people of the United States of (North) America to invite them to reflect on and express their will, as already significant groups from the North American culture have done:

1st Against the maintaining of North American troops in the territory of Vietnam.

2nd Against the bombings of the Vietnamese population.

3rd For negotiations with the Vietcong which have as a basis the two prior points; the termination of the war and the self-determination of the people of Vietnam.

A truly responsible action for the North American people will consist in asking their government to leave Vietnam and make it see that even the most elementary common sense shows it only one commitment to the North American people and with the rest of the world's peoples: To leave Vietnam!

That the North American people arrest the aggression of the government of the United States against North and South Vietnam, conscious that one cannot be the aggressor who is in his house and is defending it but only he who enters another's house to impose his will.

That the North American people act as brother to the peoples of the rest of the world in defense of peace and the survival of the human race!

Argentina: Julio Cortazar, novelist
Arnaldo Orfila Reynal, editor
Manuel Sadovsky, mathematician

Brazil: Josue de Castro, sociologist and editor

Colombia: Jorge Zalamea, writer
Gerardo Molina, ex-Rector of the National University of Colombia

Chile: Eugenio Gonzalez, Rector of the University of Chile
Pablo Neruda, poet

Ecuador: Demetrio Aguilera Malta, writer
Benjamin Carrion, professor and writer

Guatemala: Luis Cardoza y Aragon, poet and writer

Haiti: Gerard Pierre Charles, writer

Mexico: Fernando Benitez, writer
Carlos Fuentes, novelist
Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, sociologist
Carlos Pellicer, poet
Ricardo Pozas, anthropologist
Juan Rulfo, novelist
Jesus Silva Herzog, economist and professor
Leopoldo Zea, philosopher

Peru: Augusto Salazar Bondy, philosopher

Puerto Rico: Rene Marques, writer

Uruguay: Julio Castro, journalist
Roberto Ibanez, poet
Sara de Ibanez, poetess
Carlos Quijano, writer
Angel Rama, sociologist

MALCOLM X ON POWER, POLITICS & ORGANIZING

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BLACK NATIONALISM

The political philosophy of black nationalism means that the black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The black man in the black community has to be re-educated into the science of politics so he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return. Don't be throwing out any ballots. A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw your ballots till you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, keep your ballot in your pocket. . .

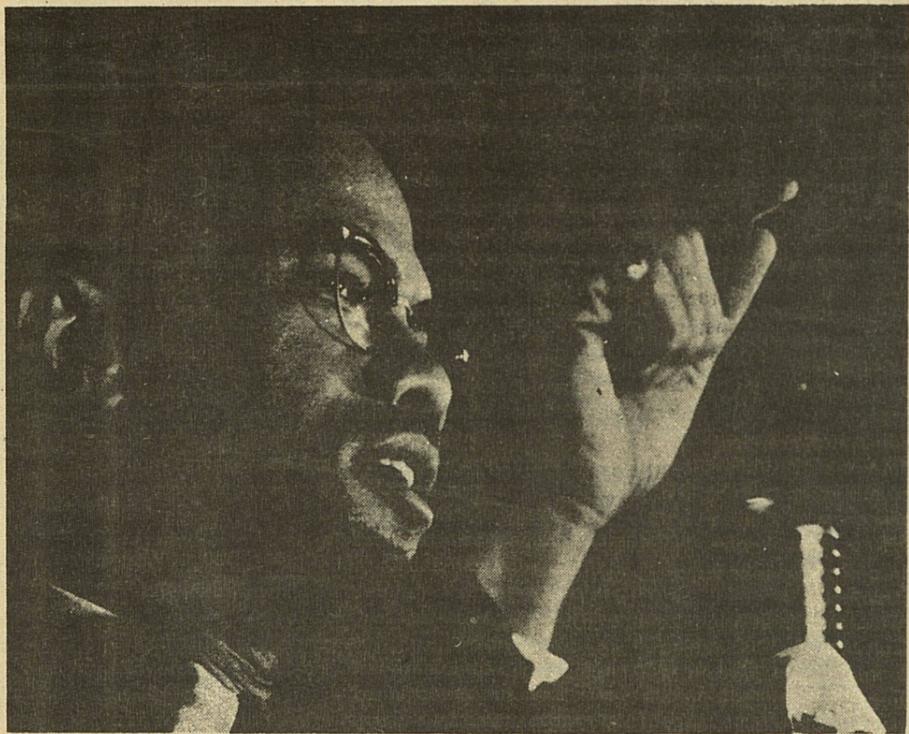
The economic philosophy of black nationalism is pure and simple. It only means that we should control the economy of our community. Why should white people be running all the stores in our community? Why should white people be running the banks in our community? Why should the economy of our community be in the hands of the white man? Why? If a black man can't move his store into a white community, you tell me why a white man should move his store into a black community.

The philosophy of black nationalism involves a re-education program in the black community in regards to economics. Our people have to be made to see that any time you take your dollar out of your community and spend it in a community where you don't live, the community where you live will get poorer and poorer, and the community where you spend your money will get richer and richer. Then you wonder why where you live is always

a ghetto or a slum area. And where you and I are concerned, not only do we lose it when we spend it out of the community, but the white man has got the stores in the community tied up; so that though we spend it in the community at sundown the man who runs the store takes it over across town somewhere. He's got us in a vise.

So the economic philosophy of black nationalism means in every church, in every civic organization, in every fraternal order, it's time now for our people to become conscious of controlling the economy of our community. If we own the stores, if we operate the businesses, if we try and establish some industry in our own community, then we're developing to the position where we are creating employment for our own kind. Once you gain control of the economy of your own community, then you don't have to picket and boycott and beg some cracker downtown for a job in his business.

The social philosophy of black nationalism only means that we have to get together and remove the evils, the vices, alcoholism, drug addiction, and other evils that are destroying the moral fibre of our community. We ourselves have to lift the level of our community . . . make our own society beautiful so that we will be satisfied in our own social circles and won't be running around here trying to knock our way into a social circle where we're not wanted. ☐



Malcolm X

Photo: Rufus Hinton

WHAT WE HAVE TO DO

I for one, believe that if you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program; and when the people create a program, you get action. When these "leaders" create programs, you get no action. The only time you see them is when the people are exploding. Then the leaders are shot into the situation and told to control things. You can't show me a leader that has set off an explosion. No, they come and contain the explosion. They say, "Don't get rough, you know, do the smart thing." This is their role--They're just there to restrain you and me, to restrain the struggle, to keep it in a certain groove, and not let it get out of control. Whereas you and I don't want anybody to keep us from getting out of control. We want to get out of control. We want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there.

Listen to the last part of what I said: I didn't just say we want to smash anything that gets in our way. I said we want to smash anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there. You see, I had to give you the whole thing, because when you read it, you'll hear we're going to

smash everybody. No, I didn't say that. I said we'll smash up anything that gets in our way that doesn't belong there. I mean that. If it doesn't belong there, it's worthy to be smashed. This country practises that--power. This country smashes anything that gets in its way. It crushes anything that gets in its way. And since we're Americans, they tell us, well, we'll do it the American way. We'll smash anything that gets in our way . . .

Almost every one of the African and Asian countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident. This is another reason why I say that you and I here in America--who are looking for a job, who are looking for better housing, looking for a better education--before you start trying to be incorporated or integrated, or disintegrated into this capitalistic system, should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom are adopting to provide themselves with better housing and better education and better food and better clothing.

