

BULLETIN

STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

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Expansion of Vietnam War provokes students' efforts

The increased tempo of the war in Vietnam during the last month has proved to be an enormous catalyzing agent in the student community. Following the American attacks on North Vietnam of February 7 and 11, students on dozens of campuses across the country took to the streets spontaneously, staging protest marches, rallies, sit-ins, and hunger strikes. Despite an official news blackout on anti-administration demonstrations, the student community was able to keep in contact by phone and mass mailings, and organized national demonstrations were held on February 20, which included a picket of the White House.

The task before us now is the welding of spontaneous and emergency response activity into a massive expression of rejection of America's role in Vietnam. On campuses around the country committees are being formed to push the student March on Washington, April 17. This march will undoubtedly be the largest single student protest activity in years, and a direct challenge to the current course of American foreign policy.

In its formal March call (printed on page 13), SDS attempts to spell out the reasons why alternatives to the current situation must be demanded. And in large part the purpose of this national action is to bring to victims of the American press everywhere the truth about what is going on in Vietnam. But to make this action an enormous success—to bring to Washington the thousands of students demanding to be heard—

(cont. on page 12)

Community conference set for Cleveland

by CAROL McELDOWNEY,
Cleveland Project staff

For the first time in recent history, low income and relief people from all over the country where the poor are organizing are coming together for a Community People's Conference. Over 100 poor people from or-

(cont. on page 14)

Apartheid action planned

by TODD GITLIN, Peace
Research and Education
Project Coordinator

Planning for the March 19 South Africa project is now in its final stages. The "higher immorality" of American corporations is going to be hit head-on.

The Chase Manhattan Bank, in a letter to SDS President Paul Potter, has rejected our demand that it stop making loans to the South African government. They dredge up the argument that cessation of financial help would injure the South African people, without heeding the pleas of black South African leaders for termination of foreign investments whatever its immediate cost. To the bank,

(cont. on page 10)



THE NEW CONGRESS: AN APPRAISAL

by JIM WILLIAMS and STEVE MAX,
Political Education Project staff

Shortly after the election last November, the staff of the Political Education Project conjectured about the role that the new Congress was capable of playing. At that time, we noted that a new range of possibilities had opened up for liberal legislation. We said that liberal legislative initiative could now shift away from the White House to Congress. If the right sorts of pressures were to operate, creative new programs could come into being.

This viewpoint took into account a number of factors:

- 1) We saw initiative coming from some members of the Senate—e.g. Morse, Gruening, Nelson, and Clark.
- 2) We saw the labor movement demanding that the "Johnson mandate" be carried out.
- 3) We saw the civil rights movement becoming increasingly concerned with problems of poverty, education, and employment, and thus more oriented to politics.

While the traditional "100 days" are not yet half over, we would like to add up the score on a number of issues. The Democratic Study Group's push for extensive rules changes produced a marked victory for the liberal forces. Three specific reforms were won: (1) the 21-day rule which makes it possible for the House to vote a bill out of the Rules Committee after 21 days, upon the initiative of the Speaker; (2) the 7-day rule which enables the House to vote a bill already passed out of the Rules Committee and into a House-Senate Conference, upon the initiative

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of the Speaker; and (3) the 2:1 ratio given Democrats on all standing committees.

The liberals, under the leadership of Reuss (Wisc.) and Bolling (Mo.), fought to have the Democratic Caucus establish its right to vote on all committee assignments and chairmanships. They failed; thus the seniority system went unchallenged, and assignments are still made by the Committee on Committees.

As significant as the fight within the caucus was the response to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge, in which 149 Congressmen voted to make possible the unseating of the racist five from Mississippi. The stripping of seniority from Reps. Watson and Bell for pro-Goldwater activity is also important, though nothing to marvel at. The opening rounds in Congress indicate that at least a substantial minority is willing to take strong measures to put their own house in order.

On the legislative side, the view is not as encouraging. Precedence is being given to Administrative programs which in our opinion do not represent qualitative advances. The two education bills are exceptions and are praiseworthy, but the Appalachia Eill seems to be more representative of Administration thinking on poverty. This bill, in addition to being merely a drop in the bucket, puts most of its benefits into the hands of county officials, coal operators, and timber brokers. It is shameful that this bill passed the Senate and went through committee hearings in the House with hardly one word of liberal criticism. The Medicare Bill, now in committee in the House, is a good first step, but inadequate; we reserve further comment on it until the strength of the opposition can be assessed.

There are a number of important bills on which action has not started in earnest, and these should brighten the legislative picture considerably. The revised McGovern Bill, creating a National Economic Conversion and Diversification Commission, has been introduced with 30 sponsors, twice the number in the last Congress. About 15 members of the House have introduced companion bills. The Clark Full-Employment Bill has not yet been re-introduced, but will be sometime this session. Also pending is legislation on the \$2-an-hour minimum wage, the 35-hour week, and the repeal of the "right-to-work" sections of the Taft-Hartley Act.

It can be argued that Congress, conditioned to mediocrity, has been so long concerned with getting minor bills of good intent past of Republican-Dixiecrat Coalition that it is as yet unable to respond to the new situation. A major fault is also the failure of progressive forces to rally pressure on Congress and Congressmen.

With three exceptions, the program of the labor movement does not go beyond that of the Administration. The exceptions—the minimum wage increase, the 35-hour week, and increased coverage—are (cont. on page 15)

Boston PREP Reorganized

by BOSTON SDS

Thirty-five students from SDS groups at Harvard, Tufts, M.I.T., Boston College, Simmons, Jackson, Brandeis, and Boston State College as well as representatives from several other organizations met in Boston last week to redefine the objectives of Boston PREP and to develop a program for future action. It became evident, however, that the central concern of the participants was the direction of SDS. Conversion was dismissed as an issue, not only because it fails to motivate students, but also because it fails to deal with groups considered strategic in the development of a movement for radical social change.

In looking anew at SDS, middle class community organizing on issues of conversion, peace, or international relations was dismissed because the truly strategic groups for fundamental social change are the lower class and students. These groups are judged to be sufficiently alienated to form a basis for a broad-based left movement. Through the discussion it became clear that our concern was with the building of such a movement, rather than developing a liberal coalition for peace.

A differing view was that peace in itself is of sufficient importance to demand that SDS devote resources to working with existing organizations with the hope that an effective peace movement might be formed. Adherents of this position also felt that such strategy would produce meaningful social change. Most of the members of the workshop, however, felt that while many forces might cooperate in dealing with symptoms (e.g. poverty, racism, cold war) our concern with radical societal change requires that we must devote our limited resources to the organization of groups most likely to spearhead a movement toward that end.

In line with this decision, the workshop is recommending to the Boston Area Coordinating Committee that 1) an effort be made to integrate peace concerns and activities into new and ongoing community organizing among poor people, and that 2) research on Third World and peace related activities be continued for use in a publications program and campus organization. It was also thought that fraternal relationships with existing peace groups should be maintained.

In light of this concept of SDS it was necessary to reconsider the orientation of Boston PREP. Strategy for the development of a radical movement in Massachusetts suggests that Boston PREP should integrate its activities into a program which emphasizes all aspects of social change rather than a specific issue. The following recommendations were made with this direction in mind.

1) In the community, focus would be on integration of activities with the local ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project of SDS) project.

A subcommittee was established to meet with the Dudley Street Action Center and the Easton Community Union to discuss possible cooperation with them. "Cooperation" means that PREP, either through work with existing community organizing centers or through research in new areas and, perhaps, the establishment of an additional action center should determine the feasibility of organizing unemployed defense workers and, if practical, initiate such an effort and should determine the attitudes of the poor toward the Cold War, with the aim of introducing peace-related issues into poverty organizing. Depending on the outcome of the discussions, recommendations might be made that PREP assign staff and student volunteers to action-oriented research, to developing educational programs for current organizing staff, or manning an action center.

