National Council Minutes

FIRST SESSION

The first session of the national council was called to order by Paul Booth on Friday, June 17, at 3:30 p.m. in Economics 101 at the University of Michigan.

Discussion of agenda.

Friendly amendment to add the nature and role of the national office.

Amendment that civil rights be moved to after SNCC. Voice vote CARRIED.

Amendment that national convention planning and publications and printing be moved to Friday. Voice vote CARRIED.

Amendment to move electoral politics and political resolutions to after civil rights. Voice vote indeterminate. Show of hands: yes 18; no 9. CARRIED.

Amendment to insert fund-raising after publications and printing. Voice vote CARRIED.

Amendment to have national council discussion first. No objection CARRIED.

Amendment to move high school organizing out of "other" and before South Africa program. Voice vote indeterminate. Show of hands: yes 14; no 11. CARRIED.

Amendment to reverse the order of national convention and publications and printing. Voice vote CARRIED.

Amendment to move regional office reports to the top of agenda. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion adoption of agenda as amended. Voice vote. CARRIED.

Reports from the following regional offices: Boston, New York, Great Plains, Chicago, Niagara, San Francisco.

Report of the credentials committee.

Motion that Earl Silbar not be seated. Voice vote DEFEATED.

Motion to seat late delegates. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to accept credential committee report. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion: The first issue of New Left Notes after each National Council shall publish the verbatim text of all resolutions passed and decisions made by the National Council. That issue shall constitute the official record of that NC.

That issue shall also contain the names and chapters of all delegates recognized at that NC. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion that the organization should do everything in its power to bring delegates to the NC. Show of hands: yes 25; no 4. CARRIED.

Motion to adjourn and return in an hour to the undergraduate library. Voice vote CARRIED.

The first session was adjourned at 5:35 p.m.

SECOND SESSION

The second session of the national council was called to order by Clark Kissinger at 7:25 in the undergraduate library.

The chair passed to Paul Booth.

Motion: that there be allocated $7000 for a summer printing project in Lawrence, Kansas. (Note: this project is discussed in detail in NLN #22)

Amendment to commit $90 per week to cover rent and salaries, and extra amounts in accordance with specific printing projects.

Motion: previous question. Voice vote CARRIED.

Vote on amendment: Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion: previous question. Voice vote CARRIED.

Vote on main motion: show of hands: yes 35; no 0. CARRIED.

Credentials: seating of new delegates.

Discussion of national convention.

Suggestion: to assign responsibility for writing draft statements for the convention.

Motion to limit debate to fifteen minutes. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to recommend that there be no major document passed at the August convention to ratify such a document.

Motion to table the discussion of drafting statements indefinitely. Show of hands: yes 6; no 12. DEFEATED.

Withdrawal of the motion to ratify a major document in December.

Motion to maintain the fifteen-minute debate limit. Voice vote DEFEATED.

Motion to establish places to stay en route to and from the convention. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to hold a mid-convention dance. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to schedule sessions so that they do not conflict with the preparation of food, and to hold the main meal at noon. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to hold the convention in California in August.

Credentials: Seating of new delegates. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to table indefinitely. Show of hands: yes 29; no 11. CARRIED.

Motion to adjourn till morning. Voice vote DEFEATED.

On suggestion from the floor, the chairman appointed a ten-man committee representing different viewpoints on the location of the convention.

Discussion of merits of various sites for the information of the committee.

Recess of the body till 11:17 to move to the Friends Center. The meeting was reconvened at the Friends Center at 11:25 p.m. by Paul Booth.

The chair passed to Bob Ross.

Report on finances (Cf. NLN #22).

Motion:

1. That the N.O. be instructed to organize a National Fall Fund-raising drive.

2. That the N.O. be instructed to do serious research on the possibilities of establishing monthly membership dues and that it present its findings and recommendations on this matter to the organization no later than the winter N.C. of 1966-67.

3. That there be established a joint membership for couples living at the same address, dues being $7 per year, and having two votes.

4. That the national fund-raiser be empowered to establish titles for large contributors. No objection CARRIED.

Motion: that contributors be asked to solicit funds for SDS. No objection CARRIED.

