

NEW LEFT NOTES

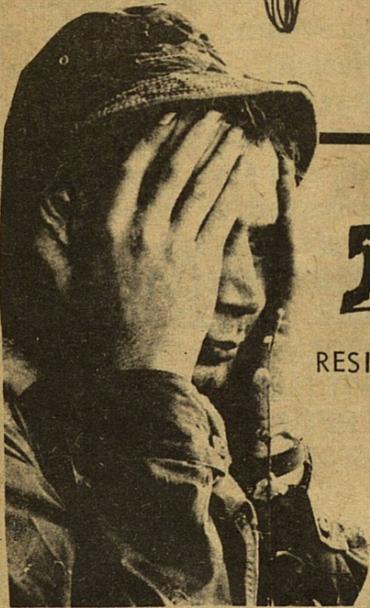
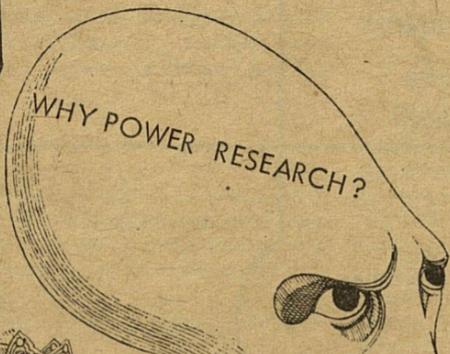
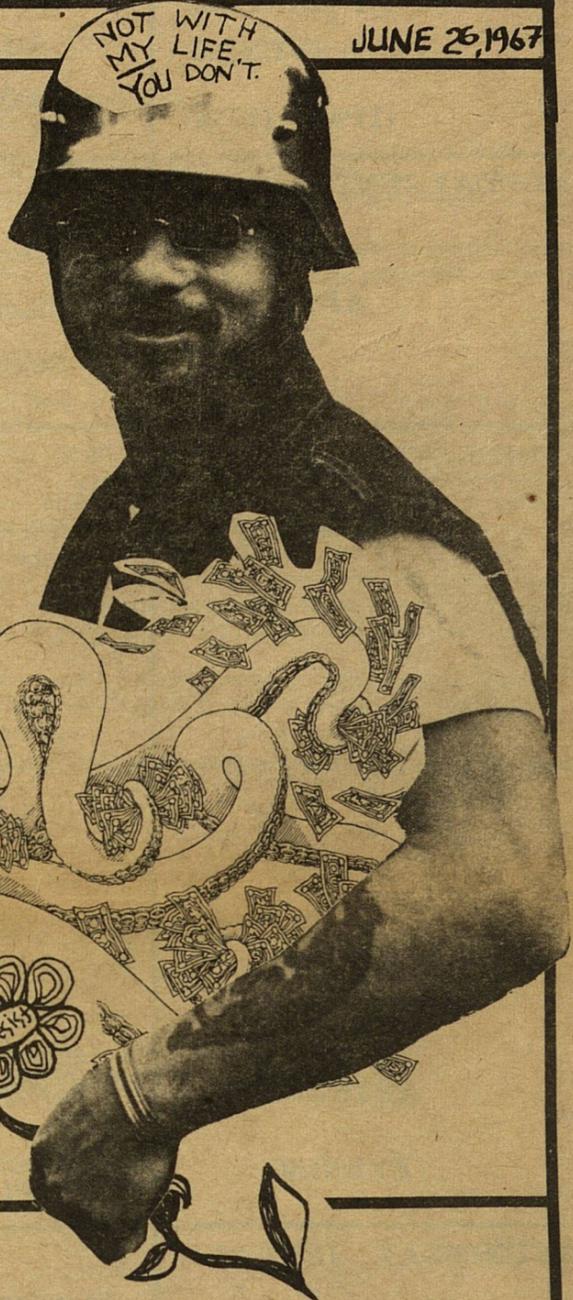
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VOL. 2, NO. 25

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

JUNE 26, 1967

SPECIAL: CONVENTION



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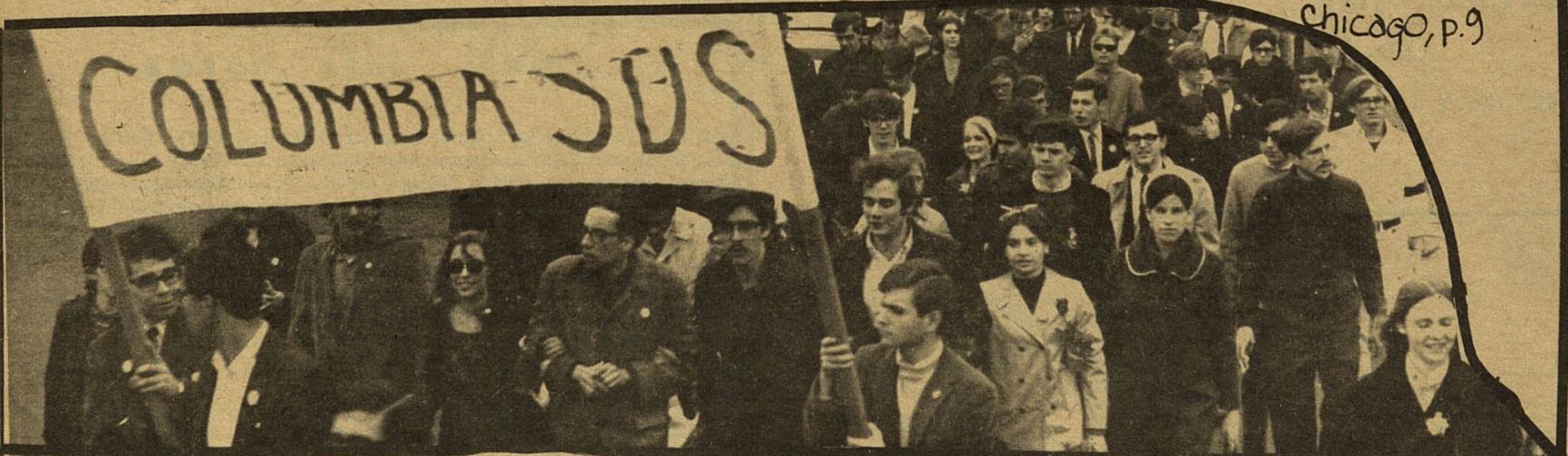
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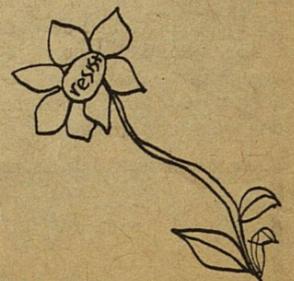
NATIONAL CONVENTION SCHEDULE

WHEN:	WHAT:	WHERE:
SUNDAY JUNE 25 AFTERNOON AND EVENING (1PM - 11PM)	Registration Regional Meetings Informal Discussions Films	2514 Student Activities Building Mason Hall Mason Hall To Be Announced
MONDAY JUNE 26 MORNING AFTERNOON EVENING	Overview Papers Discussion of Papers Regional Meetings (if needed)	
TUESDAY JUNE 27 MORNING AFTERNOON EVENING	<p>Strategy Panels</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Draft University Working Class Poor Electoral Politics Middle Class (professional and new working class Foreign Policy Women Question Power Research (more can be added)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Discussion Groups On Strategy</p> <p>Credentials And Plenary On Agenda</p>	<p>Angell Hall</p> <p>Angell Hall</p> <p>Angell Hall</p> <p>Angell Hall</p> <p>Angell Hall</p> <p>Angell Hall</p> <p>To Be Announced</p>
WEDNESDAY JUNE 28 MORNING AFTERNOON AND EVENING	Plenary On Agenda Continued If Necessary Working Workshops	Same Hall Mason, Angell, Natural Science
THURSDAY FRIDAY JUNE 29 AND JUNE 30 ALL DAY	Plenary Of Convention (Meetings of Committees as Needed)	Natural Science Auditorium Mason and Angell
SATURDAY JULY 1 AND SUNDAY JULY 2	NATIONAL COUNCIL Auditorium D	

INFO

INFORMATION CENTER

For information, housing, questions, messages, complaints, invectives, physical assaults, etc. during the convention, go to the VOICE office located in room 2534 of the Student Activities Building. If necessary, leave a written message. During periods when activities are occurring in one hall or building, try to locate members of the committee there.



CREDENTIALS

***In order to vote as delegates, chapters will have to verify their delegation with the Credentials Committee.. Credentials were due at the National Office by June 15. Any chapters that have failed to submit credentials will have to have their delegation accepted or rejected by the plenary on agenda. CREDENTIALS FOR BOTH THE CONVENTION AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL WILL BE VERIFIED AT THE FIRST PLENARY ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT JUNE 27.

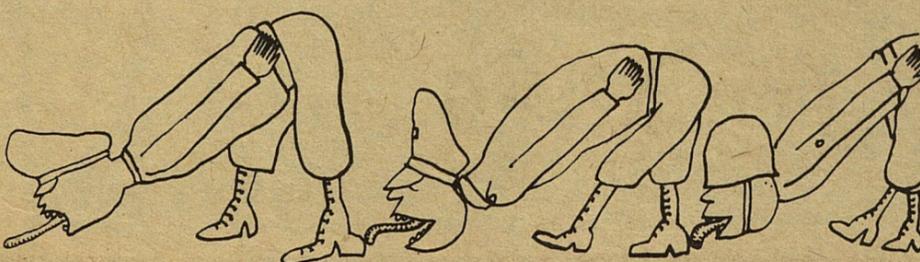
IN CASE OF EMERGENCY OF ANY SORT= THE PHONE NUMBER AT VOICE IS 663-6610.

new left notes

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Southern California: PO Box 85396, Los Angeles, Calif. 90072
New England: 39 Lee St., Apt. 3A, Cambridge, Mass.



Huelga 1967 SDS CONVENTION

Welcome

Resist

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
JUNE 25-JULY 2, 1967

The SDS convention is the annual gathering of the membership. This leaflet is intended to present the schedule of events and answer some of the questions that may arise.

There is a certain logic to the events of the convention. After the initial day of registration and informal discussions, the convention flows toward the goal of resolutions to be decided by the whole body. In order to create those resolutions democratically, the convention proceeds in the following manner. First some long papers will be presented that try to describe the whole range of problems SDS faces; that is they try to give an overview without suggesting any specific strategies. After those papers have been presented and discussed (they have all been published as well in recent issues of New Left Notes), there will be panels and then discussion groups to consider questions of strategy on different problems. Once the discussions of strategy have occurred, the whole body must meet (the first plenary session) to decide the order of importance of these different problems for the convention to consider. Once that order has been established (the agenda), people will work out the specific resolutions in working workshops. These resolutions will then be the basis for discussion in the convention plenary sessions.

So there are four major steps preceding the meetings at which the convention votes on resolutions. They are: (1) overview meetings; (2) strategy panels and discussions; (3) plenary meeting to decide the agenda; (4) working workshops to create resolutions. Any individual can attend any of these sessions.

Voting at the plenary meetings of the convention is based on one delegate from each chapter for each five national members in his chapter. Each delegate is given five votes; members attending the convention not represented by any chapter are allowed one vote for themselves.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

The National Council, which follows immediately after the convention, is composed of delegates from the chapters at the ratio of one delegate for every 25 national members. If your chapter sent an equal number of delegates for both the convention and the National Council, it has either sent too few for the convention or too many for the nc. Check with the Credentials Committee.

All members who wish to, whether delegates or not, can attend and participate in the National Council as well.

The administration of the convention will be handled by a committee composed of one delegate elected by each of eight regional caucuses, the national secretary, president, vice-president and the convention coordinator. This body will make administrative decisions concerning the allocation of resources, discipline, and procedure. Further,

it will attempt to gain a sense of the body and make an agenda proposal for the plenary, as well as choosing chairmen subject to ratification by the plenary. This is being done to try to keep agenda debate to a minimum so that all the business of the convention can be handled in the time allotted. The agenda proposal will include a prioritization of issues and time limits. People who have suggestions concerning the agenda should approach the committee prior to the first plenary session. A suggestion box will be available, and the committee's meetings will be announced beforehand. If people will make use of the existence of this committee to create a coherent agenda proposal prior to the consideration of the agenda by the entire body, we can be spared a time-consuming, inherently undemocratic, and extremely unpleasant agenda debate and move quickly to substantive material.

The following are the eight regions, each of which will elect a delegate to the steering committee:

1. New England: Mass., Conn., R. I., Vt., N. H., Me.
2. New York City, New Jersey
3. New York State, Penn., Delaware, Md.
4. Ill., Ind., Ohio, Mich., Mo.
5. W. Va., Va., Ky., Ark., Tex., Oklahoma, Fla., and the rest of the South.
6. Minn., Wisc., Iowa, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas
7. Mountain States, Arizona, New Mexico, Wash., Ore., Alaska, Hawaii.
8. California.

The regions will caucus (meet) the first day in the late afternoon; if many of the people from a region have not yet arrived, the meetings will be held on the following afternoon. Location will be announced as soon as possible.

THE CONVENTION RESOLUTION AT THE APRIL NC

At the National Council held in April at Cambridge, Mass., a resolution was passed outlining the structure of the convention. That resolution has been fulfilled in the actual structure of the convention with only minor revisions. Those include: the moving of the plenary on the agenda to the night of June 27 (Tuesday) in order to eliminate one extra day; the dropping of some strategy panels and the addition of others. The civil rights panel was dropped in favor of including questions on the freedom movement within the specific topics, i.e. the relation of white campuses to black ones, draft resistance in ghettos, etc. The quality of life panel fell through because of last-minute cancellations but can be restored. The power research panel was added to help SDS people understand how to relate research to action projects. Lists of members of panels will be available at registration.

If anyone feels that other panels should be included or other people added to existing panels, they should submit their suggestions to the convention committee, convention coordinator, or a national officer.

Greetings to the sds convention

*You are the hope of the American Left,
and therefore the hope of all America,
for a bright future for our country and
our people.*

*May your 1967 Convention give great impulse
to the formation of a new revolutionary poli-
tical organization that will chart and lead
the way to a new social order of peace and
justice, equality and brotherhood...*

John Rossen

THOUGHTS ON LEADERSHIP

Henry W. Haslach, Jr.

These thoughts have grown out of observations made as president of an SDS chapter and are an attempt to clarify some of the internal problems of a chapter in order to develop a view of leadership which can guide others in their chapter work. Because of the fact that the nature of the movement we build now will determine the society that we are struggling to create, it is time that we develop a concept of leadership which is consistent with the goal of a non-coercive society. Leadership will be defined by its functions and explanation will be offered for the rejection of commonly accepted functions. Ideally, it seems to me, a leader is one who has ideas and who is willing and able to take action to carry out his ideas. But many of us demand that leadership tell us what to do and who to blame when things go wrong. The real question is why.

The overwhelming characteristic of American society today is authoritarianism; "cradle to grave" authoritarianism. We are daily exposed and subjected to towering authority figures, from our grade school teachers, our "friend" the policeman, the high schools, our local government officials, the experts who tell us how to live our lives (with deodorant), to the federal bureaucracy and to the Big Daddy himself. All these people are represented to us by the mass media and all social pressures as benevolent. They all have our interests at heart; interests that we ourselves are not always capable of seeing and so must be told. If, by some quirk, they do something which we dislike, we only have to explain to them what we want and it will be done.

By this thinking the concept of petition for redress of grievances has crept into our thinking. Every man may attempt to convince the authorities that they should follow the petitioner's plan. We depend on the leader's benevolence to accept and act

on our petition; we are at their mercy. For example our anti-war protests (and civil rights protests) are all really petitions for redress of grievances to the government, the very same government that sees itself conducting the war in the interests of the American people. How can we expect a favorable response? We must take the first step beyond and begin to create our own free society in which we have political freedom as well as economic freedom.

The nature of leadership in the United States today as in much of its history is that of manipulation. One need only look at President Johnson for the best example. By playing one interest against another, the first interest of these leaders is to maintain their own power (i.e. to preserve stability); they are not acting for all the people. Our "benevolent" leaders are only interested in those who already have power. Our problem is to keep the same from happening within our movement; can we adopt the same structure as present US society and then place our hope for freedom in the benevolence of our own leaders? It is doubtful; power corrupts.

One's temptation would be to reject the idea of leadership altogether given the above view. But the problem is that almost every group that meets today insists on electing a leader. The question again must be why? Several alternatives present themselves: perhaps there are certain administrative tasks that most people don't wish to be bothered with and so they elect one member of their group who will spend all his time with the group dealing with these matters. (This is a real question for the anarchists who wish to abolish all bureaucracy; the only solution is to abolish the functions of the bureaucracy.) Such elections may be held out of habit; as an avoidance of responsibility (notice how it is the leaders that those we demonstrate against try to deal with; they do their best to get the leaders to make deals and to sell out the member-

ship); as a spokesman; as an honor; the choosing of a brilliant leader whose brilliance will give the impression that the group is more than it is. Now one must analyze these motivations and try to draw some lessons for those leaders who are working to create a free America.

Leaders are thought to be necessary to carry out certain tasks within the group: some of these are bookkeeping tasks, others are policing tasks within the meeting. The bookkeeping are those administrative tasks such as knowing what everyone is working on in order to keep up communication within the group (but this job could be done by a secretary or volunteer). The running of a meeting is only necessary when the membership do not have enough respect for each other to permit each his turn to speak; this policing job can easily be done by a rotating system of chairmanships for meetings. What are the special jobs that require a person with "leadership" capabilities? The only one which comes to mind is that of directing the actions of the group. But this runs directly counter to our goal of permitting every person to make all those decisions which affect his life. Perhaps there is some motivation to pick that person as leader who is most capable of dealing with those elements of the power structure which the group is fighting. The danger here is that such a leader will become drawn into the power structure; in fact this is a common tactic of the power structure. They attempt to develop an identification of the leader's interests with their own interests.

One might also be selected as a leader because of one's popularity or because of one's ability to keep different factions of the group working together. This assumes that such a group should be held together. But if factions are not willing to work together then to trick them into it is just a subtle form of coercion; this coercion is the very thing which must be destroyed in order to permit people to run their own lives as they see fit.

The election or choosing of a leader may arise out of the members' experience in an American society in which every function must have a leader who is in some sense responsible for the group; this is just another aspect of the authoritarianism of American society. People are not allowed to run or believed capable of running things for themselves. Thus such a group simply has not broken its ties with its background.

A leader may be elected as a subconscious device of the group to avoid responsibility for their actions. The leader—rather than members of the group—is always called on to explain the actions of the group. However this may be a

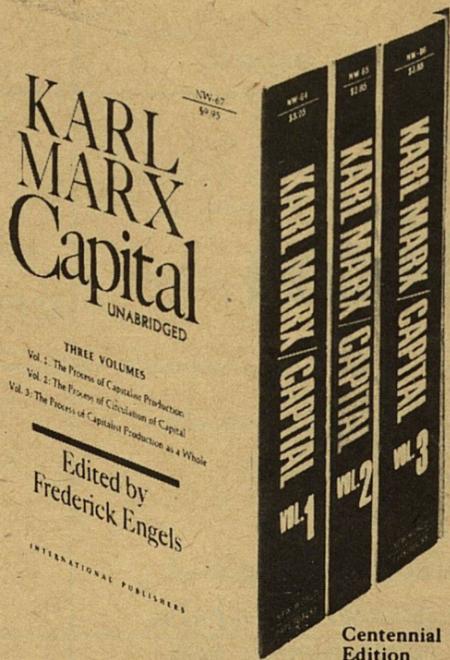
legitimate function, perhaps the leader should be the one who can most articulately explain why the group has done something. (But this is not really what leader means.) The group may also elect a leader to make their decisions for them; here is the abdication of responsibility. One might legitimately ask, in this case, why the group exists at all.

For example, during the February 1967 demonstrations at the UW against Dow Chemical a group of 150 students voted to sit-in against the recruiters. Arriving at the place where the University had said the recruiter was they were unable to find Dow. The group immediately assumed that they had been fooled by the University (they hadn't) and after no consideration went to the offices of the Chancellor to sit-in. Previously the argument had been over whether to sit-in against Dow or against the University's complicity with Dow. The argument raged until the President of SDS called for a demonstration primarily against Dow. The body immediately voted its agreement. However in the crisis at the recruiting site, their reaction was to go against the University, at which point part of the leadership left the demonstration because they felt they could not be part of an action against the University at that time. The vote shows the amount of influence the leadership had and the lack of knowledge by the group of what they were doing. In the crisis they chose the University because it was safer to demonstrate against than the business firm. The President of SDS was later criticized after the sit-in against the University failed for not trying to return the movement against Dow. But would not this too be manipulation; was it manipulation to turn the demonstration against Dow in the first place when the group was unsure? The group of anti-Dow demonstrators was composed of people who apparently did not understand what they were doing (in this case the difference between demonstrating against the University or against a company. If they had understood they would have been able to keep the goal in mind when confronted by people yelling in anger that "we should get the University". Perhaps the real goal of the group was the University. How can this be determined ahead of time when the majority are willing to sit and be told what to do by the "benevolent authorities", i.e. their own leaders, who they have chosen to take the place of the authority figures provided by American society?

As a further example, on the first day of the Dow demonstration the leader of a group going into a University building was arrested by the police before the group

(continued on page 5),

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"THE RESISTANCE"

Bill Vandercook

The October 16th action is being organized by a group called "The Resistance" based in Berkeley. The tentative plans are for hopefully around 2,000 guys nationwide to turn in or destroy their draft cards and declare total non-cooperation with the draft system. One idea is for this to be done at sit-ins or other disruptive actions at every induction center in the country (there are about 60 of them), and for guys to either turn in their cards to the commandant or nail them to the door. All efforts will be made to keep the group together and to preserve mutual defense and solidarity. A second nation-wide action, perhaps sit-ins and other disruptive actions at every major war goods producer in the country, may be planned for December.

It seems to me that actions like this are perhaps the only adequate response to the war and the draft, and that actions like this can advance the movement to a new level of creative resistance. I see the arguments for this action as follows:

1) The time has come for a mass direct-action campaign against the war. There are enough people ready to do these kinds of actions and enough people ready to support them for it to make political sense.