An essential part of the discussion of this program was consideration of whether a project in Lynn was consistent with a strategy for the development of a movement for radical social change in Massachusetts. We accepted the view that Boston area SDS should concentrate on metropolitan Boston, including eventually community organization in the poor neighborhoods of inner-belt cities. Springfield and Worcester were suggested as areas where campus organization should be pursued with the hope that students in and around those cities would develop similar community organizing projects when feasible. The idea of a project in Lynn was dropped.

2) On the campus, programs would center on developing a radical approach to foreign relations and their domestic implications.

A committee was established to handle publicity and recruitment for Boston area participation in the March on Washington for an end to the war in Vietnam, to assist the Boston-at-large chapter in developing a biweekly seminar series on Vietnam, and to assist and encourage campus chapters to begin seminar programs.

Another committee was set up to develop a program for the Boston area which would be integrated into the national effort to attract U.S. economic involvement in South Africa. The workshop dealt with the questions of a prolonged demonstration and/or boycott by resolving that the dramatic effect of a city-wide demonstration on one day was most desirable. The workshop also concurred with national SDS emphasis on publicizing the economic involvement of U.S. firms in South Africa rather than an attack on everything in South Africa.

3) Regional activities should concentrate on publications and inter-organizational relations.

A recommendation will be made to the Boston Area Coordinating Committee that it publish a periodical aimed at students and radical and liberal middle-class groups or individuals. The publication would deal with the questions of social priorities and the arms budget, as well as international affairs and, if feasible, should be integrated with New World, the present Boston area discussion bulletin.

LETTERS ON SDS

Friends:

The biggest concern within SDS appears to be the SDS relationship to the so-called Liberal Establishment—at least it is over this that the most emotional heat and moral fervor is being generated. At one extreme are those who argue that liberalism now serves as an appendage of the corporate system, attempting to co-opt potentially radical and democratic constituencies through token programs and manipulation and stifle political conflict and real social change. This position advocates organization independent of the Establishment and primarily hostile to it, or at least engaging people in confrontation with institutions and agencies of liberalism. At the other extreme are those who seem to believe that the expansion of liberalism's political base would be a positive value, that this would hasten the passage of needed social reforms, and expand the power of objectively progressive forces such as labor, Negroes, urban workers and middle-class; consequently the job of radicals is to help defeat the enemies of liberalism (mainly on the right but also on the left), and to help enrich and radicalize its program by working within liberal coalitions.

It is probably the case that in some instances real differences in value (as well as in perception, analysis and strategic prescription) lie beneath these positions. For example, the anti-establishment people are primarily motivated by a profound identification with the needs of the disenfranchised and by a vision of democratic community as concretely possible; the establishment-oriented people seem primarily moved by repugnance of the rabid right and by the possibility that radicals can win positions of respect and voice rather than vilification in this society.

It is the case that all of SDS's major documents, decisions—the very character and meaning of the organization—has primarily to do with the democratic vision; consequently the main thrust of the organization has been, must and should be toward the organization of grass-roots constituencies capable of exercising power independent of the establishment. But it has also been characteristic of the organization that we have been able to maintain this position, implement this strategy, and advocate radical program while maintaining some relationship of dialogue with establishment-oriented liberal organizations and individuals—i.e., we have wanted to stay relevant to the main politics of the nation and participate in them even as we engage in radical organization. Our main task has been to organize at the grass-roots, we have kept secondarily our function of speaking to those in established positions.

Now for the most part, this formulation doesn't solve anything—for the real issues arise in concrete

cases (e.g., the presidential election) when choices have to be made. But one of our more excellent qualities as an organization has been our past willingness to let decisions in many specific cases be decentralized—because, I had always thought, in addition to favoring decentralization, we also believed that in pragmatic terms only those on the spot really knew what the situation was. Now, it seems to me, principled debate (and more important decision-making) at NC meetings on these issues while valuable educationally, may threaten the balance we have maintained in the past, and also threaten the opportunity for local people to decide what they ought to do politically. This isn't an academic matter. For despite the priorities indicated above, there are times and places where local activists will see the need to work in and with liberal coalitions. One such time and place may be certain Southern areas right now. Or, putting it the other way, there are times and places where radicals must absolutely eschew top-down liberal coalition and organize radical constituencies—for example, cities like Chicago or Newark, right now. Decisions taken at NC meetings won't affect these matters at all, except maybe to frustrate people because they see weird factions and irrelevant debate and never get to talk about what concerns them.

I should also add with reference to the debate about liberalism that both sides assume, or seem to assume, an undifferentiated notion of a liberal establishment, when one of the main facts is that it is riven and one of our main concerns ought to be to increase its internal strains.

Now I have no structural solution for our own internal disagreements, but I would like to suggest some guidelines for carrying on the debate:

- everybody recognize that they might be wrong;
- everybody recognize that all views (insofar as they are congruent with democratic values) ought to be legitimately represented in the organization;
- nobody try to win cheap victories through majority vote, recruitment to one's "faction" and all the other well-worked techniques for destroying an organization—rather we aim to maximize consensus on specific decisions while keeping open debate and discussion on broad issues of principle and policy.
- everybody try to prove the rightness of their views through action rather than faction.

I have run out of energy otherwise I would comment on another problem; that of the alleged dichotomy between the campus and community—simply let me say that this issue seems dangerously phony; more on this another time maybe.

DICK FLACKS

(Dick Flacks is an old SDS member, now an assistant professor at the University of Chicago.)

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LETTERS...

ON CAMPUS PROGRAMMING

by DICK MAGIDOFF

Dick Magidoff is a graduate student at the University of Michigan and a former chairman of the Michigan SDS chapter, VOICE.

We need to discuss questions such as what should a chapter be doing, how can it best relate to national program while being relevant to the campus community and problems of leadership development in a chapter, and how to be satisfied with a program which does not really fit into your analysis of what really should be done, because the objective conditions are not present in your area for doing what should "really be done." This latter has been the hang-up of the VOICE leadership this year, mine especially, and much the cause of my disenchantment with campus activities.

For instance, with the current emphasis on community organizing, yet the anxiety of not being able to do it really well without a full-time staff seems to undercut an important aspect of a chapter's program. (This anxiety is the reason for the total failure of the Ypsilanti activity of last semester.)

Topic: Can a chapter effectively and justifiably originate and direct a community project? What are the kinds of programs they can undertake in the community without a full-time staff, and still not risk screwing community people up? Let's say one of these is a tutorial program, or a social service bureau (you know, where to go for help, what are the laws, etc.) Are these activities worth it either from the point of view of creating the basis for future more intensive organizing? or of creating self-sustained, and meaningful community action from which students can leave for the summer and not worry about the legacy they have left behind? or that of "radicalizing students in the chapter so they will want to commit themselves more deeply at another time? I right now tend to think that the kind of "safe" community activities I suggested would be more likely to reinforce liberal philanthropic instincts, and not develop radical consciousness among the less ideologically oriented chapter members. This issue is to me key, and a real bind. For chapters forming in the area of an on-going project, the questions are just as pressing: what can the student-organizer do? This is a discussion that should well go on in chapter circles as well as in ERAP circles. I think it is crucial to SDS. Further, if a chapter does not seem to have opportunity for community work, how can it relate to ERAP national program without developing a kind of Friends of ERAP mentality. That is I don't think Friends of SNCC groups are meaningfully engaged in the civil rights movement, chapter people might well think about the pitfalls of such programming as our "End to Poverty" Week last spring, which I

fear was just that kind of activity. Yet we want to publicize and recruit for ERAP: how?