Motion to establish a paid co-ordinator for folk-rock groups for fund-raising in the New York area. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion to empower the national office to recycle dues. WITHDRAWN

Report of the convention location committee. Recommendations:

1. That the August convention be on the west coast, preferably California, preferably Berkeley.

2. That the December National Council meeting be held on the east coast.

3. That the spring N.C. be in the southwest (broadly defined).

4. That the June N.C. be in the upper midwest.

Motion to table the discussion of location until after a discussion of the problem of achieving maximum participation in the con-

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new left notes

an internal newspaper of students for a democratic society

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VOLUME 1, NO. 23 let the people decide JUNE 24, 1966

POSITION PAPER for convention

ED. NOTE: *The following article was written as a political position paper for the convention in August. It is the hope of the editor that more position papers will be written and sent to NLN for publication.*

by Tom Condit

Carl Oglesby's "World revolution and American containment" speech raises a number of points I feel SDS members should give some thought to. Oglesby's support of anti-imperialist revolution in the "Third World" is clearly stated, but what little analysis appears in the speech is characteristic of some of the weaknesses of "new left" political thought.

New Left Notes is hardly the place for a lengthy discussion of World War II resistance movements, but Oglesby's comments on them cost a good deal of light on his analysis of the world situation. "Europe was not revolutionary, Asia is," he says. "The resistance movements . . . . gained their power most importantly because they were resistance, not because they sought a basic rearrangement of social power." This is simply not true. The largest and most effective resistance movements (e.g., Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, the Phillipines) had a social as well as national program and were under socialist or Communist leadership. It was this fact which made the Allies so anxious to immediately disarm the resistance in "liberated" areas. Without the collaboration of the Communist leaders this disarmament could never have been achieved. I suspect that Oglesby is referring to this when he speaks of "an internationally-organized and monolithic Communist party" as a factor adding to the "non-revolutionary" character of the European situation.

Even if we accept the analysis of post-war Europe as "non-revolutionary", however, the differentiation becomes hard to sustain. What is the difference between a national liberation (resistance) movement against foreign tyranny in Europe and one in Asia? Both take in all elements of the "nation", excluding only reactionaries (fascists) and *compradors* (quislings). Oglesby specifically gives a role in the revolution to "national industrial groups" (i.e., patriotic local capitalists like some of the Gaullist elements in World War II France), so the difference can't be one of friendliness or hostility toward capitalism. In fact, the only elements of the European resistance movement who are missing from the "Third World" movements are the organized industrial workers. They have been replaced by revolutionary "intellectuals" who are "burning with shame" because of their country's backwardness, and also because of its inability to provide them with civil service jobs.

Leaving aside this interesting substitution for the moment, let's look at what our modern revolutionary movement will do when it gets in power. The only section of "Asia" which Oglesby gives us a specific program for is Brazil, where his hypothetical leftists will "break-up foreign-controlled monopolies, raise wages, redistribute land, and trade freely with all nations." Note that monopolies and land are "broken-up" and "redistributed" rather than nationalized or socialized, and that it is only "foreign-controlled" monopolies which are attacked.

This would consolidate the power of a national capitalist class by eliminating the competition of foreign capital, raise wages to provide a domestic consumer goods market, break the political power of the old landlords, and satisfy the land-hunger of the peasants (thus creating the basis of the stable middle class supposedly necessary for that democracy which we may or may not have — Oglesby is uncertain). The "Brazilian wage slave" referred to earlier in Oglesby's speech remains a wage slave, the peasant is directly impoverished by the market rather than indirectly thru his landlord, and the economy remains securely within the world market (and thus contributing profits to imperialism in a somewhat less direct manner). The only differences between this program and the "Alliance for Progress" are that Wall Street's share of the profits has been slightly reduced in favor of "national industrial groups", and that the Soviet Union has been cut in for a slice of the pie by "trading freely with

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White Organizing And White Racism

The following memorandum was prepared for a conference of the Southern Student Organizing Committee, held in early June, 1966, in Asheville, N. C.