None of them are adopting the capitalistic system because they realize they can't,

THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American patriot, or a flag saluter, or a flag waver--not I, I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

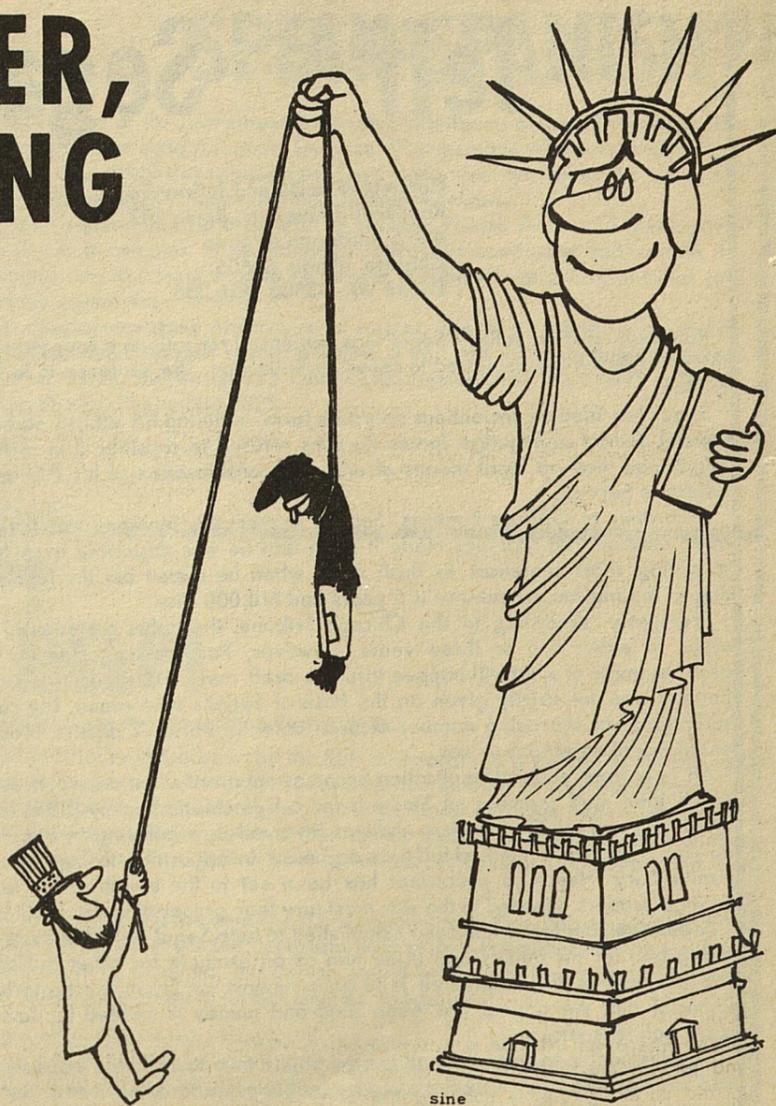
These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used only to look at. They're beginning to politically mature. They realize that when white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the White House and who's going to be in the dog house. It was the black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that.

And you and my leaders have the audacity to run around clapping their hands and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good President we have. If he wasn't good in Texas, he sure can't be good in Washington, D.C. Because Texas is a lynch state. It is in the same breath as Mississippi, no different;

You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker. He cannot be anything but a bloodsucker if he's going to be a capitalist. He's got to get it from somewhere other than himself, and that's where he gets it--from somewhere or someone other than himself. So, when we look at the African continent, when we look at the trouble that's going on between East and West, we find that the nations in Africa are developing socialistic systems to solve their problems.

There's one thing that Martin Luther King mentioned the other night at the Armory that I thought was significant. I hope he really understood what he was saying. He mentioned that while he was in some of those Scandinavian countries he saw no poverty. There was no unemployment, no poverty. Everyone was getting education, everyone had decent housing, decent whatever they needed to exist. But why did he mention those countries on his list as different?

This is the richest country on earth and there's poverty, there's bad housing,



sine from El Verdadero Cuento Del Tio Sam

only they lynch you in Texas with a Texas accent and lynch you in Mississippi with a Mississippi accent.

And these Negro leaders have the audacity to go and have some coffee in the White House with a Texan, a Southern cracker--that's all he is--and then come out and tell you and me that he's going to

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MALCOLM ON GUERRILLA WARFARE

...The dark people are waking up. They're losing their fear of the white man. No place where he's fighting right now is he winning. Everywhere he's fighting, he's fighting your and my complexion. And they're beat-him. . .

It takes heart to be a guerrilla warrior because you're on your own. In conventional warfare you have tanks and a whole lot of other people with you to back you up, planes over your head and all that kind of stuff. But a guerrilla is on his own. All you have is a rifle, some sneakers and a bowl of rice, and that's all you need--and a lot heart.

there's slums, there's inferior education. And this is the richest country on earth. Now, you know, if those countries that are poor can come up with a solution to their problems so that there's no unemployment, then instead of running downtown picketing city hall, you should stop and find out what they do over there to solve their problems.

This is why the man doesn't want you and me to look beyond Harlem or beyond the shores of America. As long as you don't know what's happening on the outside, you'll be all messed up dealing with this man on the inside. I mean what they use to solve the problem is not capitalism. What they are using to solve the problem in Africa and Asia is not capitalism. So what you and I should do is find out what they are using to get rid of poverty and all the other characteristics of a rundown society. ☐

from
the MOVEMENT

Jeff Segal

Committee to Defend Jeffrey Segal
 Roosevelt University, Room 202
 430 S. Michigan Avenue
 Chicago, Illinois 60605
 Phone WA 2-3580 - Ext. 356

Roosevelt student Jeffrey Segal was sentenced recently to a four-year prison term, on the grounds that he neglected to report for induction. The sentence is to begin December 1, 1966.

Segal has filed a conscientious objection form, outlining his ethical objection to war, but federal district court judge James Parsons refused to consider it in making his decision. Segal now has no legal means of ensuring consideration of his CO application by the Selective Service.

According to George Pontikes, Segal's lawyer, the sentence was the harshest he had ever encountered. Parsons made it plain that he was departing from his usual practice of giving short sentences to draft cases when he meted out the four-year sentence to Segal. The maximum sentence is 5 years and \$10,000 fine.

Previously, according to the Chicago Tribune, the judge customarily sentenced draft cases to either two or three years. However, Parsons suggested he was using Segal as an example of what will happen to future draft cases. He made it clear that the harsh penalty was not strictly given on the basis of Segal's case alone, but rather because of such things as the rising number of draft cases in Parson's district. Most of these cases entail moral objections to war.

An important political implication becomes apparent when one realizes that Segal was a full time staff member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the time of his arrest one and a half years ago and was involved in organizing in opposition to the war in Viet Nam. He is the first full-time organizer in opposition to the war to be sent to the penitentiary. Hence, a precedent has been set in the length of the term, and student political leaders opposed to the war must now fear prosecution for their beliefs.

A defense committee has been established to help Segal fight the system that is persecuting him for his beliefs and using him as an example for other outspoken dissenters. The purpose of the committee is to gain support for Segal, particularly in the form of financial aid. An appeal has been filed and money is needed for lawyer's fees, legal costs, bail fees, etc.

Segal is unable to raise enough money on his own to facilitate appeals procedures. He had been granted a city chauffer's license enabling him to drive a taxi, but the city license bureau cancelled his license after the sentence was made public. Hence, your support is vitally needed. We must fight this case to prove that intimidation will not silence our most deeply-felt ethical convictions. No matter what your political persuasion you must support the right of a man to hold these convictions without intimidation on the part of the state.

Segal is a former student body president at Roosevelt, chairman of the Student Activities Board, and a member of the Green Key honor society. He was a full-time member of the national staff of Students for a Democratic Society and served as its acting national secretary. He is presently the copy editor of the Torch.

I am interested in: — becoming a sponsor; — working on the defense; pledge \$ —

Name _____ Address _____ phone _____

Segal's home address is: 2726 Mildred, Chicago, Illinois 60614

a Modest but Revolutionary Proposal for Reforming the University

Arthur J. Field, Sociology
 Wayne State University

I have read with great interest Carl Davidson's article in NLN on Student Syndicalism, and the responses which have followed it. All of the analysis and action proposals only remind me that there is really no way of saying anything that is both brief and useful about education in a democracy. Thus, the grading system may or may not be the major impediment to liberal and free education; I suspect that at most schools it is a minor problem and, at any rate, much depends on how grading is done and what students, teachers, and others think grades mean. Student governments are, indeed, generally weak, but, again, I suspect that they reflect student bodies quite accurately and, in any case, they can be, and often have been, made agencies for constructive change. Whether or not students are bored probably depends at least as much on the students as on the teachers. And so forth.

May I propose to SDS Chapters across the country something that I have suggested to the Wayne State Chapter which I advise? The proposal grows out of an analogy: see between the unorganized poor and the unorganized college student, that they lack financial power and legal authority but have the power of numbers and, when organized, the power to embarrass and inform. What I propose is that every chapter undertake a comprehensive program of course and teacher evaluation based on a clearly-thought-out theory of democratic education.