The same general problems, I think, apply to national PREP and PEP programs. Is the Viet-Nam demonstration or the South Africa demonstration providing meaningful chapter activity? I think the answer here is more nearly yes, since the national program itself is much less "what we should be doing" than is the ERAP program from the point of view of actually effecting change. The South Africa demonstration especially in trying to get local activity going (and VOICE responded quite favorably to the idea of leafletting workers and contacting unions of the auto plants, might be an opportunity for working together with Detroit people as well) is definitely outside the realm of Friends of PREP. The Viet-Nam demonstration on the other hand is maybe not so good. All the chapters have to do is perhaps an educational program (which is ok) and organizing a delegation to go to DC (which is not so ok). Local or regional activity on Viet-Nam, for instance, would have given chapter people the opportunity, as the South Africa demonstration does, to try to contact and work with other elements of the liberal or left in the area: peace groups, unions (?), press contacts, etc.

In the case of PEP or political activity, the problem can be summed up as, 1) what is the value of education and action on legislative issues (like medicare, not like MFDP challenge) and 2) how to participate in electoral politics without getting sucked into party machinery or supporting fink candidates. The latter is something which has burned me twice now, and I'm pissed off!!

University reform, and the whole gamut of issues that surrounds it, from speaker bans, to managerial education, to student economic welfare can be discussed from the point of view of 1) are they radicalizing issues, that is, can you move a student who understands and is griped by the inequities surrounding university life to a macrocosmic understanding that the same or at least similar forces work in the society as a whole, and 2) is there relevance of university reform issues to a social change movement, or do we work on these issues just for their intrinsic merit. For instance, I won't "believe in" the Berkeley affair until I see something like Steve Weissman's proposal bear fruit. The firing of Chancellor Strong and the, let's face it, piddling concessions to FSM do not in themselves justify the energy put in.

The problem of leadership development in a chapter is closely related to what is an effective educational program within the chapter. Can membership education take place without meaningful and responsible involvement in program, which challenges a student to either make a commitment or not, and learn by doing and sharing in dynamic decision-making with his confreres, or can there be value for leadership development just in a system of seminars which people talk abstractedly on such and such a topic (the latter has definite intrinsic merit but I am asking if it is any preparation for leadership responsibility without active participation). I tend to believe the former view, and no longer believe, as I once did, that a student is "doing something" if he takes part in such a discussion group.

WAR ON POVERTY ATTACKED

Critique of the Baltimore Program

by AL HABER

(Al Haber is a former president of SDS and presently doing graduate work at the University of Michigan)

The Baltimore Human Renewal Program, centered around the Community Action for Neighborhood Development Organization, parades as a comprehensive attack on poverty. It is built around several areas: education, employment, health and home, the neighborhood, broadening horizons, and a number of projected activities. The program will be operated through professional Neighborhood Development Counselors, each responsible for about 10 square blocks and each having one or more assistants recruited from the area. The main job of the counselor will be to connect individuals with existing agencies and remedial or aid programs. He will also help organize and assist neighborhood self-help groups.

This critique concerns just how uncomprehensive and misdirected the program is. The things it does provide will not be analyzed as such. While some of the priorities are skewed (for instance, training of teachers able to educate in the slum schools and competent to deal with the problems of low-income children is the last of the educational priorities) most of the program provisions are worthwhile. Their major shortcoming, and where they fail in practice to affect significant change in Baltimore, is that they ignore or misconceive the causes and sustaining conditions of poverty. Consequently, they will be helpless to deal with more than symptoms, and to deal with symptoms in more than a superficial way. The framers of the Baltimore program are not yet willing to undertake those fundamental activities of social reconstruction on which the program should be based, on which the possibility of its ultimate success will depend.

The Baltimore program does not organize the poor or give them any power over their situation. It deals with individuals as clinical cases. It serves to increase the reach and flexibility of existing welfare agencies, without reforming the structure or organization of these agencies and ignoring the fact that the dependency relation which those agencies foster is a major factor in maintaining the psychological state of poverty.

The program treats poverty as primarily the fault of the poor and overlooks the single essential fact of poverty: people are poor because they don't have money. The quality of life is largely derivative from that economic deprivation. The lack of a middle-class striving and mobility motivation is largely a reflection of restricted opportunity.

The root problems which cause and sustain poverty in Baltimore are race discrimination, low-paying jobs, insufficient jobs, low welfare or transfer payments, low-quality housing, insufficient facilities and professional personnel, neighborhood deterioration, and conventional morality. These are the problems that are responsible for low income and restricted mobility. They are the problems which generate the individual and family "pathologies which the human renewal program strives to remedy. These problems represent social pathologies, and individual casework (whether through retraining, education, family management, character building or whatever) will have very limited impact.

More specifically, a number of things (among others) can be suggested that would deal with these problems, directly and forthrightly:

1) Neighborhood organizations of the poor people which residents control and which give them power to take action, both political and legal, to advance their interests, to stand up to government and bureaucratic agencies, and to regulate the business, housing, and other conditions of their area. Such an organization, oriented to community and institutional problems, could then be a vehicle for individual casework and clinical services.

2) Effective bars against race discrimination in the city, with legal aid available to individuals and initiation of government action against patterns of discrimination, e.g. in housing (against real estate brokers, credit institutions, landlords, etc.) in jobs (against employers or unions) and in professional services.

3) Effective minimum wage legislation: \$1.50 to \$2.00 per hour with control (legal or collective bargaining) of working conditions and provision of basic fringe benefits. If the business or service is judged essential to the public interest, then it should be publically subsidized. But the worker should not be exploited.

4) Create jobs: through intensive production geared to semi-skilled workers (that is jobs for which the unskilled or displaced can be trained) primarily through construction and public works; and through expanding the public payroll to include or subsidize teachers aids, home care or personal service workers, cultural workers (artists, musicians, craftsmen, etc.) and high school and college students.

5) Increase unemployment compensation so that workers who cannot find employment at decent wages, and working conditions can at least maintain basic living standards.

6) Increase welfare and transfer payments to those not in the labor force (because of retirement, disability, or care of dependent children) so that the aggregate family income will support a modest but adequate living standard.

7) Reform tax structures so that public services are financed by progressive income tax (with \$3,000 family exemption) and profit taxes, rather than regressive sales taxes and property taxes on low income family assets. The city should commit itself to lobby for analogous reforms on the state and national levels.

8) Increase school building, hospitals, and low-cost housing in low-income areas, making up for past deficiencies in public investment in the areas and modernizing existing facilities. This would both create jobs and give job training opportunities for residents of the area.

9) Special incentives, in terms of scholarship aid and salary level for entry into public service professions (with a commitment and special curriculum for work in low income areas): teachers, clinical psychologists and psychiatrists, lawyers, doctors, etc.. The war on poverty should use the same techniques to attract skilled personnel as the government and industry use in the war on Communism.

10) Rehabilitate neighborhoods: provide loan funds or subsidy for improvement of owner occupied dwellings and enforce building standards on rental and business property. Provide adequate rubbish removal, street repair, police protection, landscaping, park and recreational facilities, etc..

11) Public review boards (on which the poor have a dominant representation) which oversee the administration of the police department, the school system, welfare services, and other public or semi-public agencies whose activities affect the poor (e.g. urban renewal, housing authorities, and the poverty program itself.)

These possible programs, which with few exceptions are not even conceived of in the Baltimore Human Renewal effort, would provide a real foundation for the war against poverty. They would insure a decent level of income, a healthful environment with an adequate density of public and professional services and facilities, and a more open opportunity structure. These are the essential conditions for renewing individual motivation, for

constructive social participation, and for independent initiative and self-help. Without them, massive casework organizations will simply multiply public bureaucracy and aggravate private dependency.