MEMO

TO: The Southern Student Organizing Committee

FROM: Anne Braden, editor, The Southern Patriot; associate executive director, Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

I am disturbed by some statements in your May newsletter — and also by a general line of thinking that seems prevalent in the movement now. Since you have no more issues of the newsletter this summer, I am jotting down a few notes this way now. In the fall, I would like to ask that you let me write an article for your newsletter setting forth a different view.

The line of thinking that disturbs me is that now that more Negroes in the movement are thinking in terms of "black consciousness" etc, white people in the movement should now turn to organizing whites separately. I am all for the idea of white people trying to organize white people into movements for social justice. What I object to is the concept that they must be organized separately from Negroes.

One article in your May newsletter states in regard to the Southern Mountain Project that the commitment of this project to "initial interracial organization is an Achilles Heel which foreshadows the project to failure.

Now, the Southern Mountain Project may indeed fail. Any project may fail. There are many reasons other than its principle of interracial organizing as to why it might fail. Even if it failed because of this that such a principle will fail somewhere else.

How can anybody say at this point that the concept of interracial organizing of the poor will fail in the South? How many times has it yet been tried (in the current period)? How much human energy has been put into trying it?

What bothers me if it is so is that people as young as you all are seem to be willing to write off something as impossible before it has really been tried. I do not think this is an attitude that one usually associates with youth.

Let me go back a minute and state what I think are some of my credentials for discussing this matter of black-white organizing. I speak as one who has thought for many years that the job of white people should be to reach other white people and help

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SDS statement on SNCC

ED. NOTE: *The following resolution on SNCC was passed by the NC.*

SDS has long maintained fraternal relations with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Now that SNCC is under fire from a variety of liberal organizations and publications we feel a special urgency to restate our support. Let it be clear that we are not merely supporting SNCC's right to its views, we are welcoming and supporting the thrust of SNCC's program, and expect to continue our joint work.

SNCC has emphasized "black power." This is not a magic charm or a promised land; it is a strategy for social change and a mode of organization. Both the strategy and the mode become clear if the United States is understood as an essentially racist culture. Yet at the same time Negroes have been an exploited caste, they have been taught to seek their salvation in integration -- that is, in an accommodation to the dominant social values, under white leadership.

We know that not all SNCC's critics resemble George Wallace; that is precisely why we try to lay bare the liberal assumptions that lead to attacks on SNCC. We are struck with the fact that among the critics are liberals vociferous in their praise of an America in which minorities organize themselves and preserve their cultural integrity. They are now denouncing SNCC's "black consciousness" as "racism in reverse." We doubt these critics would find themselves so upset if SNCC sought to accept the major premises of American life; it is precisely because SNCC is revolutionary -- because it is trying to bring about a fundamental rearrangement of power in America -- that they shrink in horror.

Racism and economic exploitation confront Negroes as a group, together. So, of course, Negroes, especially in the Southern black belt and the Northern ghettoes, must act as a group in order to challenge their condition. This is not "racism in reverse" any more than American revolutionists were "colonialists in reverse." It is a recognition of the fact of common identity and the beginnings of a strategy for change. We must not simply tolerate this "black consciousness," we should encourage it.

Measured integration is very literally irrelevant, since integration assumes the integrity of the dominant (white) culture. "Black consciousness," on the other hand, understands very deeply the exploitativeness of that culture and seeks to make a beginning in reconstructing it. We agree, then, with SNCC in asking why Negroes cannot seek to live and rebuild where they wish, in their own schools, with their own economic base, without being dismissed as "racist."

Some liberal and radical critics argue that SNCC's strategy will be frustrated by the sheer fact that Negroes are a minority, even in large portions of the Deep South. To this we say that the responsibility for that frustration would lie with those whites who fail to build white movements that can at some point ally with the black movement for common goals. Whites in the civil rights movement have almost always been auxiliaries, and at the present stage they could easily frustrate the Negro movement unless they recognize the right and the need for black radicals to organize independent bases of power in Negro communities. Power means the ability to act autonomously; it is a truism that the power of black communities is limited to the extent it depends directly on white help. (This is not the only factor to be considered when the white radical thinks about organizing Negroes, but we cannot dispute its importance.)

