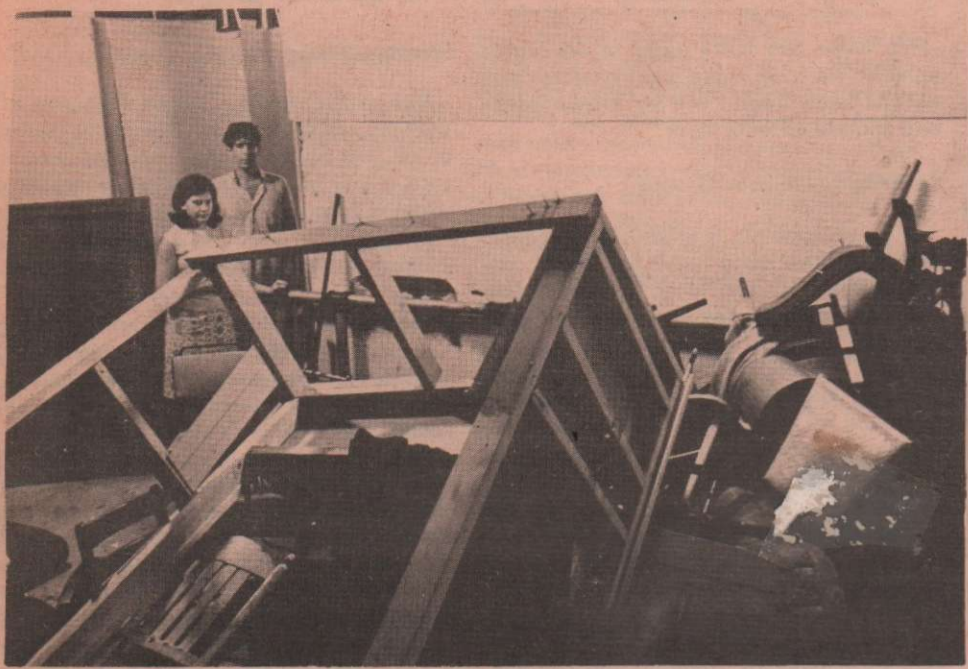


police raid JOIN phony dope charges



JOIN staff workers, Harriet Stulman and Burt Steck, view the handiwork of the Chicago Police Force in the JOIN office at 4335 North Sheridan. The thoroughness of the investigation leaves no doubt that Chicago police are serious about their work. It also becomes increasingly apparent just what that work really is.

CHICAGO. On Thursday September 1 at 8:15 p.m. the JOIN Community Union Project and the United People Office, a Presbyterian Church Project, were simultaneously raided. Twenty to thirty police were involved in the raids, a few carried submachine guns.

Two JOIN members, Richie Rothstein and Melody James, were arrested along with Reverend Morey of United People (UP). The charges were possession of four different varieties of narcotics and paraphernalia. The pre-trial hearing is set for September 22. It is clear to most people that the stuff was either planted or was not actually in the office but carried in by the police.

"I've talked to people in the neighborhood who are paying the cops off," said Dave Puckett, a JOIN organizer, "and they said 'See, if you'd just paid them a few dollars...'"

The people in the surrounding neighbor-

hood aren't too surprised about the raids. "They expect that sort of thing," Puckett said. "If it was just the JOIN office that was raided the people might have said something. Since the UP was also raided, the people are down on the cops."

Reverend Morey of UP is well known in the neighborhood and has helped many people. He has worked closely with young guys in Uptown, some of whom are in the Uptown Goodfellows.

Some problems for organizers are, however, foreseen. Ron Glick, who is organizing building stewards, pointed out that it will be difficult to organize people who have just heard of JOIN and are neither for or against it. "While those who have been close to JOIN," Glick says, "have moved closer together, seeing the raids as a direct attack on JOIN."

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independent chicago candidates barred



"Don't tell us to get a move on. The only way this office will ever move is if we refuse to budge." 49th Ward CIPA in Chicago sat in at the office of the Board of Election Commissioners after independent candidates had been thrown off the ballot. All four were arrested. Seated are (from left to right) Kathy Kearney, candidate for State Legislator; C. Clark Kissinger, CIPA staff; Art Vasquez, candidate for State Senator; and Susan Robbins, CIPA staff.

by C. Clark Kissinger, 49th Ward CIPA

On the evening of July 17, a meeting of 30 residents of Chicago's far north side met and decided to run two independent candidates for the Illinois legislature. They adopted a platform calling for an end to the war and a reallocation of national resources, for progressive corporate income tax and repeal of sales tax, for open occupancy, for a state owned credit agency, for a civilian review board for police, for a directly elected school board, for an end to patronage jobs in Chicago, for a \$2 minimum wage, for the recognition of welfare recipients unions, and many other things.

In the following weeks the campaign gained steam. For a number of technical reasons, the candidates were slated as new party - the Citizens Independent Party - and not as separate independents. And their candidacies were perceived as part of a long

term effort to build a radicalized constituency and an independent electoral apparatus in a white middle-class neighborhood.

In only four weeks, the four staff members of the 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action and several dozen volunteers from the community were able to gather 6,386 signatures on the petition to slate the new party. Gathered in an area of only two wards, the petition represented the largest petition ever gathered in the community for anything!

It all looked very good. The candidates were excellent: Arthur Vasquez, candidate

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new left notes

an internal newspaper of
students for a democratic society

1608 w. madison, rm. 206 chicago, ill. 60612

Vol. 1, No. 34 let the people decide September 9, 1966

national secretary's report

CLEAR LAKE : sds and the movement

Chicago, Illinois September 6, 1966

Last evening, Jack Smith from the *National Guardian* showed up at the National Office to interview staff about the Convention and the National Council meeting at Clear Lake. Jack willingly acquiesced in our determination to avoid the sterile artificiality of a press conference format and the interview was quickly transformed into an evening of conversation about the significance of last week's events. Instead of speaking officially for the sake of our "public image," we spent our time clarifying our own impressions of the Clear Lake meetings and assessing the significance of what was said and done there as it relates to the present stance and future direction of SDS.

Jack began rather formally by asking us to describe "the two most important developments at the Convention." Although we came back to that question from a number of different angles, it seemed that our understanding of the issues was pretty clear. First, there had been the development of an "organizing thrust" directed toward the campuses and related to the kind of analysis and program which Carl Davidson had

developed in his working paper, "Towards Student Syndicalism." Secondly, that direction had been expressed most eloquently in Oglesby's speech on the "changing of the guard" and the "council of organizers" and had been concretized in the caucuses and programmatic decisions relating to the establishment of a national committee of campus organizers who will be involved in implementing that program in the coming months.

Beyond the immediate attempt to answer Jack Smith's questions there was a concern with putting those questions in a larger context which relates to SDS as a "movement" or tries to relate SDS to "the movement" in this country. There emerged a very clear understanding that SDS had repudiated any attempt to make itself a new version of older left-wing political parties in the United States or in Europe. Politically that meant a refusal to accept social-democratic or liberal-labor coalitionist images of our future. It meant that we were, as we have often said, dedicated to the building of truly radical constituencies in this country. The establishment of a

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sds elects national officers

SDS members from all over the country elected new national officers last week. The National Convention chose Nick Egleson for National President and Carl Davidson for Vice-President. Both were elected for one-year terms. Greg Calvert was elected National Secretary by the National Council which met following the Convention. Jane Adams will serve as Assistant National Secretary until October 1 when Nancy Bancroft will come to Chicago to replace her.

Egleson, age 22, is a graduate of Swarthmore College and attended the Taft School for his secondary education. Others running for the presidency were Lee Webb and Bill Hartzog.

Carl Davidson is a native of Pennsylvania, completed his undergraduate studies at Penn State and has been a graduate teaching assistant in philosophy at the University of Nebraska. Calvert is a native of the state of Washington, graduated in history from the University of Oregon, and did graduate work at Cornell University and the University of Paris: he has been teaching European history for the past two and a half years at Iowa State University. Nancy Bancroft is completing a Master's degree at Union Theological Seminary this month.

Jane Adams, who served as National Secretary through the summer, will be working Chicago and coordinating the work of the national campus organizers. Outgoing President Carl Oglesby has been offered a position at Antioch College as a visiting scholar in residence. Jeff Shero, ex-Vice-President, will return to the University of Texas this fall.

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a student syndicalist movement

by Carl Davidson
Nat'l Vice-President

In the past few years, we have seen a variety of campus movements developing around the issue of "university reform". A few of these movements sustained a mass base for brief periods. Some brought about minor changes in campus rules and regulations. But almost all have failed to alter the university community radically or even to maintain their own existence. What is the meaning of this phenomenon? How can we avoid it in the future? Why bother with university reform at all?

It is a belief among SDS people that "all the issues are interrelated". However, we are their commodities? The most obvious answer is "knowledge". Our factories produce between dorm hours and the war in Vietnam? Is there one system responsible for both? If so, what is the nature of that system? And, finally, how should we respond? These are the questions I will try to answer in the following analysis.

Why University Reform?

We have named the system in this country "corporate liberalism". And, if we bother to look, its penetration into the campus community is awesome. Its elite is trained in our Colleges of Business Administration. Its defenders are trained in our Law Schools. Its apologists can be found in the Political Science Departments. The Colleges of Social Sciences produce its manipulators. For propagandists, it relies on the Schools of Journalism. It insures its own future growth in the Colleges of Education. If some of us don't quite fit in, we are brainwashed in the Divisions of Counseling. And we all know only too well what goes on in the classrooms of the Military Science Buildings.

This condition takes on more sinister ramifications when we realize that all the functionaries of "private enterprise" are being trained at the people's expense. American corporations have little trouble increasing the worker's wage, especially when they can take it back in the form of school taxes and tuition to train their future workers. To be sure, many corporations give the universities scholarships and grants. But this is almost always for some purpose of their own, if only as a tax dodge.

Furthermore, the corporate presence on campus grotesquely transforms the nature of the university community. The most overt example is the grade system. Most professors would agree that grades are meaningless if not positively harmful to the learning process. But the entire manipulated community replies in unison: "But how else would companies know whom to hire (or the Selective Service whom to draft?)?" So we merrily continue to publicly subsidize testing services for "private" enterprise.

What we have to see clearly is the relation between the university and corporate liberal society at large. Most of us are outraged when our university administrators or their "student government" lackeys liken our universities and colleges to corporations. We bitterly respond with talk about a "community of scholars". However, the fact of the matter is that they are correct. Our educational institutions are corporations and knowledge factories. What we have failed to see in the past is how absolutely vital these factories are to the corporate liberal state.

What do these factories produce? What are their commodities? The most obvious answer is "knowledge". Our factories produce the know-how that enables the corporate state to expand, to grow, and to exploit more efficiently and extensively both in our own country and in the third world. But "knowledge" is perhaps too abstract to be seen as a commodity. Concretely, the commodities of our factories are the *knowledgeable*. AID officials, Peace Corpsmen, military officers, CIA officials, segregationist judges, corporation lawyers, politicians of all sorts, welfare workers, managers of industry, labor bureaucrats (I could go on and on) -- where do they come from? They are products of the factories we live and work in.

It is on our assembly lines in the universities that they are molded into what they are. As integral parts of the knowledge factory system, we are both the exploiters and

the exploited. As both managers and the managed, we produce and become the most vital product of corporate liberalism -- bureaucratic man. In short, we are a new kind of scab.

But let us return to our original question. What is the connection between dorm rules and the war in Vietnam? Superficially, both are aspects of corporate liberalism -- a dehumanized and oppressive system. But let us be more specific. Who are the dehumanizers and oppressors? In a word, our past, present and future alumni -- the finished product of our knowledge factories.

How did they become what they are? They were shaped and formed on an assembly line that starts with children entering junior high school and ends with junior bureaucrats in commencement robes. And the rules and regulations of *in loco parentis* are essential tools along that entire assembly line. Without them, it would be difficult to produce the kind of men that can create, sustain, tolerate, and ignore situations like Watts, Mississippi and Vietnam.

Finally, perhaps we can see the vital connections our factories have with the present conditions of corporate liberalism when we ask ourselves what would happen if: the military found itself without ROTC students; the CIA found itself without recruits; paternalistic welfare departments found themselves without social workers; or the Democratic Party found itself without young liberal apologists and campaign workers? In short, what would happen to a manipulative society if its means of creating *manipulable* people were done away with? We might then have a fighting chance to change that system!

The Present Impasse

Most of us have been involved in university reform movements of one sort or another. For the most part, our efforts have produced very little. The Free Speech Movement flared briefly, then faded out. There have been a few dozen *ad hoc* committees for the abolition of this or that rule. Some of these succeeded, then fell apart. Some never got off the ground.

However, we have had some effect. The discontent is there. Although the apathy is extensive and deep-rooted, even the apathetic gripe at times. Our administrators are worried. They watch us carefully, have staff seminars on Paul Goodman, and study our own literature more carefully than we do. They handle our outbursts with kid gloves, trying their best not to give us an issue.

A major attack is being launched against the leadership of the Student Non-Violent coordinating committee by the Mayor of Atlanta in an attempt to bring criminal conspiracy charges against SNCC organizers regarding the recent reaction in that city to flagrant police brutality. The following story was received by telephone from Charlie Cobb in Atlanta and corrects the wire-service reports about the original incident. SNCC urgently needs funds to pay bail for those arrested -- including more than seventy individuals from the Atlanta ghetto for whom fines of \$250.00 or sixty days in jail mean the loss of jobs.

TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION FROM CHARLIE COBB, 1 a.m., 8 Sept. 66.

At about 2 p.m. Tuesday, Harold Prather (24) was driving his mother's car when he was stopped at an intersection by a cop who yelled at him (something about his being "under arrest" -- reports unclear). He ran, and the cop shot him in the back three times. He collapsed in front of his mother's home. The cops handcuffed him, left to get an ambulance, then handcuffed him to the ambulance bed and took him off. At this time they produced a warrant, charging him with suspicion of auto theft (of his mother's

We have one more factor in our favor; namely, we have made many mistakes that we can learn from. I will try to enumerate and analyze a few of them.

Forming Single Issue Groups

A prime example is organizing a committee to abolish dorm hours for women students over 21. This tactic has two faults. First, in terms of relevance, it is a *felt issue* for less than ten percent of the average campus. Hence, it is almost impossible to mobilize large numbers of students around the issue for any length of time. The same criticism applies to student labor unions (only a few hundred work for the university), dress regulations (only the hippies are bothered) or discrimination in off-campus housing (most black college students are too bourgeois to care). The second fault is that most of these issues can be accommodated by the administration. For instance, after months of meetings, speeches and agitation, the Dean of Women changes the rules so women over 21, with parental permission and a high enough grade average can apply, if she wants, for a key to the dorm. Big Deal. At this stage, the tiny organization that worked around this issue usually folds up.