Baltimore Project Acts

by BOB MOORE, Baltimore U-JOIN staff

The Baltimore city council held a hearing on Baltimore's Human Renewal plan, alias Baltimore's war on poverty, in which U-JOIN (Union for Jobs or Income Now) testified.

As could be expected, we gave the only unqualified criticisms of the plan. Bob Moore, a staff member who has lived inside the boundaries of the proposed action area all his life was the first to testify on behalf of the poor. Emphasizing that the program had been drawn up in an essentially un-democratic way and the fact that youth jobs corps recruits were to receive only 85¢ an hour for painting police stations, he ended by telling the council in response to questions asked by the chairman, that he could draw up a better program if he were given the time.

Kim Moody gave the official U-JOIN position on the proposed program which is essentially that the present plan should be scrapped because the poor were not involved in drawing up the plan, that the proposed plan is inadequate and it is only a duplication of already existing welfare services. One of the councilmen asked Kim whether the plan was designed to end poverty or to decrease poverty. Kim replied that he thought the present program would do neither.

Bill Callimar, our first unemployed guy to speak, told the council that the government, two weeks after passing a bill for less than a billion dollars to fight poverty, spent three billion dollars on foreign aid. Then Bill added that the program would not really help the poor because it did not create more jobs. The chairman asked Bill whether or not he thought people should have children if they couldn't afford to support them. Bill replied that he thought we ought to have an anti-poverty program that would provide more jobs, better housing, and higher wages so that a man could have as many children as he wants.

Read The War on Poverty: Notes on Insurgent Response by Fennie Davis (available from SDS) —10¢



CANADIAN STUDENTS MEET

by HARVEY FEIT

Harvey Feit is the editor of *Sanity* and active in the Canadian peace movement.

The CUCND (Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) National Conference which was held between Christmas and New Year's Day came at a time when the Canadian student peace movement is undergoing severe growing pains and, as a consequence, the conference was forced to undertake a total reassessment of the universities campaign.

One reflection of the total reconsideration of the role of the universities peace movement was the excitement which accompanied the changing of the name of the organization, from CUCND to the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA).

Two pressures have been growing within the CUCND which have outmoded the centrally structured, single issue, anti-nuclear weapons campaign. The first pressure is the growing interest among the Canadian university students in direct action against social injustice. Stimulated by the examples of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) which is working against Negro segregation in the U.S. South, and the Students for a Democratic Society.

Canadian students have begun to look for issues in their own back yard. What they have found is widespread poverty and not infrequent segregation. Through the rapid development of nonviolent methods of attacking social issues in the US, the Canadian students have now become anxious to use these techniques to tackle the major injustices present in Canadian society: industrial poverty; Indian poverty, lack of education, and second rate citizenship; segregation against the Doukhobor communities, segregation and poverty among Negroes in the Maritimes; and the need for a nonviolent solution of the bi-national issue.

The second pressure throughout the conference was for decentralization.

During the conference it became clear that everyone was inadequately prepared. Canadian students had not yet taken seriously enough the task before them: to analyse their society. They did not know where the power really lay in Canada; they had not really considered the impact of technology on society, nor the overwhelming challenge that technology represents to those who propose to control it; they did not see how the values of peace, justice, and nonviolence allow them to relate to the world they must confront daily, nor to the analysis they must produce to understand the world in political and social terms.

The general low level of understanding was reflected in the lack of depth consideration and appreciation of the six points finally adopted for the statement of purpose. The six points were: peace requires fundamental social change, Canadian non-alignment, student syndicalism, opposition to the nation state system

the interrelation of peace with other social issues, and nonviolence.

Possibly the most unique idea accepted by the students was "student syndicalism". It is an idea that is still very new in the English-speaking world, having had its beginning in France, and recently making advances in Quebec.

Student syndicalism may best be understood in contrast to student life and student government as it is presently in English-Canadian universities.

While at the university the student plays no active role in its functioning, he is a passive consumer, merely memorizing the facts he needs to get his degree. He is treated as a child, and accepts it. Later he will be a passive citizen; he will be a technocratic cog in a society in which he has nothing to say and nowhere to say it.

Student government reflects these conditions; it is there merely to "protect" the students' rights from infringement, without any consideration of the students' relationships to any other parts of society. His "rights" guarantee him little more than that he can remain a passive consumer under the paternalistic faculty and administration.

Student syndicalism starts from a definition of the student's functional group: the student is a young intellectual worker. The student is going to school not as a personalistic escape from society, but as an investment of society in its own future. His studies are productive just as the work of the laborer is productive, for he is creating the necessary leaders and educated workers for a modern society to function adequately. The student is serving and relating to society even as a student, and when he graduates he will be an active and responsible citizen.

The student first defines his role in relation to the university. There are two important elements in the university, the faculty and the students. The university exists for both of these groups, not for the administration. The administrators must be limited to administering and servicing the needs of the faculty and students. University policy and program, including the curriculum, should be decided by the faculty and students in conjunction.

From this base the student can then take his role in society seriously and become an active and concerned citizen even while at the university. He can learn to relate his needs and responsibilities to the resources of the society and to the other elements making demands on those resources. He can learn not to support himself nor affiliate himself with the interests of any particular economic class.

Students thus unite to form unions to work out a cooperative policy for the university and for society, and to make their voice heard by the politicians and school administrators.

(cont. on page 12)

ERAP AND THE CAMPUS

by RENNIE DAVIS, Director of the SDS
Economic Research and Education Project

Though the SDS community organizing program is barely eight months old, there are few of us who have not been deeply impressed and stirred by its momentum and accomplishments. Hundreds of poor people have been brought into a new struggle for economic change. Local organizations of community people have been rapidly gaining national visibility and are building a powerful appeal to students across the country who want to work as organizers with them. More and more local people are joining the full-time ERAP staffs. New projects in Boston, New Brunswick, Cedar Heights, San Francisco, East Texas and Cairo have joined the ERAP community. Among the staff, there is a deeper and deeper feeling that within our work lies the real potential for a new movement — one that could have a major impact on the shape of the new era.

But if ERAP is, in fact, to push further beyond its organizational frame into a movement of poor people, literally thousands of people must now dedicate themselves to building upon the beginning effort that already has been made. Enormous energies will have to go into recruiting and training an army of organizers — people who take seriously their commitment to a community — who leave behind the security of affluence and "advancement" and replace it with a life shared with poor people. And enormous energy must be given to supporting these organizers, the people who work with them, and eventually the momentum for political change which will be created by their efforts.

The job that must now be started on the campus is critical. While the full time ERAP staff is 60, the number is wholly inadequate to meet the community responsibilities already assumed. While we were able to manage on a budget of \$100,000, our resources cannot begin to provide the additional cars and offices and phones and paper and food that is now needed. While a program of research and analysis has been started, we cannot pretend to have the understanding that is necessary to carry our work forward intelligently. Besides solid facts on housing, employment, public assistance programs, and the organizations and traditions in the communities where we organize, we need more subtle insights into the real maneuverings of the local and national power structures—proposals that movements can adopt as programmatic demands—and a constant stream of exposure in leaflets, pamphlets, articles, and broadcasts. We need broader studies of the critical trends affecting our political economy and systematic discussions of the strategies that will create movement momentum for radical political change. In all of this, SDS members—particularly those who are working on the campus—must make a major commitment even if we only sustain our present forward motion.

I try here to suggest a partial list of tasks which we need people to undertake immediately. Hopefully, these ideas will lead to other ideas which you, in turn, will pass on. Behind these suggestions is an assumption central to our short and long term growth: the success of the ERAP community organizers depends on the help of students who are on the campus.