The idea of course and teacher evaluations is not new, but it would be new and even revolutionary if it went far beyond the usual relatively trivial questions of whether teachers speak clearly, or have well-organized

notes or annoying mannerisms. I suggest, for example, that we ask whether, in appropriate courses, teachers tolerate disagreement from the students, encourage cooperative study, use available teaching aids, grade non-competitively according to clear standards, and so forth. We might also ask whether teachers make themselves available for consultation with students, whether they actually assist where assistance is needed, as in term papers, and whether they appear to be seriously concerned with how much students learn.

There is no question that such a questionnaire would be complicated to construct. Instruction techniques in Physics, French, English Literature, and Sociology must differ considerably. In many cases, for example, evaluating textbooks, faculty assistance would be necessary. In some cases, alternate learning methods, e.g., independent study and cooperative study, may be equally suited to democratic education. Perhaps it would be best to begin with liberal arts courses only, or even more narrowly, social science courses. They seem to be the ones most centrally involved in educating students for free and mature adulthood, and involve more issues of education theory of interest to SDS than, say, the physical sciences.

I believe that my suggestion has two important virtues. First of all, it would force our people to think critically and realistically about what they want universities to be and what, given the principle of college education for everyone, they can ever hope to be. Secondly, a well-done survey would be perhaps the only document SDS could possibly publish that EVERYONE on the campus will read and discuss; if the criteria of evaluation were made crystal clear and fully justified, it would inevitably lead to constructive changes.

INVESTIGATE WAR

HOW TO INVESTIGATE WAR PROFITEERING IN YOUR COMMUNITY (following from BLOOD MONEY, published by the NCCEWV, 420 W. Washington, Madison, Wisc.)



Step 1. Defense contracts are listed in a number of places: a. The indexes for the *New York Times* or the *Wall Street Journal* have references to airplanes, missiles, shipbuilding, US armaments and defense (AF, army, navy, mariens), Vietnam, and geographical areas (e.g. Ohio) b. Military magazines such as *Air Force* and *Army, Navy and Air Force Journal*. Technological magazines: *Rockets and Missiles*, *Air Line Pilot*, *Business Week*, *Aeronautical Engineering Review*, *Aero Digest*.

Step 2. Once the name of a company receiving a federal contract for the production of military materials, etc., is known, additional contracts received by that corporation from the Federal Government can be discovered by using: a. *Moody's Industrial Index* (found in most major libraries, banks, savings and loan associations) is utilized by looking in the index under "x corporation, contracts, or gov't contracts." It will refer you to a page where you will find the amount of the more recent contracts and what type of goods, etc., the contracts were for. Also by watching for references to other pages (in the above cited page) which will indicate other contracts granted by the Federal Government to that same corporation. b. *Funk & Scott* (found in most major libraries) is utilized by looking at the white pages where notations about magazine articles about the corporation (under its name) you are interested in will be listed: the reference to the articles will look like: Jr. comm. 1/4:1 of W.S. Jr1. 12/29:1, etc. Then look at the pink pages where the abbreviations are explained: Jr. Comm. -- Journal of Commerce. Then go to the relevant journal or newspaper and see if the article discloses additional contracts, etc.

Step 3. The next step is to attempt to find out if the corporation has offices -- main offices, manufacturing facilities, branches, etc., in your state, county or town by using *Thomas Register of American Manufacturers, Vol. IV*. This will list manufacturers alphabetically. Once you locate the company you are after, you will note the following information:

- . the addresses of the corporation -- home office, major outlets, factories, etc.
- . the subsidiaries of the corporation or parent of the corporation and where located
- . what the company makes (products, especially note the types of military products)
- . officers of the corporation (in your community you may find that these officers are

important community personages, on draft boards, known as liberals, contributors to charities or churches which oppose the war, and the like).

Step 4. After you have a list of corporations or subsidiaries located in your home area, you will want to know what kinds of profits these corporations are earning and whether they have increased because of the war. This can be found in *Standard and Poor*. Look in the index under the caption of the corporation, for example: G.E. page E-4. Information on G. E. will be found on page E-4 under: Profit Margins: Net Income as a % of sales, composite net income as a % of sales, profit margins, operating income as a % of sales, and net income. Or try *Moody's Industrials*, looking for the company name in the index and looking for the page reference there for "earnings." This will direct you to the page for: consolidated earnings, net profit, and net profit after taxes. Usually, you will discover that the profits will be greater for like periods of time in 1966 than in 1965.

Step 5. To find out what percentage of profits are due to war contracts, look *Standard & Poo's Corporation, The Outlook*, which is a weekly stock reporting service telling you how these corporations and/or industries are faring. Look in the cumulative index under aerospace, etc. This will direct you to the proper page. Also *Funk & Scott* (see step 2b) may lead you to articles reflecting profits on war contracts by these privately owned corporations.

With this kind of information in hand you have an effective organizing device for reaching people in your community about the Vietnam war. The war can be made more real to them by showing specifically how much the war is costing the ordinary citizen and that this money is going right into the pockets of the large companies in their community. It is especially important that your research is accurate so your appeal is irrefutable.

HEY!

Austin Committee Against the War in Viet Nam needs pictures with permission to reprint in the form of 8"x11" posters. Please ask around your local membership for uncopyrighted pictures of Viet Nam scenes--can be U. S. atrocities or unhappy Vietnamese, villainous-looking G. I. soldiers, defoliated jungles, spilled rice--ANYTHING suitable for printing. We plan to print and sell 500 of these posters to members of our group and local SDS to put up in public places. Please send as many as you can spare. Sent to:

Austin Committee Against
 the War in Viet Nam
 P. O. Box 1274
 Austin, Texas 78767

what about the DRAFT?

by Richard Ross
 Middlebury, Vermont

The termination of the Draft Law on June 30, 1967 may represent some sort of unique opportunity for us. It only happens every four years, and this time there is a special National Advisory Commission on Selective Service soliciting student and other opinions. On Jan. 1 it will make its recommendation to LBJ. Unless this is only a front for decisions which have already been made, it might be worthwhile for us to submit a position paper to this Commission.

For instance, just what is our attitude toward "universal national service", a program finding increasing favor among Great Society masterminds? In a pamphlet published by the Conference on National Service (5/7/66), N.Y.C., SDS (Paul Booth) is quoted as favoring exemption from military draft on the grounds of "service to democracy". Can we "build" for Uncle Sam while others "burn"? This division of labor looks highly suspicious.

In NLN (7/8/66) there is the short racially-oriented "SNCC-SDS Joint Draft Statement" to the House Armed Services Committee. This document avows our opposition, among other things, to the extension of the conscription principle to social-service programs. We need a broader analysis of the effects of conscription

tion on our nation and the world.

The Universal National Service scheme may entice young and old idealists and hopefully make just about everybody happy under the big draft umbrella. Yet, it confuses the intent of conscription by failing to honor our traditional separation and balance of military and civilian power. The enlistment of young people into the flabby bureaucratic programs of the federal Leviathan will stifle their political consciousness and truncate the development of independent socio-political power blocs. Universal National Service would detract from the appeal and effect of volunteer programs, and further collectivize our youth.

Have we an alternative to conscription? Not many young people will have the courage of Stokely Carmichael and "go to Leavenworth" rather than submit to federal induction. Have we any substitute for the "poverty draft" of 100,000 (1-Y) rejects into McNamara's Salvation Army? Must we wait around for National Service and then revel in disgust?

Barry Goldwater and many sincere conservatives oppose any permanent conscription setup, the 1-Y panacea, and presumably, Universal National Service. They may be "strange bedfellows", but we should recognize and attempt to exploit our common American tradition of resistance to conscription.

DEC. CONFERENCE & N.C.

Minutes of meeting of SDS members planning for the NC to be held in California between Dec. 27th and Jan 1st.

Doug Norberg of MDS, Los Angeles is talking to administration at UCLA about using their facilities at Royce Hall. The cost would be \$150 deposit for 5 days, hours 9 AM to 11 PM. Some of this would be refunded. No decision will be made until Doug finds out if we can use dorm facilities on UCLA campus. If unavailable, camps around LA will be looked into. The NC will definitely not be held at either Stanford or in Mexico as proposed. Roy Dahlberg is looking into the possibility of meeting in San Francisco or Berkeley. A decision on the meeting place will be made as soon as possible, hopefully this week. An estimated 500 will attend, housing facilities will be needed for about 200.