Organizing Around Empty Issues

Students often try to abolish rules that are not enforced anyway. Almost every school has a rule forbidding women to visit men's apartments. They are also rarely enforced, even if openly violated. Since most students are not restricted by the rule, they usually won't fight to change it. Often, they will react negatively, feeling that if the issue is brought up, the administration will have to enforce it.

Our Fear of Being Radical

Time and time again, we water down our demands and compromise ourselves before we even begin. In our meetings we argue the administration's position against us, both before they will and better than they will. We allow ourselves to be intimidated by the word "responsible". (How many times have we changed a "Student Bill of Rights" to a watered-down "Resolution on Student Rights and Responsibilities"?) We spend more energy assuring our deans that we "don't want another Berkeley" than we do talking with students about the real issues.

Working Through Existing Channels.

This really means, "Let us stall you off until the end of the year." If we listen to this at all, we ought to do it just once and in such a way as to show everyone that it's a waste of time.

Waiting for Faculty Support

This is like asking Southern Negroes to wait for White moderates. We often fail to realize that the faculty are more powerless than we. They have the welfare of their families to consider.

Legal Questions

We spend hours debating among ourselves whether or not the university can legally abolish *in loco parentis*. They can if they want to; or, hopefully, if they have to. Besides, suppose it wasn't legal; should we then stop, pick up our marbles and go home?

Isolating Ourselves

Time and time again we fall into the trap of trying to organize independents over the "Greek-Independent split". This should be viewed as an administration plot to divide and rule. On the other hand, we shouldn't waste time trying to court the Greeks or "campus leaders". They haven't any more real power than anyone else. Also, SDS people often view themselves as intellectual enclaves on campus when we should see ourselves as organizing committees for the entire campus. We retreat to our own "hippy hangouts" rather than spending time in the student union building talking with others.

Forming Free Universities

This can be a good thing, depending on how it is organized. But we run the risk of the utopian socialists who withdrew from the early labor struggles. We may feel liberated in our Free Universities; but, in the meantime, the "unfree" university we left goes on cranking out corporate liberals. In fact, they have it easier since we aren't around making trouble.

Working Within Student Government

We should do this for one and only one reason -- to abolish it. We should have learned by now that student governments have no power and, in many cases, the administration has organized them in such a

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SNCC Attacked in Atlanta

car!!).

All the shooting naturally drew the attention of the neighborhood, which is a very poor one in which there has been repeated police brutality, and provocation. (Example: recently a woman was stopped and had a gun put to her head as a cop said, "Nigger, don't move or I'll shoot you.") By 3:00 or 3:15 p.m. a crowd of approximately 300 people had gathered on Capitol Avenue. This drew more cops, who in turn drew more people. Some SNCC people happened by, took in the situation, and went across town to get the sound truck from their project house. They addressed the crowd, calling for an end to police brutality and shooting in the neighborhood. The cops arrested the driver and confiscated the public address system. At this point, people started throwing rocks and bottles at the cops.

Mayor Ivan Allen, famous Atlanta "liberal" who in 1963 put up an iron barricade to keep Negroes out of a gerrymandered housing district, arrived, and addressed the crowd from the roof of a car, calling for peace and quiet, talks, the conference table, et al. People yelled back: "We don't want to talk -- we want the cops out of our neighborhood." They began to rock the car the mayor was standing on. (Several police cars had already been overturned and some windows broken.) The police threw tear gas,

drove people into the alleys from when they continued to throw things. This is about 6:00 p.m.

The clashes went on into the night. Police entered homes, arresting people at random, and jailed 73 persons, charging them with disorderly conduct, profanity, rock throwing, etc. The guy who drove SNCC's p.a. truck is on \$10,000 bail for inciting to riot, and the police are charging that the incident was part of a criminal conspiracy and really trying to put the pressure on to isolate and destroy SNCC.

SNCC wants especially to have the facts publicized -- to have it reiterated that what caused the incident was a young man being shot in the back three times in front of his mother's home, and to point out that this was indeed "not an isolated incident" (as the papers will say) but, part of a pattern of police brutality and provocation. Secondly, money is needed for the defense fund -- many people are in jail with no money for bail or lawyers.

Other support action is needed where possible.

Charlie Cobb -- Atlanta SNCC to
Tom Condit - Nat'l Office SDS

the Boom-Buster

Ed Jahn

U. of Pennsylvania SDS

Lyndon Johnson is America's Harold Wilson.

The British Prime Minister had to wait for an election to secure the Labour majority in Parliament, before he brought out an economic program which had long been in preparation. Deflation - high interest rates, government controls on the economy designed to create unemployment. Wage freeze - government dictation to the labor unions to keep down wages.

These are drastic measures, popular with a few economic planners (whose fat salaries will not be harmed by the wage freeze) but extremely unpopular with the electorate. Wilson did not introduce them out of malice, but out of necessity: the boom was hurting the British economy. It was driving up wages, creating high labor costs for industry. It was driving up the prices of industrial products which Britain must export. It was encouraging capital to flow out of the country into foreign investments. All these things threatened the balance of payments and the stability of the pound - And so the boom had to be stopped.

The "new economics" provides the tools for stopping a boom - for deliberately creating a recession, when economic theory dictates that this is what must be done. But these economic tools can be used only when the political situation is safe for the tool-users. For Wilson, it was the Labour majority that made it safe.

For Johnson, it will not be safe until after the elections of November 1966.

The same economic pressures are building up in the US as in Britain. The combination of the boom and the war create the same inflation, shortages of skilled labor, and dangers to the balance of payments. Economically, Lyndon is better of than Harold - the American economy is infinitely stronger than the British. But politically he is weaker. Labour got a landslide in its last election; but the Democratic Party can only hope to minimize its losses in '66. The Democrats would expect to lose Congressional seats in an off-year anyhow - combine that with the unpopularity of the Vietnam war and the greater unpopularity of the inflation, and the result may be very serious losses indeed.

The Democrats will probably be saved from total disaster, but only by the weakness and confusion of the Republicans. The Republican Party is senile, dying, hopelessly compromised by the Goldwater-Nixon right wing. A mass political party to the left of the Democrats would have a good chance to build the issues of 1966 into major election victories. But there is no such party. And so, once again, the liberals and the labor unions, the white and black poor, will vote Democratic. Along with them at the polling places will be the sophisticated right wingers - the ones who understand that Johnson can deliver more of what they want than all the Goldwaters in the country.

But after the shouting is over, after the Republicans have picked up whatever table scraps they can get from the election, then the policies of the "new economics" can come out of hiding.

The elements of the new economic program can be seen in Johnson's policies even now. Deflation: therefore, rising interest rates, which Truman rightly said can lead to a depression. Wage freeze: therefore, "wage-price" guidelines and Federal intervention in labor disputes. The punitive legislation directed against the airline mechanics could not pass the House, whose members have to campaign for re-election. Neither could a deflationary rise in taxes. But once the Administration finds itself safe from the voters for two more years, it can and will pass such measures. The Republicans, having taken some Congressional seats by dint of hypocritical attacks on the Administration, will applaud them.

So this is what the next installment of the Johnson Program is likely to be:

Higher taxes, to take the pressure off interest rates, and - it will be hoped - to save the stock market from further declines. Anti-strike legislation: perhaps more measures passed against individual unions, perhaps a broader form of compulsory arbitration. Wage guidelines which are no longer "voluntary" but which are backed up with various kinds of compulsory controls.

By luck, Johnson was saved from the necessity of intervening in too many strikes in '66. Only a few major union contracts expired this year. This accident of the collective bargaining system saved the Administration from labor pressure - And it prevents millions of workers from going on strike at a time when inflation is cutting deeper and deeper into their paychecks.

But in November and December, contracts covering nearly 200,000 workers expire; in January and February of 1967, contracts expire for nearly 300,000 workers. Through 1967, over 2 million workers - in such major industries as trucking, rubber and auto - will find their contracts at an end; more than twice as many as in 1966. There will be strikes. The Administration will have to act.

There are two possibilities: Either the deflationary measures will work - in that case there will be a recession. That would be a strange recession, coming in the midst of a hot little war in Asia. (Perhaps then it will be decided to get out of the recession again by turning the hot little war into a hot big war, which would also enable us to punish the Chinese for being Communists.) Or, deflation may not work - in that case the pressure will be all the greater for anti-labor controls, compulsory wage guidelines and a ban on strikes.

Whichever way it works out, one thing is certain. In the Undemocratic Society, it is the poor people and the workers who must pay for whatever difficulties the economic system gets into.

The Kennedy-Johnson tax cuts were primarily cuts for the rich. They were designed to create a boom by encouraging the rich to invest, through tax credits for investment and lower taxes on profits. This strategy worked. Now that the boom is getting out of hand, it is to be stopped by raising taxes for everyone except the rich, and by holding down the wage demands of the workers.

Another conclusion follows from this. The labor unions are going to be forced into a series of battles with the Administration. The war in Vietnam will be used as an excuse for breaking their strikes and restricting their demands.

The New Left has a tradition of considering the labor movement to be bought off by the system. There is considerable truth behind that tradition. But circumstances are developing which are likely to push the unions into struggle - into a struggle against the very President and Congress that the unions helped to elect. This experience may well generate a new radicalism inside the organized labor movement. The events of the next year of so may bring the labor movement to the center of attention of the radical left, which has up to now been held by the Negro rebellion and the student anti-war movement.

THE BULLY WITH



AN AIR FORCE

"Only, listen, Lyndon Johnson, you have gone too far this time. You are a bully with an air force, and since you will not call off your air force, there are young people who will persecute you back. It is a little thing, but it will hound you. For listen - this is only one of the thousand things they will do to you.

"They will print up little pictures of you, Lyndon Johnson, the size of post cards, the size of stamps, and some will glue these pictures to walls and posters and telephone booths and billboards . . . Silently, without a word, the photograph of you, Lyndon Johnson, will start appearing everywhere, upside down. Your head will speak out - even to the peasant in Asia - it will say that not all Americans are unaware of your monstrous vanity, overbearing piety, and doubtful motive. It will tell them that we trust our president so little, and think so little of him, that we see his picture everywhere upside down.

"You, Lyndon Johnson, will see those pictures everywhere upside down, four inches high and forty feet high; you, Lyndon Baines Johnson, will be coming up for air everywhere upside down . . . your war in Vietnam. Everywhere, upside down. Everywhere, everywhere."

- Norman Mailer

Get your upside-down-LBJ stickers for \$4 per 1,000 from Housman's Bookstore, 5 Caledonian rd, London N1, U.K.

Booth proposes national action

President Johnson will be taking off every weekend until the election to stump for Democratic candidates and for the war. He has been avoiding trips to areas where demonstrations were guaranteed, and the Secret Service has been keeping demonstrators out of sight of the President, up to now with great success. The Antioch people broke through this veil of apparent support with their demonstration on Labor Day in Dayton.

Our publicly announced object should be to send LBJ back to Washington. We should promise to greet him with a demonstration wherever he may go in the next months.

The aim of this project would be to make visible the rising unpopularity with the Johnson Administration and to prove that the opposition to the war is found in every section of the country. We can do this because SDS exists in almost every state in the union, and probably half the congressional districts.

Many Democratic congressmen are already cautious about pinning their hopes for re-election on Lyndon's coattails, because of the Viet Nam war and because of the impact of inflated meat prices and tight consumer credit. The promise of anti-war demonstrations would make them even more wary about being tied to the war policy. Even pro-war Congressmen like John Race (D-Wisc.) are trying to disassociate themselves from Johnson; Race is doing this on the advice of LBJ's house pollster Oliver Quayle.

Columnists Evans and Novak, who reported on the poll for Rep. Race, also told on Aug. 21st of a proposed LBJ visit to Los Angeles which was scratched after a White House correspondent called the ADA there, asked them if they were going to greet LBJ with a demonstration, and apparently put ideas in their head.

As LBJ has toured around this summer, SDS groups have met unaccustomed hostility from the police. In Indiana, the cops clubbed demonstrators, throwing many into jail. In Syracuse, they denied permission for a demonstration within sight of the President. Secret Service policy is that demonstrators shall be kept out of LBJ's sight; this is probably unconstitutional and we should get the ACLU to get an injunction against the Secret Service from this kind of activity as an extension of their power to "protect" the President. If the Secret Service fights this, it should be clear that the President's thin patience with dissenters is at work.

Because of this national policy for containing demonstrators, SDS members must be prepared to engage in civil disobedience whenever LBJ comes near. If a permit can't be gotten that puts the demonstration in clear view of the President, we should be prepared to sneak in and chant, or unveil concealed banners, or otherwise put forth the demand to end the war in a visible way.

This national project could also make SDS visible again, and could demonstrate one of our strongest features - our national scope. At the time of the Viet Nam exam, the press took a skeptical attitude to our claim that the exam was handed out at over 750 campuses because so few of the groups staged demonstrations.

And it ought to bring out a lot of people who haven't demonstrated before, and each chapter should be prepared to follow this up with an educational seminar on the war. The National office should re-print the Vietnam Study Guide.

Finally, SDS should mobilize its allies in Washington into a coordinating effort to tip off local groups as far in advance as possible. The major task of SDS members there should be to follow the announcements of

trips, and to try to gain access to leads and advance word.

To summarize, I propose a National Interim Committee ballot immediately (we have been missing opportunities all summer and more each week) to approve a national action program of

- * demonstrations wherever Johnson appears
- * civil disobedience where necessary
- * a constitutional challenge to the Secret Service policy by attempting to gain an injunction.
- * chapter education programs to follow-up
- * attempts to get local candidates to disown the LBJ war policy
- * an information network for the project based in DC

SEND JOHNSON HOME!!

END THE WAR!!

Paul Booth
Hyde Park SDS

P. S. I hasten to add that I don't consider this a one-shot effort; we have a long-standing anti-war strategy of appealing to labor, church, and middle-class constituencies to broaden the opposition, and my assumption is that students recruited in the enthusiasm of anti-Lyndon demonstrations and trained in study groups could quickly take charge of "alperovitzing" teams speaking at church meetings and otherwise spreading the word.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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in defense of black power

An SDS Convention
Position Paper

by

Sy Landy and Charles Capper

SY is the Chairman of the New York Independent Socialist Club, a contributor to *New Politics*, and a former commentator on WBAI.

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BLACK POWER

IN THE MIDST of the debate over the call for "Black Power" in White America, radical Negro leaders have declared that they cannot give a detailed definition of the term. This position is only only consistent with the concept of Black Power -- in fact, it reveals the very essence of the concept: that the Negro people will themselves determine the direction of their own movement in the course of struggle.