1) People to speak on ERAP. In addition to the 100 students who worked in summer ERAP projects, plus the present year-round ERAP staff, there are a large number of community people who can speak forcefully and compassionately about the kind of movement we are building. Bringing community people to the campus will not only be exciting for student audiences, it can also be beneficial and stimulating to the leadership of local organizations. Any chapter should feel free to call on the ERAP office for a speaker.

2) Weekly articles in campus papers. ERAP is now sending out a weekly news column to any paper requesting the service. The general subject is Northern and border state organizing activity, but the articles are specific: how people living in Chicago's North Side are organizing against the top-down approach of the war on poverty; how urban renewal is rested by Negroes in Newark's Clinton Hill; how welfare mothers in Cleveland are combating injustices in welfare administration; how organizers work on a day-to-day basis in Hazard, Baltimore, and so on. Editors of college papers should be urged to run these weekly columns.

3) Recruitment. Recruitment for the ERAP summer program should begin now. Something like 500 student applications should be our goal. At the moment we are recruiting for projects in Boston, Newark, New Brunswick (NJ), Chester (Pa), Cairo (Ill.), Baltimore, Hazard (Ky), Cleveland, Chicago, East Texas, and San Francisco.

Summer staff will be given organizing tasks which are strictly defined, especially with respect to their having a definite completion date before the end of the summer. Many of the volunteers will be engaged in a variety of tasks related to the organizing program, such as research, tutorials, work in local agencies or institutions sympathetic to the project, theatrical work involving community people, development of political education materials for community people, writing projects, fund-raising, public speaking, educational programs for the staff, publicity and public relations work, office activity, teaching, legal help, photographic work, music, etc..

4) Fund raising. Needless to say we must all make renewed commitments to getting money for SDS if we are to grow in the way imagined. Fund raising programs have educational value in that they increase the number of people having contact with
(cont. on page 15)

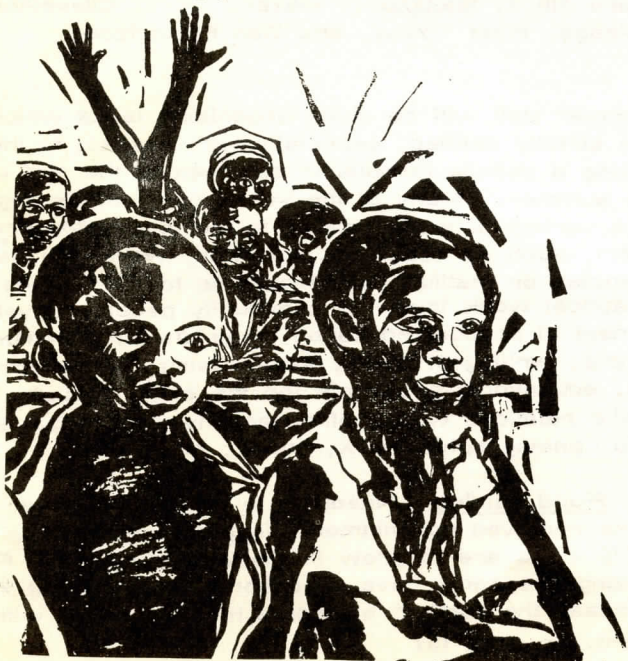
South Africa (cont. from p 1)

profit is the most important product; they hide beneath a cloak of political neutrality. But even this cloak is threadbare, since all indications are that the 1961 and 1963 revolving credits to the South African government, in which Chase Manhattan played a leading part, were made for the hideously political purpose of bailing the South African government out of the financial crisis that followed upon the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Plans to sit-in at the bank proceed.

SDS chapters in the New York area will be sending large delegations; chapters elsewhere are urged to send at least token representation, if not for arrest then for the picket line planned to go on simultaneously. CORE, SNCC, and the Northern Student Movement have already endorsed the demonstration and will participate in the sit-in. A button graphically depicting Chase Manhattan's partnership in apartheid has been manufactured. A detailed demand on the bank, containing background material on its role and the role of other US companies in South Africa is in preparation. Please order these materials from the New York office in quantity, for this project requires widespread publicity and discussion in order to make its point.

SDS members outside New York should remember that arrest will entail later trips to New York for trial and possibly sentence. If geography or other priorities make that difficult for you, but you still want to participate directly in what promises to be one of the truly most exciting political events of the decade, plan to come to New York the morning of March 19 for the picket line, but not at the cost of weakening your home-town action. Please notify the New York office if you are coming: this is important.

Regarding the non-New York tentacles of the March 19 action, we know at this writing that chapters in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ann Arbor, and Yellow Springs areas are planning demonstrations at offices of non-financial corporations that carry on operations in South Africa. There are about 200



of these; a complete list will have been sent to each chapter by the time this reaches you. Each chapter will also have received as much information as we can gather about the corporations whose headquarters are in their localities. Also by the time this reaches you, some single non-bank company will have been singled out for national emphasis, by reason of the accessibility of its branch and dealership offices nationally, the marginal or recent or forthcoming nature of its investment in South Africa, etc.. Each chapter and cluster of members should plan to take some action against the local office of the company singled out for national concentration; and, depending on your resources and the nature of the companies whose national offices are in your vicinities, against those companies as well. For example, the Boston area chapters feel that the magnetism of the issue is so great and the resources available so great (and expandable) that they plan to demonstrate at the local office of the national target-corporation as well as the national offices of three or four other corporations. Which companies to attack locally must be decided locally, as must the question of whether simply to picket and/or boycott, or to commit civil disobedience against those companies. The forthcoming chapter mailing should help in making that decision, but please press the Ann Arbor PREP office for more information if it is needed, and notify us of your plans. You should also be contacting African students, local civil rights and peace groups, local student religious groups, YD's, NSA, etc., for their co-operation.

Buttons available from the
SDS National Office—25¢



Increasingly it is clear that this issue is one which strikes responsive chords in the guts of many otherwise passive people; and that the method we have launched promises to galvanize support that cannot be allowed to dwindle after March 19. The possibility of international repercussions is still another reason why there must be a follow-through program. Attention must continue to be focused on the Bank, and on the other powers we confront across the country on March 19; but how and what we should do in addition, is a matter that needs to be discussed and corresponded about, starting now.

I'm eagerly awaiting seeing some of you at the Bank on March 19, and hearing about the exploits of the rest of you shortly thereafter. The higher immorality will surely continue, but let us ensure that its practitioners begin to notice that we notice them; that the "we" is somehow expanded, and that the "them" increasingly isolated. As Erech wrote it:

There was little I could do. But without me the rulers would have been more secure. This was my hope.

But let this not be thought a small hope. And when the dust clears on March 19, if we have done all we can before then, perhaps we will have even better hopes—and what gives a hope some roots, a continuing strategy.

LETTERS... ON SOUTH AFRICA

(see also letters on page 16)

I was over at Haverford and Bryn Mawr the other day, and one of the things I did was sell Chase Manhattan buttons. On one hall I sold a few buttons and within ten minutes everyone was singing "The Banks are Made of Marble". People hate banks!

We've been talking about the PREP South Africa plans for about a month now, and lots of Swarthmore people are enthusiastic about making the attack on corporate foreign policy a major PREP and campus program.

The program would be aimed at the most important problem in our society—that large, private concentrations of economic power are allowed to determine public policy. The men who control large corporations are not responsible to the public or any large group of people; the power they wield is undemocratic. PREP research on South Africa begins to document our feeling that corporations determine our foreign policy; Dave Garson's paper on urban renewal (available soon from SDS) shows that they determine government domestic policy. People should find out who is screwing them, should research the most important problems, and should act to bring about change. In the South Africa program, they will begin to do all three.