2) We must challenge directly the government's right to wage this war by attacking the draft and the war production effort. This action is only the beginning. I think that if it happens in a large way, it could bring the movement to a new level of all-out opposition and could fire activities of all kinds against the war with

new energy.

3) It meets the needs of draft-age men desperately searching for a politically and morally appropriate way of confronting the draft.

4) It would not necessarily mean suicide the movement as a) not everyone is a draft-age male; b) not every draft-age male will take this stand; and c) it will take a year at least in most cases before men are put in jail—a year during which they are in the strongest position to act further against the war, being already committed.

5) The point of the induction center sit-ins is that a) supporters can join in the first action and participate directly in civil disobedience; and b) the action will say not just "We Won't Go" but also "as soon as we get enough power, you're not going to take anybody else either."

I think that it is important to pass this resolution to commit SDS to supporting this action. I would say that the resolution means that we support the action, that we will speak out supporting it, when it happens, that we will help to make it happen by spreading the word as much as possible and by encouraging people to do it. I don't think that this would require any new staff or money—just that everybody keep it in mind and help. The actual organizing can be done from Berkeley—there should be a convention some time in September to make final plans. Seems to me that it can use all the support people can give it.

I think that this could be one of the most important actions toward building a decent, human society in America.

Student Mobilization Committee

jane adams
robert pardun
marilyn buck

The Student Mobilization Committee convention raised some questions about how a decentralized, non-disciplined group like SDS functions in a coalition containing both centralist, disciplined groups (YSA and the CP) and groups whose delegates can make commitments for their organizations to positions (generally single-issue peace organizations).

SDS has never dealt organizationally with coalition politics—we have participated as vocal observers and, after deciding to endorse an action, have participated via delegates. The problem with this approach to coalition actions is that by the time the National Council or Regional Council (in the case of a regional coalition) has met, taken a position, and elected delegates, the basic program and politics have been set.

A case in point: None of the SDS people at the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC hereafter) CONVENTION KNEW positions to take—whether to fight for programs which might make the Committee real (community organizing, draft resistance, get the military off campus, etc.), or to act more as observers. As far as I could tell, SDS people felt caught in a bind: On the one hand, there is perhaps a need for a specifically peace-oriented student group, since SDS has a multi-issue approach which single-issue anti-war groups don't want to become organizationally involved in. On the other hand, coalitions tend to be controlled by the most disciplined groups who can

vote in blocs, send large numbers of members to dull meetings, etc. Most of the SDS people at the SMC convention felt that the meeting was stacked, that programs were not allowed to develop, aside from those the disciplined groups supported (the fall demonstration and the campus referendum on the war). Organizing draft resistance was accepted only when the Black Student Caucus put forth a militant statement, which was accepted without debate (when far less militant language and program was defeated earlier in the plenary when presented by (white) draft resisters and SDS).

The SDS people selected for the Continuations Committee declined until the Convention and the NC. We felt the need for an organizational mandate on several issues:

1. Does SDS want to be involved in coalitions at all?

Pro: Keep in touch with what's going on...have an organizational voice in programs which will involve the membership. (Also see program proposal by Carl Davidson.)

Anti: Demands discipline of delegates. Commits organizational resources (re. travel for delegates, funding of joint programs, etc.). The whole thing's a farce and not worth the time and energy.

2. (If we do decide to participate) What would the function of delegates be? What kinds of things can they commit SDS to, what things can't they commit SDS to?

a) disciplined to uphold national SDS decisions, e.g. draft resistance, non-exclusionism, position on mass mobilizations, multi-issue approach, grass-roots organizing, etc.

b) what kinds of decisions can delegates make about SDS resources and time?

c) can a delegate give SDS organizational support to coalition decisions? On what basis can a delegate commit SDS as an organization to coalition policies?

d) at what point would SDS pull out organizationally?

There are undoubtedly more questions which we will have to deal with in relation to the SMC, but these seem to be the core. Let's deal with them.

ability in the long run to make all decisions for themselves because they too will have to make concessions to keep their leaders in the power structure.

When one leader becomes too distinct or perhaps becomes part of the power structure (as he actually does when he becomes too visible), then the group becomes identified with the leader. The outsider begins to look at the group not as the people in the group, but as the leader. The leader's personality becomes the personality of the group. This is one of the greatest dangers that a leader who is trying to encourage personal freedom must guard against. This tendency is a direct result of our authoritarian society. This happens most often when the leader in his role of spokesman begins saying things to the press that are his personal opinion. He may point out that these are his opinion but they will still be taken as the opinions of the group on the theory that the group elected him because he represents their thought.

Can one be legitimately elected as a leader because one is the most articulate speaker in the group and thus would best represent the group to the outside? I would think that this is a legitimate function of a leader, but why have just one such person? In each situation there might be a unique person who is most capable of speaking, but this does not say that there should be a permanent spokesman. Simply choose the best spokesman for each situation, or none at all. Let every man speak for himself. The added advantage to this method is that it gives many people the opportunity to become articulate. Speaking is something that takes practice. It also permits more people to become more integral parts of the group because it requires more thought for most people before they are willing to make a speech. This will both add to the group's experience and thought and give more members an appreciation of the problems involved.

One may be elected leader because

(continued on page 7)

ON LEADERSHIP HASLACH

(continued from page 4),

could get to the office in which Dow was recruiting. The remaining members of the group stood around for an hour trying to decide what to do. They only continued when told what to do by another accepted as leader who arrived from another part of the demonstration in another building. It is not at all clear to me why this group was incapable of deciding what to do unless it was they also feared arrest.

Two questions present themselves: Why should a person accept a position of leadership? What should a leader do?

I can find no reason whatsoever to take a position of leadership other than that there are certain bookkeeping jobs that must be done. However if one accepts the job on these terms, there are other demands made immediately to have the person actually guide the group, which means usually to tell the group the "right" thing to do. The person who takes a "leadership" position to be an administrator must guard against becoming an authority figure in his own right.

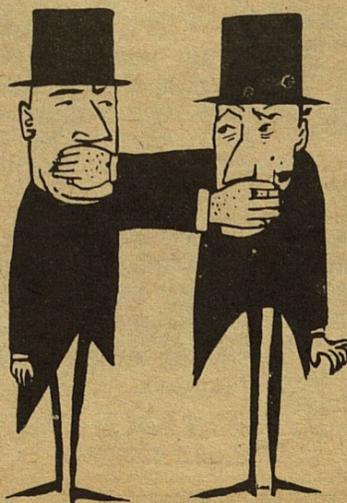
It would seem to me that the only legitimate way a leader can look at himself is as a transitional step from an authoritarian to a free society. As long as groups elect leaders, we are in the transitional period from an authoritarian system to one of personal freedom. Thus we must view the role of our own leaders in this light; their actions must all be directed to carrying out the traditional period and creating a society of personal choice.

The primary thought of our leaders must be to refuse to make decisions for us and thereby teach men the meaning of freedom. So many of us have been raised in such a manner that we are happy that there are people to make decisions for us. Is this not the core of women's revolution today to become human beings? Their role has always been defined as to accept whatever they are told. They are now asking to be humans; to be allowed to make decisions for themselves and to direct their own lives as they see fit, not as society defines their lives. But it is not just women who are in this position. We all are, perhaps in

more subtle ways. We all must demand the right to decide, and this requires the removal of authoritarianism, which in turn requires that we learn how to make decisions and not to depend on our leaders. Thus it is necessary for our "leaders" to refuse to be leaders as our society now defines leader. This means they must refuse to accept responsibility for the actions of the groups they are members of. If a man is leading a meeting, no votes should be taken until each member has made up his mind on the question. It may be thought that a legitimate function of the chairman is to outline the sides of the issue being discussed, but here again there are dangers. Such an outline can easily be done in a way which will influence the membership. The leader must not use the personal respect that the group gives him to influence decisions. Often groups will reverse their decisions completely after they hear that their leadership disagrees with them. The leader must maintain his integrity and the integrity of the group by stepping down when a decision is made which he does not agree with. There have been studies done of leaderless groups which show that for each project that the group decides on a leader will arise, and not necessarily the same person in each case. Each of us has his own talents and thus each would be capable of performing the legitimate task of leadership in a project which involves our talents. A group should have no permanent or long-term leader.

There is a phenomenon which we today might call the Mario Savio syndrome in which a leader gives a very emotional speech, harangues and draws the group (which is now a mob) into an act. This may be considered necessary by some, but what are the consequences? First, the group does not really understand what it is doing and must be told what to do at every crisis. Thus it has given up its humanity. Second, in the movement such a group will not usually stick together after the act and thus no consciousness or movement will have been developed. I think the falling off at Berkeley after the 1964 free speech movement is a result of exactly this. It was a one-shot affair; most of those involved did not understand

what changes were necessary. It can be claimed that most of them were just involved in petitioning a "benevolent dictator", the university administration, and thought that if the university could be made to understand what the students wanted, it would grant their demands. There seemed to have been no understanding of the nature of the university which required that their free speech be stifled. Any demonstration that requires a Savio to hold it together is a waste of time. Third, when a movement depends on one person, like a Savio, then the direction of that demonstration depends only on what one person does or what happens to him. He may be arrested or he may sell out in some manner to the power structure. Perhaps he will gain the position where his group becomes strong enough that he has to be consulted before any decision can be reached by the power structure. But then he becomes part of the power structure himself and will begin to make concessions in order to maintain his position in that power structure. For an example of this look at the labor union leaders in the Democratic Party today. Some groups may actually want this to happen to their leaders, for then in some way they too become part of the power structure. This is simply asking for a bigger cut of the pie that is being exploited from themselves. It does not increase their



VIETNAM SUMMER: Liberal Protest or Radical Action?

"What are you doing during Vietnam Summer 1967?" will be a crucial question for SDS. The Vietnam Summer Committee is calling for 2,000 paid employees and 10,000 volunteers for protest activity in 500 American communities including Negro ghettos. The enormous scale of this undertaking threatens SDS with the most massive attempt at liberal cooptation since the liberal progressives captured the radicals in the New Deal and the Wallace campaigns, destroying the possibility of a radical left at that time.

Vietnam Summer is a liberal protest. It was initiated by top liberals, it acts upon liberal assumptions, it proceeds on liberal undemocratic methods of organization and leadership. The underlying purpose of this liberal strategy is to recapture leadership of the peace and civil rights movement, to blunt the awakening of our radical, anti-liberal identity and finally to lay the groundwork for leading us into a coalitionist liberal-progressive third party movement.

SDS should refuse to be manipulated into liberal protest activity. Our task is to build a radical political movement, capable of formulating radical alternatives and capable of carrying out those alternatives. If we decide to work with liberal groups, we must first determine our policies and we must determine upon what basis we will cooperate with them.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first is a case study of liberal politics. It analyzes the origins of Vietnam Summer and the policies put forth by its official spokesman, Martin Luther King. King's policies are analyzed because he issued the call for a Vietnam Summer and because V.S. itself has made no clear policy statement.

The second part analyzes the relationship of liberal protest and the policies of a radical movement to our goal of ending the war. Liberal protest and radical politics are seen as political opposites, each seeking opposing goals.

Part three discusses radical education as the basis of our anti-war activity and of developing our radical identity. Freedom to carry out radical education should be the prerequisite for accepting any cooperation with the liberals.

King's April 15th Speech

King's speech to 3,000 clergymen at the Riverside Church on April 5th was viewed by many of us as being a truly radical speech.

"America is the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today..." "Increasingly, by choice or by accident, (we) make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges that come from the immense profits of overseas investment."

"Negroes and poor people generally are bearing the heaviest burden of the war" (Therefore I call upon) "Negroes and all white people of good will to become conscientious objectors...to this tragic war."

King then gives his program for ending the war:

1. Cessation of all bombing.
2. Unilateral cease-fire (troops remaining in place) to create an atmosphere for negotiation.
3. Curtailing the military build-up in Thailand and the interference in Laos.
4. Recognition of the NLF and allowing it to participate in the new Vietnamese government.
5. Establishment of a date on which the U. S. will withdraw.

These five points do not add up to a radical program despite King's strong rhetoric. A radical program would demand the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops and complete cessation (not curtailment) of all interference in the domestic affairs of Vietnam.

King offers instead a cease-fire with troops remaining in place to "create an atmosphere for negotiation". Hanoi and the NLF have made clear to the U. S. that they will not accept occupation of any part of their country. What then does King hope to negotiate? To have American troops remain for a year or two as the French remained after the Geneva Accords of 1954 after which they handed over their occupation to the U. S.? There have been many truces in Asian colonialist wars. The purpose of these truces is to give the occupying power time to plan and carry out its holding action.

The only way we can expect the war in Vietnam to end is to see the complete withdrawal of American military forces. That should be our firm demand and our policy for all peace actions. To compromise this demand is to forget that as long as the Administration maintains its troops in Vietnam it will continue to provoke conflict, believing that its weak adversary must ultimately give up and "negotiate". Such is the thinking of imperialism.

In King's speech, the war is termed "evil", "tragic", "an adventure", even "dishonorable and unjust", but never imperialist. No explanation is ever given that shows that the war is the result of a conscious American policy. At the April 15 Mobilization and then a subsequent news conference, King said he believed it was a tragic mistake and the U. S. had no strategic interest in Vietnam, Thailand, or Laos.

King underscores his disinclination to tell us what it is when he tells us how it is. "Vietnamese peasants watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops, as bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy their precious trees."

"So far, we may have killed a million of them—mostly children. They wander into town and see thousands of children homeless, without clothes, running in packs in the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers."

This description of the brutal harvest of America's intention to "prevail" is explained as being a tragic mistake involving no strategic American interest. Is it possible to believe that the Administration would commit a half-million troops to defend nothing?

By calling a consciously determined foreign policy an error, King is purposely diverting our attention from the real purposes of that foreign policy. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., former Special Assistant to President Kennedy, commends King for this in an editorial in the May 6 New York Times:

"No serious American—including Dr. King—has proposed unilateral withdrawal; and this, after all, would be the only action which could hand the game to our enemies. The call for a holding action in the South instead of escalation in the North is no formula for a Hanoi victory."

King's Spring Mobilization Speech and Liberal Comment

According to the Times, which gave unusually favorable coverage to the March and the speakers, King reiterated his view that "The immorality of this war lies in the

(continued on page 7)

GREETINGS TO S.D.S. AND BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION From the U. S. Farmers' Association and U. S. Farm News

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WHAT IS THE FARMER'S ASSOCIATION?

The old Anti-Imperialist League, the Populist Party, the Farmers' Alliance, the Non-Partisan League and the Farmer-Labor Parties, all of which were rooted in the heartland of U.S.A. are gone -- and so is Roosevelt's New Deal. But some of the supporters are still around and some of the hopes and ideals sponsored by them are still very much alive.

The Farmers' Association, also based primarily in the Midwest, aims to carry out the best of the proposals of all of them. If one can visualize, all of these former progressive efforts rolled into one, that is the Farmers' Association.

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Most U.S.A.'ns, especially college students, know little or nothing about the Farmers' Association or its publication, U.S. Farm News. This is because the news services, the mass communications media, hope to kill the Association by silence after failing to destroy it by a lot of publicity, (all of it bad), 17 years ago because the Association officers insisted on telling the truth about Trumans "Police Action" in Korea.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

We must have national planning for national objectives -- and it must be planning by and for the people, not by and for the monopolies. We must have a wider distribution of the ownership and control of productive property.

We must replace the acquisitive and exploitative practice of rewarding individuals or corporations according to what they extract from society with a cooperative plan that rewards citizens according to what they contribute to society.

We must end all discrimination whether social, racial, or political and insist on equal opportunity so that every citizen can share fully in the high standard of living that our vast natural resources, our inventive ingenuity and technological development could make possible.

We must stop Johnson's aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, bring our boys home now while most of them are still alive. The U.S. went into Vietnam unilaterally and it must get out the same way.

We must challenge the false assumptions on which the cold war is based.

We must provide a measure of equality for farmers, the real workers who farm or till the soil, not the landlords who farm the farmers.

A country that thinks it is so rich that it can squander many billions of taxpayer's

dollars to boondoggle tottering dictators all over the world, ought to be able to make permanent arrangements to pay its domestic board bill to its food producers.

Lastly, we need to stop the rapid militarization of America.

For all of this we need an independent People's Party. We need to form a solid anti-Fascist alliance for anti-Fascist action will be the key test for all USA'ns in the difficult days ahead.

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VIETNAM SUMMER

(continued from p. 6)

tragic fact that no vital American interest is in peril or jeopardy. We are waging a war in a contest that is capable of solution by peaceful means."

After stating his basic position, King exhorts the peace marchers:

"I would urge students to use this summer and coming summers for education and organizing communities across the nation against war."

Comment on King's speech in the liberal New York Post was significant. Columnist Max Lerner notes that "King says that the Vietnam War is immoral because it involves no American national interest that couldn't have been negotiated short of war. It is a perfectly defensible position, no different from that of Senator Fulbright." James Wechsler realized that King "eschewed any simple-minded gospel of unilateral withdrawal on the elementary ground that it was irrelevant to the national debate."

Lerner continues: "As for King himself, it was inevitable that he should broaden out from his civil rights leadership to an anti-war militancy....Even as a civil rights leader it must have been inevitable: he has had few triumphs to show his followers and the world (the liberals?) recently; moreover, he may have felt he could not afford to be left behind in the competition of militantcies which the younger Negro spokesmen have forced on him."

According to Mary McGrory, another Post columnist, "What led King to take the fateful step was, according to his intimates, a realization that the slums are aflame with anti-war sentiment and his feeling that if he could not lead the protest he could at least neutralize its most violent (perhaps radical?) manifestations."

Thus King has initiated two of the three aspects of the liberal strategy. The first aspect is to blunt our radicalism by obscuring the real nature of the Vietnamese war, and offering us a liberal program for ending the war.

King's second objective is to re-establish liberal leadership of the civil rights movement by drawing on Negro resentment toward the war.

To regain leadership, King had to react to the growing Negro militancy. But the program he puts forth is liberal because he is supported, both politically and financially, by leading corporatists. Drew Pearson reported in his column in the San Francisco Chronicle that:

"It is now revealed that William Vanden Heuvel (Robert Kennedy's top aide) sent solicitation letters in February to several of Kennedy's wealthy friends, urging them to meet with Dr. King on March 6.

"The letter explained delicately: 'Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. will be in New York on March 6, and has asked to meet a small number of interested individuals like yourself in order to discuss his future work in the civil rights movement. We will be meeting at the home of Carter Burden, 1 West 72nd Street, at 5:30 p. m.

"There are few men in our time who have acted with greater courage than Dr. King or who have gained greater respect throughout the world....This is the critical moment for those who believe in Dr. King's work and methods to come forward to express our support."

The third aspect of the liberal strategy is the establishment of third party or independent electoral politics. A drive to draft King for the presidency was officially announced on April 22 by Robert Scheer (Ramparts magazine) and William Pepper (Executive Secretary of the National Committee on New Politics). Pepper had mentioned the possibility of King's candidacy at the New York Mobilization on April 15 while City Councilman John Burton introduced Coretta King at the San Francisco March as "maybe the next First Lady". Scheer announced that it would require 67,000 signatures to put King on the ballot in California but, "there's no problem getting these signatures." Scheer had previously used radical students in electoral politics and believes that he can do so again.

The Call for a Vietnam Summer

King's exhortation to students at the Mobilization to use the summer for peace protest took organizational form one week later. On April 22 King flew to Cambridge Massachusetts to announce Vietnam Summer. The Call asked for 10,000 volunteers, including 2,000 full-time workers converging on 500 American communities to focus on 1) "establishing a powerful political base of anti-war sentiment capable of electing candidates in 1968 who would call for an immediate peaceful settlement of the war, and 2) organizing opposition to the war in ghetto areas of the nation and among young men who in ever greater numbers are questioning their duty to fight this way."

Supporting King's Call were Dr. Spock, Robert Scheer, Dr. John C. Bennett, Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgi, Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, Rabbi Abraham Heschel, Carl Oglesby, William Pepper, and Carey McWilliams. These men are generally unconnected with any grass roots peace or radical organization. Even Scheer, Pepper, and Oglesby have only indirect connections with mass organizations.

The originator of the Viet Summer project, according to the May 27 issue of the New Republic, is Gar Alperovitz, a Fellow at Harvard's Kennedy Institute for Politics and former State Department Aide.

The method of organizing this project is one we have seen many times before. First, an advisory board is established consisting of individuals whom we are supposed to respect. These individuals are put forth to gain our confidence although they are not the real organizers nor the ones who make the policy.

Then a vaguely worded policy statement is offered for us to accept. Does "electing candidates in 1968 who call for an immediate peaceful settlement of the war" mean those who call for a truce and holding action or immediate withdrawal? What does "organizing opposition in ghetto areas" mean?

Vietnam Summer, however, is concerned that we begin organizing as soon as possible. All of the literature I have received subsequent to the "Call" is concerned with organizational details. "What is your race, occupation, school, past experience? How much money do you want, how much work can you do? When can you start?" They want to know how much work each individual can do for them, but we are not encouraged to partake in policy decisions. SDS members who work for Vietnam Summer have witnessed their decisions overridden by policy made elsewhere and, although funds are supposed to be ample, it appears that they are selectively granted to the "moderate" organizers and projects.

Since Vietnam Summer is not a coalition of peace groups but an autonomous organization, these policies cannot be questioned by organizations like SDS but can only be protested by the individuals involved.

Why is Vietnam Summer run in an undemocratic manner? Undemocratic procedure is a characteristic of all liberal organizations. Policy flows top-down; the lower ranks are manipulated or coerced by those who, unseen, make policy.

This is exactly analogous to how the whole society functions. The liberals run their political organizations just as they run the economic and social institutions of this society.

On April 25, two days after announcing Vietnam Summer, King announced the formation of a group called Negotiate Now. Leaders of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the National Council of Churches, the American Jewish Congress, and SANE, led by the Americans for Democratic Action and King, issued a call for:

1. Further initiatives leading to a standstill truce.
2. Asking the N.L.F. and Hanoi to agree to truce.
3. Asking the Saigon government to agree to truce.