BLACK POWER MARKS the beginning of a new stage in the struggle of a people toward social liberation, a stage as important today as was the Civil War and Reconstruction a century ago. For the Negro in America, the American heritage has meant centuries of slavery, transformed at last into corporate 'free enterprise' slavery, poverty, and physical terror. But beyond even the lynchings and poverty, the blood and hunger, has been the systematic attempt not only to crush the Negro but to make him accept his degradation as his just due. History and tradition weaved a blanket of social lies that smothered the Negro in his own supposed inhumanity, his fitness only for manual labor, his awareness of social and even physical dependence on the power and wealth of White America, his incapability of running his own life.

MUCH MORE IMPORTANT than explicit theories of Negro inferiority has been the conscious and unconscious racism that permeates the lives of whites living in a society built on the stooped backs of black people. Even more tragic, a great many Negroes have themselves accepted the racist concept of their own inferiority. Deliberately deprived of their African heritage, virtually denied the history of their own past rebellions, forced into patterns of deference by the need to survive, forced into the most menial jobs, forced into filthy slums and dirt road shacks, many American Negroes found it easy to accept the myth of their inferiority. It is a tribute to the human race in general and the Negro people in particular that such a system was not completely effective, that they could not be beaten down totally even by the vast powers aligned against them.

Though the white radical can empathize to a degree with the self-liberating effect of Black consciousness on the Negro people, only he who has been burdened with the myth of his own inferiority can know what that liberation really means. The experience of the Negro belongs to the Negro; only he knows how he feels, and only he can, in the course of struggle against the forces that oppress him, determine what he wants and how he intends to get it. In part, that is Black Power.

BEFORE ONE CAN even begin to discuss the political importance of Black Power, it is absolutely essential to understand the importance of this sense of Black consciousness in the building of a mass Negro movement.

A FEW YEARS AGO a sensational 'discussion' raged in the American press on "Black Nationalism." The greatest problem with this discussion was that a good deal of it was irrelevant. The crucial question for whites should have been, "Why?" Why were the Muslims, and before them the Garveyites, able to get such sizable and deep-rooted support and participation in the ghetto? Why were so many Negroes who did not join these groups so ambivalent and defensive, yet also so respectful toward them? Why did the spirit of "Nationalism" pervade so

much of the internal life of even the most integrated civil rights organization?

A BASIC REASON for this phenomenon was the need for self-identification and self-respect. American black society had for too long accepted the idea that Negroes were incapable of uniting and leading their own groups. Traditional civil rights organizations might "do good things," but the black man at the bottom could not identify himself with them. What appears to the white community to be 'integrated' organization often appears to the grassroots of the black community to be white-dominated. Central, then, to the appeal of Nationalism, even for those who rejected it, has been the hunger for Black pride. Back To Africa, a separate state, Muslimism -- all these ideas themselves hardly account for the popularity of nationalism. They were surface symbols of militancy, of a refusal to kneel to the white man.

BLACK POWER has a longer history in the Negro community. In the North we are familiar with it as an impulse, often unclear, sometimes conservative, sometimes radical, but always present. The Negro Church, even with its frequent ties to whites, even with its frequent implied message that "White is Good, Black is Bad," gained support as an instrument of Negroes. The growth of Negro political machines inside the old parties represented (and depended on) the aspiration for group identity, even if most of the benefits were at best vicarious. Even Uncle Toms were preferred to direct white control. The Negro press and fraternal groups are also wavering but perceptible indications that the Negro wanted his own institutions and his own power groups.

This trend is even more marked in the South. The central feature of Segregation was not separation of the races, it was the domination by whites of powerless Negroes. Black institutions were controlled by the white power structure. Established black community leaders depended for their power on the support they had in the white community. A "friend" of the whites could command some influence on a day-to-day level. A white could work his pleasure on the black community; the reverse was impossible. Segregation was not simply two separate communities; it was more closely akin to a ranch, on which the black cattle were penned off and fed as long as they suited the needs of their white owners; if they did not, they were slaughtered.

WHITE AMERICA HAS shown the Negro that he needs both identity and power. From this lesson springs the need and the motive for a Negro movement, led by and responsible to Negroes.

II

REPLIES THE LIBERAL, we have always urged support for civil rights organizations that are dedicated to bettering the lot of Negroes. Somehow SNCC and other Black Power militants seem to want a different kind of movement, they don't seem to want to integrate into American society. As we will try to show, this movement is of necessity different from other civil rights organizations in its relations to middle-class white America. And this difference, not the phony charge of "racism in reverse," is at the heart of much of the white reaction to Black Power -- a reaction that not only reveals SNCC's alienation from middle-class white America, but also the white liberal's commitment to it. But let's first take up this question of assimilation into American society from an historical perspective. Let us ask whether Black Power radically deviates from the American experience?

THE ANSWER, we think, is that it does and it doesn't.

ON THE ONE HAND, it should not seem strange, for almost all minority groups in the United States have gone through analogous processes. Very few groups have simply "translated," "assimilated," or "integrated" into the dominant society. In fact, behind the gauze coverlet of the great "melting pot," "all-Americans-unhyphenated-together-in-brotherhood," and "every-man-considered-as-an-individual" has always been the reality of defined ethnic groupings that make up our own society. Every politician making up a slate pays due heed to group self-identification patterns. The Irish consolidated themselves as a group, took over the church and gave it new content as an Irish institu-

tion, and formed and controlled many political institutions; the Jews built their manifold and powerful organizations; the Italians racial institutions; the Jews built their manifold and powerful organizations; the Italians cohered their consciousness as Italians rather than as fellow villagers when they reached these shores -- and so on. For separate groupings American society did not provide the option of simply blending in. Such a choice is only possible when a group becomes strong enough internally to utilize its force and command respect inwardly and outwardly.

IN THIS WAY is the Negro's course similar to that of other groups. However, there are significant differences. The most obvious is that the color line make the gulf between white and Black sharper, moreover, the other minorities came with intact cultures to be eroded over time, while the African's language and culture was decimated if not completely destroyed. And finally, the Negro was treated to the process of proclaimed inferiority, for more than others. Fourth, the other groups could begin to translate in by increasingly adapting to middle-class standards and by rising on the socio-economic ladder on a large scale. For the vast numbers of Negroes largely kept unskilled or semi-skilled and living in an increasingly fixed and stratified economy, this course is basically not open to them.

THESE FACTORS MEAN that the fight of the Negro is harder, sharper, and of necessity, more radical. For, if the goal is the self-raising of 20 million Black Americans, it can only be accomplished by a drastic and thorough change of the whole society--its politics, its economy, its culture.

ONE LAST POINT should be made in relation to the European ethnic minorities which is crucial to an understanding of the similarities and differences vis-a-vis the Negro. The European minority groups had outside allies even while they crystallized their power. The ethnic groups were frequently hostile to each other, nevertheless, over the long period of time, they tended to buttress each other and fight for common needs. Then, too, despite periods of intense hostility, a loose alliance with the labor movement aided the process. Given the difficulty of the Negro's revolution and, at the same time, his minority position in American society, the problem of alliances is more difficult, but crucially important.

BEFORE ONE CAN even talk about alliances, however, it is important to understand the absolute necessity for building an inter-

nally unified, strong, and self-respecting Negro movement. Only then, when Negroes have something strong enough that other groups can ally with it and not simply dominate it, can one consider the problems of alliances. The central problem with the Negro movement has been that there has not really been one capable of digging roots into Black communities and responding to the socio-psychological and political needs of the Negro masses. Black power, as we have seen in the preceding sections, is a radical response to that radical need.

BUT GIVEN THE NECESSARY development of such a movement, we still then pass to the problems of alliances. For sometime certain leaders within and without the Civil Rights movement have declared that the Southern Negro is in coalition with labor, the church groups, liberals, etc., within the political compass of the Democratic Party. They call for the intensification of this alliance and condemn the idea of Black Power as a method of isolating the Negro and destroying profitable alliances. They say it means that the Negro wants to go it alone and that this would be disastrous. Let us see.

LET US LOOK FIRST at the sort of alliances that the idea of Black Power, even at this early stage, implies; second, at the nature of the coalitionist alliances upon which the traditional civil rights groups have been based; and third, a more detailed and speculative analysis of the potential alliance growing out of the new Negro movement based on the idea of Black Power.

AT ONE LEVEL, the idea of Black Power clearly addresses itself to the question of white student allies.

A RECENTLY PUBLISHED SNCC position paper puts it: "This is not to say that the whites have not had an important role in the movement. In the case of Mississippi, their role was very key in that they helped give Blacks the right to organize, but that role is now over, and it should be." White students and others have participated in a variety of situations in the South and have been crucial in quite a number. Now the concept of Black Power has been advanced and it means simply that a stage of struggle has been reached in which Negroes want control over their own fight, its policies, and its destiny. This decision is both strategic and democratic. Strategic in that it is based on the best way to build a strong Negro movement; democratic in that it states that Negroes should control their own organizations. Any white who feels that he has an "inherent right" to be part of the leader-

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black power (cont.)

ship of the movement is only expressing his own feelings about the inability and/or illegitimacy of Negroes to build and lead their own organizations.

AS WE HAVE SEEN, it became increasingly clear that the fight has to be waged by digging deeper and more permanent roots among the Negro people themselves in the South. Consequently, the position of whites in leadership roles became increasingly ambiguous. Their very presence, no matter how well-intentioned, was at some variance with the need for involvement of black people. The Negro, more than anyone, has had to go through the process of recognition that blacks are able to lead, have ideas, and can organize themselves. Articulate, advantaged, middle-class white students impede this process of recognition. Given this need and the conservatism of the Negro's allies -- labor, liberals, and so forth -- the development of mass black movements has become of crucial importance.

BITTER EXPERIENCE with "laws" and "gains" wrested from federal and state governments has shown that they have little content unless there is a powerful mass movement on the scene to force compliance. The need to involve masses of Negroes means a black movement, but it does not mean the end of alliances with white radicals or social movements of whites. Quite the opposite. The SNCC statements have explicitly advised white activists to organize in their own communities. In fact, the hope for this sort of black-white alliance depends in a real sense on the activity of white radicals in such predominately white movements as the labor movement. Black Power is not a policy of self-isolation, but a strategy for building a strong, unified Negro movement and a call for more meaningful alliances.

BUT BEFORE we discuss more fully the nature of these (potential) new alliances, we should examine the nature of the coalitionist alliances of the old-line civil rights groups.

BLACK POWER COMES at a concrete time, in response to concrete conditions and concrete alliances. The trouble with the recent alliances is that they reduce the black ally to a subordinate status. It has become obvious that the price demanded by these allies is the abandonment of militancy and a militant demands. The real worth of the labor bureaucrats and liberals as allies was demonstrated conclusively at the 1964 Democratic Party convention, when the Mississippi Freedom Democrats demanded to be seated as the only loyal delegation from that state. The Negroes' "friends" put pressure on them to capitulate. Such a capitulation would have meant selling out and destroying the mass movement of Negroes in Mississippi, but that was secondary to the need of the labor bureaucrats and liberals to play ball with Johnson.

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL campaign that followed, the attempts by the lib-labs to high-pressure the Negro movement into a moratorium on demonstrations and militant activity underlined the nature of the "alliance." Fearful that such activity would create a white backlash in favor of Goldwater, they tried to present a picture of happy Negroes contented with their gains and making no further demands on White America. As we have seen, the moratorium did not prevent a white backlash; it merely persuaded it to vote for Johnson. A real alliance would have fought for the Negro, not for Johnson. At the least it could have forced Johnson to make some concessions to the Negro instead of moving to the right to incorporate the white backlash.

THE FACT THAT the AFL-CIO has still not cleaned its house of internal discrimination and its failure to fight for the low-seniority and unemployed workers (a large percentage of the Negro community is in these two categories) renders it an even more dubious ally at this time.

BUT EVEN THIS is not the worst aspect of the present "alliance" when we turn our gaze on the South.

CONTRARY TO the hopes of radicals, the struggle in the South did not come about as the result of a poor Negro-poor white alliance. The South has gone through a rapid transformation since World War II. It is now more urban than rural, if only by a few percentage points; whole areas are now highly industrialized. But while economic power has shifted to the cities, political power has lagged behind and tended to stay in the hands of small-town businessmen and lawyers and plantation owners in the black belt. The Democratic Party and the state legislatures were almost exclusively pork-barrel trading posts. When the threat of a CIO organizing drive receded, the urban upper and middle classes tried to change their political status from that of junior partner to rural and small town interests to senior partner. This was the reason for the reapportionment fights in the border and more industrial states. The spearhead of this fight was an alliance of financial, industrial, and mercantile interests plus the new, more sophisticated, middle classes.

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE of the '50s was concentrated in urban areas. Slowly an alliance emerged between the Negro leadership and the urban upper classes. For example, the "pro-civil rights" Mayor of Atlanta (the banking center of the South) is the former head of the Chamber of Commerce, and the Vice-Mayor formerly led the realty interests of the city. The pattern is duplicated through much of the developed South. Sometimes the coalition is easy; sometimes the business community is a most grudging "ally." The labor movement in the South plays virtually no role.

THIS COALITION has resulted in precious little for the Negro. The political complexion of his allies ranges from conservative Republican to Johnson Democrat. As a result, after agonizing struggles, the Negro's gains have been only token in most areas.

THE GOAL OF THE Southern white moderates is racial peace. But the impoverished Negro community needs a social, economic, and racial revolution. The urban white upper classes will go only so far and no farther. They tend to moderate their already-modest

goals in order to keep their allies in the rural areas. The rural upper classes want to modernize and industrialize, so they are beginning to move toward tokenism to achieve social peace. As a result, the opposition to Negro demands is shifting from the town business-oriented White Citizens Councils to lower levels of the white population in the form of the Klan.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE will hardly advocate a program that can make a difference in the daily life of the average poor Negro. In Atlanta, for example, where Negroes can vote more or less freely, until recently only a few saw voting as a meaningful way to change their lives. The cost of the alliance to the Negro was that the black community could not be organized. Any program of Black Power or of radical economic demands would be inconsistent with what could be cajoled from the business and middle-class groups that dominate the alliance.

WHERE THE NEGRO PEOPLE have been solidly organized on independent lines, as in the Mississippi Freedom Democrats and the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, their former white "allies" quickly disappeared from view. Phony alliances cannot continue when the real aspirations of the Negro are put forward.

IF THE PRESENT alliance pattern continues, it means the end of any possibility of developing deeply-rooted Negro organizations in the South. Instead, a coalition will come into being between white business and the upper levels of the Negro community. The great mass of Negroes will still be out in the cold.

THE REAL QUESTION for the Negro movement vs not, whether or not to have alliances. The question is, what kind of alliances, with whom, and toward what ends?