The workshops will be broken down into four divisions: Labor Movement, Developing a Third Party, Campus Organizing and Community Organizing.

WORKSHOPS UNDER LABOR MOVEMENT:

Economics of employment in the U. S.
What are the conditions under which labor reforms are possible.
Labor and minority groups.
Labor organizing either at point of production or point of community.
Labor constituents
Consumer organization.

People to contact to speak at above workshops on Labor: Steve Max, John Fuerst, Lee Webb, Joel Guyer, Dan Knapp of S.F. State, Humboldt State SDS chapter, UFWOC, Fred Schmidt at UCLA, Art Carsons of UCLA, Stan Aronowitz Labor project - c/o New England Regional Office, Louis Valdez and Gary Bickel who also has a friend who should speak, ask him.

WORKSHOPS ON DEVELOPING A THIRD PARTY:

Electoral Politics
Third party constituency
Forces that make up the Democratic Party
Community political organizing
History of Third Party failure
Failure of pluralistic politics.
Peace campaigns that recently occurred
Left liberal reactions within the Democratic Party

Suggested speakers for the above workshops: Mike Ansara in Boston, Roy Dahlberg, Ed Moritz, Pierre Mandel, Ken Jennings, Mike Hannon, Marshall Windmiller, John Hague, Don Rothenberg, Elija Turner, Mark Comfort, Clark Kissinger, Charlie Kapper, Jim Weinstein,

WORKSHOPS ON CAMPUS ORGANIZING:

Educational reform attempts, academic and student control.
Student unions.
Free University and Experimental colleges.
Draft and Viet Nam war.
College as related to U. S. economy.
Junior colleges.
Are students agents of social change?
What can be done with other establishments on campus?
Underground student governments.

Suggested speakers for the above: Mike Kindman, Art Kunkin, Terry Cannon and Delfino Varala.

WORKSHOPS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING:

Poor White.
Urban Phenomena
Community action groups.
Students in their relationship to poor white communities.
Urbanization of Appalachia.
Teen-age organizing.

Suggested speakers for the above: Floyd Hunter, Dee Gorton, Casey Hayden, Mike James, Ed Hamlet, Dick Magidoff, Renie Davis, Ida Casido, Carol McEldowney, Hamish Sinclair,

The first two days will be devoted to the National Council and the last three days will be for workshops including REP, we do not yet know what they have planned for their time.

DECEMBER STUFF

A couple things on functional conferences. The purpose of having the NC after the December Conference is to make it possible for us to implement ideas that the conference brought out through programmatic resolutions. If the California Committee decides that the NC shall precede the Conference, they have decided that nothing concrete is to come out of that conference. I would point out that to have the NC first, and then to have workshops on specific stuff (Labor Organizing, Community Organizing, Campus Organizing, and Electoral Politics) which tend to demand some sort of resolution which would deal with implementation of a program is self-contradictory.

Now then: What does the proposed agenda, consisting of explorations of the above-mentioned topics, say about the needs of sds? It seems to say the same things that has been said at NCs, conferences, and conventions for quite some time. This means that either the situations in the four areas mentioned are so fluid that we must concern ourselves with them perpetually, or it means that we have not yet adequately dealt with them. If the latter is the case, there is no reason to expect that they will be adequately dealt with this December. What, then, do we talk about?

There are a couple possibilities open. Those of us in the national bureaucracy tend to see the need for the discussion of structure of sds. (The only currently functioning regions are New York, Niagara, and New England.) This, however, is hardly a fit topic for a membership conference. We could also talk about something nice and abstract like the Need for an Ideology, or Agencies of Social Change, from which nothing can come, for the ability to pick out

forces for social change implies the existence of an ideology, which implies a way of looking at things which calls for lots of common experiences which is something we don't have.

If common experiences are what we are after in the immediate future, we can have a very unstructured thing where everybody meets their friends for a couple of days and bullshits, which might be nice, but would hardly do anything constructive for the 5500 people who wouldn't be there. An alternative to this is to spread ourselves out over lots of topics, as the proposed agenda would do, which would be very much like what we've done before without any great success. Rather than spread ourselves out like that, we could concentrate on one topic; say electoral politics. Why this? First of all, it's right after the elections, and people will have fresh analyses of different campaigns in different areas. In addition to this, California is most representative of the current political scene in America, with the most militant anti-warrior in the House and a county which elected a known Bircher to the state senate within 50 miles of one another. It would also be interesting to examine the Brown-Reagan thing and the subsequent destruction of the liberal realpolitik. Since people won't seriously talking about what we should do in '68 for 8-10 months, there won't be any pressure on us to do anything specific, and we can consider the general idea of what electoral stuff is and what our response to that should be. This way, we can have an indepth thing on the electoral situation, and the NC will be free to consider badly needed structural reform and other dull stuff.

... Mark Kleiman

SPEAK SPANISH?

In the November issue of *The Movement*, I reported briefly on a community organization in Chicago known as the Latin American Defense Organization. LADO emerged from the dissatisfaction with establishment-oriented leadership that attempted to quiet and stifle the Puerto Rican community following the summer rebellion.

LADO is real and it grows due to a handful of capable Puerto Rican and Mexican organizers, as well as a complex of unchanging oppressive conditions that exist in the Puerto Rican ghetto. Yet, like most organizing efforts, it suffers both a lack of funds and shortage of full-time organizers.

The need for Spanish-speaking organizers is urgent. The first priority is for Puerto Ricans, then Mexicans, then Spanish speaking whites. If you can assist by coming, giving leads on people or funds, please contact Obid Lopez immediately c/o LADO, 1306 N. Western, Chicago, Illinois. Phone 384-3323.

For freedom,

Michael James
JOIN Community Union

HELP! HELP!

R.E.P. is looking for three devoted, competent people:

(1) The first staff priority as established by the REP directorate is a person to fill the role of "direct-mailing entrepreneur." This job includes a certain amount of correspondence, the occasional writing of brochures, helping organize the small mailings that volunteers do from the office and setting up the larger ones that will be done thru a mailer, and several other odds and ends ranging from getting beer for volunteer collators to checking on bulk rate permits.

(2) The second staff priority is a full-time chapter correspondent. This person would advise chapters as to how to set up education programs and as to what material was available and from where it could be obtained. This person would also try to find material (or people to prepare it) that was relevant to unmet chapter needs.

(3) A staff person is needed to take charge of operations of a Bell 47J helicopter. Applicant should have F.A.A. Airplane and Powerplant, commercial fixed-wing and helicopter tickets. He must be instrument qualified with 2,000 hours of flying time.

NOTE: Staff people also have an opportunity to do some educational and intellectual work for R.E.P.

RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT
225 E. Liberty
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Phone 761-1320

DECEMBER STUFF

The winter meeting of the SDS National Council will take place this year in northern California, at a site as yet undetermined but probably within 100 miles of San Francisco. The dates tentatively set for this first west coast meeting are 26 December to 1 January. The meeting will be combined with a membership conference and two questions have arisen with regard to scheduling and content of the NC and conference. Chapters and individual members should write the N.O. with their opinions.

The first question is that of time. People in California felt that many eastern N.C. delegates might have to leave early in order to return to school. Roy Dahlberg has proposed a schedule roughly as follows: a west coast gathering on 26 December, followed by the NC meeting on the 27th and 28th (with a carryover to the morning of the 29th if necessary). The membership conference would then begin on the afternoon of the 29th and continue thru the 31st, with a carryover on the morning of the 1st of January if possible. Given the character of Bay Area New Year's Eve celebrations, I would personally remark that it's highly unlikely.

The arguments for this scheduling arrangement are twofold. First, the problem of delegates who must leave early to report back to schools whose winter quarter begins on 2 January. Second, some people (especially national office staff) have felt that it might be nice to leave a conference feeling nice, instead of in the strungout mood which is

the usual aftermath of N.C. plenary sessions bucking a time deadline. The arguments against are likewise twofold. First, that discussions in the membership conference may well prove fruitful for N.C. decisions. Second, many people would rather travel 4-6,000 miles to attend an interesting conference than a dull NC, if it's a choice.