What is significant about King's method of forming this committee is that he did so in consultation with constituent organizations and also formulated a program. In forming Vietnam Summer he announced the project first and then called for support, and articulated no program. King worked democratically with the liberals because there was

agreement on basic policy and no need to manipulate the constituent groups into an organization. But when dealing with radicals, King must undemocratically coopt us, because there are fundamental disagreements over policy which King has no desire to allow to come out into the open. Once the issues were drawn, it would be clear that Vietnam Summer is essentially a liberal protest organization whose policies are the antithesis of our own.

PART II: Liberal Protest, Radical Activity, and the War

Even if Vietnam Summer is a liberal protest, isn't anything that tends to end the war deserving of our support? Many argue that this is no time to listen to purists debate the issue of the war. The time for action is now; thousands of innocent victims are dying, escalation continues, World War III will come if China enters.

All of this being true, it must be understood that there is no such thing as activity per se. Those who engage in "mindless activism" are in most cases engaging in non-radical activity. In peace activity the same is true. It is never a question of just taking action—it is a matter of knowing why we undertake a particular action.

There are two avenues to an end to the war: either the Administration ends it because it wants to, or ends it because we force it to. The Administration would like peace on its terms (a holding action) and is waiting for a propitious moment to again seek it as it did in February 1967. The present escalation is the sound and the fury before again attempting to extract a peace.

Each escalation gives new impetus to peace movements until, after an escalation and concomitant resurgence of peace activity, peace is declared. The peace that follows ever mounting protest actions will appear to have been precipitated by those protests, when in fact the peace was called by the Administration for its own reasons.

This illusion serves an important political function. It convinces us that the establishment is responsive to our protests; that liberal protest and electoral politics is a viable political method for those who consider themselves radical. The purpose is to substitute appearance for reality, in order to push us back into the liberal mainstream of American political life.

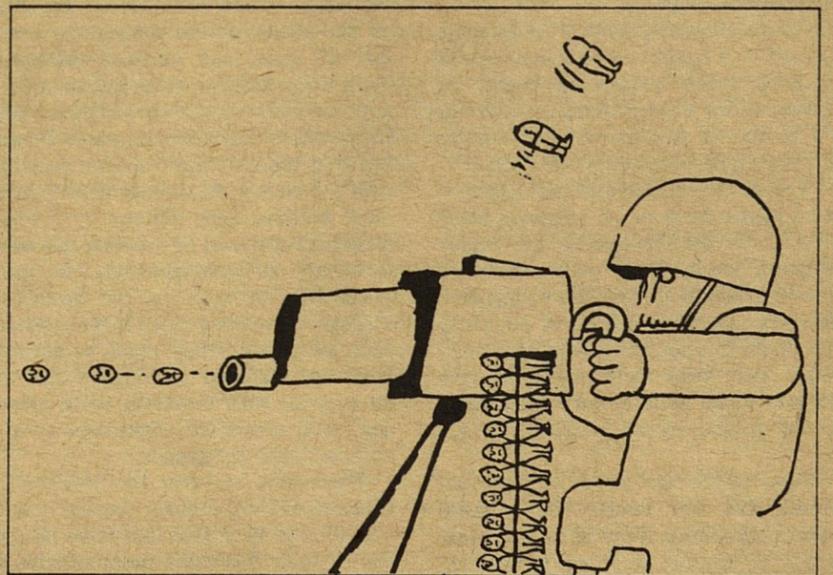
Liberal protest itself does not produce any reform. Instead, it sets the political stage for its formal granting in order to maximize public faith in the beneficence of the establishment. The corporate establishment seeks to derive as much political impact as possible from each act of reform.

The corporate liberal solution to our dissatisfaction is to form liberal protest groups in the areas where our dissatisfaction is felt most strongly—civil rights, poverty, and peace. The corporatists sense our widespread discontent over the Vietnamese war, hence organize a protest movement designed to allow us to work on their terms against the very war they have created.

Working both sides of the street is the basic strategy of the liberals. On the one hand they control national policy while on the other they encourage protest groups to fight for reforms. The reforms are then judiciously and selectively granted at the most politically fruitful moment. The protest is self-justifying because it was tailored to what the liberals had intended in the first place. The very success of each such reform represents no change; it merely allays our growing suspicions of the fundamental rottenness of this society and our position in it. With all the thousands of reforms, large and small, fought for by our fathers and ourselves, the quality of our lives disintegrates.

The Nature of Radical Political Activity

Liberal protest cannot produce change in our favor. It cannot end the war because it is the political activity of the corporatists who started the war. The purpose of their politics is to perpetuate their interest, which is, in the context of the whole society, diametrically opposed to our interest. Our interest, that of workers, students, and minority groups, can only be advanced by radical politics, politics that we consciously determine based on the perspective of our interests. Real change is achieved through determining the best radical policy for a particular situation and building organizational strength to advance that policy.



Radical activity could bring an end to the Vietnamese war. It would require such strength that it would overshadow strategic considerations of the Administration in Southeast Asia. The threat posed by our strength would have to be greater than that posed by revolutionary war in Vietnam. We do not have this strength because a powerful radical organization cannot be built overnight, but it does not doom us to political irrelevancy.

We do not merely see the end of this war. Vietnam is only one front in a world-wide struggle against a predatory American corporatism. If the Vietnamese front were to fall quiet, South American, African, or other Asian fronts might by that time have erupted. Radical revolutionary activity is already taking place in Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Angola, and the Philippines.

We oppose not only imperialist wars but all forms of imperialism. As Bertrand Russell says in his final message to the War Crimes Tribunal,

"The world market is a major form of aggression. The world prices operate against the poor and are created by the rich countries for the purpose of pauperising the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Ten million people suffering from famine in India experience a form of aggression. It is true that the United States has committed armed aggression against the people of Vietnam, but this is only the result of the other aggression, the more fundamental aggression, causing the Vietnamese revolution. It is because the Vietnamese revolution has challenged the aggression of the exploiting

Resistance and Non-Cooperation

-----Mark Kleiman

In the past few months, a group calling itself the Resistance, and advocating total non-cooperation with the Selective Service System has sprung up in Berkeley and has begun to build bases of support in other communities. These people have recently designated October 16 as the date for the mass (500) turning in of draft cards. This is an attempt to coordinate the individual acts of personal witness which have been popping up recently. It is hoped that the act of 500 people doing this simultaneously will force a confrontation with the government, and that any attempt to pick off the leaders will be met with a unified response. (The group envisages a mass filing of confessions at police stations in support of those picked off.) How SDS, both on the local and the national level, should relate to this action must be considered.

What is the political nature of this movement? What might we legitimately expect from it? What are its limitations? At the anti-draft conference held last December at the University of Chicago, Staughton Lynd gave a brief history of the French Resistance to the Algerian War. That resistance went through four stages: It first attempted to organize within the Army and was crushed. It then advocated non-cooperation, and several dozen Frenchmen went to jail. It then worked with soldiers, advocating insubordination at home and desertion abroad. Only when the movement was able to offer an alternative to the Army and jail was it able to attract a mass base which helped to create the internal disruption which finally forced France to end the war. Although we are not yet capable of protecting hundreds of thousands of young men from the military, it should seem clear that few Americans will be attracted by the slogan, "Go to Jail"! The non-cooperators, then, do not have the perspective of organizing very many people to oppose the war and resist the draft.

What about resistance? Its political implications seem clear. What of the resistance psychology? Is the image of resistance we have one of civil disobedience?

The non-cooperators intend to show solidarity with their brothers who are prosecuted...by the turning in of confessions! Quite an act for a group calling itself the Resistance. The delineation should be clear. When we engage in a sit-in, go limp, and are charred with resisting arrest, we usually argue that a distinction must be made between non-cooperation and resistance. That distinction must be made here too. In a Resistance movement, you do not help your brothers by turning yourself in; you shelter your brothers - and if need be, you fight. Our campaign is not one of holy civil disobedience. Our fight is not in the courts, but in the streets. The tactic of using trials to get publicity is a weak one, at best. And without any organizing to back up even that publicity, the effort is lost.

The prospect of putting 20 to 500 of our people in jail for such a long time in such a reckless fashion concerns me. I have no desire to expend either the organizational or the human resources required in such an action. We are not Wobblies—we cannot fill the jails. We are not 1962 SNCC—we cannot put sufficient pressure on local establishments to gain concessions. The establishments are nationwide, and our demands strike at the very heart of the system. The energy put into a campaign of non-cooperation could better be put into the organization of draft resistance. The legal defense of non-cooperators could better be used to defend the growing number of young men who are organizing within the Army.

Who is engaged in this activity? When I first heard of the plan I guessed that it would attract a fairly large number of people who have been around the movement for a long time; people who have been disappointed by what's been happening, and would be prepared, out of frustration, to begin non-cooperation. With the exception of the original organizers of the Resistance, those in the Bay Area who have been attracted to this program have been relatively new people. There's nothing holy about the political judgement of those who have been in the movement for a long time, yet it would seem that this new militancy, in many cases, is without a serious radical perspective. The decision to risk jail on a collective basis involves three things: A feeling that the

act engaged in is important enough to risk major prosecution; a serious and concerted effort to force a political trial (which many people in the Resistance, with their lack of a radical perspective, would be unable to do), and a serious feeling on the part of those risking jail that they can do some organizing inside.

A friend of mine was arrested accidentally late last summer at the Port Chicago Vigil. Not having intended to engage in civil disobedience, and not having engaged in it, she was pissed off at the cops for busting her. Being somewhat tinged if not thoroughly colored by anarchism, she felt strongly that none of the people she met in the Concord women's lock-up should have been in jail. Her anger at being busted was much more personal than moral. Unlike all of those women arrested on cd charges, she didn't feel that although she didn't belong in jail, all those other women did. The women were amazed to discover that she was from the Vigil, as the other women from the Vigil had looked down on the other prisoners (the class implications of this are almost too much!). Pat was really able to talk to them, and had built up some good relations with people by the time she was released.

With what attitude will these non-cooperators go to jail? It would seem that many of them will be going as martyrs, our of personal witness. Many of them seem close to one pacifist Professor I know who did time during the Korean War, and told me about all the interesting people he met in jail...because he was able to get a job in the Warden's office! This is hardly the attitude which will help us organize in jail. If anything, it will further isolate the anti-war movement as middle class.

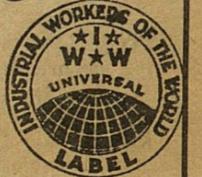
Despite all of this, there are many who will act out of moral considerations, not political ones. Not only are we committed to support them because of involvement in anti-draft action; but I feel that the Resistance perspective of a militant national action is a good one. Yet this action must be more substantive than 500 people across the country turning in their draft cards. This action needs to be expanded to include leafletting, picketing, and the wholesale disruption of draft boards across the country. The turning in of cards should be a part of this action. What we must do is put more meat on the action, and give it real political content.

This is one of the things which must be considered over the summer, and should be talked about at the national Draft Resistance meeting set for the end of the summer. We must not isolate the non-cooperators, but expand their action to increase its effectiveness.



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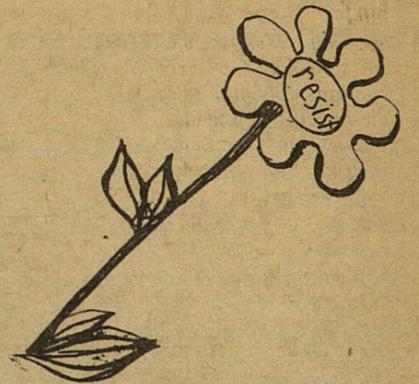
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LEADERS

(continued from page 5),

one is more knowledgeable. This is again legitimate and again can be taken care of by rotating those chosen as leader by the nature of the project being carried out. There is no one person who knows more about everything than every other member of the group. One may claim that a person must be leader because he suggests ideas or that it is the function of the leader to suggest ideas. This only seems so because in today's society ideas suggested by leaders have the force of authority behind them. In a society in which personal freedom held sway each person's ideas would have equal validity until their merit could be judged by all members of the group.

We come to the final and most important problem: that the leader has a great problem maintaining himself as a person. He tends to become an object in the eyes of others, i.e. the president of SDS etc. A person cannot be defined by this function, but this is what happens to many who accept a position of leadership. In many cases as soon as a person is elected to a leadership position he loses his personal integrity and identity. He no longer can act as he sees fit, but must act so that he doesn't injure the interests of the group. It is risky, some say, for an SDS president to take pot, because that would be a stupid thing to get busted for etc. A person should only participate in those projects which he believes are right. Thus in the SDS demonstration at UW against Dow, two of the five leaders walked out when the main body decided to sit in against the University rather than against Dow. Any leader must be accorded this right; there should be others to take his place from those who wish to carry out

the act. Those who blame the failure of an action on the leadership are far, far off base, and perhaps rationalizing their own failure. Also the members of a group must not permit a leader to take the brunt of any action against the group; i.e. they must not let a leader be arrested solely because he is the leader and the most visible. Such actions by the power structure are part of a divide and conquer strategy, as are attempts to get the leadership to sell out the membership through the making of deals in negotiations. Such responsibilities must be decentralized and diffused throughout the group so that all may maintain their humanity and not sacrifice themselves to the abstract idea of "group".

Those who say that the Left has failed because of lack of leadership are admitting two things: first that they have not grown out of their inherited authoritarian attitudes, and second that we are not really ready for an active Left because people do not understand enough to direct themselves. We have failed for lack of imaginative solutions; this is our own fault, not the leaders' fault. I disagree with the latter only in part. We must create a society in which we can all grow into a human life. Our present society prevents this by its authoritarianism. Thus I recommend the following structure for SDS chapters: 1) no permanent officers; 2) election of a meeting chairman (if necessary) at each meeting; 3) election of a coordinator for each activity; 4) a secretary to keep all members informed of various activities. We must first create within our own movement a non-authoritarian society and prove by example to others that it can work—that people do not have to be told how to live.

VIETNAM SUMMER

(Continued from p. 7)

countries that the United States has moved its armed forces into Vietnam."

The institution of American corporatism exploits and suppresses not only colonial countries but ourselves as well. And when the corporatists are blocked from exploiting colonial nations they will turn and feed upon us.

PART III:

Working with Liberals SDS Policy; Radical Education and

Once we realize that liberal protest will not bring an end to the war, and that the radical movement is too weak to force its end, then we see that SDS's main task is radical education.

Radical education must demonstrate how the war in Vietnam is a product of American corporatism. It must show how the war in Vietnam and our own oppression are linked together by the network of corporate institutions. It must expose liberal politics as the method by which the liberal corporatists mask their aggression and exploitation. Whatever the form of anti-war activity, draft resistance, campus war activities, other anti-war activities: issuing papers and holding forums or discussions, it must expose each instance of oppression, each institution of exploitation, each counter-revolutionary war as conscious acts of our corporate system.

Is it possible for SDS to carry out radical education while working in a liberal group such as Vietnam Summer? It is clear that we should never work for the liberals or groups whose actions stem from liberal assumptions. If we work for the liberals, as we would be doing if we joined Vietnam Summer as individuals, we would be advocating their policies, not our own.

In working with liberals we must insist on democratic principles as a basis for cooperation with them:

- The right to enter a coalition as an organization rather than as individuals;
- The right to advocate our own or coalition positions;
- The right to participate democratically in all policy decisions;
- The right to question leadership and to know sources of financial support.

It is probable that the liberals will not accept democratic organizational practices in Vietnam Summer. In any case, we cannot forsake these democratic principles without losing our freedom to carry out radical education and organize a radical movement. We must preserve that freedom; we have just begun to organize.

the teenage scapegoat

by John H. Bennett

Students and slaves have at least one thing in common: the way they are treated shows how miserable their oppressors are. The harm that students suffer in the public schools is indicative of what is wrong in the rest of society. In fact, the harm that they suffer is often a direct result.

The use of "good grooming" codes in schools throughout the country is a perfect example of what I mean. By authority of these codes, students are forced to conform to middle-class standards of taste, regardless of whether they can afford or tolerate them. As future defenders of our civil liberties, they are expected to surrender dutifully the right of a citizen to wear his hair the way he pleases. Anyone caught refusing to "dress right", of course, is immediately subject to a dishonorable discharge.

The official argument for clamping down on hair and dress styles is rather silly. School authorities claim that long hair on boys tends to disrupt classrooms and hinder learning. Inadvertently, they imply that students are more interested in gazing at one another than in following the lessons—which doesn't say much for the lessons. Although in a relaxed atmosphere the distraction caused by long hair would be minor and short-lived, the school authorities insist on just the opposite, and can count on widespread community support.

But the reason that school authorities resort to grooming codes has little or nothing to do with the reasons they give. Grooming codes are symptomatic of one of the most serious problems in American society. Unfortunately, the people least likely to realize this are the school authorities themselves. Which is not surprising. The Superintendent of Riverside Public Schools has testified under oath that long hair and beards cause "administrative friction", or, in other words, cause him a great deal of on-the-job anxiety. The fact is that the administrators are as victimized as the students. You can tell this by how desperate they get whenever there is trouble.

What these people appear to be suffering from is overexposure to American society. In getting educated, getting drafted, or earning a living, most Americans must become part of organizations that they do not clearly understand, have little or no say in, and feel powerless to revamp—organizations like most of our public schools, universities, industrial corporations, and military and governmental organizations. Repeatedly driven into such organizations by the lack of alternatives, if not by out-and-out conscription, they are continually subjected to directions from above and excessive demands for conformity. Since their own desires have little choice but to fit or quietly give way, their resulting frustration accumulates, becomes resentment, and cannot be contained.

To tangle with the source of their frustration, however, would not only be the healthiest thing they could do but also the most dangerous. They would have to risk getting thrown out and branded with a bad record, both of which are tantamount to economic reprisals. Besides, it is rather difficult for an individual to kick an institution, even when it is obvious that the institution is a bully. And it is seldom obvious. American society has become what I would term "politely" authoritarian. Despite its growing rigidity, it still retains enough democratic etiquette to fool people. While underlings may swear that they are not being coerced, they can't always tell when they are being subtly manipulated. In the prevailing atmosphere, our basic institutions are held as sacrosanct and beyond reproach.

As a consequence, the frustrations that are created by these institutions have nothing acceptable to vent themselves upon except the wrong people. We are caught in the same kind of predicament as the Negro mother who has been forbidden to talk back to whites and can only avenge herself by snapping at her children. Like cooped-up chickens, we develop an increasing number of "PECKING ORDERS" in the form of top-down systems of management, hierarchies of authority, centralized bureaucracies, and chains of command. Within each PECKING ORDER, the higher-ups take out their frustrations on those below by dominating them, while the scraggly ones at the very bottom generally retaliate by competing against each other.

By resorting to PECKING ORDERS, our society might work inhumanly well but for one problem: without scapegoats, it would be unstable. Without groups outside its economy that it could bully all it pleased, it would have to vent its self-induced frustrations solely upon people it depended on—which would not exactly encourage them to remain dependable. Such self-abuse would then lead to even more frustration. The people at the bottom of its PECKING ORDERS would become tormented by their persecution, inefficient at their work, and eventually rebellious. Unless this internal friction could be kept below a certain level, the entire system would "overheat". Its normal functions would be disrupted by increasing social turmoil.

In order to avoid this possibility, a PECKING ORDER society must console the people it needs with various pleasantries and focus as much of its self-hatred as possible upon somebody else. Our own society does an exceptionally fine job of both. It consoles the people it needs with its affluence, its "applied psychology", collective bargaining, and scattered reforms. And it focuses more than enough of its self-hatred upon homosexuals, draft-card burners, the poor, criminals, American Indians, the mentally retarded, welfare recipients, socialists, miscegenists, the mentally ill, drug-users, Mexican-Americans, peaceniks, the Russians, the Ku Klux Klan, Orientals, Jews, American Nazis, the Red Chinese, Okies, prisoners, Hell's Angels, mulattoes, the bearded, hippies, Puerto Ricans, John Birchers, the Vietcong, and children, to mention only a few. By far the most popular of its scapegoats, however, are the communist, the Negro, and the teenager. These three are persecuted without any worry about the economy, for they are seldom found inside it.

The American teenager, for example, is treated with all the respect due a second-class citizen. He is villified in the press, denied the right to vote, refused employment, deprived of civil liberties, exploited for his money, discriminated against in public accommodations, scorned on the streets, incarcerated without due process, ignored in community planning, and even used for cannon fodder. He is bullied by police, youth authorities, drill sergeants, school officials, teachers, his own parents, and adults in general. As a student, he is institutionalized in what amounts to a miniature fascist state, in which the principal is a petty dictator; all civil liberties have been suspended; the press is controlled by the administration; students are held incommunicado and without the right of habeas corpus; subject matter is censored; careful records are kept of every student's whereabouts; passports are demanded in the halls; the borders are

closed; petitions are subject to confiscation; mock elections are held for a quisling government; participation in patriotic rallies is mandatory; physical education is militarized; the students are kept under constant surveillance and regimentation; rebels are quietly deported or held as hostages to keep their families in line; the likelihood of an insurrection is minimized by the variety of "electives", the glorification of football war, and the internecine competition for grades; and the students are required to exhibit, in the words of the California State Education Code, "such desirable moral and social qualities as appreciation of the value of...self-subordination, and obedience to authority...."

But in the very process of scapegoating its young people, our PECKING ORDER SOCIETY perpetuates itself. Like a foolish god, it produces citizens in its own image. In the name of adult authority, it tyrannizes them almost from the time they are born. Although they cannot help but resent the way they are treated, they are treated even worse if they complain. They become so afraid of revealing their indignation that they grow up hiding it even from themselves. They practically bend over backwards to keep their grudge against authority a secret. They become apishly obedient, righteous, and patriotic. Whatever authority is dominant in their lives they respect to the point of absurdity. But though they manage to disguise their resentment, they cannot contain it. Like the slave who dreams of becoming a master, they constantly desire revenge. Incapable of challenging the authority above them, they wreak their vengeance upon those below—upon the outgroup, the deviant, the subordinate, the defenseless, and their own children. The result is a continuing cycle of authoritarian people begetting authoritarian people; a people increasingly servile and increasingly cruel; a nation of Uncle Toms and Simon Legrees.