BLACK POWER MEANS, if carried through, the rupture of present alliances and changes in Negro leadership. Alliances between large social groupings are not broken sharply or in one day. Sections of departing allies hang on and serve as brakes on the movement. Moderate leaders hang on as long as they can. The publicity given them in the mass media give them the appearance of strength. They can even gain small successes by pressuring their white cohorts

to give a little and avert a more militant leadership. Revolutions are processes that develop over time. They wane and wax. But if the present alliances disappear, whether slowly or rapidly, what new ones seem likely? Or will the Negro movement isolate itself? Where is the South, in America, can new social alliances be forged?

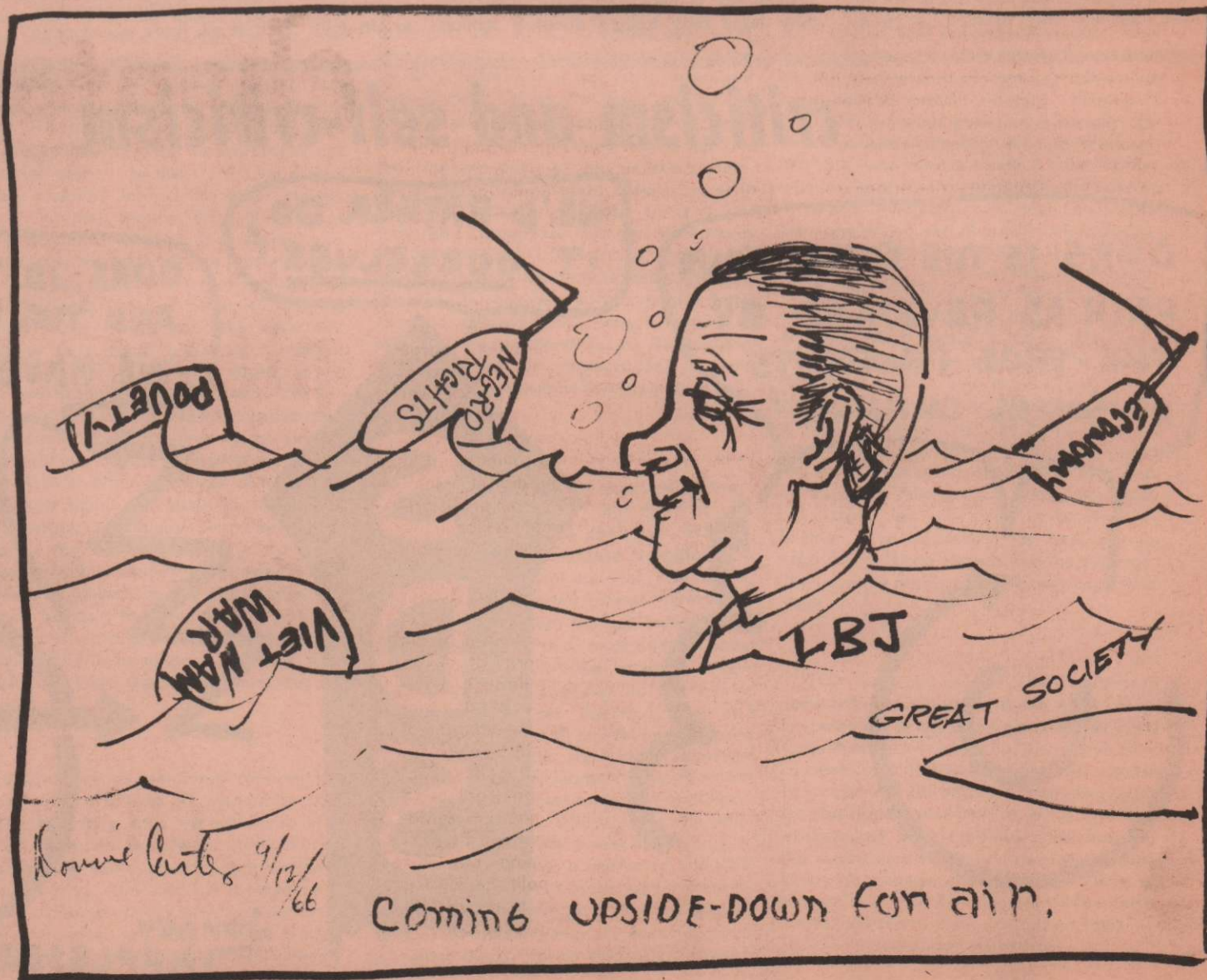
BLACK POWER DOES NOT preclude future alliances. The idea that it does arises from confusion. If the Negro community organizes itself, future allies will have to respect its power. They will not be able to subordinate it to their own needs. But this only means that any such alliance will be genuine.

IT IS ONLY in liberal mythology that meaningful alliances occur on the basis of brotherly love. The best cement for an alliance is common interest.

THE MOST FAR-REACHING and integrated alliance that has ever involved the Negro in the South was the Populist Party. S. Vann Woodward and other historians have pointed to this fact, although the plebian Negro-white relationship was temporary and sporadic. The joint effort that occurred at that time was the result of a recognition of common interests by two separate organizations. A white farmers' organization and a black farmers' organization came together in the Populist Party out of common necessity and forced mutual respect. The Southern poor white and the Negro loved each other no more than now. Integration, to the extent that it occurred, was a side result; the mutual goal was economic, social, and political advancement.

SAMUEL LUBELL has documented the patterns of Negro and white voting in the South. He shows that, while Negroes and the upper strata of the white community vote similarly on racial issues, on economic issues the poor whites and Negroes tend to vote alike. We know that historically there are great class divisions in the white community, divisions that have often led to violence. We know that strains still exist--unemployment, underemployment, and low wage levels oppress the poor white as well as the Negro. Moreover, there is growing resentment among poor whites toward the racial policies of the white upper class whose policy of tokenism affects only them and not the big shots.

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Toward The Working Class

An SDS Convention
Position Paper

by

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Why do socialists view the working class as a potentially revolutionary force? Is it not true that the AFL-CIO actively supports and participates in America's Imperialist policies? Isn't it even true that the white mobs that have attacked Civil Rights demonstrators in Chicago and beat up Negro youths in Baltimore were composed of working class teenagers and adults? The answers to all of these questions and many more like them must be, Yes! Well, then, what is so revolutionary about the working class.

First of all, it must be pointed out that socialists do not identify with the working class because they "idealize" workers. Much less do socialists entertain illusions about the trade union movement and its well entrenched leadership. White workers in racist mobs are not excused because they are workers; union bureaucrats who attempt to "educate" Latin American workers in the glories of the American Way of Life are not excused because they function as labor

leaders. Socialists, like any radical worth his salt, struggle to defend the Negro community from white racists and to build a revolutionary workers movement in Latin America. In fact, the socialist view of the working class is not based on any set of purely moral positions; it is approached from a different point of view.

To begin with, the socialist view of the working class as a potentially revolutionary force is based upon an analysis of the social position of the working class. The most obvious fact about the working class, is that it is socially situated at the heart of modern capitalism's basic, and in fact defining, institution, industry. Industry, be it production or service, is so much the heart of American society that you can say it is what defines the structure of society, that is, what decides who is rich, fair to middling, poor. This sounds so obvious to any radical that you might wonder why we have even mentioned it. The point can be made by way of a comparison. If welfare recipients organize and create an insurgency in the welfare system that is highly successful in the end they have only helped about 8 million

people. It would be an important fight and a great victory for those who are on welfare but it would hardly scratch the surface of American society. On the other hand, if there were a general insurgency in industry, wages, etc. were raised, workers were given democratic control over their jobs, etc., tens of millions would be affected, the whole basis of the American economy would be changed. The point is not that welfare recipients or Negroes should not struggle, they should and must; the point is that the working class has a uniquely strategic position in American society -- they are at the root of the economy. They are at the root of the same economy that causes poverty and creates welfare institutions. The working class is not the only group that must struggle to revolutionize American society, but it is a group that cannot be left out of this struggle.

There is another social fact that gives workers a unique place in any movement that would revolutionize society. For the most part, workers do not need to be organized in the same rudimentary way that poor communities must be organized. Workers are already organized. They are organized by the very conditions under which they work. They are organized in factories, warehouses, giant stores, mass transportation, offices. Every day they are brought together by their employer. Furthermore, they are brought together under circumstances which they do not control. Workers are not allowed to forget "their place". For nearly half a worker's waking existence the conditions of his work struggle against those things that divide him from other workers, race, religion, politics, etc. In short, the collective conditions of employment under which most workers work provide a cohesion greater than any neighborhood. This is why, when the working class does move, as it did in the 1930's and 40's it moves in a massive way.

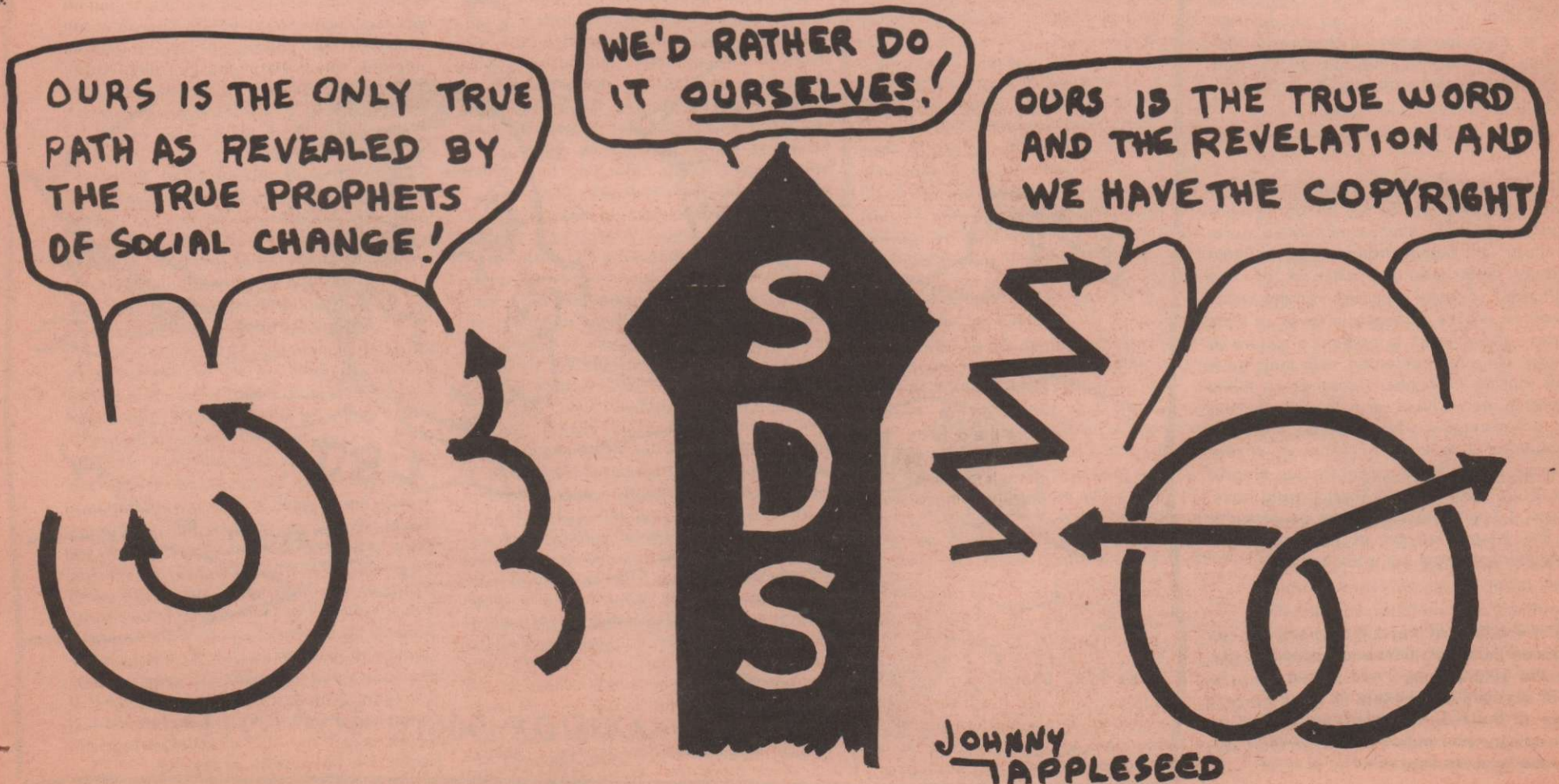
Alright, these are advantages that workers, if they ever move in a progressive way again, have over other sectors of society, but what is to guarantee that the workers will ever move? In fact, workers, or at least some sections of the working class, are always struggling and moving. For the most part, the continuing struggles is visible. Later we shall discuss the existence and extent of these struggles, for now it is necessary to point out why workers are compelled to struggle. First of all, there is just plain

old economic necessity, bread and butter. Everyone knows that the bosses do not usually just grant raises to workers. In one way or another, usually through unions, workers must fight for what they earn, be that a lot or little. One of the greatest snow jobs done on the American people has been convincing them that most workers have "made it". They're not rich, of course, but they have a home, etc., etc., "Many workers do have homes, etc., etc., but the fact remains that the basic condition of life for most workers is one of insecurity. The average worker in manufacturing now makes about \$95 a week, which isn't much if you have a family as most workers do. In transportation it is a little higher and in the service industries it is lower. As the cost of living rises workers must struggle harder to meet their bills, to feed their kids. In their struggle to maintain a decent existence, workers must fight not only the bosses, but today also the government. Workers face not only the resistance of the corporations, but the 3.2 guidelines and the threat of injunctions from the Federal Government. For those who have doubts about the willingness of workers to struggle for progressive ends, take a look at the recent airlines strike of the International Association of Machinists. Not only did this strike hold out against the threats of a Congressional injunction, but the rank and file had the guts to flatly reject a settlement pushed by Johnson himself. What other organized group of 30,000 has so clearly flaunted the President's will in recent months? An interesting political side light to this strike is that four IAM locals have recently called for a break with the Democratic Party and the formation of a third party. Keep in mind that this was a struggle that occurred without the benefit of radical organizers, it was, in a way, a spontaneous act.

There is another area of insecurity that workers face that most people are not aware of. That is the fact that a worker's job is still not a completely secure thing. The lay-off and hiring systems of most manufacturing corporations is still such that a worker unless he has a great deal of seniority, is not sure what he will be doing next year. In some industries, such as shipping and long-shoremen's work, a man may seldom find a full week's work. Construction is, of course, seasonal, so that the relatively high wages paid are usually diluted by unemployment or the need to take a lower paying job or travel long distances to find work. Added

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criticism and self-criticism



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to these long standing problems, is the fact of automation. In addition to such unemployment as automation has caused, it has begun to transform the structure of the work force. This has meant that many workers are forced into new jobs, usually paying less. Employment in manufacturing has remained static, while public and service employment has grown. Service employment is lower paying and even more degrading than manufacturing work. The fastest growing areas of public employment are, because of educational requirements, closed to most workers. Although this process has many implications, the primary point here is that it has caused even greater insecurity for many workers. It should be pointed out, even though it will be mentioned later, that this situation goes a long way to explain why in the absence of a program for revolutionary struggle, some white workers have turned their frustrations on the Negro.