SDS seeks to call white critics to their true tasks, not to impugn their motives. If we really want to help we will be organizing primarily among the powerless, the disenfranchised, the dependent whites -- poor, working class, and middle class -- toward their power in communities, unions, and professions, so that they may move toward authentic alliance with the organizations of black power. There can be no true coalition for radical change unless there exist people in many spheres, wherever they are, committed to and organized for the reconstruction of American life.

Finally, SNCC has been criticized for having a position on the Vietnam war, in the first place; and second, for having the position it does, one of deep and wholehearted opposition. But we applaud SNCC for recognizing that the enemies of deep-seated social change at home are the enemies of revolution abroad, and for acting to forge alliances with the oppressed in the Third World. We are saddened to see presumed internationalists attacking SNCC for articulating its solidarity with their brothers -- whether in Guatemala or South Africa or Vietnam -- and we intend to work closely with them in making international contacts: without sectarianism, but also without illusions as to the real position of America in the world, or for its own poor and powerless.

National Council Minutes ...continued

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vention. Show of hands: yes 24; no 20. CARRIED.

Motion to remove from table the discussion of convention location. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to have convention centrally located and have the next (December) national council meeting on the west coast.

Vote:

on convention location: yes 21; no 17. CARRIED.

on December N.C. location: no count CARRIED.

Adjourned at 2:20 A.M.

THIRD SESSION

The third session of the national council was called to order by Jeff Shero on Saturday, June 18, at 12:10 p.m. in the undergraduate library.

Credentials: seating of new delegates. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Report: Summary of fund-raising report given previous evening for benefit of those not present at time.

Report on the progress of the Radical Education Project.

Motion to instruct the NAC to give first priority in the printing of SDS material to REP internal education material. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to establish a ten-minute limit on discussion of decision-making in REP.

Amendment to limit speakers to two minutes each. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Vote on main motion. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to adjourn for lunch till 2:15. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Fourth Session

The fourth session of the council meeting was called to order at 2:45 p.m. by Jeff Shero.

Report on high school organizing.

Motion that the NAC appoint a committee to prepare proposals on high school organizing for the August convention, and that there be established a national program with Mark Kleiman as its head.

Friendly amendment: that chapters hold seminars with college and high school students to decide what should be done.

Vote on motion: Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Credentials: seating of new delegates.

Report on the Alexander Defense Committee.

Motion to form a committee to draft a resolution supporting the leadership of the Alexander Defense Committee. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion: that a way be found to implicate the leadership of SDS along with the leadership of the ADC. WITHDRAWN.

Motion to request Carl Oglesby to ask to become an officer of the ADC. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Report of the ADC resolution committee. The resolution read as follows:

Students for a Democratic Society affirms its opposition to the attempt to force the Alexander Defense Committee to register as the agent of a foreign principle. We regard this as a clear attempt at political intimidation aimed at stifling American support for South African freedom movements. We extend our solidarity to the Alexander Defense Committee in this fight and urge all men of good will to join us in doing so.

Recognition of new chapters. The following chapters were recognized:

U. of Wyoming, U. of Delaware, Ill. Inst. of Tech., Carnarsie High School (NYC), Washington D.C. High School at Large, Wisc. St. at Eau Clair, Lakeview, Lakeside, and Southside Community Action (all three in Chicago), DePaul Univ., Evansville College, Oregon State, U. of Calif. at Irvine, Mayfair J. C., U. of Mass.--Boston, Oakland Univ., Bucknell, Okla. State at Stillwater, Young Adult Chapter (NYC), Weequahic H. S., Hofstra College, Manhattanville Community, Hobart College, U. of Idaho, U. of Colorado, U. of Calif. at Santa Barbara, U. of Calif. at Davis, Hartford at Large. In addition, we dropped the following chapters due to their nonexistence: Vanderbilt, Piedmont, Yonkers, Western Reserve, NYC at Large, Kingsboro, and Chicago at Large.

Report on South Africa.

Motion: that SDS plan joint protests against the Union of South Africa along with the National Student Christian Federation, SNCC, and similar organizations -- and demand that the U.S., working through the U.N., impose sanctions on South Africa. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Phone Message from the DuBois Club convention in Chicago.

Motion: that SDS co-sponsor the DuBois Club march on Washington and send a representative to the DuBois Club convention.