That grooming codes in public schools are a product of this malaise should now be fairly evident. The school authorities who resort to grooming codes were scapegoats once themselves. The authoritarian tendencies that they acquired from that unhappy experience were no doubt helpful to them in pursuing their present careers. Now that they need a scapegoat of their own, they are under constant pressure from people with the same need, including numerous parents, teachers, fellow administrators, and even students. These people are too afraid of revealing their grudge against authority to deviate from the standards of their middle-class community. In attempting to prove how respectful of those standards they are, they have adopted an uncompromising view of the way people should look and dress. They hold that students should be clean-cut, well-scrubbed, and properly tailored. They assert that boys should look exactly like middle-class boys; and girls, like middle-class girls. As victims of a rigid and mechanical society, they can see no way of relieving their anguish except upon those they disapprove of.



When floppy-haired and grizzly-bearded boys inevitably appear in school, these people are strongly tempted to utilize them as punching bags. But they cannot persecute them wholeheartedly until they are sure it is acceptable. In order to be on the safe side, they try to get it legalized. They urge the school authorities to issue an official decree. Being of like mind, the school authorities obligingly succumb to their pressure. Since none of them are conscious of their actual motivation, they rationalize their action on the grounds that deviant grooming is obviously distracting to the school. And it obviously is! To expect it not to be distracting in such an atmosphere would be like expecting a Negro not to cause a stir on a beach for "whites only".

The most frightening thing of all is that while long-haired boys are being yanked from classrooms and either shorn of their locks or being thrown into "detention camps", the people in the community—including the most ardent civil libertarians—stand mutely by. Apparently, the American people have become so imbued with authoritarianism that the more it encroaches, the less they feel alarm. Statements like the following become increasingly ominous: "...I suddenly encountered an apparition in...black hair locks....The cleanliness of these people, moral and otherwise, I must say, is a point in itself. By their very exterior, you could tell that these were no lovers of water...." Such a remark might have been made about hippie teenagers by any number of our respected citizens, though I am sure that Adolf Hitler originally intended it to apply to Jews.

Why authoritarian societies are so frequently credited with being more "efficient" than democratic ones is beyond me. Authoritarian societies can only operate under tremendous human cost. Though generally faster, they are extremely hard on their parts. To call a fascist state more efficient than a democracy would be like calling a jet more economical than a diesel. We just wouldn't be taking into account what it needs for fuel.

As the population has become increasingly authoritarian, it has become increasingly dependent on scapegoating human beings as a way of coping with a frustrating environment. But the truth of the matter is that scapegoating doesn't work. Despite the fact that it provides sporadic relief, it doesn't eliminate the cause of the frustration. No matter how much they bully others, the American people will never be satisfied. They will look for more and more scapegoats, and more and more ways of persecuting them. Unless this society gets a major overhaul soon, our remaining rights will be taken away exactly as the freedom of dress was taken away in the public schools. "They will urge the authorities to issue an official decree. Being of like mind, the authorities will obligingly succumb to their pressure....And throughout, the people as a whole—including the most ardent champions of democracy—will stand mutely by."

And we have got to break the cycle that produces authoritarian people—break it at as many points as we can. Before it is too late, we have got to take their favorite scapegoats—the communist, the Negro, and the teenager—away from them and keep them from finding any surrogates. Only in so doing will we ever be able to focus the frustration of American people upon institutions instead of human beings.

The closest thing our society has to an "Achilles' heel" is its public schools. Its junior and senior high schools, in particular, are where the authoritarian cycle appears to be most vulnerable. Our young people are incarcerated in high schools during one of the most critical periods of their lives. And the high schools, like any institution that has a scapegoat at the bottom of its PECKING ORDER, have a tendency to be unstable. Since teenagers can be mistreated without arousing much indignation from the public, the school authorities have a difficult time restraining themselves. In the course of yielding to temptation, they pressure their victims to take out their frustration on themselves, by struggling for grades. But this only frustrates the students more. Seeing how restive the students are, the school authorities feel justified in clamping down even harder. But they cannot clamp down too hard or their institution will lose all semblance of being educational. The high schools are on the verge of overheating as it is. They sporadically suffer from falling grades, chaotic classrooms, organized looting, riots, rebellion in the restrooms, sabotage, underground newspapers, picketing, and even mass sit-down strikes. Judging by what they do to human beings, they should suffer a general walk-out. If enough of our young people were to abandon them for the therapy of a democratic environment....But that would mean they would have to disobey their parents, which brings me to the hemlock.



M-CUP NEWS

III. POOR WHITES

The Minneapolis Community Union Project (M-CUP) was started last June in this Midwest city of 600,000. The purpose was to bring organizers and eventually organization to the poor of a city that is considered to be one of the more liberal cities of its size in the country. The pattern of M-CUP has followed that of the SDS ERAP projects; ex-students go into a poor community to live and organize and develop conflict so that the poor can coalesce around specific issues and build a base strong enough to opt for some kind of political power, or at least build toward a coalition that can bring about that change in power.

II. A LIBERAL CITY

Because of the liberal atmosphere of the city, it is possible for some of the community to see that liberal proposals are not solutions and that some sort of independence of the existing political structure is necessary. The political history of the city has also allowed, especially for some of the older people, for a disregarding of established methods.

Union activity in Minnesota over the years has built up a tradition of struggle for bread-and-butter objectives which at times has developed political consciousness which could be expressed through the Socialist Party and other Left opposition-type political parties. But as the unions have become part of the establishment, they have been able to gain power in the political structure that they formerly opposed. In the late '40s, the opposition Farm-Labor Party joined with the Democratic Party to make their political focus the political cooptation of dissent in the city.

In M-CUP's neighborhood, many of the white people have lived through a lot of this political activity. But they are still poor whites who have been forgotten by many of the people in the movement. The white liberal, who has controlled the civil rights movement, has not been able to accept the fact that the reasons for poverty in this country are not personal, such as with discrimination, but are structural.

The poor whites of Minneapolis have been here, for the most part, for a long time. They came to Minneapolis from much of the rural area that surrounds the city, and have been living in an urban setting for a generation or more.

IV. INDIANS

The situation with the other main poor group in South Minneapolis, the Indians, is quite different. Most of the Indians who came to the city have come within the last 10 to 12 years. For the most part, they are completely new to urban life and, if they do not like it, they will go back to the reservation. But the reasons why they left the reservation still exist. Living in tar-paper shacks and not even having the hope of getting a decent job is enough cause for anyone to look for a better scene.

The Indians, as a group, are now in a transitional stage of life. They do not like the hopelessness of the reservation, but they have not yet been able to make a total adjustment to the city. They want something better than a shack to live in, but housing, even bad housing, is becoming more and more difficult to find here. They want good jobs, but without training, they can't get them. But the city is still

better than the reservation.

This newly changed environment for the Indians is relevant to M-CUP; Indians have not yet felt a common identity with other poor people, or realized that their lives are being oppressed by the same forces which oppress the lives of other poor people. Negro organizing in the North has been helped by black consciousness that has developed in the ghetto; and in the labor movement rank-and-file workers realize that they must stand together either against the company or against the union "leadership". While organizing Indians in Minneapolis may not be more difficult than other organizing, different problems must be expected.

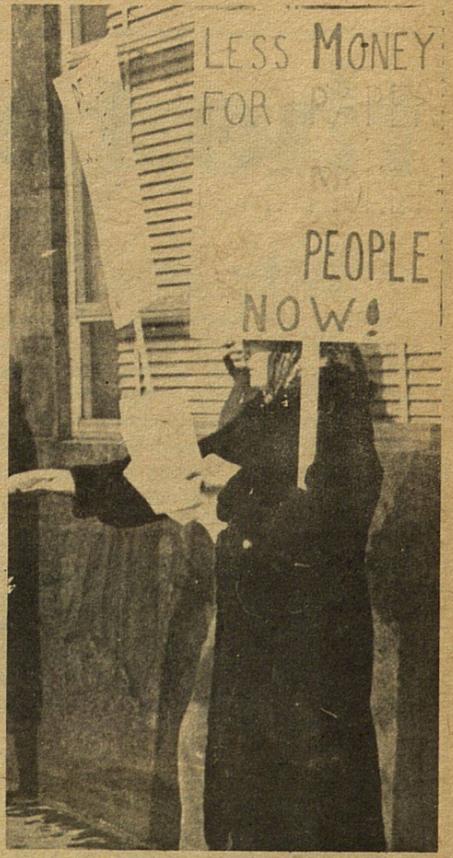
V. M-CUP BACKGROUND

M-CUP went into this South Minneapolis community last June and started by working on a playground in an attempt to get to know the community and to let the community get a look at the project. In August we opened a store front on Franklin Avenue, one of the main business streets in the poor area of South Minneapolis. Through the fall and winter the main issue that the project worked on was welfare. After leafleting, talking to people, and finding out what we were about, we worked up to a leafleting of the Welfare Department in December. The action brought the people around the project into a cohesive group. As the weather this winter was especially bad, our main task was to keep the project functional. We lost a few and picked up a few and moved toward the spring with a small community base and a lot of ideas. With the addition of a couple of organizers in March, we decided to try out a couple of new issues—housing and police brutality. These are the issues that the project has had as its focus since March.

VI. ISSUES

Welfare

Welfare organizing started slowly with regular meetings of the Welfare Committee to discuss individual grievances and general problems. We recently decided to write up a welfare rights pamphlet to distribute in the neighborhood and at the Relief Department. We asked the Welfare Department to answer some specific questions we had and to let us see the County Manual that the Department uses to set up its guidelines. After being denied this privilege, we went to one of the meetings of the Welfare Board with petitions demanding the right for us and all welfare recipients to see the Manual,



demanding that the Board make a statement recognizing the right of welfare recipients to organize, demanding that the Board make a statement that would order the Welfare Department to allow people to live where they want and not to try to get the Indians on welfare to go back to the reservation, and demanding that the Board let M-CUP distribute literature at the Welfare Department. After being denied all these rights and threatened with arrest for trying to break up the Board meeting, we decided to picket the home of the chairman of the Welfare Board, Jack Provo. 25 people went on the picket of Provo's nice suburban home, but when little came of the action except some red-baiting, a general let-down hit the Welfare Committee from which we are rapidly recovering.

Housing

Housing has been a very frustrating issue for M-CUP. People have not yet
(continued on page 12),



R C A H D I C A L E

draw up alternatives. They also made friends in the Negro near-slum area of Glenville, across from their original headquarters, and made plans to start an organizing project there this summer.... "As the year progressed, the SDS staff—which now included one local young mother on welfare—were attracted more and more to the idea of a 'community union' rather than specific issue-groups.

During 1966 the Welfare Grievance Committee was set up. In a recent project evaluation, Kathy Boudin and Carol McEldowney discussed the focus the
(continued on page 12)

Cleveland Project

CLEVELAND

Those interested in community organizing can look to Cleveland and the Cleveland project for instruction. Cleveland as a city is gifted with all the qualities of a mess. The Hough riots of July '66 an unresponsive city administration, barren ghettos, due to cut off Urban Renewal funds, a welfare system that meets 78% of minimum state standards and gives 73¢ per day per person, and the infamous farce called the War on Poverty gives organizers, reformers or revolutionaries (take your pick) enough work.

The summer of '64 saw two ERAP projects start in Cleveland. (ERAP was the Economic Research and Action Project of SDS which initiated several community projects in the summer of '64.) Andy Kopkind, in a New Republic article of June 19, 1965, discussed the way the project took shape. Following are excerpts from that article:

"In Cleveland, they rented an apartment in a tacky old frame house in one of the poorest white neighborhoods. They had an idea that they would help the local 'community people' to change the condi-

tion and quality of their lives, but they were not at all sure how they would do it. ERAP was committed to building an 'interracial movement of the poor'; it was thought reasonable to begin reshaping the community among the class who had the least stake in its preservation, and the most immediate need for improvement....

"Organization of the community was to begin around these issues. First off the staff helped women on welfare to revitalize an organization called CUFAP (Citizens United For Adequate Welfare), which had been active two years previously when Ohio's Governor Rhodes cut welfare payments drastically an 'economy move.' The cut had never been restored, but CUFAP was dormant.

"We just talked with the women. They decided they wanted to do something. We said we'd help them do whatever they wanted," said one of the SDS staff. CUFAP's first target—less ambitious than the restoration of full welfare payment—was the institution of a free school lunch program in Cleveland public schools. With the SDS kids always in the background (but with the assurance of their support), the CUFAP women held rallies and meetings, protested to official boards, and complained so loud in public—and

with such force—that the city caved in....

"The housing project was organized around the lack of recreation facilities. The SDS project members talked with residents, and a tenants' meeting was held. The housing project officials were terrified, but the recreation director—whose enthusiasm had not previously included an interest in recreation, was convinced to make immediate reforms. The tenants' meeting became the Tenants' Council, but the whole movement in the project touched a sensitive nerve in the Cleveland officialdom. SDS activities were investigated by the city's Red Squad, a kind of miniature FBI. Some older women residents of the housing project were convinced that the students were Communists, and the first of a continuing series of red-baitings began. The pressure finally became so strong that the SDS withdrew its support from the Tenants' Council, the president of the Council resigned and organizing was abandoned... "Organizing in a poor white community was much tougher than the SDS kids had feared, but they had already made their existence felt in Cleveland. They fought the official anti-poverty program (like most in the country, it was controlled by politicians for whatever political benefits it might bring), and helped residents

GETTING READY FOR THE FIRING LINE

MIKE JAMES - JOIN

It is not clear that existing and future revolutionary movements will ever succeed in transforming the conditions and systems endured by a major portion of the world's population. What does seem clear is that if they are to have more than just scattered and precarious success, there will have to be major struggle and change within the boundaries of the United States. If the goal of revolutionary change—it is currently only a hope—is to ever be realized, it will mean that a lot of Americans who now call themselves "radical" will have to make some big

POOR and PEOPLES

changes in their own lives.

Given the context of the American situation, I do not believe that being an American and calling oneself a "revolutionary" means spouting doctrines or even splitting for the seemingly more revolutionary hills of Latin America. That is not our job. For us being a revolutionary means working to build radical constituencies acting in their own self-interest. That is the basis—the possibility—for creating major social change here in America, and providing breathing room for revolutionary movements around the world. Working with people around their own self interests is important because it creates consciousness and an understanding of power relationships. Consciousness, exclusive of material conditions, can be important in bringing about new material conditions that might be more conducive to more basic and far-reaching social change. Or should new material conditions suddenly appear, the existence of constituencies of people with radical consciousness would be important in using those conditions for democratic and revolutionary ideals.

If we are serious about transforming America and the world we must, in the words of SDS Vice President Carl Davidson, "create permanent local centers of radical opposition with the capacity for becoming the foundation of an American resistance movement". Marching against the war or participating in radical education seminars while also working on PhDs will not change America. They do not even seriously disrupt America's materially created and controlled complacency. They are important, and they grow up and be serious. Our lives must be strategically aligned with our rhetoric that talks of changing people's lives and building alternatives in our monumental task of changing America.

I believe that those people who left the Universities to work in poor communities in both the North and the South, and the people from those communities who have joined with them, were, and

are the first step, but they are not enough. We must go beyond our emotional, even intellectual, commitment to truth, beauty, justice, and freedom. We must continue to be, serious about our task. They have started to build local centers of radical opposition that if recreated over and over could significantly alter the direction of American politics and American life. Dovie Coleman, a black welfare recipient working with the predominantly Southern white JOIN community Union in Chicago, put it well: "JOIN (and groups like JOIN) has induced the germ that will eventually destroy America."

The remainder of this article will deal mostly with JOIN and its logical extension, re-creation over and over through the organizer's training school. Telling others about JOIN is important. Many, perhaps most, recent recruits to the Movement—drawn by anti-war and student power activity—know little about the SDS-initiated Economic Research and Action Project community organizing projects. Given "Black Power's" challenge to white activists to go organize their own communities, JOIN provides an example to be emulated, for it is unfortunately one of the few attempts being made to organize permanent bases of radical opposition among whites in general and poor whites in particular.

The first of the ten ERAP projects started in 1964, JOIN, then called Jobs Or Income Now, was created in an attempt to experiment with the ideas young radicals had about the questions of an interracial movement of the poor and a changing American economy. The major issue was unemployment. Organizing was based on the assumption that an automating economy would increasingly steal jobs from workers in the semi- and unskilled categories. The question of a guaranteed annual income was important in this early thinking. The selection of a Northern urban ghetto was in part an attempt to start to build a "movement" in the then relatively calm North, and partly to provide something tangible that Northern students could relate to by doing organizing, fund-raising, research, etc.

Jobs Or Income Now, conceived only as an experiment, was not long-lived. Problems were numerous, including questions of staff and money, the difficulty in building any semblance of permanent organization among people drawn from all over the North Side of Chicago (the organizing location was an Unemployment Compensation office), and, most important, the fact that the city's job market did not jive with the project's operating assumptions.

The few organizers that stayed on after the summer of 1964 moved the project to Uptown, a neighborhood in Chicago inhabited by about 60,000 Southern whites. Their idea, the idea that characterizes the ERAP projects that have withstood and gone beyond the myriad of problems that beset any new organizing effort, was the community union.

A community union is based on the idea of a trade union. When we tell people in the community about JOIN we often say "People in a factory or in the mines found that the only way they could get any justice from the boss was by banding together into a union; the same goes for the neighborhood. People get pushed around by landlords, the police and the welfare department. The stores here charge us more than stores charge people in fancy suburbs. We're all trying to work our problems out by ourselves, but we usually don't get too far because we don't have any power. Now power comes from money, position, or numbers. The only thing we've got is our numbers, and it's about time we get together and start backing each other up."

For over a year, while becoming known in the community, JOIN used a service approach analogous to the style of the old political machines. If you had a problem, you could come to JOIN and get help. Clothes, food, problems concerning the police, welfare, housing, em-

ployment and schools: these were the things that started bringing people to the office; these were the things talked about when an organizer would knock on a new door. Organizers concentrated on specific issues or individual problems out of a belief that if people received help from JOIN they would come to trust JOIN.

Yet along with just helping people, organizers were also raising questions about the nature of the individual problem. People were encouraged to become involved in helping to solve their own problems, beginning to develop their own confidence and skills. We learned that some people would never go beyond their late welfare check, and that we probably wouldn't see them again until the same time next month. But we also found a number of people who transcended their no gas and electricity because of late rent, and developed a sophisticated understanding of the reasons why people were poor. People began to make a step toward getting together with others and working collectively. Those who have made this step now seek new ways of expanding their number. Many have become organizers.

They developed a welfare union that is as large as any in the city and probably more sophisticated and radical. When welfare caseworkers went out on strike in the spring of 1966, mostly over the issue of wages, but also partly over the issue of control—"caseworkers understand better the problems of welfare than do administrators, and therefore should have a say in policy-making matters"—the JOIN welfare union went them a step further. They said: "We support the striking caseworkers because they want to help make a humane welfare system. But we also feel that we as recipients understand the problems of welfare better than either the administrators or the caseworkers, and we should have the right to organize and have a say in how the welfare system is run." The number of recipients in the welfare union continues to grow. They have become very effective in handling the problems of recipients who need help, have been able to force concessions from the Department of Public Aid, and are constantly involved in intensive educational discussion about the nature of their problem and how to develop new tactics and longer range strategy. They, and other Chicago recipients' unions, have forced the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees to take them seriously, planting the seeds of a long-range joint fight to control the Department of Public Aid.

Young guys organized a march of two hundred Southerners on the police station over the issue of police brutality and a civilian review board. "People don't understand that Southerners get treated just as bad by the police as do Negroes and Puerto Ricans." These young people,

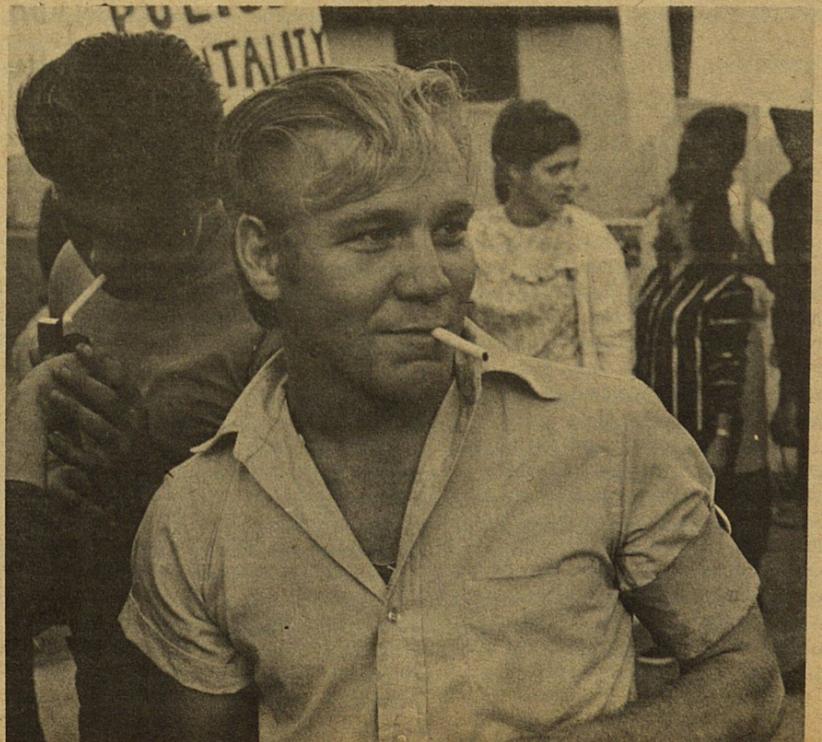
the future of the Movement in Uptown, made some mistakes. The march was made partly on the charisma of several gang leaders. There was little for the participants to do after the march, and no response to the systematic harassment by the police of what may be called "second level leaders". They now work more slowly, having opened a recreation center where young people can go. Education about the nature of the police system and how it relates to other problems is a slow process, and can only be successful if it comes out of friendship, trust, and a sense of solidarity. Accompanying this hangout is participation in a citywide Citizens' Alert, an organization that secures lawyers and doctors available on call to deal with problems associated with police brutality. If a case seems viable in the courts, it will be taken to court. "Fact Finders", who handle the complaints at the local level—and have a check on what goes on at a higher level—are young men from the neighborhood. Citizens' Alert is a structure that is tangible, something they can relate to, shape and control.