In addition to the workers' economic problems and situation, there is his position at the point of production. Much has been said on the Left about "alienation." Historically this concept referred to the alienation of labor, the fact that the worker found himself to be an appendage of the machine. This idea was formulated by Marx and others in the nineteenth century, but it has even more meaning today. Today's worker in no sense controls the conditions of his work. In production, the very motions and speed of the workers activity are determined by the machine he faces. Automation, far from curing or alleviating this situation, has exacerbated it. There is, today, a tremendous speed-up on America's production lines which makes greater and greater physical demands on the worker and incidentally, also decreases his relative share of the national wealth. A great many wild-cat strikes have occurred over the speed-up. Related to this point is the necessity of the worker to struggle for greater control over the conditions of his work. Since the early days of the Industrial Revolution, workers have struggled to gain a say in the work process, but automation has made this struggle even more crucial. Not only has automation produced a speed-up, but in many industries it has actually made the work load heavier. Pro-automation contracts such as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has signed, have caused greater job insecurity for many workers and heavier physical labor for those with security. For signing such a contract, Harry Bridges and the ILWU officialdom faced a rank and file insurgency of Negro workers.

In summary, it should now be clear that workers have reason to struggle against the status-quo. What is most important is that these reasons for struggle are the defining characteristics of the worker's everyday life. If he is to maintain his dignity, his economic security, and even his health, the worker must struggle. Furthermore, the conditions of his work and his social position are such that he must struggle collectively, in concert with those of his class. His struggle involves not only "bread and butter" but also the struggle against a government which is dead set against the worker gaining "too much." In fact, as we shall see, the worker does struggle constantly.

Well, if the worker is always struggling, then why is the AFL-CIO almost never struggling? Historically, in America, the unions are the organizational form through which workers have struggled. Unlike most countries in the world, labor has never developed its own political arm -- a labor, social-democratic, or revolutionary party. Workers, to a greater extent than any other social grouping besides the ruling class, have shown an enormous capacity for self-organization on a democratic basis. The initial organization of any industry has almost always been done by the workers themselves. In some

cases they have gone on to form their own unions, in others they have called in or been approached by already existing unions -- as in the 1930's. Whatever the case, there has not been, and will not be, any guarantee that over time such mass organizations will not become bureaucratic. Without going into the complex history of the bureaucratization of American labor unions, suffice it to say this is what happened to virtually every union in the country. To a certain extent this was due to the relative prosperity of the 1950's when the level of worker's struggle and therefore participation was rather low, but even here there are important exceptions. For instance, one of the most massive rank and file struggles against bureaucracy and for a militant fighting policy was waged in the 1950's in the United Steel Workers -- the so-called Dues Protest Committee and the Organization for Membership Rights. Nonetheless, by the time our generation of radicals arrived on the political scene, the unions had become highly bureaucratized institutions. Specifically, this has meant that well entrenched officials have had all the decision making powers. It is important to understand that a group of bureaucrats that have held high office in large organizations such as unions for years and years -- as is the case in most unions -- no longer have the same experience as workers in the shops. The union bureaucrats function in a different social milieu than workers. They live with the upper-middle classes, they hob-nob with leaders of industry, they visit the white house. Workers, of course, do none of these things. The result is that the union "leaders," those who make the policy, lean not toward the workers, but toward the rulers of his nation. Since most unions are rigidly bureaucratic, there is little opportunity for the workers to make their voices heard, under normal circumstances. Hence, there have developed in the last few years insurgencies of rank and file union members to regain control of their unions, or at least make their wishes known. Occasionally, this pressure from below forces the bureaucracy to wage a good fight and call a big strike, such as the transport workers strike in New York or the recent airlines strike. Generally, the struggle of the workers against the labor bureaucracy goes on without public attention and without press coverage. Even a dramatic event like the murder of the Painters' rank and file leader, Dow Wilson, is able to find only small coverage in one or two papers -- and then only as a result of the determined efforts of serious labor reformers.

Yet, invisible or not, this struggle goes on, day in and day out. What is most important here is that this struggle defines, for a socialist, what "orienting toward the working class" means. When workers, to advance their interests and build a militant struggle are fighting the bureaucrats of their own unions, as well as the bosses and the government, it is clear that we, socialists and radicals, look to the rank and file workers as our potential allies. So here it is, we do not mean orienting toward the labor officialdom -- Reuther, Meany, Wurf, Bridges, or even Helstein. We wish to dissociate ourselves, and we hope SDS as a whole, from the bankrupt, coalitionist notion that rubbing shoulders with Walter Reuther is "orienting toward the working class." The labor officialdom, as a social grouping, is neither capable of nor interested in social revolution and participatory democracy. We are far less impressed with the liberal posturings of certain labor officials than we are with the relatively inarticulate struggling of rank and file workers. When we speak of looking to organized labor, we mean the struggling rank and file. Our attitude toward the bureaucracy is that they should be kicked out of office and the unions remade into democratic workers organizations. We do not reject the unions, because they are the only mass organizations of workers today, but the function of the radical in the unions is to change them -- to fight to make them truly democratic and militant.

We have already mentioned rank and file struggle in the unions. To support the contention that they exist we will refer to a few of them. In the United Auto Workers, regarded by some liberals as a model of democracy, rank and file insurgency is nearly universal. Every election year there is a tremendous turn-over of local leadership -- the union's structure makes it nearly

impossible to throw out the International leadership. In the last couple of years there have been countless wild-cat strikes in the UAW. The issues involve contract sell-outs, greater job control, and union democracy. Reuther and his staff have consistently attempted to absorb or simply crush these insurgencies. In the UAW, militant rank and file activity is regarded, by the leadership as "irresponsible." In the United Steel Workers, the rank and file fights of the 1950's have continued to this day. Although I.W. Abel's victory over MacDonald was meaningless in itself, it was a reflection of the wide-spread discontent among the workers. The hottest area of revolt in the USW is in the Pittsburgh-Mackeesport area. A long-standing revolt in the Paper Workers has resulted in the formation of an independent union, the Western Federation of Paper Workers, and a bolt to the Teamsters on the East Coast. There have been, in the last couple of years, countless insurgencies in the Machinists' Union (IAM). Until recently, the President of the IAM was Al Hayes, Chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Board and a member of the LID. Hayes, the liberals liberal, expelled workers from his union and has placed dozens of locals under trusteeships, refusing any basic democratic rights to union members. Philadelphia Teamsters carried out a bloody wild-cat strike against the opposition of Hoffa. (Most rank and file struggles have involved both Negro and white workers.) In virtually every union they are allowed in, Negro militants have struggled for equal rights as union members. Literally hundreds of examples could be given to support the idea that the workers continue to struggle, but there isn't space here for that. The fact remains that every major union has experienced, in the last few years, significant rank and file struggle. The class struggle has not disappeared, it has simply been forced to take on a new set of enemies, the labor bureaucracy.

A corollary to rank and file struggle in existing unions is the growth of an independent union movement. In California, the militant Grape Workers have formed the National Farm Workers' Association, which is now spreading to other states. The Grape Workers have placed their militancy above affiliation with the AFL-CIO and have had to fight attempts by the Teamsters to get sweetheart contracts. In Mississippi, SNCC attempted to set up the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union for farm workers. Although this attempt has not been very successful, it did produce some militant struggles. In Baltimore, the Maryland Freedom Union has been organizing low-paid Negro retail workers with great success. The MFU has won contracts that AFL-CIO unions said were impossible to win. Across the country, social workers (believe it or not) have organized independent unions that have waged unusually militant struggles and linked up with welfare recipient organizations to fight for the transformation of the welfare system. All of these independent unions are militant and democratic. They serve as an important example for rank and file workers in bureaucratic AFL-CIO unions. These independent unions have come about because the AFL-CIO has refused to organize these areas of employment. They are not dual unions in the traditional sense. But they are militant workers' organizations that are developing progressively more radical political ideals.

So, the working class is impelled to struggle and does struggle. But there is still a major question to be dealt with. What is the political outlook of these struggles? Do they have a political outlook? The fact is, that generally rank and file insurgencies do not have a consistent political outlook. Like movements of the poor or of students, they grope around for political answers. When workers are struggling collectively for their interests the thrust of the struggle is progressive and they are responsive to radical ideas. Historically, socialists in the shops have found it easy to relate their ideas, or at least some of those ideas, to these struggles. Very seldom do political ideas come from a vacuum. Workers, like anyone else who is frustrated, will look around for ideas that make sense to them. When they are struggling they are open to radical ideas, when they are not struggling, or when there are no radicals around,

they may listen to others. This is why certain groups of white workers in south-east Chicago turn into racist mobs and a few of the most frustrated turn to right wing groups. The right wing groups appeal to the workers, in a distorted way, on the basis of their experience in their neighborhoods. The neighborhood experience of workers is not necessarily radicalizing, there frustration can be turned against the Negro. In the shop or in the union it is somewhat different. Right wingers have very little to say about militant unionism. Radicals, on the other hand, have a great deal to say about it. All of this leads to two points. On the one hand, radicals must relate to the working class to workers is in the shops.

The union movement was the stomping ground of the Old Left, and look where it got them. It's not too hard to see why the Old Left failed to radicalize very many workers. The failure of the Socialist Party to gain a following in the working class from the 1930's on, stemmed from the fact that the SP never really oriented toward the rank and file workers. It is no accident that the SP and its various subsidiaries, such as the LID, have coalitionist politics. These are the politics of the labor officialdom. Such workers and left wing socialists as do exist in the SP come from a different tradition entirely and do not play much of a role in party policy making. The SP is conservative and coalitionist because it has no other hope for survival. The Communist Party is a somewhat different problem. Although it is also true of the CP that its primary orientation was toward the labor leadership, this was true in a different way. From 1936 on, when the CP had some influence in the labor movement, the Party's primary tactic was to wrangle its members and sympathizers into positions of power in the unions. This was done under cover -- "ain't nobody here but us progressives" -- and through manipulation. When it adopted the Popular Front line, CPers, being politically indistinguishable from any good liberal, were able to gain some control in a number of unions. But they did not educate the workers in radicalism. Indeed, they could not do this as they did not function as radicals themselves. Furthermore, the CP tended to act on the basis of Soviet foreign policy requirements rather than on the basis of the needs of the workers. Hence, after Hitler invaded Russia, the CP became super-patriots and pushed such anti-labor policies as no-strike pledges. Needless to say, you cannot work effectively with workers if you are obliged to follow the abstractions of one or another nations foreign policy. In fact, Communist "internationalism" is really a form of nationalism -- at that time Russian nationalism. Following the war, the CP argued, for a while for the continuation of wage restraints -- not very popular among workers. Finally, in 1948, CP unionists pushed the socially abstract, classless campaign of Henry Wallace. Wallace, who always made it clear that he was for "progressive capitalists" did not run a radical campaign. In fact, his whole message was a sort of mushy call to Soviet-American friendship. Needless to say, this did not attract many working class votes. By the end of all of these fiascoes, the CP union leadership had no real rank and file support, which made it rather easy for MacCarthyism to destroy many of the CP controlled unions. One could drum up the old failures and crimes of certain Old Left groups for pages, but the point is made. You cannot organize workers for radical politics by manipulation or flirtation with the bureaucracy. Participatory democracy is just as viable for workers as for anyone. In fact, it is absolutely the best way to organize workers, because it is the only way that actually builds revolutionary consciousness.

From the point of view of revolutionary socialists, consciousness is the most important element of workers organization. By and large American workers have economic class consciousness and trade union consciousness. They can and do organize their own struggles for limited specific ends. What American workers lack most is political consciousness; the realization that they can organize politically to change the entire structure of society in a way that will benefit them and almost everyone else -- except perhaps the

(continued on page 8)

REPLY TOMAHER

New Politics

by Paul Booth

In New Left Notes 29, John Maher wrote a very misleading and in some respects downright inaccurate description of the National Conference for New Politics. In addition to reporting on the August 20th NCNP Board meeting, I feel called upon to correct some false impressions he gave.

John has some justified complaints about the Ann Arbor training institute. The burden of criticism should not fall on the liberal bogeymen, but on Bob Gottlieb of N.Y. SDS and on myself, who took a large chunk of the responsibility for the institute, and failed to deliver. Scheer did not show up uninvited (he was invited).

He makes it sound like the staff of NCNP stole "movement money" and spirited it off to the Morgan campaign. In the first place, the total amount recruited from national sources for the Morgan and other peace campaigns probably is less than that recruited from similar sources for Ryan's campaign for Mayor of New York; the money that went to Morgan wouldn't have gone to build radical politics anyway. In the second place, the NCNP Board was making allocations somewhat in the dark, and since has realized that without direct ties to activity in the local level, it will be likely to make mistakes in the future. It is moving the adjust for that problem. As for cash voted by the NCNP Board goes, by my calculation almost exactly 50% has gone to the movement.

He makes a great deal out of the shoddy treatment received by the Scheer campaign (which raised on its own much more than the NCNP dispensed to all parties) at the hands of the NCNP. Justified. But then he should not turn around and attack the notion of liberals and radicals cooperating in electoral politics to build a base of opposition and register protest. For that is what happened in the Scheer campaign, and very successfully so. And NCNP sees, belatedly to be sure, the Scheer campaign as its model.

At lunch after the Ann Arbor workshop, John agreed with Clark Kissinger, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Steve Max and myself that rather than asking the SNCC and SDS members to withdraw from the Board, they should go back to the Board to try to commit it to a long-term, organizing perspective. This we have done, successfully.

Finally, Maher says that Brothers Booth and Webb have acted on their own hook in NCNP. That is only true as far as the early days of NCNP go. After the Antioch NC, we have followed the letter of the SDS resolution on electoral politics, a good resolutions whose categories of judgment have been shown valid all spring and summer. I have reported promptly on every NCNP Board meeting I attended. One that went unreported in NLN was one that I missed.

Other factual inaccuracies: Morgan was not the chief beneficiary, but received between 1/4 and a third of cash dispensed. Brother Kissinger did not expect to receive half of the proceeds of the fundraising party for Senator Morse in Chicago. At that party, incidentally (my only contact with Morgan) Morgan talked about the military-industrial complex and gave more of an understanding of the roots of the war than Morse did. While we're at it, it might be mentioned that whatever his deficiencies as a campaigner, Morgan was an obstinate enough opponent of private interests as a Federal Power Commissioner to have been forced out of that position by the Kennedy Administration, a fact which our friend from Oregon didn't see fit to mention in his fulminations against imperialist peace candidates.