The problem will involve people from various political groups, showing them that the same basic problem lies behind all the single issues. Many people in the peace movement are against American intervention in the third world. The civil rights movement, as shown by its support of the Chase action, is ready to work to end US support of suppressive foreign governments.

And finally, believe it or not, the South Africa project is relevant to university reform. While thumbing through the Swarthmore College President's Report we discovered that the College holds \$60,000 of Chase stock, and assorted paper of other corporations with South African investments.

There are problems here, of course. What solutions do we propose? What should be the criteria for investment, if not profit? At this point, public foreign policy is as bad as the private kind. Do we have a chance of winning on this issue (i.e. can we force at least one corporation to change its policy)?

It is not clear exactly what it means to have a national South Africa program. Probably we should pick a few of the 200 corporations which invest there and concentrate on them. People in chapters should discuss the possibility of this kind of campus program.

Walt Popper
Swarthmore '66

BERMAN GIBSON TO RUN FOR SHERIFF IN HAZARD, KENTUCKY

by JIM WILLIAMS

(Jim Williams is the Director of the Political Education Project and a member of the SDS National Council)

Berman Gibson, leader of the unemployed miners of Perry County has announced his candidacy for High Sheriff of Perry County. Gibson has filed to run in the Democratic primary which takes place on May 4th.

This represents the first move of the unemployed of that county toward political representation and power. The present High Sheriff, Republican Charlie Combs, is himself a coal operator and bitter reactionary. He has used his office to harass the unemployed movement since its inception and has been a road-block to peaceful organization and protest by the people of that county. The Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, an organization of the unemployed, has had to call upon the Justice Department for protection on occasion, because of the complete breakdown of anything resembling justice in that area.

In filing, Gibson has called for an end to dynamiting of worker's homes, and end to police harassment of union organizing, lack of protection of workers and unemployed. Gibson has also announced his determination to see Perry County become a "booming, prosperous county for all the people."

The primary fight should be a rough one, in the traditional knock-down, drag-out style of the Kentucky mountains. One can expect increasing harassment of the worker's movement by shootings and bombings and court frame-ups.

Gibson has called upon all people concerned with the welfare of the people of Appalachia to support his campaign and to raise funds for it. Gibson's opposition will have tens of thousands of dollars supplied by the coal operators, with which to buy votes, advertise and staff their campaign. Thus Gibson must raise his money from the people.

The Committee for Miners (1165 Broadway, NY) is raising funds for this important political upsurge. CFM is also looking for competent people who would be willing to work in Gibson's campaign during the months of March and April. All persons interested should apply to Committee for Miners. Students everywhere should begin the task of fund-raising for this campaign to overthrow the reactionary sheriff of Perry County.

The IX World Youth Festival will be held in Algiers from July 27 to August 7. For more information write to the American Youth Festival Committee, 104 Fifth Ave, room 1410, New York, NY.

Canadian Students (cont. from page 8)

The interrelation of peace with other social issues was a major issue at the conference. There were several clearly defined positions. Some thought the organization could only be responsive to its principles by jumping into social action against poverty, segregation, and injustice "lock, stock, and barrel". This group questioned the meaning of "peace" if SUPA did not seriously concern itself with these issues. Some said that to attain freedom from these social issues was the way to peace.

In the other camp were those who agree that peace was inseparably related with other social issues, but who argued the primacy of the peace question. They did this for varying reasons. Some merely argued that to attain peace is primary because all these other social issues are a part of peace. Others, with varying degrees of sophistication, argued that one can only get at the root of poverty and injustice by getting at the state and the policies which create social injustice. Further, the defense and military establishment and its decision-making are the crucial or key decisions in a nation state, all other social and economic decisions are made on the basis of these. Hence, to deal with the root cause of social issues, one must challenge the militarism of the state.

As a result of five years of growth the CUCND this year began to call the whole pattern of systems that we live under into question. It questioned international relations among nation states, it questioned the internal workings of the Canadian nation state, it questioned the value systems of the society around us, it questioned the university system, and it questioned the sort of lives and human relations that are possible under these conditions. As a result of the enormity of the issues raised, it was not at all surprising that the students found their first flirtation with these issues so hard and, as yet, so inadequate. The negativism of the conference need not be a sign of despair, but a sign of real potentiality, for it was in the spirit of continuing development that the students honestly came to terms with their present limitations and accepted the challenge to now get on with the task of moving ahead.

Boston PREP (cont. from page 3)

In the discussion of the fate of Conversion Report, it was suggested that PREP discuss with Mass PAX and the American Friends Service Committee the possibility of either of these organizations assuming the responsibility for the publication, since Conversion Report was no longer to be an integral part of the SDS program.

The Boston PREP workshop therefore is recommending that SDS activity here, rather than organizing around several national projects locally based, should center on an integrated activity for social change in this area. Thus the region would be able to adjust programming to the specific issues and social structure in Massachusetts and New England resulting in maximum utilization of Boston area resources.

Vietnam (cont. from p 1)

requires weeks of disciplined work on the part of all of us. Here is what you must do:

- 1) Form a March on Washington Committee on your campus. Attempt to involve the widest range of people and organizations possible in the planning and preparations.
- 2) Coordinate your activities with the SDS National Office. Send the names of local March coordinators so they can be placed on the March mailing list to receive printed March calls and leaflets, March posters, buttons, and detailed instructions.
- 3) Begin fund raising at once. The price of busses should be ascertained immediately, and fund raising events such as folk concerts, parties, and literature sales should be planned. Anyone who cannot go to Washington should be urged to contribute enough money for someone to go in their place. Activity should be coordinated with the adult peace community.
- 4) Hurry.



Current March plans call for a picket of the White House to begin on the morning of the 17th. In the afternoon, marchers will move to the Sylvan Theater at the foot of the Washington Monument to hear speakers including Senator Ernest Gruening, journalist I.F. Stone, and student and civil rights leaders. From the Washington Monument, the marchers will proceed straight down the mall to the Capitol Building to present a statement to the Congress.

Parade and picket signs with a wide variety of slogans are being printed in consultation with other organizations, hence marchers are requested to bring only signs stating what school or city they are from. Since hundreds of schools will be represented the display will be very impressive.

Areas such as the West Coast which are geographically distant from Washington should begin planning support demonstrations, but every effort should be made to send token delegations.

March on Washington to end the war in Vietnam

April 17, 1965

The current war in Vietnam is being waged in behalf of a succession of unpopular South Vietnamese dictatorships, not in behalf of freedom. No American-supported South Vietnamese regime in the past few years has gained the support of its people, for the simple reason that the people overwhelmingly want peace, self-determination, and the opportunity for development. American prosecution of the war has deprived them of all three.

• The war is fundamentally a *civil war*, waged by South Vietnamese against their government; it is not a "war of aggression." Military assistance from North Vietnam and China has been minimal; most guerrilla weapons are home-made or are captured American arms. The areas of strongest guerrilla control are not the areas adjacent to North Vietnam. And the people could not and cannot be isolated from the guerrillas by forced settlement in "strategic hamlets"; again and again Government military attacks fail because the people tip off the guerrillas; the people and the guerrillas are inseparable. Each repressive Government policy, each napalm bomb, each instance of torture, creates more guerrillas. Further, what foreign weapons the guerrillas have obtained are small arms, and are no match for the bombers and helicopters operated by the Americans. The U.S. government is the only foreign government that has sent major weapons to Vietnam.