Housing in the ghetto, no matter what the ethnic composition, costs more for smaller and inferior housing than that found in middle and working class areas. No one has yet developed a strategy that seriously challenges the institution of slum housing and urban renewal. At JOIN we have held numerous rent strikes, won collective bargaining contracts with slumlords, and been relatively successful at handling individual housing complaints.

The housing committee, made up of former students and people from the neighborhood who became involved through their own housing problem, seeks at this state to "pick up people" committed to working on the problems of housing, and to evolve tactics that will move people to taking on their own landlord. Then, having tasted the struggle, the possibility of limited success, and having some inkling of the larger nature of the problem, people may start to talk about fighting urban renewal; they usually won't before initial involvement on a more personal issue. Roaches right now are real—they can be seen; while the idea of bulldozers pushing Southerners out of Uptown is difficult to conceptualize. If a larger citywide strategy is to evolve from this, it will in large measure hinge on the birth of new organizations like JOIN that can come together and make the battle real.

The issue groups we have created are not isolated from one another. The multi-issue nature of our fight is stressed over and over in meetings, the newspaper, and the in-depth internal education program (cadre building) attended currently by about fifteen or so of the most com-

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JOIN UNION

(continued from page 11)

mitted and most involved community people. Central to all the issues, and bringing them together, is the steward plan.

The steward plan seeks to build a neighborhood network of stewards or JOIN representatives building by block by

The steward's job is to distribute personally and regularly the JOIN newspaper, The Firing Line, that now has a neighborhood weekly circulation of 5,000. He or she informs others of JOIN activities, such as demonstrations, a play being performed by the JOIN theater project, a film (on urban renewal or even the war), and the weekly community meeting. He collects dues, helps people get food and clothes if needed, and is the link between the person with a problem and the community representative that can deal with that problem. It is possible, even probable, that the stewards could evolve into a freedom precinct captain organization that would be the foundation of any move we make into the realm of electoral politics.

Beyond activity and some success in the specific areas mentioned, JOIN is important for a number of other reasons. We both fly in the face of Southern racism and encourage the expression of a populist spirit among the people. It is very apparent to us that once people are involved in trying to shape, change and control their own lives around the same issues that black and Spanish people are, they go quickly beyond the racial hang-up. Todd Gitlin of JOIN may be right when he says: "Among the poor whites, in varying degrees, there may not be class consciousness in the traditional sense; but there is certainly a populist consciousness—of "little people" vs. "big people", poor against rich—which may be compelling enough to overpower even Southern-white racism."

Let me sidestep for a moment and deal briefly with some criticisms of our decision to continue—and advocate more—organizing in the place of residence. (For in-depth discussions on the matter the reader should look at "An Approach to Community Organizing Projects", Norm Fruchter and Robert Kramer, Studies on the Left, March-April, 1966; and Gitlin's "On Organizing the Poor in America", New Left Notes, December 23, 1966.) Advocates of community organizing and the community union have been criticized by political theorists on several grounds: that the poor are a numerical minority in American society, that most

of them want to be middle-class, and that the institutions we attack—housing, police, welfare, etc.—are not the primary institutions of American power. They often suggest that the real fulcrum of political change is that old stand-by, the "working class".

The "poor" have been defined in many different ways; they may be more numerical than is usually assessed. Certainly their number is larger than that given by government statisticians and those of the mainstream pluralist school of Social Science. If the poor are twenty to thirty percent of the population they could be a significant source of change even if they aren't the majority. Look at organized labor; it was never a majority, yet it was important in altering America. In fact, it is still a force in the society, although probably a reactionary one. An organized poor may move other segments of the population—possible allies—to action.

I do not think that most poor people want to be middle class. I side more with an anthropologist like Charles Kiel whose research on the "culture of poverty" among Negroes (Urban Blues, University of Chicago Press) suggests a strong anti-middle class strain among America's lower classes. Even if most poor people did want to be middle class, it seems apparent that the American Social Structure (ASS), given its worldly involvements, will not, or cannot, take significant precautionary measures that might accommodate the poor—witness the failure and the withering away of the War on Poverty, the "pluralist prophylactic".

Given the U. S.'s current and probably intensifying difficulty in its efforts to maintain its current hegemony over world finance, its prospects for accommodating existing and would-be white workers, with strong middle class aspirations look at least a little bleak. This is important for those of us working with whites, for if the economy has had success in accommodating the poor through jobs and mobility, it has been true mainly of whites, not Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

When people say work with the working class and not the poor, they usually make a false distinction. If one is working class by virtue of his job, then we often work with and involve the working class. Lots of Southerners (or Negroes or Puerto Ricans) have good factory jobs. Yet that does not mean their living conditions nor their life-style is like those members

court as part of their defense. Two of the Indians were found not guilty immediately, and the third had a breach-of-peace charge dropped, but was found guilty on a drunk charge. After this we were able to get a number of contacts in the neighborhood, and we are beginning to set up a group around the issue.

Schools

Another issue in which we have just recently become involved is focused on one of the schools in the neighborhood. 8 of the 15 teachers at the school either resigned or asked for transfers because of their dissatisfaction with the principal. By talking to some of the parents of children at the school we found out that the parents also had complaints against the principal as well as some complaints against the teachers. By working with some other groups in the area we were able to get a meeting of 7 or 8 parents, including the president of the PTA, who sided with the principal to the extent that she didn't let anyone talk about his complaints. We are now trying to get people who have complaints together to work out some specifics which can be used in further organizing and in action.

If you think that you would be interested in working for the M-CUP and putting your ideas into action, give us a call at 612-338-8055; or if you are as poor as we are, write us at 1119 East Franklin, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404. If you don't think that you would like to work for the project, but you would like to see it around for awhile, you can send any money you can spare. Any amount will be appreciated.

CLEVELAND

(continued from page 10)

Committee has taken. The following excerpt is taken from their report:

CLEVELAND ERAP REPORT

Towards the end of January, 1967, the Welfare Grievance Committee was faced with decisions about expansion of the organization. For a while we had been discussing the formation of new groups, but no decisions had been made. Welfare Grievance Committee members were not fully prepared to take on the task of organizing new groups: they had insufficient information, and were insecure about their own ability to organize. We decided to have a brief, 3 to 4 day training program. The emphasis was to be on reviewing information we already knew: welfare department rules and regulations, budgets, how to handle grievances, and skills such as mimeographing.

Originally we planned the training program to fulfill a dual need: it would prepare each person to organize and therefore enable the Welfare Grievance Committee as a whole to expand; and it would level out the differences in knowledge and information between the welfare mothers and the two of us. In fact, the training program that occurred lasted about four weeks, covered large sections of new information much of it printed—and included a substantial amount of analysis and politics. In evaluating the program, we were able to distinguish four purposes for such a training program.

1) As we began to print up material for the training program, we realized that we needed, and were developing a Manual. Thus we decided the Manual as one of the goals of the training program.

2) We had long been aware of the need for internal education—political education—for the Welfare Grievance Committee, even about the welfare issue. We had been concerned with the need for a broader analysis and understanding of the movement, what it means to organize, a radical analysis, and an ability to think strategically. But as we prepared factual information for the training program, we realized that another purpose of the program could be to provide commentary and a particular point of view about the facts.

3) We had been frustrated about the role of grievances. We believed in handling grievances as a service and as a way of training people to organize. But we also wanted to put the handling of grievances in perspective by showing people how many grievances resulted from bad laws or politics. This would clarify why we had to focus our energy on challenging and changing laws and policies, rather than on individual grievances.

4) We did want to expand both our membership and our program which was the original motivation for the training program.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONTENT OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM

We made an arrangement with a church (through our contact with a Headstart program which was also using the church) to use a room there regularly for the training programs. We had one session in the morning and one in the afternoon; each lasted about two hours. People attended in different combinations; their regularity varied, depending on baby sitting arrangements, clinic appointments, their health, and some times weather.

The sessions usually began with people reading through written material that had been prepared for that day. The rest of the session was a discussion of the information, in which we generally took a fairly clear role as "teacher" and as "question-asker". In some cases, WGC people assumed the role of teacher, which we encouraged. This was particularly true of budget problems, which some people learned much more quickly than others, and occasionally with discussion of policies. But even when one person learned more quickly, they still had trouble explaining it or teaching it to another person, especially in adjusting to the fact that the other person had a different method of learning the information or of figuring out a problem.

We made a point of keeping the number of people per session small, and were not rigid about content. As a result, we had a good deal of flexibility. In addition to covering the prepared material, we often had excellent discussions about broader problems which gave the opportunity for giving political analysis. For example, talking about the legal structure of welfare led us into discussion of the American political party system; talking about the level of welfare grants led us to the role of big business in our society and the concept of guaranteed annual income; talking about medical care led us to the topic of socialized medicine; talking about organizing tactics led us into broader discussion of the movement.

RESPONSE OF WELFARE GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE MEMBERS TO THE TRAINING PROGRAM

People's new confidence was evidenced by the way in which they challenged things that we said and frequently debated and disagreed among themselves. Before then, they had often been afraid to disagree with each other, for fear that they might be wrong. But this changed and they themselves explicitly admitted a greater confidence and a feeling of being "tougher." People were able to admit more readily ability at certain things and weaknesses in other areas.

The people became more militant and developed a self-awareness of themselves as "organizers" rather than do-gooders. They saw their responsibility as bringing people together to gain the power to challenge existing laws and policies, rather than simply helping individuals with their grievances. They also agreed that the racial difference affected our effectiveness in organizing; that again, they could more effectively reach other welfare people—the majority of whom are black—and that there could be real problems for white organizers in a Negro neighborhood, a problem we had not been very willing to confront head-on previously. This all meant that most speaking, organizing, and leafletting should fall on their shoulders.

The training program concluded with discussions on political topics which went beyond the constraints of the welfare system. These discussions really seemed to engage people. We have several ideas about how to proceed. Perhaps we would have one day a week with a morning and afternoon session set aside for "internal education." We might include not only WGC people, but Headstart mothers as well. We might try to use visual aids like filmstrips and movies, and also ask resource people to come and speak to the group on selected topics. The material we plan to cover would be both in the form of topics such as urban renewal and political concepts such as imperialism.

Finally, as people's views of organizing to change welfare broadened, they became more conscious of the need for the kind of power that comes from large numbers of people. Interestingly although the decision to expand began to move into operation, people still felt strongly that they want to be selective. They want to find people willing to make a commitment to organizing. (End of quoted information)

To bring information on the Cleveland project up to date, New Left Notes published a story on May 22, 1967. The problems of '64 are still present. City Hall is "totally inept in meeting any of the needs...", "police and housing" agencies "operate autonomously." "Labor is very bread and butter oriented." Even though the problems still remain, some things have been accomplished and set up. Tenant Council organization, some draft resistance organizing, 13 Headstart centers, and an Inter-City Medical Research Committee all are fighting for power for the power.

As the fight continues, new volunteers are needed—people who will give a few years of their life to make America a Democracy. If you are interested or would like more information write to 2070 W. 26th, Cleveland, Ohio 44113 or call (216) 781-3719, 631-8089, 281-4615.

M-CUP PROJECT

(continued from page 10)

been willing to fight to have their places repaired and only wanted M-CUP to handle the grievances by ourselves. Since we have only been able to get a few repairs in a couple of buildings and have not yet been able to get anyone involved in the project, we do not yet have a housing committee. But the issue is still a very good one, especially with the very strong possibility of urban renewal in the neighborhood in the near future.

Police Brutality

Police brutality has been an issue in the neighborhood since the office was opened last fall. At the time, it was thought that by making the rounds of the bars and talking to people about the police we could set up some kind of group. The only thing that resulted was the arrest of some of the M-CUP people and a lot of indifference in the community toward the project. It seemed better to concentrate on only one issue—welfare—at least until we could build up our strength and size.

When the spring started and the bars on the Avenue started getting active again, we started patrolling on weekend nights to see what the cops were doing and how we could best approach the issue. After a couple of months of being harassed and stopped by the cops, we saw two of them arrest three Indians for being drunk, not because they were drunk, but because they had the nerve to talk back to a cop. We saw all three arrests and what led up to each of them and were able to get the Indians a lawyer and to appear in

POTENTIALS FOR THE POOR

GITLIN ON THE WHITE POOR

The following article is an edited version of the last part of an essay on organizing the poor by Todd Gitlin. The full version will be published in 1968 by Doubleday in a book entitled Beyond Dissent: Papers from the New Left edited by Steve Weissman. These excerpts are reprinted with permission.

In the first section of the paper, Gitlin treats the various ways of dealing with the poor that have emerged within the confines of orthodox American thought. He lists these approaches as terror, neo-colonialism, New Deal, and limited conflict, and argues that all are limited by a common malady—all of these approaches "tend to 'deal with,' count on, plan for, experiment with the poor as stick figures, not authentic human beings capable of their own culture and worth. They emphasize the passivity of the poor, not the integrity of lower class life." Student radicals on the other hand, Gitlin argues, "are more sensitive to the strengths of the 'culture of poverty,' its sometime quality of resistance to the American mainstream, its estrangement

from the Calvinist work ethic, the resilience of its culture, its populist insulation from routine politics, its disloyalty toward figures of authority, its ambivalence toward race."

The second part of the essay takes the findings of radical student organizers and discusses the implications for building a radical movement among the poor. The third part then takes the actual experience that has been gathered and discusses the principles of organizing that can be distilled out of that experience.

Excerpts from the third part are included in this article. For reasons of space, we have not been able to publish the whole section, and to some degree have been forced to violate the organic development of the argument. We have, however, published the last section in full because it ties together Gitlin's conception of the thrust of organizing among the poor and his thoughts on the future of the whole country.

Though it is difficult to explain what sections have been edited, the parts included are generally those most open to debate and those upon which Gitlin has taken a definitive position.

THE COMMUNITY UNION

The radical experience in organizing the poor has been as misunderstood as it has been brief. Often organizers have not spoken clearly to criticisms from within as well as without, though for good reason—the premium has been on organizing the poor, testing some principles, not embroidering a theory somebody else might someday apply. As a result the theory of this new work—implicit and explicit—has been written mostly by those who would caricature it to suit their own political slants, sympathetic or not. And as some of the early projects collapsed, there has also been something of a crisis in confidence among radical organizers grappling for ways to make sense of a complex and exhausting experience. Clarity about what has and has not been done has become not just a matter of courtesy to critics, but of balance and survival for present and prospective organizers.

Why organize? At first, as SDS people and others moved into poor communities in 1964, the main ideas were these: In a system that satisfies many needs for most Americans, the poor are still demonstrably in need—and know it. They are also less tied to the dominant values, just as—and partly because—they are less central to the economy that creates and expresses these values. They have a certain permanence necessary for a sustained movement.(1) Though a minority they are a substantial minority. They exhibit a potential for movement—for understanding their situation, breaking loose, and committing themselves to a radical alternative.

Those beliefs are basic, and basically valid. But at this juncture the purposes of radical organizing projects can be listed more precisely, even at the risk of drawing artificial distinctions:

First, to enable the most powerless people to get a handle on the decisions and non-decisions, now made for them, that debase and deform their lives. Second, to help the poor get more of the material goods and services prerequisite to a decent life. Third, to undergird serious proposals for the humane extension of the welfare state, and keep them responsive to the needs of those "for whom" they are proposed and granted. Fourth, to help maintain momentum for a Negro movement in need of reliable allies.

Fifth, to raise, insistently, in poor communities and at every level outside, these issues, among many: who runs the society, and in whose interest? who is competent to make which decisions for the poor, or for anyone? who is "for" the poor? what do the poor "need"? how tolerant is America? how in America do people get what they want? how do they want what they "want"? what happens when people govern themselves? what institutional changes would make a difference? Sixth, to strengthen the poor as a source and reservoir of opposition to the final rationalization of the American system: to keep the country open to authentically different values and styles.

Seventh, to galvanize students, professionals, and others into durable confrontations with the ethos and structure of the society: and to lend urgency and values to parallel movements. Eighth, to amass pressure for public, domestic spending, and thus, in political effect, against an aggressive foreign policy.

And ninth, to plant seeds that might grow into the core of a mass radical movement sufficiently large and serious and conscious and strategically placed to transform American institutions.

How are these objectives practical, and how are they compatible? Provisional answers might be found in the experience of two "community unions" seeded by SDS—JOIN in a mostly Southern-white neighborhood of Chicago, and the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) in a black ghetto.

ISSUE-ORGANIZING

The underclass has its most abrasive contacts with the ruling elites less at the point of production than outside it.(2) Bad housing, meager and degrading "welfare," destructive urban renewal, vicious police, hostile and irrelevant schools, inadequate community facilities (hospitals, nurseries, traffic lights, parks, etc.) are the general rule and are felt as a pattern of victimization above and beyond each of these separate issues. The job of the organizer is to find those people most aroused by felt grievances; to organize, with them, action on those issues; to amplify the feeling that these are common, caused, problems, not individual faults, accidents or exceptions; to build through tangibly successful action a confidence in the weight of collective action, and to discover and teach through failures the limits of present capabilities and the work that lies ahead.

In fact limitations of experience may lead us to overestimate the concrete futility of both material and structural demands on the local level. Certain of the structural

demands could only be met through national and state legislation (e.g., that welfare recipients administer the welfare program), but others, in theory at any rate, could be won locally if pressure is "strong enough." (Organizers learn to guess at the chances for victory, but revise their guesses in the process of working toward a goal.) These demands could be achieved without a massive shuffling of resources; their common motif is autonomy, they should be thought of as middle-range possibilities, lodged between the demands of the moment and a thoroughgoing reconstruction. For example, there seems to be no intrinsic reason why the New York City Board of Education could not grant the right of parents to control Intermediate School 201;(3) it would threaten their legitimacy to be sure, but might be the easiest way out if the parents' movement were deep and relentless enough. Likewise, the demand that the people affected by urban renewal dominate planning for their community, and be granted the resources (information, planners, money) to do so, does indeed require "a whole revision of the operation, a revision unimaginable without structural changes in the urban renewal agencies, and finally, subordination of the land-use cycle, and of contractual developers, to local initiative and control.(4) What is not yet clear is that this goal, even when seen in its radical light, is impractical. There have been some few occasions when community organizations (not community unions) have turned urban renewal to their own uses, a result tantamount to curbing the violence of the land-use cycle. A victory is conceivable, but not imminent, and might spread to other neighborhoods and cities. Similarly, groups may decide that the police cannot be pressured politely through civilian review boards, but must be contained and rendered illegitimate if brutality is to stop. The objective would not be to change police policy at the top, but to watch and challenge the occupiers so closely that they decide, finally, to let the community govern itself. Difficult as this would prove, it still seems more practical than the centralist approach, and could not be less effective in curbing terror than the showpiece review boards. Victories of the sort—"a whole lot of lettin' alone," as one JOIN member put it—would also illustrate and refine certain tensions in the concept of participatory democracy. Control over a local institution in a vacuum may inspire opposed groups to control theirs (though right-wing and other middle-class groups are likely to have that control already); it may also detract from efforts to change the larger structures and win new resources. Parents' control over I. S. 201 alone would leave the rest of New York's educational machine untouched, and so on for each of the other victories. The gamble of a community, then, is that its local successes and strategies can be communicated as models for other groups and organizers to copy,(5) and that its own people are firm enough in their direction to use the victory for momentum, not coasting or cooptation. This implacability is as much a matter of education and consciousness as of "objective conditions."

DEMOCRACY AND DURABILITY

The community union seeks to become permanent without freezing. There is a long beginning stretch when residents are reached, temporarily involved, and then fade back into their personal lives and a passive sort of support. As some fall away there is renewed pressure to find others. If the organizer wades through the early frustrations, he is likely to find people who will stick. As they show interest, pieces of manageable work can be divided between the ex-students and the recruits. Something like a formal division of labor develops, through which people usually considered incompetent and inept find their own capabilities and make new ones. In both Newark and Chicago, community people have been taken on staff and play crucial roles. "Roles" are rather loosely defined to permit choice, but structured sufficiently to achieve specific aims (an issue-project, reaching new people, managing the office, research, fund-raising, etc.). Roles are also set up so they reflect many levels of commitment: in JOIN there are full-time staff and a network of "stewards" part-time contacts and organizers who relay problems to the central office, distribute newsletters, suggest and join in activities, and provide feedback; and then the wider span of members. Every so often all the levels come together for mass meetings, large actions, movies, skits, parties. The organization then has roots as well as a conscious thrust.

The mood of informality appeals to some community people, but confuses and alienates others: for most, at the beginning, a meeting means a time to dress up and listen quietly, though new people discover that it is easy to get up and talk. Community unions have moved from the dogmatic anarchism which some critics observed to be the pathology of the middle-class organizer. In JOIN at least there are formal leaders elected by an organizing committee (the staff and the most active people) and the membership as a whole. Offices rotate every month so that the skills and experience that come with nominal authority and the spokesman role can be spread and power kept close to its source. (Among chairmen of the JOIN organizing committee have been day-laborers, an ex-hairdresser, a junkie ex-con, a fired building manager, a preacher without pulpit, a go-go dancer, a teenage "tough," and welfare recipients.) Meetings are free-wheeling, sometimes baroque, but capable of making decisions. What emerges through these formal functions as well as through discussions, actions, and symbols is an identity that bears some relation to the community style. (What is hard is blending that style with the demands of decision-making; results are uneven.) Thus there is a hillbilly cast to JOIN songs—mostly adapted from Baptist hymns, some from civil rights anthems—reflecting the dominant population and culture, though most of the active hillbillies in JOIN do not exert formal policy influence in meetings. But then policy emerges mostly from an interplay among organizers' ideology, people's readiness to move, and mutual perceptions of the situation; it only surfaces at official meetings.