I am most upset about Maher's piece because it fails so utterly to give any hint at the make-up of NCNP; for all the reader could tell, NCNP would be made up of liberal politicians on the make. From Maher's piece, no one could predict that the NCNP Board would unanimously endorse the concept of Black Power, decide to send \$1000 to Lowndes County despite an almost empty bank account, and adopt a solid, independent, organizing perspective. Part of this can be attributed to growth on the part of some of the liberals (growth that would be seriously stunted if we adopted John's holier-than-thou attitude, an attitude which I know he doesn't operate on except in this NLN article). Part of it, most of it, simply reflects where this collection of people were at to start with.

NCNP defined its priority for the period after November to be facilitating of the

opening of local offices, hiring of organizers, organizing of conferences, and otherwise contributing to the building of locally based new politics movement. Key local electoral campaigns will also be backed (people had in mind the aldermanic races in Chicago in February). A lecturer-organizer bureau is being set up, to send speakers around the country to meet with peace-politics and liberal groups to urge them to take a longer-term view and set up permanent shop.

NCNP declared that its commitment to building grass-roots organization is based on the need to gain power for the new politics views. NCNP supports the idea of "black power", and follows the analogy to the need of poor whites, Mexican-Americans, workers, citizens unable to set their foreign policy, etc., to determine their own destiny.

NCNP is not about to become a membership organization, and intends to continue to raise money and disburse it on a national level. However, it will call a national Convention in February, inviting locally-based new politics movement; that Convention would put the group on a permanent basis, elect a new Board, set the direction of the organization, etc.

I think it would help clear up the nature of NCNP if a list of its Board members were published here. These are:

Paul Alber, Californians for Liberal Representation.

Julian Bond, SNCC (Co-Chairman) -- Steering Committee

Paul Booth, SDS -- Steering Committee

Stokely Carmichael, SNCC

Si Casady, California (Co-Chairman) -- Steering Committee

Rev. Wm. Sloane Coffin, New Haven

Victoria Gray, MFD -- Steering Comm.

Dick Gregory, Chicago

Mrs. Lucy Montgomery, Chicago.

Martin Peretz, Mass. -- Steering Comm.

Don Rothenberg, CLR -- Steering Comm.

Benjamin Spock, SANE

Monte Wasch, Bronx reform Dems.

Arthur Waskow, Institute for Policy Studies

Lee Webb, SDS

Henry Wineberg, Chicago Voters for Peace

Mike Wood, National Student Assn.

(organizations listed to identify)

The last Board meeting invited six more people to join the Board: Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace, Cesar Chavez of the Farm Workers, Terry Jefferson of Newark Community Union, Mark Stone -- NCNP public relations consultant who also does RAMPARTS pr, Sue Thrasher of SSOC, and Peter Weiss the President of the Am. Committee on Africa.

NCNP also declared itself independent of any party, party faction, or personal following. The Board members understand that it is an independent base of power, not a Draft-Bobby campaign, that will contribute most to changing our foreign policy. They are not people to write off as quickly as John and many in SDS the idea of supporting an anti-Johnson candidate who would promise to end the war. I believe that many will want to offer new politics candidates for delegate to the Democratic Convention pledged to vote against LBJ. The NCNP hasn't defined its 1968 strategy yet; Julian Bond is chairing a committee on 1968, which includes Lee Webb and one other person whose name I've forgotten. We should address ourselves to that problem of national strategy.

More important, SDS people should be active locally in educating the middle-class peace movement to the questions of power and politics. I believe that these people can be rallied in support of a militant anti-draft campaign; we should talk about projects that speak to middle-class misgivings about foreign policy "where they are at" and could politicize large numbers of them. And SDS people should play a politicizing role in peace campaigns, as well. I hope that the Convention workshop on electoral politics will get down to cases on how that politicizing has been done; I fear that it will be another fruitless harangue on the impurity of electoral activity. Those harangues, we should keep in mind, are the most effective means for rendering SDS more and more irrelevant to a constituency which looks to us for leadership.

-- Paul Booth

P.S. Aren't we fortunate to have a non-editor for *New Left Notes* so that we needn't worry about non-accuracy?

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the working class

(continued from page 7)

capitalists and their politicians. This sort of consciousness does not develop automatically—not for workers, welfare clients, the poor, or anyone. Much of it must be taught. This is the primary job of radicals. But, let us stress again political consciousness cannot be imparted by manipulation. The radical that seeks to bring a political message to the workers must share in the experiences and struggles of the workers. It is not enough to be the best radical, he must also be the best rank and file unionist. This brings us to the practical point of this paper.

SDS, as an organization, and SDS members should orient toward the working class as the decisive social sector in bringing about the transformation of American society. This should be true both of our intellectual analysis and our action programs. In addition to organizing the poor, SDS should begin seeking ways to politically organize workers, as workers, that is in the shops. Now that the Black Ghetto movement has raised the slogan of Black Power and decided that the Black Movement should be led by Blacks, white radicals should accept their responsibility to organize whites. As radicals who support the concept of Black Power, we are forced by the logic of this position to turn our efforts toward the white community. It should be obvious that the writers of this document believe that this must mean organizing in the white working class. There are, of course, other possibilities, but we feel that this would be the most fruitful. Our responsibility in this matter is enormous, for given the racial polarization that is occurring, it is clear that if we do not organize white workers there are others who will -- with disastrous results.

In the last year or so there has been a growing orientation among SDSers to work in the labor movement in one way or another. Some students have organized university employees on their campus. Others have supported strikes or leafleted workers. Still others have taken jobs on union staffs as organizers. We believe that supporting strikes, organizing workers for independent unions or even existing unions is good, but it is not enough. Furthermore, there is a sort of hierarchy of value in these activities. Working on a union staff may provide good experience for a student or ex-student but it cannot be a place from which political work can be done. The type of political work expected of union staff members is quite different from what we are talking about -- that should be obvious to all. As a union staff member, your primary loyalty, whether you view it that way or not, is to the bureaucracy. You will, in that situation, find yourself doing coalitionist political work, even if you are allowed to do the more or less radical end of that work. The point is not that being a union organizer is selling out, it is not; but that you cannot do serious radical political work from that position. Participating in organizing drives, particularly militant, independent ones like the Grape Worker's drive, can also be a good experience for students. It is preferable to actually being on the union staff since you can, as a volunteer, maintain your independence and be more open about your politics. But obviously, as a student volunteer your position is different from that of the workers and your involvement more peripheral. As with supporting strikes, that amount of real political work you can do is strictly limited. Such activity does, however, serve one good purpose, to show the workers that those demonstrating students they see on television happen to be on their side. This is worthwhile, but it still is not enough. Eventually, if the radical movement is to make a serious impact, radicals must go into the shops in the same way they have gone into poor communities.

We want to make it clear what we think working in the working class involves. First of all, it can not be done lightly. It is an extremely serious thing to decide to devote

a good portion of your life to working in industry. There can be no romanticizing this, because it simply is not romantic. Not everyone is suited to do this sort of thing and it should not be made into some sort of moral virtue, excelling all other virtues, to be "in the shops." More concretely, the person who plans to enter the working class must have an ideological commitment to the working class. Those who believe that workers are fat-cats, or that the revolution will be made by peasants who must encircle the rich industrial nations, had better stay away from the workers. We already indicated some of the mistakes of the Old Left; it should be pointed out that not only the Old Left is guilty of these mistakes. There are groups today whose primary political considerations are based on the ideas and needs of various foreign ruling classes. Zengakuran activists in Japan have a wealth of stories to tell about how the Maoist Japanese-Chinese trade agreements as more important than the interests of the workers. We must be clear that our politics are in line with the interests of the workers and that our internationalism is genuine and revolutionary for all workers. Again we want to stress that the role of radicals is to build consciousness, self-realization of one's power and potential, and not simply transplant slogans. We believe that radicals are to relate to or help real struggle. The first job of radicals is to relate to or help organize rank and file struggle and to bring program to that struggle. For the radical movement today, this means that we must have such programs and the understanding to formulate them.

What we propose then, is that SDS begin to work toward organizing in the working class. We do not propose that people go into shops without planning or discussion. To be effective we must know the history and structure of the labor movement, we must know what shops to go into which ones are politically important and which are not. We will have to be clear in our break with coalitionism, and that means breaking completely with the Democratic Party. People will have to plan their lives for this sort of work and perhaps even learn skills that will get them the right jobs. All of this cannot be done at one convention, it cannot simply be voted on. But there is something that can be done.

We propose that the SDS Labor Committee be enlarged and transformed. Although the labor committee should continue to publish its newsletter, it should take on the serious task of educating SDS members in the history and structure of the labor movement. Even more importantly, the Labor Committee should take on the responsibility of doing serious research into the internal politics of unions today. This should be done both on a national level and on the local level. Research groups in industrial areas should be set up, under the coordination of the Labor Committee, to determine what struggles are going on in their locality, what significance these struggles have politically, how they relate to other struggles elsewhere in the same union. This research and discussion is to be oriented toward the practical end of setting up groups to work in the shops in those locations that seem most promising. We would add, that outside labor committee, SDSers who might consider working in such a situation should educate themselves in socialist politics. We, as socialists with an independent and revolutionary perspective, believe that those politics that are most relevant to the working class today are those that reject the old ideas and priorities of the Social Democrats (SP) and the Communists. We refuse to tie the working class to the policies of any nation, whether they pose as "socialists" or not, for to do so is to sap the revolutionary potential of the working class and to destroy the hope for a true working class internationalism.

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BLACK POWER (CONT.)

(continued from page 5)

CAN THE DIFFERENCES between the classes in the white community be crystallized so that a new alliance can occur between self-organized poor blacks and poor whites? Obviously, given the existing racial enmity, no one can give assurances of this. But there are possibilities that offer a way forward. The white worker and the white poor will not be organized on the basis of fighting for the rights of Negroes, but they can be organized to fight for their own needs.

WHEN SNCC CALLS FOR white students, especially white southern students, to organize the white poor, it points to a necessity. This in itself will be vastly difficult, but unfortunately even more is necessary. In the 1880s and '90s, white plebians lent a hand in helping to organize black groups; the reverse is now needed. Obviously, this does not mean sending Negro organizers into white communities, but it does mean that Negro groups will have to adopt a particular stance toward the white under group. This stance will be built upon the truth, the way the Negro and white really feel:

1) "The Negroes you despise have organized to fight for their needs and are winning something. Will the poor white do the same or is he a permanent patsy?"

2) "We aren't anxious to 'integrate' into the white community. We want the right to go where we please or sit where we like, but we don't intend to smash our own community to do it, because we have our pride. We will consider the idea of 'assimilation' when white movements worthy of respect are ready to help us in transforming society."

THE NEGRO, IN PRESSING his demands, will widen them and show that these demands have meaning for the poor white as well. For example, the South needs massive public works -- dams, power plants, hospitals, schools, libraries. These would give jobs to thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the bulk of the Southern labor force, both black and white. Not that the Federal or state governments, controlled by the Two-Party Establishment, are likely to heed these demands; they will come through with the needed billions only for the purpose of mass

murder. But in the Negro community -- and perhaps in the white -- the idea will spread that people have a right to a job and a decent income. If the present government won't give it to them, they should establish one that will, one that they themselves control.

ALREADY A CHANGE is taking place in the nature of Negro demands. The economic program associated with Black Power is still sketchy, but it is becoming more radical. SNCC is calling for black credit unions and cooperatives as well as independent political parties, and it is evident to SNCC and everyone else that this is *BUY* the beginning.

MOVEMENTS EVOLVE in the course of struggle. Generally, even working-class movements start with middle-class goals. Those who want to rise naturally try to follow in other's paths. They want the same things others have. When and if they learn that they cannot all become small businessmen or have two cars and the like, they either fall away or build a new group consciousness and more radical ways to raise themselves. The Negro movement from the beginning raised general demands for jobs and housing, but it never concentrated on a radical economic program. For those leading the fight at the time, this was not the most important thing. But the scene shifts radically as the need is felt to seek deeper roots and attract greater forces.

THE SIGNIFICANCE of this for future alliances is that the demands of the black movement will strike more chords among white workers and farmers and widen their awareness of their own needs.

THERE IS STILL another factor: in aiming at political power, the Negro will increasingly need to orient toward the city, where political power is concentrated. SNCC is having its biggest successes in the rural black belt, but the urban fight still looms. In the black belt, there is less need for allies. There are fewer to be found, even potentially, and in any case the Negro is not in a minority. But as the fight expands, as it must, and as more radical Negro forces enter the Southern cities, they meet a more complex situation. There organized black power will be not only in separate black institutions but asserting itself within white institutions. While there will be (and should be) black unions like the Maryland Freedom Union where the white unions refuse even to organize masses of Negroes, these are important unions with large blocs of Negroes

already involved. Here the organization of black caucuses may cause companion white ones to spring up. If inflation continues, the pressure now building up for more money among black and white workers could produce all sorts of struggles and all sorts of alliances inside unions.

AN ALTERNATE COURSE of events -- more racial bloodshed and the dashing of hopes for these new alliances -- is possible. But if it occurs, the blame will rest as much with the failure of white radicals to break from the old coalitionist alliances and help build a movement of white workers fighting for their needs, as it will with an anti-white perversion of the concept of Black Power.

ANTI-WHITE FEELING in the black community is hardly created by the slogan of Black Power. It is already there and boiling over. Black Power attempts to channel the rage and energies of the Negro community in the direction of political, economic, and social goals; its opposite is coups and programless riots. It seeks to transform riots into rebellions, aimed not at indiscriminate hostility but directed at the vitals of the rotten American power structure. To a great extent, the responsibility for simple anti-whitism lies with the conservative civil rights leaders who raise hopes but fail to deliver the goods because of their subordination of the movement to the political needs of the Democratic Party and the lib-lab coalition, thus adding to the enormous pent-up frustration of an oppressed people.

IT IS POSSIBLE that the sort of semi-nationalism now being advanced can be twisted into reactionary forms. The movement, especially in the North, could go down to defeat, obliterated by the armed power of the White Establishment; it could travel the dead-end street of anti-Semitism; it could break into small and warring fragments. History makes no guarantees of social progress. Because Black Power can be perverted if no white anti-Establishment insurgencies develop to aid the Negro movement, precisely for this reason it is essential for radicals to orient toward it. It is even more essential for white radicals to commit themselves to the building of a working-class movement willing to fight for its rights, its interests, its humanity, against its exploiters, in a society that is increasingly dehumanizing and barbarically oppressive. Opposition to Black Power -- which expresses such legitimate needs for a mass Negro movement -- can only lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy for the whites, a reactionary race war that will drown Negroes in blood. Such a warfare will end the hope of a catalytic force to aid in the creation of a non-exploitative, truly human society for white as well black. It is to that end that we welcome the slogan of Black Power because it paves the way for potential new alliances to replace those that have hampered the Negro movement. It is to that end that we welcome white radical activity in helping to build a movement of whites that fights its exploitation as militantly as the Negro militant fights his. It is on the basis and from the experience of such struggles that a movement for a new, transformed America can be built.