Substitute motion to inform the DuBois Club that August 28 is totally unacceptable, and ask for a representative from the Club to explain their plans. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Vote on sending a representative to the DuBois Club convention. Show of hands -- no count DEFEATED

Motion to table discussion of march till Vietnam section of agenda. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

The chair passed to Don Olson

Report from SNCC, by Ivanhoe Donaldson, SNCC staff member.

Motion to adopt Paul Booth's letter to Stokely Carmichael with modifications as on NC resolution on SNCC. (Note: the original Booth letter was printed in NLN #21)

Amendment: that there be an issue of NLN given over to discussion of the Negro movement in general and SNCC in particular.

Motion to draft a completely new resolution concerning SNCC.

Credentials: the seating of two new delegates. no opposition CARRIED.

Motion to table SNCC discussion till after dinner at 7:45.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:50.

FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session of the national council meeting was called to order at 8:35 p.m. by Carl Oglesby.

Motion to suspend agenda and take up discussion of the national office and the election of the national secretary. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Report: oral amplification of the national secretary's report by Paul Booth (Note: the written report appeared in NLN #22)

Recess of the body to move to the Friends Center, 9:40. The meeting was reconvened at 10:10 by Paul Booth.

Resolution: presentation of the newly drafted resolution on SNCC.

Motion: previous question. Voice vote CARRIED.

Procedural motion to have a thirty-minute discussion to perfect a sense-of-the-body resolution on the function of the national secretary, and another thirty-minute discussion on the function of the assistant national secretary culminating in another resolution delineating the number of assistants and their functions. Show of hands -- no count DEFEATED.

Motion to ask SNCC to write a pamphlet explaining "black power" to be published and distributed by SDS.

Motion previous question. Voice vote CARRIED.

Vote on motion: Voice vote CARRIED.

Procedural motion to have a thirty-minute discussion to perfect a sense-of-the-body resolution on the function of the national

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report from the draft workshop

General Orientation

The expanding war in Vietnam will necessitate increased student draft. To decide which students will go and while maintaining the 2S system, the government has instituted the test and rank procedures. Drafting based on rank will necessarily lead to fierce competition amongst students for grades. The continued existence of deferment creates the *illusion* that safety can be gained by getting good grades and high test scores. Grade competition and the safety illusion divide students.

We must fight to overcome the divisions by struggling for student unity. Such unity can lead to alliances with other sections of the population opposed to the war and/or struggling for social change.

While we must, therefore, oppose 2S as a divisive and class-racial discriminatory system, we have to do this on the basis of collective struggle against the administration and the government, not by individual sacrifice.

PROGRAM

We are trying to build a radical student movement. The program we use must be based on the requirements of that general perspective at this time. As we see it, the job we've got now is to move the students who are presently opposed to the war into activities on the question of the war as concretely expressed in the institutions in which they study/live/work. We must develop struggles by these students on the campuses against the school administrations for student self-determination and against the war.

This will mean broader base building. That is, we must take the anger that students feel against rank, 2S, etc. and turn it into opposition to the administration and the war. The war has in fact created the situation in which students are mad about rank; the administrations have compounded this anger by reinforcing the students powerless. We must learn how to combine these struggles to build a student movement against the war and fighting for university control.

As a more long-term strategy, we have to begin carrying the struggle against the war as it affects people's daily lives into the communities, factories, etc. Students can help in this. At the moment many non-students have a very distorted view of our reasons for protesting the war in Vietnam. Often they feel that we don't want to go because we're cowards – that we want them to go in our place. Students, organized to fight against rank and drafting procedures, in the context of opposition to the war, can be organized to go off campus, as students, to bring the reasons for their protest to the poor, black people, white workers, etc. This, of course, will not work if we are not organizing opposition to 2S.

DRAFT * 2S * RANK * GRADES

Orientation – We must recognize ourselves, and struggle to convince other students that the 2S system and all its supports (e.g. the rank system, the SRA tests, etc.) are not in their true interests. This system merely makes it harder for them to fight by dividing them from the rest of the population (the government can play off resentment against the Vietnam draft against the students) and also by dividing them internally, giving some the illusion that they won't have to go. We must interconnect this struggle against 2S-rank-test, as the system is tied to the war and U.S. foreign policy in general, with the struggle for student control of the university.