The second question is that of conference content. A tentative suggestion has been made that the conference be an in-depth study of California politics, on the assumption that those politics, rather than being the "great exception", are in actuality both a microcosm and a forecast of national politics. Thus the primary focus would not be on the "peculiarities" of California politics, but on their underlying content and on the questions of electoral vs. nonelectoral action, independent action vs. coalitions, etc., which they raise. The argument against this is that the topic, however it is actually treated, will present at least a semblance of parochialism sufficient to turn easterners off the idea of traveling so far. "Why should I travel 3,000 miles to hear about California? Needless to say, comment on this is most immediately and urgently needed.

I'd just like to add a personal note. I think it would be very nice if people who wanted things taken up at the NC would send in little notes to NLN beforehand, so we could have most of our business before us in writing. It would save a lot of long speeches, and we might even get to important business.

-Tom Condit

NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 666-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the Editor, Thane Croston

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MISSOURI REPORT

by Gordon Burnside
Columbia, Mo.

Somewhere in Clancy Sigal's *Going Away* the narrator talks about the political ups and downs of a radical uncle. In the old man's bedroom hangs a picture with two sides. During bad times — the Harding or McCarthy years, say — a visitor would see a nice pastoral painting: lots of cows, mountains, rosy-cheeked nymphets, etc. But in good times — the CIO thirties — the cows are turned toward the wall and one sees — *The Storming of the Winter Palace!*

SDS chapters behave much like Sigal's uncle. There are good seasons and bad; the chapter that is hyperactive this year may be despairing and paralyzed the next. Hopefully, a realistic appraisal of our present effect on American foreign policy and heavy emphasis on internal education and cadre-building will change this pattern and lead to a chapter memento, and thence to a real movement.

At the moment the University of Missouri SDS, heretofore a rather isolated and ineffective group, has turned its cows to the wall. As of November we're all rather amazed at our success. MU SDS has asked me to send NLN this report to show eastern and western chapters that things can be done out here in the cornfields. Possibly some of our experiences may be useful to others. In general we think — we know from experience — that news of regional successes is good for the morale of the movement as a whole.

MU SDS has been organizing around a labor problem. Six months ago SDS members were instrumental in setting up a union for nonacademic university employees. The union affiliated with the Laborer's International, AFL-CIO as Local 45, Public Service Employees. The President-Business Agent, a *Monthly Review* - oriented socialist, and the Secretary-Treasurer, a former Minuteman and Bircher, were both SDSers. (I only mention something of their backgrounds to give you some idea of the heterogeneity of our group; I understand from others that it's rather extreme.) Student SDSers filled other posts. Because the President took part in an anti-war demonstration we held the union leadership was, late in spring, violently red-baited by local Rightists. I'll forego the sordid and complicated details and just say that, while he still maintained large support within the union, the President resigned. As their terms of office lapsed the other SDS officers left their jobs, largely because they had also since graduated from school.

So, until this September, SDS had completely withdrawn from the labor movement. On September 14, Local 45 members, stronger but still unrecognized by the reactionary University, surprised everyone, including us, by going out on strike. Within 36 hours a court restraining order was brought against the union, the men went back to work, and both sides settled down to an angry stalemate.

But the union, and SDS, knew that such a stalemate of any length would mean the end of Local 45. Both began to plan for a second, court-defying strike. In the following week, SDS came out with a strong endorsement of the union, and appealed to the sandbox government and the local AAUP, to do the same. Friends of SDS in the two organizations drafted resolutions that urged the University to recognize and bargain with 45; both the professors and the student politicians, rarely eager to oppose the administration, passed the resolutions by wide margins. The resolutions passed, not because the sandbox politicians and professors were pro-labor, but because they wanted to keep the University open, and because they were convinced that 45, and SDS, were about to shut it down.

For, after SDS's announcement of support, an open and explicit alliance between 45 and SDS was made. Local 45 set Monday, October 26 as the beginning of an all-or-nothing walk-out. SDS quite noisily went about organizing students to join workers on the picket lines. (The picketing would now be in the face of a permanent circuit court injunction, and would mean that the police would have to fill a goodly number of mid-Missouri jails with students and strikers.) An SDS command center was set up in

an apartment just off campus; a bright new mimeograph and stacks of mimeo reams were installed; plans were hurriedly laid for a student-faculty sympathy strike; leafletting and organizing captains were chosen for every dorm. For two weeks SDS members dropped out of school.

In the midst of all this there occurred two incidents that complicated what had been a fairly simple trade-union issue. (1) At a SDS anti-war rally an ex-Marine member, Vernon Urban, burned his draft card. The campus was shocked and SDS wondered how this would affect its union alliance. Silence from 45's leadership. Individual 45 members began to stop us in the street and ask "Why?" "Because . . . we said, and they stayed to listen and talk it over." (2) The October issue of the liberal-SDS publication *Columbia Free Press* featured an article exposing the University's anti-union policies and making analogies between trade-union organizing and student movements. For the first time in the history of the *Free Press* campus and city police banned the sale of the magazine, using a blatantly discriminatory 1889 ordinance against unlicensed peddling. With this the University had really blown its cool: the added free speech issue brought even ag students into the union coalition.

Thus, as the October 26 strike deadline drew near, the University found itself opposed by its employees and their Teamster and Laborer allies, a large and efficient SDS machine, the AAUP, the student government, and a student body politically activated as it had never been before. All week-end before the Monday deadline the Board of Curators huddled. Finally, Sunday evening, they capitulated. For almost a year the Curators had maintained that they were forbidden by law to recognize trade unions, in their Monday morning communique, the presumably red-faced Curators knuckled, broke the "law", under and recognized the union as a bargaining agent.

And where does this leave SDS? At Local 45's victory meeting a member rose from the floor to suggest that the union publicly thank SDS for its help. This brought immediate warnings from International leaders that while "as we all know, the SDS kids are good people" the organization was definitely Leftist, and a continued alliance with it might get the labor movement red-baited. But a large number of 45 members refused to buy this theory; at the same meeting they took up a big collection for the next issue of the banned *Free Press*. More important, the local union leadership, impressed with SDS's organizational talents, has recently asked us to take on the task of unionizing student part-time employees.

So this time SDS will remain involved in the labor movement. But we also want to follow up some of the implications we raised in the beginning. We plan to say to students: "OK, now 2,500 workers share power with the Curators. But 18,500 students still have no control over University policy." MU SDS has called a Regional "Student Power" Conference for the Thanksgiving holiday. Delegations are expected from Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and from other student groups (including YAF) at the University of Missouri. (Extra-regional SDSers are also, of course, invited. For more specific information write Mike Lattman, 1302 Bass Ave. or Gordon Burnside, 408 Hitt, Columbia, Missouri. Call Burnside, 442-7808.) Discussion is expected to center around Nebraska's and Iowa's (and our probable) Campus Freedom Democratic Parties, Davidson's student syndicalism, and the relationship of student movements to corporate liberalism and social revolution.

Because of the union movement, our anti-war program, and a new hippy — we have to deal with a big cultural lag — atmosphere on the campus, MU SDS now has over a hundred members. Such a large group has proved to be both unwieldy and rather undemocratic, and since 45 was recognized, SDS people have tended to form spontaneously around other issues; we now have ex officio REP, anti-draft, and congressional peace candidate committees.

Our central concerns, however, are labor and student organizing. MU SDS would appreciate any advice or tips more experienced chapters might have to offer.

RADICAL ANALYSIS of DRAFT CONFERENCE

by Brent Kramer
Chicago, Ill.

The draft is, with little doubt, one of the most undemocratic institutions in the United States. Congress, itself not representative of the millions of young men exposed to the draft, set major guidelines and restrictions on the draft policy, but gave to the executive branch the prerogative to administer those guidelines as it saw best; the administrative policies the executive set, in the office of Selective Service director Lewis Hershey, are not reviewed by Congress. The draft is administered locally, by men chosen by the President (supposedly on a basis of communal representation, but consisting largely of volunteering businessmen, retired military, etc.), thus making even disregard of the national policy rather easy where men are ill-informed of their rights under the law (and that is everywhere). Inconsistencies from board to board mean, for example, that while one man may be able to serve in a civilian capacity (as a conscientious objector) for two years to fulfill his legal obligations, a person with identical beliefs from another area may have to spend two to five years in jail, and lose many of his civil rights for life. Men who are concerned with carrying out the most efficient mobilization of manpower—particularly ex-military men like General Hershey and much of his staff, most of the State Directors, and probably many local board members (the draft law, fortunately, forbids men in the military from holding Selective Service office)—direct the fates of every man in this nation, none of whom have anything whatever to say about that process and about the political nature of that mobilization.