If the conflicts between "student" and resident organizers in JOIN are at all typical, as they seem to be, then the situation of white organizers in black communities is a matter of class as well as race. Initially the "students" dominate by their experience in political decision and administration, whatever their attempts to mirror the style of the residents. Student dominance has lasted over two years, but seems to weaken over time, especially as activities flower; the cycle is circular but also move ahead, crabwise. As community people develop self-confidence, skills, patience, ability to formulate tactics and strategy, authority becomes less one-sided, though some reliance on students persists and creates tensions. It is crucial to recognize that such tensions reflect some success in transmitting the goals of the project, and are particularly strong among young men who have picked up the rhetoric and some of the motives of "community power" and begin to apply it to all middle-class interventions in the neighborhood. (No doubt they are also threatened sexually by the male "students" and their access to female organizers.) JOIN went through that kind of crisis of confidence when, in July 1966 a few "students" seemed to be diluting a committee decision proposed by a resident. A group of young neighborhood men, who had been in casual contact with the project, heard the news and proceeded to impale the "students" on their own ideology. The saving circumstance was that the students were themselves divided on tactics; some students—finally all—encouraged the revolt,

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Potentials of the Poor

urged its leaders to argue it out in an emergency meeting, and successfully inspired them to begin organizing young people, independently, to fight police brutality.(6) JOIN backed them with resources, organizers, and spirit, but with a new and tonic humility. Later, having engaged in activity they could rightly call their own, some of the rebels grew closer to JOIN itself, to some extent bridging the chasm of generations as well as class.

For "students," refraining from a united front, and indeed offering a variety of living and political styles, may mean the difference between vitality and stagnation. For when residents can choose from a range of relationships to radical values, there is less of a monolithic temptation for active residents to lose their roots in the community.(7) The resulting centrifugal tendencies are easier to cope with and to transform into outward motion than the pathetic dependency of residents who come to identify wholly with middle-class values—even radical middle-class values.(8) In any case, between residents and "students," and within each group, there is no end of tension, and it is a good thing. Faced openly by both, that tension encourages a needed balance between structural and material concerns, between abstract ideology and tangible needs and conditions, between the external consequence and the internal health of the project. The experience in JOIN is that a working mesh of formal democracy and decentralized work is possible, but that it takes the most excruciating patience. Trust is established slowly and delicately, as organizers prove that action can get results, and make explicit their commitment to stay until, by general consent, it is time to get to work elsewhere. Organizers must ride what seems to be a recurrent cycle of turnover and crisis. After several waves of turnover, as the organization seems more stable, emphasis shifts to equipping the people who have committed themselves. Organizers perceive crisis: they have made new organizers, stabilized the organization, but have stopped reaching the unreached. They resolve, after much talk, to plunge outward again. Then relative stability tests the ability of organizers to make room for new people, and repeat the process. It is a tension built into the organizing approach. Understood that way, it can be the project's greatest strength, its propulsion. Misperceived as failure, it becomes a self-fulfilling gloom.

What I mean to say is that as it grows the project aims, in a complicated way, to embody and symbolize and prove the possibility of a democratic society. It is somewhat like, but more complex than, the "live-in" conceived by Staughton Lynd—

The spirit of a community, as opposed to an organization, is not, We are together to accomplish this or that end, but, We are together to face together whatever life brings....The spiritual unity of the group is more important than any external accomplishment....the building of a brotherly way of life even in the jaws of the Leviathan(9)

For as the project forges the idea of shared decision-making in a political community, it is also constantly pushing outward, its fraternity testing the outside world, challenging and disrupting it, creating and seeking openings, looking to replicate itself; and it is also prepared to risk its satisfaction for the rude receptions it is likely to get when it ventures outside. There is restless community, "something of our own" that dares its own exclusiveness, that thrives insofar as it sets itself problematic goals, that foregoes certainties as it constantly probes for a momentum of changes. By taking risks it avoids stasis and cynicism, the final victories of a society closing. To the degree that Fruchter and Kramer are right about the closure and containment of tangible radical possibilities—and I am not yet judging the likelihood—their conclusions hold up:

In an environment where the possibilities for fundamental change are obscure, where even the desire for change based upon assumptions different from those of the society presents itself as either irrational or pathological, there is a continuous pressure toward finding ways to "separate" from the society. The negation of the status quo in theory, language, acts, lacking any focus that would make change a real possibility, is always driven to seem partially utopian.(10)

But while such despair is natural, it goes too far to say that "at the present time there is no adequate way of formulating this idea of existing 'outside' that does not over-emphasize utopian tendencies." The problem is rather, having formulated the idea, to make it work.

The project must resist the temptation to cut itself off from the whole society. The dangers are most acutely those of sectarian politics, apolitical posturing, and the cultivation of relations with middle-class groups and the powers that be at the expense of roots in the community. The project must continue to find in the culture of poverty at least a culture of resistance, and remain engaged with the sources of that resistance. It must replenish those sources and embody them in a political resistance, a resistance facing outward from the project. It must challenge the dominant trends and oppressive structures while challenging itself to refuse to take the future for granted. When the organizer despairs he may find solace in marveling at the community he has helped forge; but that is a fragile and short-lived pleasure. If he is to survive and work, he must again grow restless, and his beloved community must keep itself on the firing line.

COUNTER-INSTITUTIONS AND CATALYSTS

In the here and now there are a range of needs which orthodox political organizing cannot fulfill. For these purposes "counter-institutions" of different sorts have been conceived, and some set in motion. What they share in common is the attempt to "initiate the unorganized into the experience of self-government." To fain the justified allegiance of the community, and to extend the model of a democratic and accessible movement farther into the world of concrete needs. All the different types of counter-structures depend on a pre-existing level of organization and a shared sense of their intermediate position—less than revolutionary, more than therapeutic. To propel and not stall the movement that gives rise to them, they must represent "something of our own" in tension with what is not, but should be. Erected prematurely they will devolve into bureaucracy, not self-government, and as centrifugal features drain energy from the rock-bottom work of organizing. It is a subtle business to judge when to start.

Finally there are political counter-institutions, aiming to effect a transfer of legitimacy in more strategic zones. Some like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, arise because there is simply no other way to accomplish a goal (register voters); they can offer alternatives but cannot take power. Others, like the Lowndes County Freedom Party, reject the available alternative of party politics in favor of independent structure. The LCFP bases its hopes quite realistically on the Negro majority in the county. Mounting legitimacy among the black population rests finally on the real chance for taking power—electing all local officials, who could not only thwart overt repression but make some concrete changes (say, by taking whites). The argument that the county alone does not have the resources to alter economic conditions, is valid but off the mark: for a Black Panther victory would not intend to usher in prosperity, but only to test the limits of local control, in the hands of

(continued on page 18)

QUESTION:

Is there one weekly magazine—to which I can subscribe—that will keep me fully informed on Government (good and bad), Law, Human Affairs, Civil Rights (if any), Civil Liberties (if any), Vietnam, Viet Rock, Peace and Pot?

Answer: At least ONE.

Question: What does it cost to take a trip of 48 issues?

Answer: \$6.00 (special student rate). Everybody else, \$9.00.

Question: Sampling from recent issue?

Answer: Gladly . . .

- *Who Needs People* by James Ridgeway
- *Just a Drop Can Kill* (gas and germ warfare) by Seymour Hersh
- *Justice for Juveniles* by David Bazelon
- *Pot Bust at Cornell* by David Sanford
- *The Dead Dropout* by Janet Sideman
- *University and Multiversity* by Robert M. Hutchins
- *Patriots on the Campus* by James Ridgeway
- *MacBird on Stage* by Robert Brustein
- *The Future-Planners* by Andrew Kopkind
- *Student Chaplains* by Paul Goodman
- *The Future of Black Power* by Andrew Kopkind
- *Games Johnson Plays* by James Deakin

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The New Republic, Box 431
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Marion, Ohio 43302

Dear NR:

Here's six dollars that I had laid aside for other necessities. Make sure I receive a full year (48 issues) of NR at the special student rate.

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Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

THE NEW REPUBLIC

SDS NEEDS A RADICAL PAPER

—CATHY WILKERSON

New Left Notes is a newspaper whose content tone and makeup are determined week in and week out by its membership. Unlike most newspapers—including those in the "underground" category—whose editorial policy and composition are decided by a small "select" group—the SDS newspaper is created by people in campus chapters and in community or other types of organizing projects. Paradoxically, it is only in recent months that there is a growing awareness of the extent to which NLN depends directly on the reports and letters from the membership about their activities.

This growing awareness is a reflection of the increase of activities early in 1967 in SDS chapters across the country. of the increase of activities in SDS chapters across the country. NLN first appeared early in 1966, succeeding the monthly SDS Bulletin (started in 1963). The first NLN issues were largely devoted to long articles, provoking prolonged debates, which discussed grand strategies for SDS and the movement. Most of these articles were repetitiously bulwarked by lengthy expositions of the politics which supported the writers' strategy. The same authors reappeared frequently. At that time, SDS was much smaller than it is now; but more importantly, we had not yet begun to recognize the importance of a continuous exchange of ideas and information among ALL SDS members.

Recognition of that need was evident last fall as chapters began to involve themselves in direct action on campus, cutting through endless debates and instead creating confrontations on their campus. Those action projects produced much information that was relevant to chapters in different areas of the country and in different situations.

Take, for example, the demonstrations against Dow Chemical recruiters on campus. The reports that appeared in NLN in regard to those demonstrations provided information on (1) Dow's involvement in the war; (2) the broader question of university complicity with the monopoly-corporate state (training bureaucrats and experts for the military-industrial complex); (3) the specifics of the action taken against Dow; and (4) the effect of that action on the chapter and other students on campus.

The reports on the action projects provided not only an all-important sense of unity in struggle to chapters also preparing for a confrontation with Dow, but also furthered understanding of both the structure of American corporate process and how a campus responds to that sort of demonstration.

In order to increase the relevance and clarity of news articles, people writing articles are going to have to develop new ways of discussing their actions and better ways of evaluating their experiences in print. In the past, most of the discussion that has been provoked by NLN articles on chapter actionsssss

(letters to the editor), not in chapter discussions: this is turn is partially a result of the fact that the original articles were not themselves a product of chapter discussions. However, as more chapters are conscious of the potentially widespread impact of each news article, those pieces submitted will be focused more in this direction.

After news articles, the second largest category of articles in the last six months has been those dealing with strategy questions—most conspicuously those on the mobilization and on draft resistance. Although these articles were the first time any kind of representative sampling of opinion appeared in the paper, their effectiveness—especially in the case of the mobilization debate—was limited because the articles were not written specifically to encourage discussion. Instead they were frequently just an outraged response to a position argued previously.

This raises the questions of who reads NLN, how they relate to it, and why. The most realistic answers to these

questions are found by looking at the structure of SDS. Individuals are members of SDS and read NLN; but individuals are also members of chapters and it is largely within the context of their chapters that they develop politics and radical consciousness; it is with the rest of the chapter that they plan and carry out radical actions.

Therefore, strategy debate articles in NLN, to most fully utilize the medium of a radical newspaper, must keep this in mind. They are most effective when they raise questions and offer information which aid individuals in making their own decisions. And, in order to refine political analysis and long-range policies, we must constantly keep up on the experiences of others and their self-evaluations, and constantly reevaluate our own experiences as well.

In the case of draft resistance, I think as a reflection of chapter discussion, articles have tended more to offer specific information and to be structured so as to raise questions, whether they offer answers or not, rather than pushing a rigid line.

A third category of articles is that of news of other movement groups, such as SNCC, SSOC, the War Crimes Tribunal, and community organizations like JOIN, M-CUP and the Cleveland Project. These articles have covered major struggles on the one hand, such as with Levi Strauss boycott, the Farm Workers, etc., as well as keeping in touch with fraternal organizations such as SNCC and SSOC. These articles help maintain some communication among radicals working in different milieux—radical students face many of the same challenges as radical poor people. However, NLN can only give scant coverage to movement news and still fully realize its potential as a radical newspaper. In order for SDS members to keep up on other movement ideas and actions they should read and subscribe to at least two or three other papers, such as The Movement (San Fran. SNCC), the National Guardian (the radical weekly from N.Y.C.), the SUPA Newsletter (Canadian Student Union for Peace Action), NACLA Newsletter (North American Congress on Latin America), local underground papers, and many others. If SDS members read these papers, articles in NLN could be concerned with relating this information to SDS chapters and actions.

The fourth category of articles is the one which has been most sorely lacking. These are articles which offer specific information which chapters can use as ammunition in their struggles on various issues. Also, research clues on how to find out helpful information on the local level. Only in the area of draft resistance, has NLN contained any systematic information of this sort.

Many chapters wrote to NLN asking for this kind of specific information on Dow, the military on campus, etc. The National Office cannot act as a research and information center. Some chapters have done thorough research on many topics, which for instance, found Dow as heavily committed to apartheid in South Africa as it was to burning humans in Vietnam, but no one from these chapters took the trouble to communicate this info



LIBERATION

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"Liberation represents a point of view that is unique in New York journalism: anti-war, pro-Civil Rights and shrewdly and radically critical of current politics and official policies." **Edmund Wilson**

"Experience teaches that what Liberation writes about today will preoccupy the public mind tomorrow, perhaps when it is too late to do very much about it." **Robert Hutchins**

to other SDS members via NLN. Similarly, many choice facts on specific types of university complicity with the military industrial complex have been fereted out by chapters, but never reported to NLN so as to encourage and aid other chapters in this kind of power structure research.

If NLN is to continue to increase its relevance, this is one area where we need a rapid increase of articles every week. Next year, chapters could discover, research and act on unlimited numbers of issues like Dow. As dozens of chapters discovered this year, Dow types of demonstrations were uniquely successful in expanding the radical group on campus because it offered new information which students were forced to deal with; information which disrupted their establishment perception of their schools, their society and therefore their own lives.

This type of information can be presented very concisely in NLN. From there, each chapter can research further and develop a strategy relevant to their own situation.

A final general category of articles in NLN is the most formalized: those mandated by NC's and the Convention, such as NAC minutes, reports of the national officers, financial statements, statements of lack of finances (mandated by the NAC and NO staff), NC and Convention minutes, etc. For the most part, except for the contributions from the harassed national officers, NLN has met these mandates.

In addition to these general groupings of articles, NLN has begun a monthly supplement entitled PRAXIS. The purpose of PRAXIS was discussed in both of the issues that have appeared so far (further issues delayed because of no greens to finance it)—though it is clearly still experimental. There has been a clear lack of well-written articles dealing with broader concerns and which are written with the NLN-SDS chapters in mind. The establishment of PRAXIS will not in itself put an end to this problem, but does represent an essential first step.

WHO WRITES?

The question of who should write the chapter article for NLN on news of an activity or just an occasional report is not a simple one for people trying to create a radical newspaper—it should be a topic for discussion in every chapter. A high number of news articles have been submitted by the active organizers or the chapter intellectuals, but only rarely by one of the "shock troops." The perceptions and language of these leaders creates the impression of the chapter that will be made upon the minds of readers across the country. More importantly, this practice lends added distance to those leaders whose authority asserts itself through the pages of the national newspaper. It furthers the passivity that shock troops already naturally feel towards the national organization and toward NLN.

There are many advantages—both to individuals and to chapters—to having shock troops write for NLN instead. If one of the shock troops writes up a Dow demonstration for NLN, the chances are he/she will consult with other shock troopers and involve them in the writing process. They will be in the position of presenting and analyzing the events

for others—in the process they become actively involved in teaching, encouraging others, and organizing other people around the question of how their experiences in the Dow confrontation will affect future actions. The writing of the article can in this way help those involved to understand in a very personal way that organizing and being organized are two aspects of a single experience and that one person is always involved in both—he learns and is then able to teach on the basis of his experience. HE HAS STOPPED RELYING ON SOMEONE ELSE TO INTERPRET HIS OWN EXPERIENCE.

Furthermore, once an individual has participated in writing for NLN, other articles in the paper can be considered from a base of common experience. They will not appear any longer as finished products of an expert but—as they in fact are—as communications from other radicals who are attempting to find answers to common questions.

All of us, but students in particular, have been imbued with the authority of the ossified printed word. For NLN to develop its potential as a radical newspaper, which relates actively to the lives of SDS members, the print on its pages must not be allowed to assume this static authority.

We have only begun to experiment with radical journalism—journalism as a form of communication which helps individuals build a movement from their own experience. Each chapter should discuss ways in which they can best relate, either as individuals volunteering to work on the story or as groups who share an idea on how to write up their shared experience. Other forms will evolve too as chapters begin to practice new forms of journalism. And each member should take responsibility for seeing a story is written whenever appropriate. Chapters could discuss together what they wanted the article to say to other SDS members—what events, what thoughts should be emphasized. Concurrently, chapters will be evaluating their collective experience as a group.

If we are to maintain any relevance to that society which exists and be honest about our goals for another society, we must be conscious of interpreting our experiences constantly as we go on. NLN is an important means by which we can do that as individuals, chapters, and as a movement.

The Texas Observer

...greet friends and members of sds and invites you to write for a free copy of the issue on events at the University of Texas which resulted in the banning of sds

504 WEST 24TH STREET
AUSTIN, TEXAS

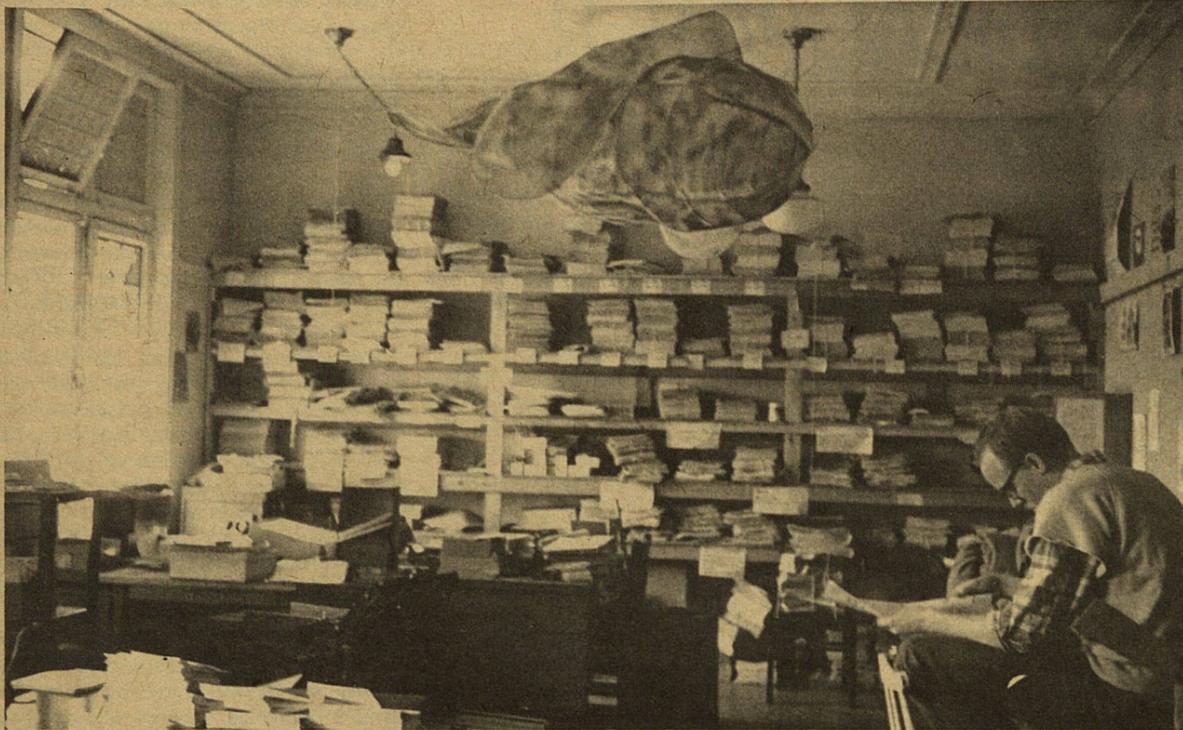
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After a long night getting NLN ready for the U.S. post office



MEMBERSHIP REPORT

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

Jim Fite (N. O. Staff)

The recorded membership of SDS stands at 6,371. In addition, there are 583 people who subscribe to NLN but are not members. Of the 6,371 members only 875 have paid dues since Jan. 1, 1967. The rest seem to think that the only thing they have to do is pay once and then forget it. That is a lot of bull shit. How do you people think we can function as an organization unless you let us know where you are and keep in touch with us every year. People who are going to change address should write the NO and say so. People who have not paid dues since last Sept. should do so now. People who bitch about money should come to the NO and work for a few weeks at ten dollars a week and then offer suggestions on how the office should be run. All the white cards (those recording members before Jan. 1, 1967 will be purged some time next fall.) The organization is too damn big to mess around with people who are not dedicated. A lot could be said about the need for radical consciousness, but this is not the time. But people who say they are members and do not support the organization are no better than the church hypocrites we are all disgustingly familiar with.

Since last Aug. (1966) 38 chapters have applied for and received recognition. This brings the total chapter number to almost two hundred and fifty. They are

- Aug-Dec. 1966
- Lewis and Clark College
- Humbolt State
- Birmingham, at large (Alabama)
- San Francisco State College
- Bolling Green University (Ohio)
- Cincinnati, at large (Ohio)
- University of Miami (Florida)
- Pacific University (Oregon)
- State University College (Buffalo, New York)
- Northeastern University (Boston, Mass.)
- Boston College (Chestnut Hill, Mass.)
- Oakland University (Rochester, Mich.)
- Abian College (Mich.)
- Lacrosse (Lacrosse, Wisconsin)
- St. Olaf College (Northfield, Minn.)
- Lawrence University (Appleton, Wisc.)
- St. Cloud St. (St. Cloud, Minn.)
- Moorhead State (Moorhead, Minn.)