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DAYTON, OHIO, September 6, 1966

President Johnson's speech at the Montgomery County Fair at Dayton, Ohio was stopped by the chanting of 80 peace demonstrators Labor Day. The demonstrators were part of a group of 230 who were picketing the fair at the time of Johnson's appearance. Demonstrators came from Dayton, Yellow Springs, Columbus, Cincinnati, and several cities in Indiana.

About five minutes into the speech, the demonstrators inside the fairgrounds unfurled a banner which had been concealed as they drifted into the fair. A pro-Johnson banner of similar proportions, with greetings from a local retail clerks union, was being displayed directly behind the peace demonstrators. The crowd began to shout to take down the banner reading, "Thou Shalt Not Kill, End the War Now." Two secret service agents who had been stationed behind the demonstrators charged into the demonstrators, and ripped the sign away from the two men holding it, as the sheriff's deputies in front of the demonstrators charged the group with raised riot sticks. Several demonstrators were hit by the clubs as the police moved the demonstrators back to a fence and isolated them from the rest of the crowd.

A few minutes later, a reserve banner reading "Please stop the killing" was put up by the demonstrators. The secret service momentarily allowed it to remain, and the television cameras were focused on the banner when the police again charged in to tear it down with their sticks.

The group began to chant "Thou shalt not kill" as the police forced them back. The president halted his speech, and was heard to say, "Don't be a fool." The demonstrators stopped the chanting when the President resumed his speech seconds later, after the police had withdrawn a few feet from the arm-linked demonstrators. The demonstrators chanted several times more at applause breaks in the speech.

JOIN RAID

(continued from page 1)

The police are interested in upsetting the organizing efforts of JOIN and UP for several reasons. JOIN has been running effective rent strike campaigns against slumlords, organizing welfare mothers, and was the parent organization which began the Uptown Goodfellows, who are moving to control police activity in their neighborhood.

All these projects are aimed at getting the people of Uptown involved in running their own lives, not to be controlled by cops, landlords, and case workers.

As has been true all across the country (in the SNCC Philadelphia Project, in the Watts Community Action Patrol, in NCUP, in the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, and in the NFWA), when people begin to take control of their own lives, the police have at some point or other tried to discredit and intimidate organizing efforts. But the people always grow stronger.

On Saturday, September 10, JOIN will march on City Hall to protest the attempted intimidation of its organizing project. Joining the march in support will be the West Side Organization, the Tenants Action Committee, the Council of Coordinating Community Organizations, and CORE. These groups realize that they too will likely be the subjects of attempted police intimidation of their organizing projects in the city.

All during the week of September 3, JOIN will be having small marches through the different neighborhoods of the community. On Monday the fifth, during the first march, a guy asked what everybody was marching for. Someone answered, "We're marching for a whole lot of lettin' alone."

Mike Sharon
The Movement

Prior to the arrival of the President an officer identifying himself as a secret service agent, stated that banners could be displayed, but that any shouting would excite the crowd, and would not be allowed. Statements attributed to the secret service in the following day's press stated the policy in the way it had been enforced, "No physical demonstrations, such as holding signs aloft, but that verbal demonstrations would be permitted." Prior to the demonstration, several officers threatened individual demonstrators with arrest if there was a commotion. No arrests were made. City police and county Sheriff's deputies were reasonably cooperative, although they denied the request of a demonstrator that protection be accorded the demonstrators as they left the fairgrounds. A pair of officers confiscated a carton of 1500 anti-war leaflets earlier in the day.

Johnson's speech, apparently in response to the uprising in Dayton's ghetto last week, called for youth to "declare for something", "America needs your service." As he was damning those who live by the philosophy, "don't stick your neck out, don't get involved . . ." the chanting erupted.

The demonstrators termed the day's activity very successful, achieving the attention of the President as well as considerable coverage in the local press and national television.

The crowd was generally hostile, calling the demonstrators "filth", "trash", and "beat-nicks". Outside the fairground, the reception was equally hostile to those picketing. Several demonstrators were spat upon and hit with sticks by local hooligans.

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for State Senator, is the first Mexican-American to run for public office in Illinois. He worked for a number of years for the Chicago Department of Youth Welfare in Chicago's Latin community. He now works for the Chicago City Missionary Society and writes for *Renewal* magazine. Kathleen Kearney, candidate for State Representative, is a housewife with two children. She is active in Women for Peace and the Catholic Interracial Council. Her husband works for the Chicago War on Poverty (and as of this writing has not yet been fired).

On August 22 the petitions were filed. And on August 26, 25 minutes before the deadline, the Democratic Party filed its objections.

The same Democratic Party which complains of its inability to find manpower to investigate the scandal in the Chicago Sanitary District was able to produce endless manpower to keep independent candidates off the ballot. In four days they had checked 6,386 signatures for residence, registration, and voting in the June primaries, and prepared a 58 page legal brief. Examination of the Democrats research proved exciting. It showed that an even higher percentage of our signatures than we thought were valid.

Even if every signature challenged was thrown out we still had enough left. In addition there were a series of bull-shit objections to our papers. Example: All candidates for public office in Illinois are required to file a loyalty oath whose wording is prescribed by the statutes. We did. The Democrats objected that we did not append a list of all the organizations of which our candidates claimed not to be members!

On August 30, the first day permitted by law, the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners met to solemnly deliberate over the objections to our petitions. The decision of the Board, composed of one Republican and two Democrats, was a forgone conclusion. Nevertheless local Democratic politicians showed a high degree of anxiety over the outcome. The meeting was attended by every Democratic Candidate in our district, the 49th Ward alderman, and the City of Chicago corporation council. For our part, we chartered a bus to bring people from the community. There were housewives with children, nuns, students, and the press. People stood in the aisles.

The Board listened passively to the argu-

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CANDIDATES BARRED

ments of both sides and then adjourned without asking a single question. The next day Board rendered its expected decision and ruled the Citizens Independent Party off the ballot. It was at this point that they made the mistake which may prove their ultimate undoing. With the arrogance characteristic of autocratic agencies everywhere, the Board imperiously refused to give any reasons or basis for its decision. We were simply off the ballot -- period.

Our response was immediate. We announced the obviously political decision to the press and gave the Board 48 hours to change its mind. On September 2 we appeared at the Board's offices to ask if they were ready to either reverse their decision or announce the grounds for their original judgement. They refused, and with the cameras clicking, candidates for public office staged Chicago's first sit-in at the Board of Election Commissioners.

Press reaction was immediate. The editorial page of the "liberal" Chicago Sun-Times commented: "Sidney T. Holzman, chairman of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, says the nominating papers of two independent candidates for the General Assembly were 'insufficient to comply with the law.' He banned the candidates from the Nov. 8 ballot and said it is not the policy of the board to elaborate on the explanation for its ruling. Since when? . . . In throwing our nominating petitions without an explanation, Holzman sets himself up as judge and jury operating in a star-chamber sessions. We have never been aware in the past that this is board policy and if it is it had better be changed right now."

The arch-conservative Chicago American went even further: "Spokesmen for the board contend that this 'policy' is based on law and on decisions of the state Supreme Court, and that the board doesn't account to anybody for its actions. If so, the board is unique among government bodies and is comparable only to the Central Intelligence Agency . . . We do not think the board can excuse itself from the whole governmental system of checks and balances, and take over the autocratic power of deciding who may run for office."

And the furor has far from died down. We are filing suit this week. Our neighborhood is being continually leafleted. We are trying to set up an independent citizens committee of inquiry. Many of the ministers and civic leaders in the community are outraged and have signed a statement supporting us. And we intend to "haunt" the Democratic candidates for the rest of the campaign. Finally, we have threatened to call for federal intervention to insure free elections in Cook County.

Why, you may ask, did the Democratic Party go to such trouble to keep us off the ballot? The answer is simple. Had we run in the Democratic primary, we would have done our bit bravely and been defeated. But running in the general election, by pulling only 10% of the vote we might throw the election to the Republicans, upsetting the whole applecart. And in Cook County, where government is a major sector of the private economy, such things are simply not permitted. No for-real independent has ever been allowed to run for a partisan office in Cook County in modern times. It's bad for business.

Did the Republican Party then come to our aid? Of course not. The Republicans and Democrats have a gentleman's agreement: no third slates, left or right. And oddly enough, the Board of Election Commissioners was absolutely right in its contention that it is answerable to no one. In a "white paper" prepared by CIPA staff member Dick Fried (on loan from Princeton SDS) we outlined the Illinois Supreme Court decisions in which the court refuses to review election boards and exempts them from having to issue written decisions! The system is beautifully rounded out by the fact that Prohibition and Socialist Labor parties have run in Illinois for years. In fact, any party guaranteed to get less than 0.1% of the vote can have free access to the ballot -- that's Democracy.

In the South, anybody can run, but only certain people can vote. In Chicago, everybody can vote, but only certain people can run. The struggle for free elections in Chicago has only begun. It will be long and bitter.

toward student syndicalism

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way that it is impossible to use them to get power. (In a few cases, it might be possible to take over a student government and threaten to abolish it if power isn't granted.)

From the nature of the above criticisms of our mistakes of the past few years, I think the direction we should move becomes more clear. Also, when we consider the fact that our universities are already chief agents for social change in the direction of 1984, I think we can see why it is imperative that we organize the campuses. (However, I do not mean to imply that we ought to ignore organizing elsewhere.)

Toward Student Syndicalism

The Relevance of Participatory Democracy

In the above analysis (by no means original with me) of the university, we can find an implicit antagonism, or, if you will, a fundamental contradiction. Namely, that our administrators ask of us that we both participate and not participate in our educational system. We are told we must learn to make responsible decisions, yet we are not allowed to make actual decisions. We are told that education is an active process, yet we are passively trained. We are criticized for our apathy and our activism. In the name of freedom, we are trained to obey.

The system requires that we passively agree to be manipulated. But our vision is one of active participation. And this is the demand that our administrators cannot meet without putting themselves out of a job. That is exactly why we should be making it.

What Is To Be Done?

Obviously, we need to organize, to build a movement on the campuses with the primary purpose of radically transforming the university community. Too often we lose sight of this goal. To every program, every action, every position, and every demand; we must raise the question -- how will this radically alter the lives of every student on this campus? With this in mind, I offer the following proposal for action.

(1) That every SDS chapter organize a student syndicalist movement on its campus. I use the term "syndicalism" for a crucial reason. In the labor struggle, the syndicalist unions worked for industrial democracy and worker's control, rather than better wages and working conditions. Likewise, and I cannot repeat this often enough, the issue for us is "student control" (along with a yet-to-be liberated faculty in some areas). What we do not want is a "company union" student movement that sees itself as a body that, under the rubric of "liberalization", helps a paternal administration make better rules for us. What we do want is a union of students where the students themselves decide what kind of rules they want or don't want. Or whether they need rules at all. Only this sort of student organization allows for decentralization and the direct participation of students in all those decisions daily affecting their lives.

(2) That the student syndicalism movement take on one of two possible structural forms -- a Campus Freedom Democratic Party (CFDP) or a Free Student Union.

(a) *Campus Freedom Democratic Party (CFDP)*. This is possible on those campuses where the existing student government is at least formally "democratic" (i.e. One Student -- One Vote). The idea is to organize a year-round electoral campaign for the purpose of educating students about their system; building mass memberships in dormitory and living area "precincts"; constantly harassing and disrupting the meetings of the existing student government (for instance, showing up *en masse* at a meeting and singing the jingle of the now defunct "Mickey Mouse Club"); and, finally, winning a majority of seats in student government elections. As long as the CFDP has a minority of the seats, those seats should be used as soapboxes to expose the existing body as a parody of the idea of government. It should be kept

in mind that the main purpose of all the above activity is to develop a radical consciousness among all the students, in the real struggle yet to come against the administration.

What happens if a CFDP wins a majority of the seats? It should immediately push through a list of demands (the nature of which, and this is crucial, I will deal with later) in the form of a Bill of Rights and/or Declaration of Independence. The resolution should contain a time-limit for the administration (or Regents or whatever) to reply. If the demands are met, the students should promptly celebrate the victory of the revolution. If not, the CFDP should promptly abolish student government and/or set up a student-government-in-exile. Secondly, the CFDP should immediately begin mass demonstrations; sit-ins in the administration buildings, in faculty parking lots, in maintenance departments, etc.; boycotts of all classes, and strikes of teaching assistants. In short, the success of these actions (especially when the cops come) will be the test of how well the CFDP has been radicalizing its constituency during the previous two or three years.

(b) *Free Student Unions (FSU)*. The difference between a FSU and a CFDP is mainly a tactical one. On many campuses existing student governments are not even formally democratic; but are set up with the school newspaper having one vote, the Inter-Fraternity Council having one vote, and so on. In a situation like this, we ought to ignore and/or denounce campus electoral politics from the word go. Instead, following the plan of the Wobblies, we should organize One Big Union of all the students. The first goal of the FSU would be to develop a counter-institution to the existing student government that would eventually embrace a healthy majority of the student body. It would have to encourage non-participation in student government, and to engage in active nonelectoral, "on the job" agitation. This would take the form of organizing and sponsoring the violation of existing rules (i.e. dormitory sleep-outs, "freedom" parties in restricted apartments, non-violently seizing IBM cards, disrupting oversize classes, non-violently attempting to occupy and liberate the student newspaper and radio station, etc.). All this should be done in such a manner as to recruit more and more support. Once the FSU has more support than student government (i.e. when its membership is a majority of the campus) it should declare student government defunct, make its demands of the administration; and, if refused, declare the general strike.

Obviously, the success of either a CFDP or a FSU depends on our ability to organize a mass radical base with a capacity for prolonged resistance, dedication, and endurance. With this in mind, it is easy to see why such a student syndicalist movement must be national (or even international) in its scope. There will be a need for highly mobile regional and national full-time organizers to travel from campus to campus. When critical confrontations break out, there will be a need for sympathy demonstrations and strikes on other campuses. There may even be a need to send busloads of students to a campus where replacements are needed, due to mass arrests. Again, we can learn much from the organizing tactics of the Wobblies and the CIO.

(3) That the student syndicalist movement adopt as its primary and central issue the abolition of the grade system. This is not to say that the other issues, such as decision-making power for student governing bodies, are unimportant. They are not; and, in certain situations, they can be critical. But to my mind, the abolition of grades is the most significant over-all issue for building a radical movement on campus. There are three reasons why I think this is so:

(a) Grading is a common condition of the total student and faculty community. It is the direct cause of most student anxieties and frustrations. Also, it is the cause of the alienation of most faculty members from their work. Among our better educators and almost all faculty, there is a common consensus that grades are, at best, meaningless, and more likely, harmful to real education.