Into this breach in democracy comes liberal reformer Sol Tax, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago. To make the draft more democratic (that is one of the objectives of the conference, and the motive that supposedly grew out of the concerns of S.A.R.*), Mr. Tax has invited informed people from all over the nation, and the members of the President's Committee to consider new draft policies, to the Center for Continuing Education for four days. There, behind closed doors, the "professionals," the manpower mobilization experts of varying political persuasions, will probably decide the scope of the new draft policies (the current draft law expires in June). There, experts and faculty and students—all chosen for their expertise, so that they can respect one another and try to change one another's minds and come to a rational, academically sound, apolitical conclusion—will contemplate one another's views in political isolation. But note: who has chosen these people? They are less representative of the young men of this nation, of all of the people of this nation, than the Congress and the current Selective Service System! They are experts, chosen for intellectuality because they know facts and figures about manpower; they are not chosen politically, because to choose men with relevant critiques, to choose men who believe things about the legitimacy of the draft, would make it harder for this elite to discuss feasibilities, economies, bureaucracies, palliatives.

The conference will "be scholarly, not political," said Mr. Tax, but will be discussing an incredibly central political issue. The draft is the source of human material for an incomprehensibly malevolent foreign policy, and the means of ideological indoctrination—not necessarily conscious—of most of the men in this country: the draft by its very existence, in any form, announces the subservience of our lives to the tactical, mechanical decisions made in Washington about the welfare of the military state. And men will come here to consider, tactically and mechanically, how best to continue this mechanism with minimal negative political effects: how to avoid anti-draft demonstrations without eliminating the draft. And only chosen men may come together for those decisions—faculty chosen by Mr. Tax, students recommended for their scholarship by university administrators and accepted by Mr. Tax. For "it would impede free discussion to open it to all comers"—the free discussion which, without political content, is meaning-

less and even seditious.

The sycophancy of such a gathering of the elite is clear and frightening; perhaps even more so is the fact that it will be represented as a step in democratization. S.A.R.'s decision to boycott the conference is a wise one. But that is not enough; that will not make it less harmful. We students have a right, and even a duty, to be heard, *politically*, at that conference, and the entire format of the conference should be changed to allow all comers to discuss the political nature of the draft. Perhaps, then, Mr. Tax can talk of having performed a service to democracy.

*Students Against the Rank, a "single-issue" group, started by SDS last Spring at the University of Chicago.

CALIFORNIA DEMONSTRATIONS

by Michael Klonsky
San Fernando Valley State SDS

The serene quietude of middle class suburbia has been shattered on two consecutive Saturdays by the singing and shouting of student peace demonstrators.

Demonstrations such as these have been rare phenomenon lately in Southern California and totally non-existent in the wasteland of the San Fernando Valley, where thirteen students have been arrested in two weeks.

The protests have been called by San Fernando Valley State, SDS and have been aimed at airmen stationed at the Van Nuys Air National Guard base. Students from Valley State, U.C.L.A. LACC, Pierce and Valley College have been picketing the air base and attempting to enter in order to give the airmen their message, "If your conscience demands it, refuse to take part in war."

On November 5, eight of the demonstrators sat down in front of the gate to the base after they were refused permission to enter and denied a meeting with General Kopecky, the base commander. They were promptly dealt with, Port-Chicago style, and hauled off to jail in an airforcebus, covered with red paint which was poured on them by an attacking heckler as the arresting military police looked on.

A week later, five more students sat in front of the gate after being refused permission to enter. The group, which included three girls, was met by a platoon of military policemen in riot-control formation with fixed bayonets. As the demonstrators (all pledged to non-violence) looked on, the soldiers set up a ring of bayonets around the civil disobedients and carried the singing students into police buses.

The demonstrators were repeatedly attacked by hecklers with stones and eggs as police refused to give them protection. Lt. Boeck, of the Van Nuys P.D. said that his men were ordered not to remain in the area because, "people might interpret us as favoring the demonstrators."

The arrested students were chared with Section 398 of the State Military and Veterans code and face possible six-month sentences and \$500 fines.

Despite the harrassment and great pressures which are being applied by this defense plant oriented community, a movement seems to be growing among the students and some professors. One of the main obstacles facing any attempt at community organization in the San Fernando Valley, is the fact that most of its residents are directly employed by the war industries.

On November 26, SDS is planning a march through Van Nuys beginning at 9 a.m. in front of Valley State College in Northridge and ending in a vigil outside the house of Congressman James Corman, a "liberal hawk."

Planning for MID-ATLANTIC SDS

Chairman, Lee Webb
Secretary, Nancy Bancroft

The first meeting of the Mid-Atlantic area SDS group was convened at 11:30 A.M. on October 23, 1966, by Lee Webb, who spoke briefly on the background and purpose of the meeting. Lee pointed out that in the last months there has been tremendous growth in SDS and SDS-related (e.g., SSOC) chapters in the area from North Carolina to Pennsylvania—but that little has been done to facilitate communication between chapters in all or parts of this area. He stressed the need, expressed before today's meeting by people from the chapters of the area, to have us help each other involve our chapter people in SDS as a national organization. That is, there is a felt need for people to get involved in the political and organizational questions facing SDS in 1966. Lee expressed the opinion that SDS in the last couple of years has become intellectually/politically weaker than need be; and that we should avoid settling for being "the largest student organization on the left (they used to publish a lot of pamphlets)." He raised the question, shared by many if not all those present, of whether we want, instead, to regain something of SDS's former reputation as an intellectually powerful group of activists—and, in particular, whether the mid-Atlantic area might not want to make internal education a reality within and among its many chapters. He noted that in the early 60's, SDS had to aim its analysis at the need for multi-issue political thinking but that now, this attitude can be fairly well taken for granted. (Even people working full-time on Vietnam or black power issues, for example, understand what they are doing in the context of the multi-issue analysis of American politics.) The task now before us, he suggested, is to work on the problem of *what kind of multi-issue politics is relevant and radical in America today . . .* including the questions: who is to be the constituency for organizing in any given area; where does the distinction between black and white organizing disappear; do we want to help start an adult organization or part of SDS; should SDS become an umbrella-type organization with students as only one of various insurgent sections; and so forth.

Lee concluded his remarks by summarizing the purpose of today's meeting as three-fold: to get people acquainted who will want to exchange resources and ideas; to plan for an educational conference to be held in December; to talk about the possibility of setting up some regular channels for communication and co-ordination within the mid-Atlantic area of SDS.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE—DECEMBER CONFERENCE

Through much discussion, the meeting made a number of decisions, particularly about a December Educational Conference for the Middle Atlantic SDS chapters and members.

The decisions arrived at are as follows:

(1) A large and well-planned Educational Conference will be held between December 3-5 for chapters and members in the Middle Atlantic area. The conference will begin on Friday evening, continue all day Saturday, and end Sunday evening. The three major subjects of the conference (around which speakers, panels, and workshops will be structured) are (a) The Dynamics of American Foreign Policy, (b) The American Economy: Power and Poverty, and (c) "New Politics" "What directions? Our meeting continually restated its desire to have a conference that was well-planned, had new information and analysis, and would have a solid educational effect on the SDS chapters involved.

(2) Working papers (perhaps 15 pages in total) will be selected by the Arrangements Committee, duplicated and sent out to all chapters, chapter contacts, SSOC chapters and others in our area by November 15. The working paper's purpose is to raise most of the issues of the Educational Conference prior to the Conference to encourage individual readings, discussion, and chapter educational program in preparation for the conference.

(3) All chapters are being encouraged to set up educational meetings, with speakers panels, or discussions, on the subjects of the conference to prepare for the conference. To facilitate this, the Arrangements Committee will send out in a couple of weeks a list of books, pamphlets, and speakers that might be helpful in planning the educational meetings.

(4) The site of the conference will be the Washington DC area. The exact locational and facilities will be announced in a later mailing.

(5) A transportation subsidy will be paid for conference participants who come from far distances, i.e., North Carolina, or Western Pennsylvania.

(6) The Arrangements Committee will be sending out another mailing in two weeks with the specific conference site, housing, arrangements, agenda, and all other particulars of the conference.