• It is a *losing* war. Well over half of the area of South Vietnam is already governed by the National Liberation Front—the political arm of the "Viet Cong." In the guerrillas the peasants see relief from dictatorial Government agents; from the United States they get napalm, the jellied gasoline that burns into the flesh. The highly touted "counter-insurgency" the U.S. is applying in its "pilot project war" is only new weap-

ony, which cannot substitute for popular government. Thousands of Government troops have defected—the traditional signal of a losing counter-guerrilla war. *How many more lives must be lost before the Johnson Administration accepts the foregone conclusion?*

• It is a *self-defeating* war. If the U.S. objective is to guarantee self-determination in South Vietnam, that objective is far better served by allowing the South Vietnamese to choose their own government—something provided for by the 1954 Geneva Agreement but sabotaged in 1956 by the American-supported dictator Ngo Dinh Diem and never allowed since. The Diem government that invited U.S. intervention was thus illegitimate, having violated the agreement that established it. The Vietnamese, North and South, have no taste for Chinese domination—these two countries have fought one another for over a thousand years. Moreover, South Vietnam is not a "domino"—the "threat" to it is internal, not Chinese, and the greater threat to stability in other Southeast Asian countries is U.S.-inspired provocation of China, not China's own plans.

• It is a *dangerous* war. Every passing month of hostilities increases the risk of America escalating and widening the war. Since the '50s U.S.-trained South Vietnamese commando teams have been penetrating North Vietnam, considerably provoking the North Vietnamese. We all know of the presence of American destroyers in the Tonkin Gulf, a body of water surrounded on three sides by North Vietnamese and Chinese territory. How calm would the United States be if Cuban commandos were being sent into Florida, and Chinese ships were "guarding" Cape Cod Bay?

• It is a war never declared by Congress, although it costs almost two million dollars a day and has cost billions of dollars since the U.S. began its involvement. The facts of the war have

been systematically concealed by the U.S. government for years, making it appear as if those expenditures have been helping the Vietnamese people. These factors erode the honesty and decency of American political life, and make democracy at home impossible. We are outraged that two million dollars a day is expended for a war on the poor in Vietnam, while government financing is so desperately needed to abolish poverty at home. *What kind of America is it whose response to poverty and oppression in South Vietnam is napalm and defoliation, whose response to poverty and oppression in Mississippi is . . . silence?*

• It is a hideously *immoral* war. America is committing pointless murder.

But the signs are plain that Americans are increasingly disaffected by this state of affairs. To draw together, express, and enlarge the number of these voices of protest, and to make this sentiment visible, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is calling for a

MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

We urge the participation of all students who agree with us that the war in Vietnam injures both Vietnamese and Americans, and should be stopped.

The March, to be held on Saturday, April 17, 1965, will include a picketing of the White House, a march down the Mall to the Capitol Building to present a statement to Congress, and a meeting with both student and adult speakers. Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska and journalist I. F. Stone have already agreed to address the body.

Thousands of us can be heard.

We dare not remain silent

For more information, contact:

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, 119 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. AL 4-2176

Community Conference (cont. from p 1)

ganizations in over a dozen cities will meet in Cleveland the weekend of February 19-21, to join hands and hearts to deal with a problem they know best, the problem of poverty.

The conference will serve two basic purposes.

1) To the extent that those attending have developed ideologies and are concerned about strategy in a long-run sense, people will be able to discuss these. There will also be a lot of sharing of problems and experiences. For example, welfare mothers might want to talk about how to get surplus food or food stamps; people living in slum housing might want to discuss how to conduct rent strikes.

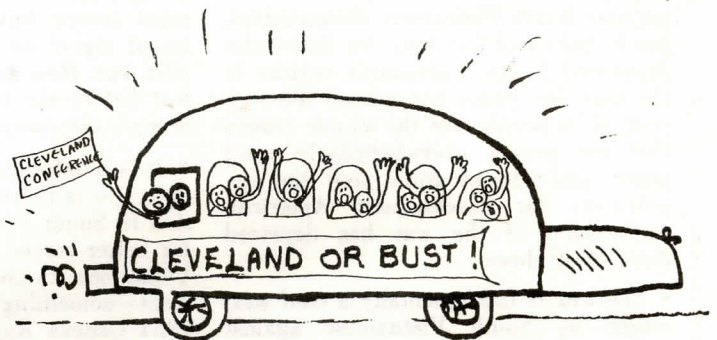
2) The more important purpose, I think, is that of reinforcement. Community people all over—as well as SDS staff—are finding that organizing is a difficult, frustrating, and sometimes isolating experience. It is extremely important to give people a sense that first, people in other places are working in similar ways towards common goals and that, second, others face frustrations too but that it is possible to have success.

This need to know what others are doing and the problems they encounter is the basis of community people's desire to have a loosely structured meeting, in contrast to our original ideas. Peoples' preferences are for informality, for a conference in which they can meet and talk with other people, without necessarily sticking to an agenda or getting a certain amount of business accomplished by a set time. The desire people have expressed for having discussions around very general and some specific "problem" areas (as opposed to extensive long-run strategy questions about organizing and national movements) reflects the need people feel for just being able to get together and share experiences, successes, and failures.

The planning and programming for the conference has been done almost entirely by community people. Community people have planned the agenda, corresponded with people in other cities, arranged housing and meals. Decision-making, with some exceptions, has been done by community people.

There has been one very interesting result from having community people really plan the conference; that is the evolution of their attitude toward involvement by professional people. At first some people wanted professionals to participate—they felt they needed the people who "had the information." But as they continued to plan the conference, and as community people began to feel strongly that this was their conference, as they developed confidence in their ability—regardless of their condition of poverty—to plan and run a conference, their attitude towards professionals has changed substantially. (Some distinction is made between professionals who work with

poor people, for example, ministers working in poverty areas, and those who really represent the "system", i.e. most social workers and welfare department staff.) This is reflected in their decision to have only community people do the speaking and also in their statement which explicitly invites professionals, students, etc., not to attend. The policy adopted was that "we cannot invite persons who are not directly striving to better the lives of the poor, both black and white, by the poor themselves. We cannot invite those who are not welfare and low-income community persons. We appreciate your interest and hope there will be another time that you can be with us to express your interest." Students, take heed: you will be turned away!



Finally, a few brief words about the conference itself. People are definitely coming from Boston, Newark, Baltimore, Chester (Pa.), Chicago, Cairo (Ill.), Detroit, Hazard (Ky.), and New Brunswick (NJ). There is also a possibility that people from Mississippi and several other areas might attend.

Most of the conference will occur on Saturday, February 20. In the morning there will be three speakers (maybe more if others are interested in getting up and speaking) who will discuss general problems of poverty, the need for organization, and "visions" of the future. They will be followed by small discussion groups in which people will describe the activities, organizations, and programs in their own cities. The afternoon discussion groups will focus on specific topics: the nature of the problem and how to organize around that problem. For example welfare, which would bring together welfare mothers from different cities; urban renewal; unemployment, which would involve JOIN (Jobs or Income Now, as the SDS projects in Chicago and Baltimore are called) people from different cities. These groups could be very general or very specific, depending on the interests of the participants. The tentative evening speaker is Fannie Lou Hamer, speaking on "What the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is doing in Mississippi in relation to what can be done all over the US." Sunday's session will contain any reports that come out of Saturday's meetings, plus a discussion of possible future meetings, coordinating groups, or whatever else interests people.

NEW CONGRESS (cont. from page 2)

quite important and could become really significant if they are pushed. Were labor to campaign and win on these three points, it would almost excuse the lack of creativity in the rest of the program.