Jan. 1-June 1, 1967

- University of California (Riverside)
- Fort Worth, at large (Texas)
- Orange California High School
- Skid Row, at large (Chicago, Ill.)
- West Virginia U.
- Shimer College
- Texas Tech
- Columbia (Movement for a Democratic Society)
- University of Denver
- Brooklyn (Movement for a Democratic Society)
- Colo. St. College
- Wagner College (New York)
- Rutgers-Newark
- Mount Prospect College
- Colgate University
- Westside Chicago
- State College at Eau Claire (Wisc.)
- Albany (New York)
- Loyola of Chicago
- University of Maine

As you can see, the majority of new chapters are in smaller schools with a heavy portion of them located in the Midwest and the North Midwest. The abundance of chapters coincides with the distribution of members. Heavy membership states are New York, Mass., Wisconsin, Mich., Ill., and California. States in the South, Southwest and Rocky Mountains (except for Colo.) have few chapters and few members. Members should try to integrate their lives (even while in school) to and with the goals of the movement. This includes setting up chapters where there are none, draft-resistance unions, teach-ins, and recruiting more brothers into the movement.



BEWARE !!!! If your name is on a WHITE CARD in this box you are soon to be purged.

Duties of the Rayte Clerk

Mike Knichenko

FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBERSHIP SEC.-RAYTE CLERK

1) The membership secretary-rayte clerk is in charge of maintaining the membership files-mailing list, both of which are combined in the file of addressograph cards.

2) The membership secretary's best friend is the file. He must take care to see that it is orderly, up-to-date, and safe from unauthorized persons.

3) The membership file not only tells us where our members live, but also tells us when they are due to pay annual membership and/or subscription fees.

4) In addition to the card file, a tape of all persons in the file should be kept in the safe, as a precaution against the seizure or destruction of the card-file.

5) The membership file is color-coded, in order to tell the status of the member, contact, or subscriber. In the file several colors will be found----

a) Purple-members having paid dues during the first quarter (Jan-Mar).

b) Green-members having paid dues during the second quarter (Apr-Jun).

c) Orange-members having paid dues during the third quarter (Jul-Sep).

d) White-members having paid dues during the fourth quarter (Oct-Dec).

e) Blue-campus chapters & CONTACTS.

f) Red-persons who receive NEW LEFT NOTES, but are not members of SDS. Subscription fees are \$10.00 a year; the quarter in which the subscription expires will be found either typed on the frame of the addressograph card, or on the plate itself. If no date is evident, then these persons may be billed during the last quarter.

g) Black and white cards with black tops are summer addresses and are to be pulled after September 15. On the same date, the cards which are in a drawer marked "Return to file Sept. 15" are to be returned to their respective places in the file.

6) And it shall come to pass that certain persons shall wish to become members of SDS (ESSE QUAM VIDERE). For those who submit \$5.00, type an addressograph card in the color of the quarter in which they have joined. Also, send them a membership card, stamped with the signature of the president of SDS. If there is no president, cross out the word "president", and sign the name of the membership secretary.

Mail this card with the new member

with the basic SDS brochure, consisting at this time of the "SNCC Resolution", the "Anti-Draft Resolution", "Democracy is Nothing", and a current literature list.

7) In order to process addressograph cards under the present system (Elliot 880) they must be typed (see Appendix), and run through the machine about seven times before they will print. When the cards are sufficiently linked, check each impression for legibility and errors.

a Zone Improvement Project (ZIP) Code. Consult the National ZIP Code Directory, POD Publication 65.

8) The membership secretary is in charge of the postage stamp inventory and rubber stamps.

9) On the membership desk will be found a drawer marked "Suspended Subscriptions". These are current memberships and subscriptions which have been suspended at the request of the member or subscriber. They are to be consulted for requests for re-activation of subscriptions.

10) The membership secretary is responsible for destroying the plates corresponding to newspapers returned by the post office because of the addressee's departure or refusal. Newspapers are third-class mail and will not be forwarded. Often, the subscriber's new address will be written on the returned paper. But our policy is that if persons are not interested enough to send an address change, they may be purged.

11) Address changes shall be typed on the same color plate as the original, and care must be taken to see that the original is destroyed.

12) At the first of every quarter, a notice of expiration (exhibit II) shall be sent to persons having cards expiring during that quarter.

On Jan 1, all persons with purple cards shall be notified that their memberships/subscriptions shall expire on Mar 31. After this, these cards may be destroyed (be lenient and allow an extra week).

13) Membership renewals shall be typed in the color of the quarter in which the renewal is received, and shall be sent new membership cards.

14) The membership secretary shall be responsible for the (NLN) bulk mailing information, found in the center drawer of the membership desk.

15) The files are arranged according to STATE, ZIP CODE, and alphabetical order.

What the hell has the National Office been doing?

Dee Jacobsen

Are you one of the unfortunate persons who has sent money to the National Office only to receive the silent treatment? Did your New Left Notes suddenly cease appearing in mid-May? How many times have you requested that your address be changed only to have two extra copies sent to your old address? Are you still hoping for the delivery of that literature you ordered last October? Did you really think that material you sent to NLN would be printed. Have you stopped holding your breath in anticipation of new literature that in some way would be relevant to your needs? If you can answer yes to one or more (Allah Forbid) of the above questions, you may self-righteously consider yourself a victim of the bureaucratized and impersonal National Labyrinth. Like most victims you have probably experienced puzzlement or anger in relation to the source of your inconvenience. If duped on more than one occasion, you may have undergone recurrent feelings of disgust or rage. In fact, it's not inconceivable that you have been forced to a point of complete apathy in your relationship to the National Office.

The brief report that appears below was designed to allay your anxieties, disperse your hostilities and puncture your apathy. Read the alluring facts and figures about National Office activities while visions of the revolution dance in your head.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

In the last nine months:

1. The National Officers and staff visited approximately 150 chapters and filled almost 200 speaking engagements.
2. Over 100 showings of five National Office films were accomplished.
3. About 100,000 pamphlets and other pieces of literature were produced and mailed by the NO.
4. Some 8,000 posters, 10,000 buttons, and 3,000 agit-prop stickers were distributed.
5. Approximately 233,000 copies of NLN were edited, laid out, individually addressed, bundled and mailed by the somewhat unpredictable but faithful NO shit-workers union.
6. More than 25,000 pieces of individually addressed, stuffed, stamped

and sealed fund-raising mail were sent.

7. More than 6,000 pieces of inter- and intra-organizational correspondence received individual replies.

8. Roughly 9,000 local and long-distance phone calls were received. For the most part, these calls were informational in nature.

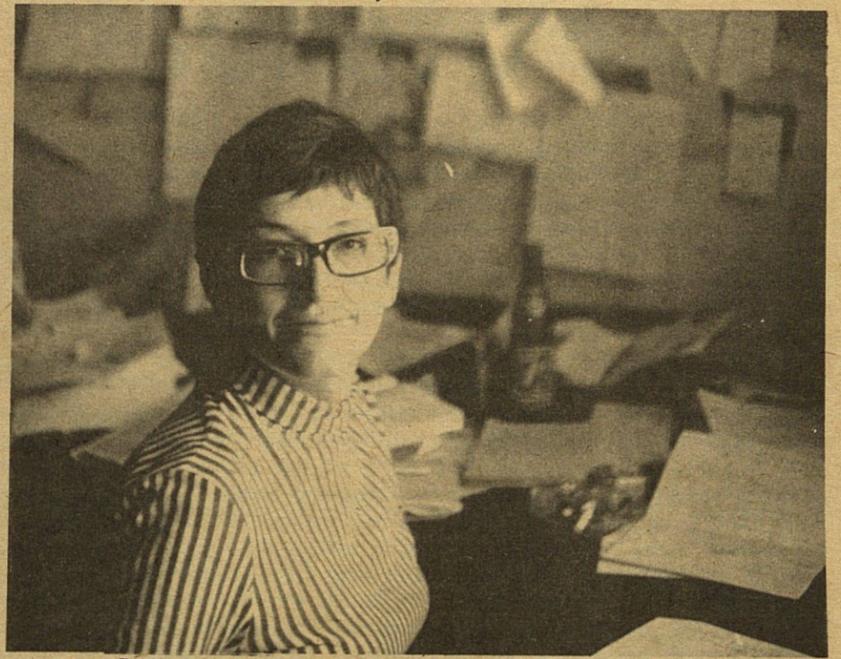
***The above points do not reflect the activities of the seven or eight regional Field Secretaries who have received partial support from the National Office. Watch post-Convention NLN for reports on Regional Activities during the past nine months.

BIGGER AND BETTER THINGS

Given the somewhat haphazard way in which the National Office functions and the shortage of spectacular revolutionary activity within sds and the Movement, the above facts may hardly seem credible. However, one should bear in mind that the marshmallow-like qualities of the American student population tend to obscure even the most valiant excesses of those depraved souls among us who bust our asses from time to time.

During the past few months there has been considerable discussion among the national staff regarding the degree of our financial dependence upon those socio-economic sectors of the population we so frequently scorn and degrade. Concern regarding the tenuous and more than hypocritical nature of this parasitic relationship led the staff to resolve that they would explore ways of developing relatively independent sources of funds.

Given this new resolve, the staff immediately began to plot the greatest Brink's job in history. The Brink's depository in East Chicago was selected (after three weeks of power structure research) as the most potentially profitable job in our area. After 16 weeks of systematic observation and scheming we were ready to strike. The caper was set to come off during a midnite transfer of funds to a newly installed vault. On the appointed night we started off in the office car at 9:30 p. m. and drove at top speed 12 blocks across town to the depository. Arriving at 12:04, we donned our cut-out A&P shopping bags and slipped into the building through a side door that was left ajar by clever prearrangement. Descending to the vault room we found, to our amazement, the guards already bound and



Staff meeting in our elaborate conference room.

gagged. Alas, the loot had already been caged. A quick search of the joint turned up nothing but a strange-looking psychedelic button which bore the inscription: "Bring The Boys Home Now."

After several gloomy discussions of the failure, the staff was saved from further self-recrimination by realizing that the criminal ethic would not pay in the long run. At that point it was decided to develop a compositing and printing operation that would be predictably profitable.

During the last few weeks considerable staff time has gone toward realizing this goal. We obtained an additional press, purchased a camera, and built a darkroom. We also purchased some compositing equipment (cost, \$4,000). The new equipment has for the first time made the sds literature production program truly independent in the sense that we no longer are forced to rely on high-priced organizations in order to produce new literature. It also means that we now have the capability to produce large amounts of literature that will be paid for (along with NLN) by the profits made from the printing and compositing services we are now operating. (Note: Anyone interested in compositing, printing or camera work should contact the NO right after the Convention.)

INTERNAL EDUCATION

Since the passage of the REP resolution at the March National Council meeting, a considerable amount of staff energy has been directed toward obtaining the raw materials and instigating the programs that should facilitate the evolution of an internal education program that will reflect and be responsive to the needs of individual chapters. In concrete terms, this has involved the following:

1. In accordance with the REP resolution, three Summer Institutes for the

training of Teacher-Organizers have been established in Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Each institute has three full-time staff. Sites and educational materials for the training sessions have been procured. Approximately 30 people selected from applicants solicited from sds, SOC, and SUPA are now in training. Reports on the final curricula, training activities, and personal reactions

and personal reactions to the Institutes will appear in post-Convention issues of NLN. A majority of the people attending the Institutes have expressed an interest in full-time organizing, and many of these people will probably be engaged in campus, draft-resistance, or other types of organizing after completing the 8-week training period. Funds for the Institutes (estimated total cost: \$12,000) are being provided for the most part by the personal funds or labors of the trainees and staff. If current estimates prove accurate, the National Office will provide about \$4,000-\$5,000 of the Institutes' total cost.

2. Following the March NC the staff and board members of REP INC. decided against making the move to Chicago and adopting internal education as their major programmatic thrust. (NOTE: Although REP remains in Ann Arbor, a cordial relationship between REP and sds now exists, and the coming year appears to promise renewed cooperation.) Consequently, the staff of the NO was confronted

with the absence of an internal education organ and the problem of organizing the Summer Institutes without benefit of either staff or an organizational vehicle.

Given these difficulties and being aware of past NC resolutions which repeatedly called for the formation and reinforcement of an internal education project, the national staff decided that it was imperative for sds to develop a viable internal education program. This decision was precipitated not only by the immediate dilemma, but by growing concern that rapid improvement in the quality of internal education was necessary if sds and the Movement are to flourish in an increasingly fascist America.

NO activities related to the development of an internal education program include the following:

A. Three staff people were hired to organize and recruit for the Institutes. These people also have worked on literature production and the locating of a facility to house the Chicago Institute.

B. A large house located a few blocks from the NO was procured by means of a lease purchase agreement which was extended to sds on extremely favorable terms. Consideration of several factors led to the NAC decision to purchase a house: Rent for a comparable facility for the Summer Institute would have amounted to more than the required down payment on the house (1,000); the price on the house was an extremely low \$11,660 (over 100 houses were priced before the purchase was made); the house and adjoining property will provide enough space for two staff apartments (the rent from which will pay for the property in 10 years), an education center with a library and two offices, a conference and literature production room, a small apartment for teacher-organizers and visiting chapter people, a large storage room, and a cellar for housing a wine press and political prisoners. Regardless of whether or not the NC decides to create an education center, the house represents an excellent investment for a growing radical organization.

C. A proposal which briefly describes the functions and projected program of an education center (affectionately referred to in some quarters as the REC or Radical Education Center) has been drawn up for the consideration of the June NC. Should the NC decide to create an sds education center, there are several competent people who have expressed an interest in working on the staff of such a center.

DRAFT RESISTANCE

To date, the NO has had only one person on salary specifically for the purpose of working on the draft-resistance program created at the Berkeley NC. Jeff Segal, our National Draft-Resistance Coordinator, has traveled extensively in the Midwest and Western portions of the country. He has talked with dozens of groups and collected much valuable information which is now being compiled and edited. This material should appear in the form of a comprehensive draft-resistance manual sometime before the beginning of August.

Opposition to the draft in the form of draft-resistance has been growing rapidly. There are now more than 60

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Potentials of the Poor

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plain people. Beyond the first victories, to buy any more changes than could be made with a redistribution of county resources would indeed require allies, and powerful ones, around the country. Even if the material objectives are modest, those allies might be needed to interpose themselves between the LCFP and the State of Alabama, and keep watch on a Federal government ready to intervene for its own reasons. First the LCFP has to be in a position to choose those allies, to pick from among the commitments entailed. Theoretical need cannot mobilize friends the way a movement can.

Some critics, holding fast to the vanishing myth of Southern exceptionalism, would validate such political innovations only for the Black Belt. But in cities where important material needs cannot be achieved for a long time, political counter-institutions might also become serious intermediate objectives. When the good citizens of Los Angeles refuse to pass a bond issue for a hospital in Watts, it makes sense to think about the secession of Watts from Los Angeles. Watts lacks the resources to build a hospital, Los Angeles has them but will not release them. A movement in Watts would have to do some hard thinking to balance the risks of secession against the gains of substantive legitimacy, freedom from the L.A. cops, pressures on would-be allies. Nominal secessions of that sort might light more fires under liberals, churches, and unions than all the more orthodox appeals put together—and make “something of our own” more resistant to melting into other people’s crucibles. Yet the movement must continue to see these moves as precedents for deeper changes, not ends in themselves.

Counter-institutional forms may in fact be the best means to attract middle-class allies for specific purposes, and link them to the ongoing movement. Sometimes direct action itself can spur the initial contact: Southern demonstrations catalyzed a national grouping of doctors and nurses that has grown into the Medical Committee on Human Rights, which is now committed to more than first-aid; urgent local needs led to national committees of lawyers and law students with durable ties to local movements. But in both cases it has been the more-or-less permanently rooted counter-institutional structures that have coaxed ad hoc professional actions into more lasting, committed, potentially radical groupings—as allies and direct supports for poor people’s groups, and as radical caucuses within the professions. The 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools probably meant less in the lives of Mississippi children than in their impact on Northern teachers.

Once these allies are drawn to the movement, they can become functioning radicals with a fresh orientation toward the society as well as toward the meanings and potentials of their professions. Contact with a poor people’s movement, more than a merely theoretical grasp of the need to change the relation of professionals to “clients,” can prove decisive: First, the professionals can get to know the poor as people, people rooted in a milieu, as political actors, not clients; and to fathom, concretely, the consequences of this society for the people at its bottom. Second, they can learn to make their skills accountable to constituencies with collective needs—a new departure for professions that flaunt expertise (e.g., social work) or the law of the marketplace (medicine) where they need not. (11) Third, radical organizers gain access to raise questions about the structure of the profession and its radical requirements. Fourth, as allies are exposed to blatant attempts to repress the movement, they become more open to radical interpretations of the political process. Fifth, they can develop methods of work, within the movement and on its borders, which sustain their political radicalism and give it roots. The more compelling these learning experiences—and the evidence is that they happen, though unevenly—the more likely are professionals to serve as serious defenders of the gains and potentials of grassroots movements and as self-motivating radicals in their own right. Against local repression they can provide “cover”: against national mechanisms of cooptation they can be buffers, helping to protect the integrity of substantive local participation and radical ideas against the onslaughts of centralism and resources. (12) Otherwise, without serious contact, angry “clients” and organized professionals—the two greatest forces for a potent radicalism—are likely to end up facing off as antagonists, hopelessly divided over questions of control and priorities. Much of the burden is on the professionals, to transcend their narrow self-interest and re-discover the professions’ essences in an ethic of responsiveness to human need; but community unions should also be looking for ways to encourage the process.

THE TRANSCENDENT POSSIBILITIES

Measured against the unprecedented resilience of American power and institutions the community unions—indeed all radical organizing activities—seem puny and sometimes absurd. Of the projects founded by SDS since 1964, only half have achieved any solid footing in their communities; the others have collapsed or faded into oblivion, leaving traces and ideas but no organization. SNCC projects may have suffered in the same proportion. The reasons for failure are varied: In some cases the staff lacked basic organizing skills and temperament. (Once a certain take-off stage is reached, new kinds of organizing and related roles can be invented, and new staff can branch into new territories; but at the beginning a project requires at least people with special skills and personalities.) In others, students expected results too soon; when enthusiasm and ideology had to blend into stranger rhythms of work, rewards were too few to sustain the vision, too ordinary to buttress the students against the more familiar (if uncomfortable) tempo of school, professions, and personal lives; or the staff house became a womb. The fear and egotism and fatigue and mobility of the poor became more visible and oppressive. Where the apocalyptic fury of early moods faded and organizers could not work patiently within the limits of immediately conceivable change, some became cynical and found niches in war-on-poverty and similar ventures which paid more and demanded less; others decided all organizing was corrupt and left to find private salvation; others departed for the anti-war movement, where the moral urgency seemed more compelling; a few tried to find and propose other political work that might promise radical possibilities. Increasingly the draft has driven students back to school, or kept them there in the first place, though this loophole may soon be plugged by revocation of student deferments.

Moreover, organizers came to realize the amount and seriousness of work involved in converting a project into a movement, making it survive, grow, toughen, and gain momentum. The sustaining vision of a national movement had to yield to the imperatives of building local groups; this tendency coincided with a generally healthy mood that identified political and personal seriousness with local roots, not national forms. At first there were national staff meetings, training institutes, newsletter, and then two “poor people’s conferences.” But as students came to understand the requirements of local movement, the national functions had to wither away. The national coordinating office (for central fund-raising and recruitment) closed down in May 1965, the newsletter faded, and contacts among projects have since—until recently—proceeded informally and infrequently. The August 1965 poor people’s conference decided to establish a National Community Union, but no one could spare the resources. In the

meantime other conflict movements and liberal umbrella groups have proliferated, and most of the subsequent contacts have been under their aegis. The idea of a radical national poor people’s movement was conceived before its time and—properly so—aborted.

But more than premature, the national idea was also insubstantial insofar as it presupposed, without knowing it, a naive model of radical transformation, or no model at all. The notions that did exist, whether labeling themselves “reformist” or “revolutionary,” tended to be mechanical versions of historical stereotypes, whether predicated on economic disintegration, electoral majority, violent or nonviolent uprising (in short, “taking power”), or “building the new society within the shell of the old.” Many radical organizers now downgrade most such notions, though the first two deserve further examination—as contingencies, not strategic absolutes. Still in the absence of a national movement, or a theory of one, there is a pressing need for a network of projects, concentrated in certain areas. In the experience of the existing projects alone there is adequate reason for new attempts. A great deal more would be known about possibilities if there were 25 projects involving, full-time, 100-200 ex-students and an equal number of community people seeing themselves as radical organizers. But before that many people would commit themselves, it would have to be shown the “something” is possible in the foreseeable future. What can be shown, now?

Several intellectual pressures have been inhibiting the search for a middle-range strategy that would amplify the radical promise of organizing. Preoccupations with the disorganization and pathology of the poor lead to melancholy manipulations, and hide the resistant potential. The belief that the poor are naturally disappearing mistakes car-ownership for class position, fails to take into account the disproportionate number of the poor who are young (13) and assumes that small increments in income and status will dissolve the culture of poverty. The numbers game, which argues from the minority status of the poor to their political inconsequence, is—as Fruchter and Kramer point out—“a reductive absurdity...Its logic is to confront the attempt to organize a block group of some several hundred people by pointing out that a national movement of some 30 to 50 million people, depending on whose scale of poverty one uses, would not constitute a significant political force in this country.” (14) The numbers game is “hallucinatory” even if we adopt Oscar Lewis’ low estimate that only 20 percent of the American poor live in the culture of poverty.) And Harrington’s observation that “the new poor do not even have the economic hope which existed in 1936 and 1937, when the CIO emerged, (15) may be valid but is also irrelevant, serving only to discourage the movement that lies within our means by invoking a historical nostalgia.