(7) An Arrangements Committee was set up to make all the preparations for the conference. Its members are Nancy Bancroft (Secretary), Marilyn McNabb (FCNL), Mark Steiner (U. of Md. SDS), Sue Thrasher (SSOC), Jo Blum (DC at large), Roslyn Gabrielski (A. U. SDS), Don Batchelder (Balt. SDS), Tom Hart (GW SDS), and Dave Garnet (Wilson High SDS).

WINNING FRIENDS in PIKEVILLE



Magistrates (from left) Bentley, Newsom, Justice and Prater were locked in a cell by frowning turnkey Harold Simpson

Pikeville, Ky.

SENTENCE

Cash is hard to come by in this mountain country and Taylor Justice would rather serve time in jail than loosen the town-folks' purse strings.

"I don't like the jail much," Justice said after nine days in the lockup, "but I'll stay here for the next three years before I'll tax the little man." So will three others.

Justice is one of eight magistrates who sit as the Fiscal Court for Pike county, a depressed mining area in Eastern Kentucky along the Appalachian mountain range.

BUDGET

He and magistrates Darwin Newsome, Foster Bentley and Burbridge Prater have been jailed since October 25 on a contempt of court charge for refusing to approve a county school budget.

"We feel it is just too much of a burden on the taxpayer," Justice said. "They're putting too much on the little man."

The four magistrates contend the budget will result in a 20 per cent increase in individual taxes while exempting public service corporations.

Under Kentucky law magistrates must approve school budgets if they are found to be justifiable. The Kentucky Court of Appeals examined the document and approved it.

Justice, Newsome, Bentley and Prater ignored the court and on October 25 were each sentenced to three years and two months in jail by special Judge W. D. Sparks.

Since then, they have become heroes to the residents of this rugged mountain country, to the dismay of the four magistrates who "refused to sacrifice principle for politics" and voted for the budget.

They have had the run of the jail. A local restaurant and sympathetic citizens serve them hot meals—yesterday they had bacon, eggs, gravy, apples, coffee, milk, toast and butter for breakfast, meat loaf and mashed potatoes for lunch.

FUNCTIONS

And jailer Grover Adkins has permitted them to carry out some of their official functions, complete with telephone privileges.

"Adkins is a right good fellow," says Justice. "And 98 per cent of the people are behind us. We have visitors from daylight to dark."

In a typical display of mountain determination, the four magistrates have vowed to sit it out for the duration.

The end may have come into sight yesterday when suit was filed in United States District Court at Lexington asking release of the magistrates on grounds they were being deprived of their constitutional rights and being asked to violate their oaths of office and the State constitution.

FRELIMO

by Bill and Ruth Minter

Most of you realize that Southern Africa now forms the last stronghold of white domination and oppression in Africa. You have heard of *apartheid* in South Africa, and the increasing rigidity of that police state organized on strictly racial lines. You have heard of the attempt of white settlers in Rhodesia to consolidate minority rule. You may be hearing now of South Africa's defiance of the U. N. over the trust territory of South-west Africa. And you may remember the news several years ago of the savage repression by the Portuguese of African revolts in Angola, and the flight of thousands of refugees to the Congo.

But it is unlikely you have heard much recently of the continuing struggle by Africans against the Portuguese in "Portuguese" Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique. It persists and has small successes but seldom makes the headlines with something spectacular.

The Portuguese are proud that they were among the pioneers of European contact with the rest of the world. In both West and East Africa they were actively involved in exploration and trade. The major commodity over the centuries was slaves, and in this trade the Portuguese played a large part, even after competition from more advanced trading nations. By the end of the 19th century, however, when the industrial revolution had made slavery obsolete, Portugal was among the underdeveloped coun-

tries within Europe, and in the division of Africa among the imperial powers, was only able to keep three territories—the small "Portuguese" Guinea, Angola (on the west side of southern Africa), and Mozambique (on the east side of southern Africa). Today Portugal claims these territories to be legally a part of Portugal, rather than colonies, and regards any moves toward independence as treason.

Mozambique is the most heavily populated (7 million), and second largest in area (300,000 sq. miles) of Portugal's colonies. The existing territory was conquered by Portugal, and recognized by other European powers, in the last decade of the 19th century. It is governed from Portugal by the same dictatorship (that of Salazar) that has ruled there since 1926, and whose philosophy is akin to Fascism. In Mozambique itself the white Portuguese settlers are a privileged class despite Portugal's declarations that it has a unique genius for building multi-racial societies. Portuguese policy is that independence is unthinkable. The few peaceful protests that the Africans have dared to make, thinking that the independence of

the rest of Africa might point the way for them also, have been efficiently suppressed by PIDE, the Portuguese secret police.

The economic philosophy of the Portuguese in Africa assumes that the African is naturally lazy and must be forced to work. Thus, a series of labor codes have made unemployment illegal, and consider the subsistence farming that is the employment of most Africans to be unemployment. The result has been a system of forced labor, more or less disguised, by which Africans are compelled to work for the state, for private European employers, or to mines in South Africa or Rhodesia. In South Africa's mines alone there are more than 150,000 Mozambican workers, and in many parts of Mozambique the majority of men are away most of the year. By official agreement, Mozambique supplies South Africa with workers in exchange for part of their pay, and for the use of Lorence Margues as the port for South African exports. Conditions in Mozambique are so bad, however, that the mines of South Africa seem preferable, and Mozambicans actually enter South Africa illegally to work there.

(Continued on page 8)

FRELIMO

(Continued from page 7)

Educationally, Mozambique is among the most backward in Africa, as Portugal itself is in Europe. In 1958, less than 400,000 children of all races were enrolled in any school, out of an estimated African school age population of over 2,500,000. Out of these only about 500 African children were enrolled higher than 4th year. This is partially the result of a policy which entrusted the education of Africans to the Roman Catholic Church, which had neither funds nor personnel nor the will to provide adequate education. The government schools, attended largely by Europeans and Asians, were far too expensive for more than a very few Africans.

In 1962, The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was formed from the merger of several nationalist organizations in exile. Based in Dar-es-Salaam, it began a program of diplomatic appeals to Portugal and at the United Nations, an educational program among refugees, and preparation for armed struggle if Portugal should, as expected, refuse to give any consideration to demands for independence. On September 25, 1964, FRELIMO began a guerilla war in Mozambique, harassing the Portuguese military and building up support and political organization among the people in the countryside. Now FRELIMO has limited control over much of the northern part of Mozambique, although Portuguese troops in Mozambique number 50,000 and Portuguese military headquarters were recently moved north. FRELIMO fighters have grown from a few hundred to a few thousand. They expect a long and difficult struggle, but confidently hope and plan for eventual victory and independence.

The president of FRELIMO is Dr. Eduardo Modlane, one of the first Mozambicans to get a higher education. After studies in Mozambique, South Africa, and Portugal, he completed his education at Oberlin and at Northwestern, where he obtained a PhD in sociology and anthropology. He worked for the United Nations as a research officer; was a professor at Syracuse University; then came to Dar-es-Salaam in 1962 and was elected to lead the newly formed FRELIMO.

As, in the rest of southern Africa, the western powers are heavily involved — on the wrong side. Among western powers, the United States statements are often better than most. But action has placed the U. S. clearly on the side of inaction and tacit support of white supremacy. In South Africa this means heavy financial involvement and consequent reluctance to take economic steps against South Africa; in Rhodesia it takes the form of support for Britains hypocritical and ineffective opposition to the white settler regime. In the Portuguese territories it consists of military and economic aid given to Portugal within the structure of NATO. It may be taking other forms, as a recent court case in Rochester, N. Y. involves accusations that the CIA was involved in a plot to smuggle surplus B-26 bombers to Portugal — accusations by the man who was hired to ferry the bombers. It is quite clear in any case that U. S. concern for justice in Southern Africa is luke warm, in spite of its ringing declarations, and that economic and cold-war interests are much weightier influences on the action which results. This means of course that it is other African and Asian countries, neutrals, and members of the Eastern bloc, that show their concern for justice by concrete aid in the struggle for independence. In spite of this, FRELIMO remains ideologically uncommitted, seeking and accepting and wherever it can be found. Mozambican students study all over the world, and we, as Americans, were accepted as teachers here in spite of the fact that our government is a mainstay and continuing ally of the enemy that FRELIMO is fighting, and of the fact that many think it is not inconceivable that they may someday be fighting for their independence against American troops. As Americans, we certainly hope that does not happen. As Christians, we must recognize that our first loyalty in such a situation must be to justice.