There seems to be a major difference of opinion within the labor movement concerning legislative tactics. The more conservative AFL unions and the building trades feel that the fight should be on repeal of "right-to-work" legislation and that this should receive priority of timing and resources. Some of the more liberal segments of labor, led by the United Auto Workers, condemn this approach as too narrow and are demanding that more immediate attention be given to other legislation. Unless this fight is favorably resolved, there will probably not be a united legislative effort on the part of labor.

The record of the civil rights movement has been lacking in some respects. The more established civil rights organizations have been cooperating closely with the "War on Poverty", and have not seen the need to raise independent criticism in this work. The more militant organizations, while critical of the lack of independence of the others, have themselves failed to play a creative role in shaping the war on poverty and in putting forth counter-proposals. It is equally unfortunate that while most of the movement was in agreement about the inadequacy of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, no effort was made to continue the legislative fight beyond where it was stopped last year. Perhaps Martin Luther King's trip to Washington this week will produce some action. The authorization for the Attorney General to institute suits without being requested, and provision for federal voter registrars, were deleted from the 1964 Act and should be the start of legislative action this year.

We remain convinced that the potential which we saw for this Congress exists. We also remain convinced that forces exist objectively, both within Congress and in the progressive movements, which could coalesce around a creative program. This process, while detectable, has been slow. There is, however more than ample time left for a progressive push. A real possibility exists for success if enough pressure can be generated from below to move the Congress and the liberal organizations. The legislative coalition which is currently backing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge can and must be expanded to other fronts.

We do not feel that the expectations of the fall have been met, either in terms of Congress itself, or in the response of the progressive organizations. Many of SDS's expectations of the same period for social action in other areas and on other levels have also been slow to materialize; the approaching spring calls for different emphasis.

Thus far our organization and much of the civil rights movement as well has assumed a growing rate of unemployment and technological joblessness. We made some efforts to criticize existing poverty programs on the local level and our criticism has been well-founded. What we are failing to do is to put forth programs for full employment. In our economic

thinking, we have become preoccupied with questions such as the effect of the dole, the effect of a society in which the majority of the members are on welfare, the effect of a guaranteed annual income, etc.. Only around the Eoston PREP project have we taken up the slogan "Useful Work for Everyone", and brought forth programs which require cutting the military budget and putting those funds to socially necessary projects which will also create jobs. The type of programmatic demand that our organization needs to raise, and the standpoint from which our criticisms of national legislations should flow, is the full employment and job-usefulness concept.

Seymour Melman, for example, has calculated that it would take between \$14 and \$16 million a year for five years to bring our educational system up to a level of competence. Using round figures, \$10 billion a year spent on education would yield a quarter of a million jobs. Given a multiplier factor of 2 (the number of jobs created because other people have jobs in a certain area), Melman figures that 2 1/2 million jobs paying \$8,000 a year would be created from a school program alone.

One form of pressure on Congress which groups like ours might organize would be to bring community organizations and individuals on all levels to draw up a community needs list. Such a list might cover housing, medical services, schools and nurseries, water supply air pollution prevention, conservation and parks, libraries, etc..

The costs of such needs could be calculated and compared with sections of the military budget. The chapter of project program would then center around the political and social action necessary to have these need met.

ERAP (cont. from page 9)

the organizing program and provide forums for presenting ERAP to new audiences. Speakers, films on poverty, SDS papers, recruitment brochures, buttons, posters for campus fund-raising can be gotten through the ERAP office.

5) Research. Each project has been asked to compile a list of specific research problems the ERAP staff needs people to work on. This list will be available soon from the ERAP office.

6) Conferences. ERAP will sponsor five or more conferences this spring—places, dates, and topics will be announced soon.

I do not mean to suggest that these tasks form the outline of an SDS campus program. But they can be valuable activity to any on-going chapter. And it cannot be put strongly enough that these are the kinds of measures on which ERAP must depend.

Want to work on an ERAP project?
Write to ERAP, 1100 E Washington St,
Ann Arbor, Michigan.

MFDP Challenge Continues

by STEVE MAX, Political Education Project staff

Mississippi state officials and White Citizens Council officers have been submitting testimony under questioning by Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party lawyers in the Federal Court House in Jackson.

Mississippi Secretary of State Lander testified for five hours but failed to produce the records requested by the MFDP lawyers, saying that he would produce them within a "reasonable time". Lander refused to answer questions about his role in keeping MFDP candidates off the ballot and finally said that there was no precedent for the running of independent candidates.

State Attorney General Patterson admitted that his office had done nothing to investigate whether or not Negroes had been deprived of the right to vote, in spite of the fact that the Justice Department had filed 60 complaints in Mississippi. Patterson said that he was not aware of the Justice Department action and was therefore not responsible. He seemed to have forgotten that he himself is a defendant in US vs

Mississippi.

Richard Morphew, Director of Public Relations for the Mississippi Association of White Citizens Councils admitted under oath that his organization had received money from the state Sovereignty Commission, a tax-supported body.

Public hearings are being held around the state, mostly with favorable witnesses testifying. Thus far the MFDP reports only one case of a witness failing to appear due to intimidation. Meanwhile in the North, testimony from Mississippi volunteers of last summer was taken in ten cities in early February.

MFDP candidate Mrs. Devine attended the meeting of the National Democratic Committee. No issue was made when she sat up front among the Committee members. The first matter on the agenda was Mississippi and a committee was formed to implement the convention decision that no state Democratic Party can be represented at a National Convention unless it is fully integrated.

A background paper on the MFDP and petitions in support of the MFDP are available from the Political Education Project, 119 Fifth Ave, New York, NY

(The following is the exchange of letters between Paul Potter and the Chase Manhattan Bank)

Dear Mr. Rockefeller:

The National Council of Students for a Democratic Society has directed me to communicate with you concerning the Chase Manhattan Bank's lending policy in the Republic of South Africa. Our concern grows from our commitment to racial equality and democracy at home and abroad and our knowledge that the policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa with regard to its black majority is brutal, repressive, degrading, and inimical to the prospects for peace on the African continent.

It is our firm belief that the United States government and institutions such as yours must cease and desist supporting the Verwoerd regime through trade, investment, and lending. Despite mounting world protest, however, your bank continues to nurture the South African economy. In 1961 your bank made a \$10 million in dollars loan to help the South African economy. In 1963 your bank participated in a \$40 million revolving credit, replacing an existing credit of the same amount. An institution which shared the interest of mankind in peace and social justice would not aid the South African government in evolving further its policy of apartheid and oppression. Only a withdrawal of support can offer any hope of bringing about a decent and democratic society in South Africa.

Accordingly, the National Council of Students for a Democratic Society, the legislative body of that organization, demands that the Chase Manhattan Bank cease and desist from lending funds to and in other ways supporting the dictatorship in South Africa.

We await your reply.

For Students for a Democratic Society

Paul Potter, President

Dear Mr. Potter:

In David Rockefeller's absence from the Bank, I am taking the liberty of answering your letter to him.

We are pleased to learn that such organizations as yours follow banking news, and in particular, our loans to the Republic of South Africa. I understand and concur with your commitment to racial equality and democracy, and hope you will appreciate our stand on this matter.

If we consider the receiver of a loan to be financially responsible, we do business with him, regardless of his nationality, religion, or political views. A loan to the Republic of South Africa is considered sound banking business, and we feel it would be unwise and unfair if we, as a bank, made judgements that were not based on economics.

This does not mean, however, that the Chase Manhattan Bank endorses the political decisions of the government of the Republic of South Africa, or any other country which receives a loan from us. On the other hand, we believe it would endanger the free world of every large American bank deprived developing countries of the opportunity for economic growth. If one hopes for changes in the Republic of South Africa, or elsewhere, it would do little good to withdraw economic support.

We greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing to us on this matter, and hope that this brief outline will clarify our policies.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Mary W. Schager