*Demands Concerning War * Draft * 2S * Ranks* – We must demand and end to the war in Vietnam by the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and other agencies, an end of the draft for Vietnam, an end to the 2S system and the cessation of university cooperation with the Selective Service: Obviously, the university cannot itself end the war, abolish 2S or the draft – it can only stop cooperating with the military machine. It is essential, however, to raise these other issues for strategic reasons which flow from what has been said in an earlier section. While we cannot demand that everyone in an anti-rank sit-down take a stand against the war, there are numerous possible tactics for conducting the anti-war anti-Selective Service anti-administration struggle, such as demands for a referendum on campuses to end ranking, sit-downs in testcenters, refusal by masses of students to hand in final exams until schools agree not to rank, student strikes against teachers who send in grades, student struggle to get teachers to hand out written evaluations instead of grades, etc. The methods can vary from school to school.

UNIVERSITY CONTROL

Orientation – We are trying to relate the war and general foreign policy issues which have created the present student militancy to the question of student power. The war has intensified the contradiction between the students and the administration, as well as that between faculty and administration, although to a lesser degree.

Demands: These must vary. The crucial question here is to build student power against the administration on the basis of concrete issues important to our radical program. We must raise the question of 2S and the draft for Vietnam, we must take this stand ourselves. Aside from sit-downs power, then, in terms of, as it flows from, the struggles we are waging for an end to rank-test-2S-draft and against the war. If the struggle for university control is launched in terms of this real content, any victory in form will be worthwhile – even if it involves a defeat in terms of content. For example, if students on some campus were to demand a referendum on the question of rank and succeed, through student pressure on the administration, in getting that referendum, and then lose the referendum – that would not have been a real defeat. Such struggle raises the consciousness of students around the war-draft issue, teaches them that they can struggle against the administration, shows them the necessity of demanding control of their lives, and establishes a highly useful precedent for future (higher-level) struggle around the question of university control.

Report written by Earl Silbar and Jared Israel, accepted by Draft Workshop

NEW LEFT NOTES

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Position Paper for Convention...continued

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all nations". Neither of these "deviations" is serious enough to necessarily preclude State Dept support as part of an enlightened long-range U.S. policy.

It may be difficult to locate enough members of "national industrial groups" to run the economy, and they may be reluctant to do so if it involves a revolution (members of "industrial groups" everywhere tend to shy away from situations involving large numbers of armed workers and/or peasants). In that case, industry and the plantations will be taken over by our cadres of revolutionary students and intellectuals, who are burning with shame and a desire to modernize the country (and providentially unemployed). The program will be carried out exactly as above except that now it will be called "socialism". In either case, it will be necessary to occasionally arrest or shoot those disgruntled elements ("wage slaves" and impoverished peasants for example) who may endanger "national unity" by feeling that all this hasn't improved their personal situation too radically. Depending upon which path has been chosen to carry out the program, these people can be easily labelled as agents of Russia, China, the CIA or all three.

Meanwhile, Oglesby proposes that the American left should move to support the "Third World" revolutions by forcing the U.S. government to cease all military intervention into the affairs of other nations, and to discourage the investment of private capital abroad by requiring corporations to pay U.S. wage rates in overseas operations and to keep all profits in the country of origin (with their use dictated by our non-interventionist government), and by eliminating all compensation in case of expropriation. Since no alternative sources of capital (e.g., massive economic aid by the U. S. government or the U. N.) are proposed, the investment gap will presumably be filled by Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Japan, etc. This should be of great value to "national industrial groups" in those countries, but I suspect that the Brazilians may not receive too many benefits from it.

If Oglesby's rhetoric of "world revolution" reduces itself to such non-revolutionary specifics when closely examined, it's because of two basic flaws in his approach. The first is that rather than dealing with real social and economic systems, and their effect on men's lives, he deals with geographical abstractions. Thus the "world revolution" becomes not an international social revolution but a series of "national liberation movements" viewed as discrete phenomena in isolation from each other and from events in the rest of the world. These movements are, moreover, confined to a limited geographical area known as the "Third World". The second flaw is a necessary corollary of the first: that the "foreign policy" proposed for the movement has no ties to any program of domestic social change, so it appears merely as a set of abstract demands hurled into empty space by student demonstrations.