A range of neo-Marxist arguments also carry the baggage of the inapplicable past. If the poor are economically marginal, they have less to lose (though always something) from radical activity and are still not intrinsically blocked from understanding the system. (16) Moreover, Marxists seem stuck on the assumption that there must be only a single class whose activities reveal the roots of the system, and who are therefore destined to make the revolution. But if the class that by eternal historical fiat “ought” to be able to grasp the system does not grasp it, or consents to it, radicals would seem utterly trapped, passively speculating on the eventual breakdown of capitalism, savoring the sweet continuity of the single-class theory as they wobble toward total irrelevance. Ideology cannot be deep-frozen like that, to be thawed on a receding Judgment day, without devastating its life and applicability. Finally, crucially, neither the Marxist “taking power” nor the liberal “expansion of the welfare state” addresses itself to modern centralization or explains how in its good society the poor will enter history and ordinary people will be able to make the important decisions—unless they are organized, democratically, beforehand. A profusion of locally rooted, radical movements is necessary to insure that any social change will be democratically shaped. Otherwise the price of material reform is the further erosion of meaningful participation and initiative.

The radical potential of the organized poor greatly hinges on a set of economic and political contingencies that defy traditional strategies and images of change. Speculation about the future of the economy is far from pointless, but just as far short of decisive. We can articulate possibilities and do little more than resolve not to neglect them. We pay grudging respect to the efficiency of war, imperialism, and the Keynesian devices in buttressing general prosperity. But the feeling that automation will “soon” precipitate mass unemployment is based less on a serious economic analysis than on the trend of the past few years, and on a belief that the political-corporate elites will not let the situation get too far out of hand. If what is indeed the health of the state, any economic projection must also take account of the likelihood and economic effects of future wars. This makes for interesting discussions, but no scale of probabilities to count on. There is no theory that does for the poor, or for any group, what Marxists did (and failed to do!) for the working class; nor is one likely, in any case radicals cannot wait, watching, on the off-chance that so total, crystalline and credible a theory again appear. (17)

Herbert Marcuse most awesomely argues that political economy and mass culture are rapidly closing in on, and isolating, the chances for radical transformation. If that is so, then theory as partial and fragmented as we have now will have to suffice for a beginning. Community unions then emerge as enclaves of resistance intervening between concentrated power and the people most swamped yet least persuaded by it. If Marcuse is right, these enclaves must be multiplied, now, in the next few years, before it is too late. If on the other hand the society is too disordered to rationalize itself, and will go on fluctuating between stagnation and crisis, it is also essential not to waste time, to take one’s stand where it now seems that sustained radical movement is most possible and most likely to take advantage of possible breakdown. Should the economy collapse, then radical movements of the poor would be best able to receive vast numbers of unemployed men, to weigh against a new political-corporate consolidation. Without prejudging the question there is no reason to dismiss out of hand the search for a rough strategy that would lend direction to organizing activity. On the contrary, there is every reason to make plans for their innate value, and to equip organizers to withstand hazards, to keep them whole as well as restless.

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There is a certain kind of woman
who reads NLN and threatens
draft boards.

For that certain kind of woman, there
is a certain book....

**CONTAINMENT
AND CHANGE**



potentials of the poor

(Continued from p. 18)

Short of an adequate overall theory, it is still possible to sketch the outline of a middle-run strategy—one that would properly speaking be transcendent, not just a way to make time. Like any other strategy at this time, this sketch would fail to offer a clear hope for fundamental change in economic and political institutions. But it would promise to raise the radical movement to a level where thoughts of basic change would no longer be, as they are now, utopian. It would link the daily local hardships of organizers to the hope of sweeping radical change, as credibly as America permits. The outline I propose is crude and mechanical, perhaps overly optimistic about too many trends and circumstances outside our control. All I claim for it is plausibility, its warrant for renewed organizing and for refining more substantial models.

Suppose a network of projects—mostly black in Northern cities and the Black Belt, mostly white in the Appalachian (and perhaps Ozark) region, Mexican-American in the Southwest and West. Perhaps in some of these areas projects would prove contagious, because "community action" programs have raised expectations, or because there are existing networks and solidarities (like the United Mine Workers or the movement against strip mining in Appalachia). The projects would develop radical leaders, expand territory and membership, and exert some influence on other conflict organizations (OEO, CCAP, Alinsky-organized, and others). Locally there would be opportunities for political power—through city-wide coalitions built on black majorities, and rural successes, where old political machines are in disarray and new structures (like OEO) offer the potential for radical penetration.

The major external forces are the ability of local liberal and national neo-colonial structures to fill the breach fast enough—and the willingness and ability of national and local systems to squash the new movements. In the short run serious Federal penetration is limited by the conservative mood and the political effects of the Vietnam war. But though completion of the welfare state has been postponed, there will likely be large-scale Federal guarantees for neo-colonial investment. Yet even in this case there will be little pretense of even administered participation, let alone a more efficient absorbing of opposition. The investment required simply to build new, decent, low-cost housing is so vast (18), and investment elsewhere so profitable, that even the giant corporations will lack the resources, and the will, to finance more than demonstration projects. New liberal machines are in the making in most large cities and some rural sections, but they too are incomplete and often on the defensive, caught between a reactionary mood and insistent demands. Liberals seem to be building toward a national coalition centered on Bobby Kennedy, but this is unlikely to crystallize until 1972 at the earliest, and even then might not be able to win, or—having won—to succeed in ushering in a New Deal.

Overt repression is more problematic, depending on how elites estimate the movement's threat, how confident they feel about coopting or neutralizing it, their interest in thwarting local right-wing outbreaks, the intensity of legal justice and democratic rhetoric. So far, outside parts of the Deep South, almost all attempts directly to scotch substantial poor people's movements have failed miserably (19); the exceptions, like a door-to-door red-baiting campaign by police on the West Side of Cleveland, have capitalized on the organization's relatively shallow penetration into its area. But organizers will still have to mount protection (money, lawyers, and spirit) for those people who will suffer for their activity by being fired and evicted and subjected to physical violence; that responsibility will never vanish, and might balloon.

But assuming that a number of projects can gain footholds, sustain momentum, extend their influence, and replicate themselves while there is still room for maneuver, alliances for electoral majorities and other forms of power in some areas become conceivable. Then the poor would not be quaint junior members of other people's coalitions, but the driving force and radical politics behind them. The moderating pressures of coalition and elected office dare not be neglected, but neither should they forestall, a priori, a thrust toward serious control. Their should and could be experiments in binding candidates to their constituents, and inventing institutions that wrench or threaten old ones. At several levels there could be visible change: First, tangible dislodging of the structure and effects of some institutions, change that would not require major injections of funds or control over centralized structures; community controls over the police, over the schools, over the naked power of urban renewal and the private market. Some of this work would prove durable; some would wither; some would be suppressed. But there would be impetus for more new beginnings, and a practical need to devise better strategies. Second, as these changes work themselves out, the self-government of the poor could force a redistribution of power, public services, and taxation among neighborhoods and classes. Third, new resources—funds and organizers—could be freed for new projects, independent of outside control. Finally, the collective power of these coalitions, enlarged by the drama of always-potential violence, could coerce (as the present liberal coalitions cannot) some national concessions from reluctant elites; decent job-creating programs in the public sector, a guaranteed income, money for more counter-structures.

If the poor are the heart and sinews of a victorious coalition, such extensions of the welfare state could be more democratic than would otherwise be the case, and would stand a chance to impart the momentum of victories won by effort. If radical movements are in turn the heart of the organized poor, there would be a chance to move beyond the completion of the New Deal—by the precedent of local independent groups, the insistent intertwining of material within structural goals, the stimulation of new possibilities for middle-class work, values, and politics. Before attaining anything that could seriously be called rational power, movements would find it easier to function, and to make concrete the requirements of a radical vision. Without yet sweeping "to the root of the problem", a movement could dig roots and extend roots outward, no longer dependent on the chimera of final victory. It would become possible for radicals to do more than "point out", in a political vacuum, that "even a Third New Deal is not enough", and even more possible than that "more and more resources will have to be allocated to education, to leisure, to the "non-productive" and socially useful sector". (20) It would become possible, intellectually and practically, to think about dismantling the awesome apparatus now concentrated in Washington, in the offices of giant firms, and yes, in Wall Street. A national planning process, controlled by and responsible to free men who played a part in erecting it, would be unthinkable. It would then be possible to move beyond the political clichés of our time, beyond both despair and euphoria: to envision and move toward a serious utopia, a vision and not a dream.

This is not a strategy for radical change but a vague, perhaps metaphysical hint of what a strategy might look like. Needless to say, it slides over all the arduous work entailed in organizing the poor and withstanding the reprisals of the powerful. But refining a model further, while valuable and necessary, could not eliminate the historical tension which now shapes the community unions, a tension which bursts out in a self-fulfilling despair which engulfs and neutralizes and will finally tame many radicals and potential radicals. At the very least, the projects point toward the feasibility of "a declared and sustained opposition, entrenched beyond dissent", amounting to "a continued enlargement of possibilities, not to substantial change". (21) In isolation, they embody a difficult but critical alternative, harling controversy against power, struggling to survive and make a difference for some of the poor, scraping for opportunities to keep on the offensive, running faster in order to stand still. Or, as some organizers suggest (22), they are simply ways for radicals to identify with the most oppressed, to feed and replenish the sources of their resistance, to win with them some of the fruits of prosperity and the tokens of equality, to keep alive and in practice some radical ideas.

the best work available for this generation of radicals.

But while caught in a system that rejects guarantees, we may still expect and demand more from the idea of the community union. After only three years of work, there is ample success to warrant the founding of new projects and the utmost support for the old ones. The first flush of enthusiasm about the radical potential of the poor had to fade as it smacked up against reality, became dogged and "ordinary". Emphasis quite naturally shifted to the circumstances outside our control, the paralyzing decrees of "objective conditions". Now it seems that the pendulum has swung too far. It is again time for radicals to organize the poor. We shall need a commitment to outlast the pains and disillusion and sheer exhaustion of a maximum resistance. But at the same time there is a modest and workable hope that resistance might enlarge itself, might be made to prompt a movement that would not forever be doomed—like the poor—to making do; that could think of forcing structures and technology to work for ordinary men.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Southern Appalachians who migrate to certain section of Northern cities are "permanent" to the extent that they dominate the culture of a rather well-defined neighborhood, and maintain ties "back home." They become a sort of transplanted "floating" constituency: by commuting to the mountains they make organizing harder, but the idea more infectious.
- (2) Farm workers are an important exception, but in their case occupational and geographical solidarity coincide, and organization depends heavily on non-work factors. The same might be true for mining camps and small towns, but this has barely been tested.
- (3) On the I.S. 201 controversy, see Andrew Kopkind, "Down the Down Staircase," *New Republic* (October 22, 1966), pp.11-14; and Jeremy Lerner, "Harlem: Turmoil in the Schools," *Dissent* (January-February 1967), pp. 27-40.
- (4) Fruchter and Kramer, "An Approach to Community Organizing Projects," *Studies on the Left* (March-April 1966), pp. 31-61.
- (5) The dice are still tumbling. Certainly JOIN has had a certain — though irregular — impact on other groups in the city, through direct contact between organizers and via the messages of the JOIN theater. Both JOIN and NCUP are now involved with other organizers in setting up "schools" for organizers, to train new organizers (poor people and ex-students) and launch new projects. As the community unions have grown more secure, there have also been more contacts with groups organizing elsewhere in the country.
- (6) The angriest of the rebels told some "students" he would bring a gun to the meeting. Subsequently he became the leader of the stop-cops movement, and a close friend of several of the "students."
- (7) The concentration of many students in a "staff house" has stunted the growth of some projects, even hastened their downfall. Reliance on the security of common living quarters heightens an already pronounced inhibition from getting out on the streets and knocking on doors. And residents find it hard to break in when the price is total overthrow of their life-styles.
- (8) One recurrent danger is that some active residents begin to affect middle class styles and language, identifying them with the radical "students"; or that they get trapped in a wasteful syndrome of conferences, city-wide and national "planning" meetings, etc. But then the "students" try to allow genuine choice, which is always — and intentionally — risky.
- (9) Staughton Lynd, "The New Radicals and Participatory Democracy," *Dissent* (Summer 1965), pp. 324-333.
- (10) Fruchter and Kramer, op. cit., p. 61. Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*, with which they begin their analysis, is the most cogent argument available against the likelihood of radical change. One of Marcuse's points is that modern corporate-bureaucratic language and concepts deprive us of the very ability to conceive a new society.
- (11) Of course there is only one correct way to perform an appendectomy; but there are many ways to run a public health service, argue a legal case, plan a neighborhood, teach, etc. Caseworkers (most of whom are properly speaking not professionals) are in a peculiar position since the feeling of many recipients and the thrust of radical organizing is that casework — as long as it exists — should be fundamentally altered, unhinged from control over the recipient's income. Community unions have cooperated with militant caseworkers' unions, bolstering their radical members, but despite contacts there is still a strong and unresolved tension. To some extent this will always be the case between teachers and parents, doctors and patients, though very little is known from experience about the chances for honest coalition within an institution, between professionals and "clients."
- (12) Even in the absence of resources, professionals can help formulate technical plans — based on the expressed needs of the community and the community union — which have value in the process of organizing.
- (13) "A fifth of the country, but a fourth of the youth, live in the other America." Harrington, "The Politics of Poverty," p. 419.
- (14) Fruchter and Kramer, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
- (15) Harrington, op. cit., p. 418.
- (16) Barrington Moore, Jr. (op. cit., pp. 219-220) verifies that the marginal may (or may not) be the mainspring of revolution, depending on circumstances there is nothing automatic about it, one way or the other. On the ability of the poor to think as radicals, see earlier sections of paper.
- (17) Lest this be thought a caricature, consider: "We are at one of those moments between the defeat of the anarchists and the failure of the Social Democrats when someone has to sit down and write across his title page 'What is to Be Done?'" Murray Kempton, "Growing Old With the New Left," *The New York Review of Books*, (January 26, 1967), p. 32.
- (18) See above, p. 10.
- (19) In July 1965, the police raided a JOIN apartment and found "dope." JOIN barely existed at the time, but charges were finally dropped — the pills were prescribed. In September 1966, in the wake of the march on the police station, the JOIN office was raided and demolished, again narcotics — planted beforehand — were found; but the organizers were acquitted. In each case the main value of the raid for the police was its publicity, but that cut two ways: probably more people in the community were sympathetic, suspecting a frame, than pulled away in fear. Raids on SNCC office in Philadelphia and Chicago may prove more effective, but those were essentially offices without organizations. NCUP has so far resisted redbaiting and harassment.
- (20) Harrington, op. cit., p. 430.
- (21) Fruchter and Kramer, op. cit., pp. 32, 59.
- (22) e.g., Tom Hayden, "The Ability to Face Whatever Comes," *Thoughts of the New Radicals*, pp. 40-42.

--by Larry Freudiger

THE WHITE REVOLUTION

Nearly one year ago this month, my wife and I set out for Lowndes County Alabama, seat of an emerging black revolution: to look but not, as it turned out, to touch. The prevailing attitude among the front line troops was "allright, white people, dig what we're doing but don't think you're getting your white fingers into it. Go make your own revolution!"

Upon returning to Texas I discovered that we had been making a revolution all along and hadn't known it.

Could I have known, when I first set foot upon the U.T. campus and found myself persecuted by subcivilized fratrats because of my curly flowing hair, that less than one year later a group of similarly shaggy musicians would be hailed as heroes for singing the virtues of marihuana and LSD?

Could any of us know, when the campus SDS endured the violence of this campus for the sake of demonstrating against the war, that less than one year later we would be planning a successful Gentle Thursday?

Could anyone have known, the many times we sat along the West Mall and handed out literature, that within a year we would be ignoring the arbitrary boundaries of political action and giving the campus The Rag?

Small hints were given last summer, on an insignificant battleground known as The Fred.

The Fred was a little Rock-and-Roll club, not much different from any other club of its type in Texas except that it tended to have a few more fights, a few more bottles broken over heads (no pun intended), and a few more frontal assaults upon the management by the clientele.

Somehow, the management, as well as the entertainment, was slowly taken over by people you would call, for lack of a better word, "hippies". Literally within weeks of the insinuation of the hippy influence an incredible change began at The Fred.

Before the end of the summer The Fred was:

- 1) the only place in Texas with a regular psychedelic light show;
- 2) a meeting place for flipped-out Fort Hood draftees who loved the hippie chicks and hated Uncle Sam;
- 3) the only completely integrated place of entertainment for thousands of miles around (occasionally a frat type would hassle some Negro, only to find himself facing the wrath of angry ex-rednecks);
- 4) and a ground for friendly exchange between hippies, rednecks, high school kids, hoodlums, Negroes, soldiers, and unemployed mechanics. In short, the lumpen proletariat.

Surely a new force was at work, and it would be nothing but chauvinism to suppose that The Fred was the only place where strange cultural bedfellows were coming together.

So with the end of summer came the closing of The Fred by worried state officials, but with the end of that same summer came a word, filtering back slowly as students returned for the school year.

That word was California.

Suddenly (though not unexpectedly)

California had become clearly and obviously the focal point for all the possibilities of a white peoples' revolution. The tone of our generation had been set at first by the New Left, that tone being struggle against all odds, with a little despair thrown in—the new tone, the tone which has come to us from across the Western Desert, traveling faster than you can say "It's happening baby," is one of victory. A little premature, perhaps, but inevitable victory nonetheless.

And the beauty of it all is that it's happening everywhere (if it's happening here it's got to be happening everywhere).

What makes California worth staking so much hope in is that it's happening bigger there than anyone could have imagined—six months ago even. And it's happening in the midst of the most vulgar, corrupt, fascistic society American capitalism has yet been able to produce.

There are two major engagements along the California front, and each is colored by the culture of the area, just as The Fred had been a distinctly Texan phenomenon.

Los Angeles is the most thoroughly Pop culture in American society. It's only to be expected that a cultural revolution in Los Angeles would be a Pop revolution.

As far as Los Angeles Negroes are concerned, Watts is no different from Harlem, but to the White Middle-class kid, L.A. is Brave New World. An authoritarian Disneyland, offering bread and circus, but leaving a foul taste and utter contempt for the adult world.

We find an innumerable mass of affluent, disenchanted teenagers, with a large potential for social disruption. Without a model to follow this group might soon have turned to directionless riot and destruction—but they've found a model, and who do you think it is?

Us, baby—us.

The symbol for teenage rebellion, the natural symbol for an affluent, pleasure-oriented following, has become the Rock groups. The long-haired, outrageous, obscenely joyful hippies who have cashed in on their years of social ostracism to lead a frontal assault upon the respectable elements of Southern California.

And, as I never tire of pointing out, Cops will be Cops—as more and more long-haired teenagers, found themselves insulted, beaten, jailed, searched, and similarly harrassed by the defenders of status quo, it was no time before the lessons of recent political movements became clear to these kids.

On November 12th a rally was held on Sunset Strip, protesting police harrassment—attended by over a thousand youths. The resulting suppression and brutality

produced an explosive movement, with continuing clashes and the eventual involvement of big names and big money.

The confrontation has begun to look like Selma, but the underdog this time happens to be pretty powerful. Again a new force is at work, beyond the dreams of anyone but perhaps the Provos, or a few wild-eyed Beatniks.

The San Francisco Berkeley scene is entirely different—both the campus radicals and the hippy underground have been on the rise for several years.

The revolutionary and the asocial elements have long needed to bridge the artificial boundaries between them, and judging from recent news, they've done it.

On January 14th, the 1st "Human Be-In" was held at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. Also known as The Gathering of the Tribes, this event attracted nearly 20,000 hippies, radicals, musicians, disenchanted liberals, and Hells Angels.

The Angels, who last year had beaten up anti-war demonstrators, provided protection for the group and cared for lost children.

Ralph Gleason, of the San Francisco Chronicle, concluded:

"Saturday's gathering was an affirmation, not a protest. A statement of life, not of death, and a promise of good, not of evil. It was so benign that even the silence when the power line was cut and the absence of several announced guests (such as Dick Gregory, who could not get there) caused no protest. This is truly something new and not the least of it is that it is asking for a new dimension to peace, not just an end to shooting, for the reality of love and a

great Nest for all humans."

"On Saturday afternoon the Hells Angels were the peace officers; it took a new force to accomplish that."

Following the Be-In, San Francisco cops responded with a wholesale and brutal roundup of Haight-Ashbury hippies. A committee formed to deal with the "police problem" includes hippies, Haight-Ashbury merchants, lawyers and clergy—this community within the city is responding not as underdogs but as a de facto legitimate agent.

Nowhere in this country has the new consciousness yet been completely victorious, and judging from the pattern of all revolution, there will be much repression before the old order of anti-love, anti-art, and anti-thought will step down from the seats of power. But the revolution is upon us, and the time to choose up sides has come.

When did it really begin? Surely not when it became public knowledge that it was happening.

Who really fired the first shot?

Was it John Lennon, or Mick Jagger?

Was it Bob Dylan, perhaps, or Joan Baez?

Was it Mario Savio?

It could well have been Jeff Poland, who campaigned for the sale of contraceptives on campus at San Jose State in 1963. Or the now forgotten hero who lit a joint in the police station in San Francisco, initiating the first "Puff In". Or maybe even Jack Kerouac, now in hiding at his mother's house in the East, wondering just what is going on.

I don't really know how it all started—and if I don't know, and you don't know, we certainly have nothing to fear from Ronald Reagan.

What would happen if all young men of draft age took the same position (as Muhammad Ali)?...

A hundred thousand Muhammad Ali's, of course, could be jailed. But if the Johnson Administration had to prosecute 100,000 Americans in order to maintain its authority, its real power to pursue the Vietnamese war or any other policy would be crippled if not destroyed. It would then be faced not with dissent, but with civil disobedience on a scale amounting to revolt.

Tom Wicker—N.Y. Times, May 3, 1967

If you're involved in the draft...

issue you'll be interested in the nationwide effort by F.O.R. which has put fulltime organizers in 24 key cities, to help identify and mobilize the hundreds of thousands of draft-age Americans who are needed to build a really massive resistance to the war and the draft.

Write to: Fellowship of Reconciliation
— Draft Program —
Box 271
Nyack, New York 10960

Also on the draft from F.O.R.

- Ron Young's article "Building Resistance to the Draft" 10¢
- "It's Your Choice: the Draft and You" 5¢
- "Catholics and Conscientious Objection" 15¢
- "Can a Jew Be a CO?" 10¢
- "Which Way Are You Going?" — Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship 10¢
- Samples free