(b) As an issue to organize around, the presence of the grade system is constantly felt. Hour exams, mid-terms, and finals are always cropping up (while student government elections occur only once a year). Every time we see our fellow students cramming for exams (actually, for grades), we can point out to them their exploitation and try to organize them. In every class we take, throughout the school year, every time our

profs grade our papers and tests, we can agitate in our classrooms, exposing the system and encourage both our classmates and profs to join with us to abolish that system!

(c) The abolition of the grade system is a demand that cannot be met by the administration without radically altering the shape and purpose of our educational system. First of all, if there were no grades, a significant part of our administrators would be without jobs, for they would have nothing to do. Also, large mass-production TV classes and the like would have to be done away with. Since education would have to be done through personal contact between the student and his professor, classes would necessarily be limited in size. Since the evaluation of a student's work would not have to be temporally regulated and standardized, independent scholarships would be encouraged, if not necessitated. As a result, the corporate system might have some difficulty in finding manipulable junior bureaucrats. Finally, the Selective Service would have a hell of a time ranking us.

For these reasons, it is my feeling that the abolition of the grade system should serve as the "umbrella" issue for a student syndicalist movement, much in the same manner as "the abolition of the wage system" served within the syndicalist trade union movement. Under this umbrella, a myriad of other issues can be raised, depending upon which segment of the student community we were appealing to and at what degree of strength we might have at any one time.

(4) That the student syndicalist movement incorporate in secondary issues the ideology of participatory democracy. This can be viewed as an attempt on our part to sabotage the knowledge factory machinery for producing the managers and the managed of 1984. There are numerous ways to go about this. I will list a few:

(a) Approach students in Teacher's Colleges with a counter-curriculum based on the ideas of Paul Goodman and A. S. Neil for the radical education of children.

(b) At the beginning of each semester, request (or demand) of the prof that you and your fellow classmates participate in shaping the structure, format and content of that particular course.

(c) Sign up for, attend, denounce, and then walk out of and picket excessively large classes.

(d) Organize students and liberated profs in certain departments to work out model counter-curricula and agitate for its adoption, mainly because students participated in shaping it rather than on its merits.

(e) Hold mock trials for the Dean of Men and Dean of Women for their "crimes against humanity".

(f) Women students might organize a decentralized federation of dormitory councils (soviets?) where each living unit would formulate a counter-set of rules and regulations; and then use them to replace existing rules on the grounds that the women themselves made the rules.

I am sure if we used our imaginations, we could extend this list indefinitely. And as programs embodying the philosophy of participatory democracy, these suggestions, to my mind, are of intrinsic worth. However, I also believe that they might have far-reaching effects. For participatory democracy is often like a chronic and contagious disease. Once caught, it permeates one's whole life and the lives of those around us. Its effect is disruptive in a total sense. And within a manipulative, bureaucratic system, its articulation and expression amounts to sabotage. It is my hope that those exposed to it while building a movement for student syndicalism will never quite be the same, especially after they leave the university community.

Carl Davidson
SDS Great Plains
Regional Organizing Committee



photo by Danny Lyon

LITERATURE LIST

General SDS items

- () SDS Bulletin, December 1965 (25¢) bulk
- () Basic Brochure (free) bulk
- () SDS Constitution (to be reprinted; now out of date) (free)
- () Al Haber, Non-exclusionism: The New Left and the Democratic Left (10¢) Short supply
- () Freedom Draft Cards (1¢ ea.) unlimited supply
- () Jack Kittredge, Chapter Organizers Handbook (15¢) bulk
- () Mademoiselle, New Voices on Campus (10¢) moderate supply
- () Call to the March on Washington (free) unlimited supply
- () Paul Potter, Speech at the April 17 March on Washington (10¢) short supply
- () Oglesby, Trapped in a System (10¢) short supply
- () Haber, The End of Ideology as Ideology (10¢) short supply
- () Port Huron Statement (excerpts) (10¢) Bulk
- () America and the New Era (25¢) short supply

Peace and Foreign Policy

- () Theodore Draper, Roots of the Dominican Crisis - LID (25¢) bulk
- () Lauter, Guide to Conscientious Objection (10¢) bulk
- () Chris Hobson, Vietnam - Any Way Out? (10¢) bulk
- () Information on Involvement of U. S. Corporations in South Africa (10¢) short supply
- () Peace in the College Curriculum, a resource kit (10¢) short supply
- () U.S.A. vs. Henry David Mitchell (10¢) short supply
- () Viet Report, vol. 1, nos. 1,4; vol. 2, Nos. 1, 2 (30¢ ea.) unlimited supply (circle issues wanted)
- () Lee Webb, Churches and the War (10¢) short supply (to be rewritten)
- () Lee Webb, Vietnam and the Unions (10¢) moderate supply
- () Roger Hagan, Counter-insurgency and the New Foreign Relations (10¢) moderate supply
- () Donald Duncan, A Green Beret Blasts the War (25¢) (10¢) if ordered bulk Bulk
- () National Vietnam Exam (1¢ ea.) unlimited supply

ATTENTION: We are out of the "Killing the People of Vietnam" posters. New York Regional Office has them in bulk (\$2.50). Please pay New York in advance for them as it costs them \$1.50 to mail them.

Note: Because we are so short of money for reprinting, please don't order more than 100 copies of any one item, even those in bulk, as our current supply of them will have to last awhile. Exceptions are all lit marked unlimited supply.

To All NLN Readers

The above is a revised NO lit. list. The one printed in NLN back in July was already out of date, containing as it did a large number of items that we either no longer had in stock or were very short of. In addition, a lot of our current material is old and is no longer relevant to questions facing SDS and the movement. I am hopeful that some worthwhile new writing will appear (The Radical Education Project is rewriting four papers).

I would like to apologize, on behalf of the NO, to all of you who sent in orders prior to July 1 (frequently paying good money) who apparently never received even the courtesy of a reply. I would like very much to hear from any and all persons in this category. I do have records of orders dating back to June and before, but have no way of knowing whether or not they were filled (I began work at the NO July 1). In addition, I also think it likely that some orders and information requests were lost when we moved the NO about July 10. So any persons in one or both or similar to the above categories PLEASE REORDER.

In addition, I would like to say something about finances. There was a lot of talk at the convention about the fact that the only SDS literature there came from the San Francisco office. The reason is that we have

Domestic Issues

- () Michael Harrington, The Politics of Poverty - LID (30¢) bulk
- () Michael Harrington, On Democratic Social Change - LID (10¢) moderate supply
- () Mark Kleiman, High School Reform: Towards a Student Movement (10¢) bulk
- () What is JOIN? (10¢) short supply
- () JOIN Community Union poster (\$1.00) moderate supply
- () Clark Kissenger, The Bruns Strike - A case of student participation in labor (10¢) moderate supply
- () Mike Zweig, Eastern Kentucky in Perspective (5¢) short supply
- () Huelga, Story of The Delano Grape Strike (25¢) bulk
- () Lee Webb, Bibliography on the American Economy (10¢) moderate supply
- () Robert K. Lamb, Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown (10¢) short supply
- () Bob Heifitz, Eastern Kentucky, a Draft Program (10¢) moderate supply
- () Jack Minnis, The Care and Feeding of Power Structures (10¢) (will be rewritten) short supply
- () Paul Potter, Research and Education in Community Action Projects (10¢) short supply
- () Stephen Weissman and Doug Tuthil, Freedom and the University (10¢) bulk
- () Report on the Cleveland Community Conference (10¢) short supply
- () Andrew Kopkind, Of, By and For the Poor: The New generation of student organizers (10¢) moderate supply
- () Bob Ross, Notes on the Welfare State (10¢) unlimited supply
- () Baltimore U-join (10¢) short supply
- () Oglesby, Democracy is Nothing if it is not Dangerous (1¢ ea.) moderate supply
- () Kimberly Moody, Thoughts on Organizing Poor Whites (10¢) (to be rewritten) short supply
- () Paul Booth, Working Papers . . . Summer Projects 1965 (10¢) short supply
- () Prospectus for Organizing Project in Boston Suburbs (free) few copies
- () ERAP Prospectus (64-65) for Newark, Chicago, Chester, Pa. (10¢) short supply
- () Boston Prep . . . A summer report (10¢) moderate supply
- () McKelvey, Pacifism, Politics and Non-violence (10¢) short supply

short supply . . . perhaps 20 copies
 moderate supply . . . over 200 copies
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to hold onto all the lit we have because our current supply is going to have to last well into the winter. It just doesn't look like we're going to get any money for printing or reprinting on any large scale in the immediate future. I realize that many people are tired of hearing financial appeals on behalf of the NO. This office has given very poor service in the past and I can understand those who don't wish to contribute to an operation that seems to be irrelevant to their needs. There are ways in which the staff can and, I now think, are making this office function more effectively. But there is only so much we can do. If there's no money for postage things don't get mailed. If there's no money for printing we run out. The office gives lousy service because there's no money. People don't want to contribute because we give lousy service. I think the only way this cycle is going to be broken is through more contributions. We're certainly grateful for all those that have come in, but that's just not enough.

Because of our financial condition and because we want money so we CAN give better service, all bulk orders going to large established chapters are from now on going C.O.D. We will continue to give credit to small struggling chapters and other similar penniless organizing efforts.

Love
 Nick Norris

NAT'L SECY'S REPORT

(continued from page 1)

new group of SDS organizers was seen as the effective means of carrying that conviction to the American campus. Just as SDS had involved itself in the organizing of the urban poor in its Economic Research and Action Project, just as it had responded last winter with the Radical Education Project, now it had decided to deal with a new social reality in seeking to discover the radical possibilities of the American campus.

Jack Smith questioned us about the wording of the campus-organizers resolution—especially as concerns our use of the word "experiment" to characterize our effort. That was a good point to raise because it forced us to talk about the "newness" which we feel and about what it means to be experimental.

Some very eloquent criticism had been launched at the Convention about the lack of political analysis in discussion and panels. Many people had criticized the campus-organizers proposal on the grounds that it was not based on any kind of social or political analysis: that SDS was simply "going off on another tangent." While the campus-organizing effort does not fit in neatly with some brilliant new superideological-overview-for-our-time, a lot of serious thinking had been done about the problems involved. And, at the same time, those committed to the job or organizing were motivated by the conviction that we had to be willing to try new things and see where they led—to ask questions and pry further into the possibilities—as Mike James had characterized the attitude of JOIN's poor-white organizing efforts. (See NLN, Aug. 24, 1966). Obviously, "a lot of answers aren't going to be known unless people actually work at organizing..."

Oglesby had talked of us not as the "new left" but as the "new radicalism." We were reminded of Carl's retelling of his own life history in terms of the sterility of the beatnik generation of the 'fifties when America was "an obscene subject of conversation" and the new hope of the 'sixties which came with the beginnings of "the movement." Some of the people present said they felt the same gratitude which Oglesby had expressed for the "possibility of changing (his) life" (or was it "having his life changed") which had come with the movement.

The question of organizing raised issues of ideology and structure. Many people had come to feel that the ideological question had been distorted and that no ready-made set of images from the "Old Left" could give us real clarity about who we are and where we want to go—that we have to discover that clarity and create those images out of our own confrontation with the reality which we discover externally and subjectively as we experiment with building a movement.

It had been rumored about after the elections at Clear Lake that "the anarchists had displaced the old guard." The reaction in the NO was to challenge the meaningfulness of such labelling and to attempt to clarify the politics which they felt were expressed by the renewed emphasis on organizing.

All of the labels of the old left have become so distorted that the adoption of any of them is likely to lead to more confusion rather than more clarity. The problem is to recapture the content of political vocabulary rather than to resurrect the words. As Carl Davidson put it at Clear Lake: "The problem of calling oneself a socialist is that 'socialist' is what philosophers call 'an essentially contested concept,' that is to say, a word which has so many definitions that you have to define it before you can begin to use it. It's like the phrase—a good Christian—everyone has a different idea of what it means."

It was felt that, despite an absence of ideological precision, there was a growing consensus about the "new radicalism" and what it implied. There was also a strong conviction that this consensus was neither the result of political naivete nor of fuzzy-mindedness, but rather that it had grown out of direct confrontations with social realities and the analysis of real political experiences.

Jane Adams pointed out that in the last year SDS had learned with amazing rapidity the limitations of the mass-action-Washington-demonstration approach to politics which mobilizes lots of people without organizing anyone, that is without either changing people's lives or affecting power. I added that the British New Left had spent three years organizing mass marches around the question of nuclear disarmament and then collapsed—without ever having learned that lesson. SDS has also learned that electoral politics is unlikely to be radical: a variety of peace candidacies this year which we hoped would be radical revealed that the dynamic of electoral politics in our society makes winning a must and that the goal of educating constituencies in a radical manner is very quickly lost in the process and, in short, we find ourselves being compromised into oblivion.

Another lesson of the past year, directly related to the decision to focus on campus than centers for campus organizing. SDS chapters have organized demonstrations the difficulty in the Black Power discussion. Most SDS chapters in the past year have been refuges for campus radicals rather than centers for campus organizing. SDS chapters have organized demonstrations which have mobilized existing sentiment, but local members have not gone out to talk to people about the issues which concern them: that is to say, they have not been organizers. Introversion, rather than creative involvement with the external world has characterized too much of our development. We have been too nearly a secular version of the Church, which because of its introversion, as Adler pointed out, had always degenerated into a mutual masturbation society. Jeff Shero talked about the problem in terms of our "minority psychology" as we have drawn together in protectiveness rather than facing the world.

It was out of these kinds of concerns that the campus-organizing proposal had grown and it will undoubtedly raise more questions than it can answer in the immediate future. A different kind of proposal had been presented by Bill Higgs at the Convention; it aimed at the creation of a National Student Union by calling a meeting of radical campus leaders this fall. There was a pretty clear consensus that such an approach did not deal with the basic issue of organizing—that it would inhibit rather than facilitate the radicalization of the student community—that the real work had to begin in local campus situations.

We broke up the meeting with a feeling that more had happened at Clear Lake than we had realized in the fatigue of the previous week.

Greg Calvert
 National Secretary

P.S. Let me add a postscript to this "experiment" in issuing a weekly National Secretary's report as mandated by the National Council at Clear Lake. There are two ways of being at the center of communications in SDS: the National Secretary can speak to the organization or he can speak to the "press." I chose to speak to those of you who have, for whatever reason, identified with "the new radicalism", rather than speaking to the TIME-LIFE image of the NEW LEFT. If we can talk to our real concerns, perhaps officialdom will want to join in our conversations. If not, officialdom's participation is irrelevant to building a movement anyway.

— G. C.

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