This is a very brief and incomplete account of the general context in which we are working. We hope to write more in future letter, and would be glad to answer questions in personal letters. We would ask those who are interested in getting more day to day information to write to the University Christian Movement, Room 754, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, for its Southern Africa News Summary. You are welcome to write to the Portuguese Embassy as well — and ask us any questions raised by their statements.

our MAN on the DRAFT

(Continued from page 1)

Draft Workshops — Brief summary of the major areas of concern about the draft

Again, the first issue was that of individual response; while the people were of an even wider political range than those I met in Amherst. Conscientious Objector status was quickly discarded as an organizing tool. Most persuasive was one SDS'ers argument that the ethical considerations that led him to oppose the oppression and slaughter of men also demanded that he act to realize those values. This, he argued, meant that acts of individual protest, such as non-cooperation or C.O., had to be evaluated by the yardstick of how well they helped to bring together people who were similarly oppressed and whose salvation lay primarily in their collective strength. Thus, for him, ethical considerations of a highly personal nature led him to political activity and towards the standards of developing collective actions around common problems.

Once again, the 2S stared us in the face. The best that either of the two workshops that I attended came up with was that we had to come out against the Student Deferment. To do otherwise would be dishonest in light of an analysis which sees 2S as essentially divisive in its effects and based on class privilege. It was pointed out that the Brooklyn College chapter of the W.E.B. DuBois clubs had taken a stand in favor of the 2S on the grounds that students were more valuable in school than in the Army. Is this true? If so, what is the justification for such a position which caters to the most reactionary attitudes?

Most people in both workshops agreed that we could not expect the U. S. to play a decent role in foreign affairs and therefore we concluded that a movement could be built which opposed conscription as such in America, although there were serious differences as to opposition to conscription for all times and in all kinds of societies. Moreover, much heated debate surrounded two theories of how people get radicalized: one holds that people get radicalized when they collectively challenge some aspect of established wealth and power, and were strongly reacted to by power. It is in this shattering of their illusions that radicalization occurs; the second theory similarly holds that people must collectively move against common oppression, felt wrongs, etc., but that it is very desirable or necessary for radicals to consistently point out the deeper basis of the issue being fought and the interests which the relevant local power represents. Thus, when the local movement gets into confrontation and the people get crunched in some way, some of those involved will recall the radicals analysis and will turn to them for instruction in making such accurate and useful analyses as well as seek their counsel and leadership. In this way, people in movement will come to gain confidence in radical or revolutionary socialists and will begin to see an alternative to existing society; the socialist alternative which these radicals will be relating to the immediate issue and showing the relevance of.

Meanwhile, back at the nitty-gritty, us peasants was dealing with immediate problems.

City College seemed the brightest where an open revolutionary, Rick Rhoads, got the most votes in their Student Government election and where the SDS chapter is leading a broad coalition fighting for a referendum against the rank.

This question of seeking a binding referendum seems generally accepted. Travelling around and talking to people actively organizing against their school's cooperation with the military thru class ranking, I found a widespread acceptance of the referendum as a means of fighting their administration. It combines the efficacy of appealing to democratic values through concrete participatory democracy (Let The People Decide), along with providing an organizing tool, something to talk to students about ("Say—, what do you think of this proposal for a referendum binding on the administration?"), as well as a perfect means of exposing the nature of the bureaucrats running the University. It was so widely accepted that I thought maybe something was wrong. After all, who ever heard of consensus over tactics in SDS?

With people from Columbia, Harvard and others, I raised some problems which I feel such a tactic will probably raise. Raising a demand for a binding referendum on the ranking issue diverts primary attention from the nature of the war and from students

needs to overcome their individual differences in order to oppose the war and to seek allies outside the University. It tends to turn an anti-rank struggle towards a campus democracy struggle since we must first fight around the means which we are setting up to get rid of the rank. In other words, by prescribing a referendum as the means for deciding the issue we bring the question of campus decision-making into primary focus, at best relegating the effects, origins and possible alternative to the war to secondary importance. If this is what we seek, this focus on campus democracy, then let us be clear about it—don't let's muddle into it. If however, we seek to expose the administrations' role as pimp to the interests of the dominant class in their actions which relate the school to the rest of society; if we seek to build a movement around the destructive effects of such cooperation, a movement of students who could possibly see themselves as a part of non-university peoples' struggles against such destructive effects of the war as increasing draft calls to death, increasing government attacks against people attempting to organize, such as poor whites and blacks, decreasing living standards thru inflation and possible government suppression of the right to strike, then let us be wary indeed of any such apparently unquestionably good tactic.

Several people on the East Coast argued that there need be no conflict between a campus democracy movement and the need to actively relate with off-campus movement. Rather, they are seen as compatible. Our fight for campus democracy, it is argued, relates perfectly well to the struggle of people off-campus for democratic rights and self-determination. Students involved in any such movement could easily see the similar nature and the need to get involved in other people's movements. The only major problem with this argument is presented by experience. While the South American universities have much more autonomy and student power than our poor dollar towers, students there have been safe just so long as they stuck to campus demands which did not impinge on the needs of the ruling circles. The rulers didn't mind students getting their radical kicks on campus. After all, most of them saw the light and the smooth butter on the warm toast. But it has been another harsh matter where students have somehow got involved in Argentinian cab drivers strikes, Brazilian universities penetration by Peace Corps imperialists or Columbia's sell-out juanta. In these cases where they dared to get involved on issues other than campus democracy, they were invaded by cops and blood was shed. If we are going to be safe radicals, then let's hang our balls up for all to see. If we seek to build movements which can only reach fruition thru active involvement in struggles of millions oppressed off the campus, then let's get down to the business of exposing our enemies while building our strength.

Let us demand that the administration reverse its decision to rank, with the attendant deterioration of the classroom situation, student teacher relationship and increased division of students thru the illusion of safety in competition for grades. Let's confront them with our position on the war and let them defend their decision to cooperate. If they refuse and tell us that we are only a minority, that they want some poll or referendum, then we should be in excellent

shape. For before confronting them, our efforts will have been directly concerned with educational work around the nature of the war, the effects of the ranking and the need to build a movement capable of ending not only the rank and the war, but of transforming the bases of our society on which the whole rotten educational system rests and which it serves.

In this report I have chosen to polemicize on certain issues which my travels and Chicago experience lead me to believe are and will be important for the direction of anti-draft, anti-war organizing. Rather than be attacked for taking sides, I hope that people concerned will respond with reasoned political arguments. Briefly responding to the criticism that advocates of anti-draft organizing don't offer alternatives to the individualistic CO or retain 2S positions: working to bring students to collectively oppose their administrators cooperation with the war (usually by ranking for SS) is a first step. It points towards developing our natural base around the effects of the war on students lives—as students and as draft bait. From this base we can look to expanding work with Jr. College and high school youth. Discussion groups with contacts in these areas and some parents could lead to community based draft board, induction center demonstrations, disruption, of physical and material kinds. Furthermore, such a movement should, could and would see the oppression of wage earners as a part of their fight against the effects of this war on the majority of Americans. For in reality, this was a war against most Americans for the benefit of a few and the concrete effects increasingly bear this out.

People engaged in high school, Jr., college or community work around and against effects of the war are encouraged to write up the motivations, perspectives and problems encountered. The same for anyone writing to g i's.

—Earl Silbar

A DREAM

I dream of a time when there shall be enough for all, and every man shall bear his share of labor in accordance with his ability, and every man shall possess sufficient for the needs of his body and the demands of health. These things he shall have as a matter of justice and not of charity. I dream of a time when there shall be no unnecessary suffering and no premature deaths; when the welfare of the people shall be our highest concern; when humanity and mercy shall replace greed and selfishness; and I dream that all these things will be accomplished through the wisdom of man. I dream of these things, not with the hope that we, individually, may participate in them, but with the joy that we may aid in their coming to those who shall live after us. When young men have vision, the dreams of old men come true.

(Quote from fellow named Rosenau, with substitution of "I dream" for "it dreams", because he was talking of preventive medicine and public health, as public healthers are wont to do.)

Terry R. Daenzer
Ann Arbor, Michigan

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