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The term "Third World" refers to those 75-100 countries which are exploited by the advanced industrial nations as sources of agricultural products and raw materials, and as markets for finished goods. Since the advanced nations effectively control the world market, they are able to set the prices of both manufactured goods and primary products (that is, products derived directly from nature by mining, forestry, fishing, agriculture, etc). These terms of trade have steadily altered in favor of the advanced nations. By 1961, the world prices of primary products had fallen to 93% of their 1951 average, while those of manufactured goods had risen to 126% of the 1951 average.

This price decline masks a still more disastrous relative decline in the importance of primary product exports. World trade more than doubled between 1948 and 1959, but exports of primary products rose only 50%, and part of that rise was in exports from the developed nations (the U. S., Canada and Australia, for instance, have totally wiped out all competition in the wheat market). Between 1950 and 1962, world exports rose by 7.1%, but those of "Third World" countries rose by only 3.4%. The rise in the use of synthetics, greater efficiency of design and production to reduce waste in manufacturing, and more advanced techniques of primary production have enabled the developed nations to produce a larger share of their own needs. Between 1955 and 1961 alone, this self-sufficiency in primary product needs increased from 50% to 52% and is steadily rising.

An increase in primary production – pouring more raw materials into a declining world market – can't provide a solution to the economic problems of the "Third World".

Raising prices by international agreement to restrict production on items like coffee has proven itself nearly impossible. So the only way out of the bind is industrialization. Since no single country of the "Third World" possesses the internal resources necessary for large-scale industrialization, the problem becomes: What form of international cooperation can best create either the capital from the industrialized nations?

The official U. S. line on this question is a continuation of the 19th century "open door" policy of free trade. It rests on the argument that in a free world market, unrestricted by tariff barriers, both raw materials and manufactured goods will tend to arrive at their "natural prices", production will stabilize at "real world demand", and capital will flow into those areas where it can most efficiently be put to use. Foreign aid and long-term credits from the advanced nations should therefore be placed primarily into development of "infrastructure" (dams, railroads and harbors, highways, etc) necessary to make private investment profitable, "free trade areas" should break down regional barriers to trade but not set up external tariff walls, and central planning should not be allowed to disrupt the "natural development" of markets and cause "irrational" production. Despite the internal opposition of protectionists and isolationists, the State Dept. has steadily pursued this basic liberal policy of *laissez-faire* for the past 100 years, breaking down "artificial barriers to trade" with the marines where necessary.

Three obvious facts make it impossible for any government in the "Third World" to come nearer to public support of this line than polite disbelief (although many collaborate with it in practice). The first is, that of the 147.4 billion in foreign capital invested in "Third World" countries between 1950 and 1961, 120.9 billion went back to the advanced countries as profits and 13.1 billion was lost from deterioration in terms of trade. Second, the remaining 13.4 billion (about 25% of 1 year's U. S. "defense" budget) was mainly invested in the relatively declining extractive industries, since these offer the most quick profits. Third, to put it simply, the policy is not being and will not be carried out. Not only are long-term approaches by State Dept. planners cancelled in practice by the demands of special interests in the U.S. for tariffs and protection of their investments abroad, but the absence of political and economic stability in the "Third World" causes military considerations to be given total precedence in our foreign policy. Any drive toward "rational" change under U.S. aegis is paralyzed by a pervasive fear that any change may open the pandora's box of revolution.

In Western Europe, particularly in Communist and social-democratic circles, a different approach is gaining support, one

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which is also supported by many liberal and moderate nationalist leaders in underdeveloped nations. It proceeds from the assumption that industrialization of the 'Third World' is an immediate economic necessity for the advanced nations. As the relative prices of raw materials decline on the world market, so does the ability of the 'Third World' to purchase manufactured goods. This creates the same type of 'crisis of consumption' for the developed countries which could be caused by internal poverty and unemployment. Since no conceivable increase in the volume or price of primary products can offset this decline in purchasing power, the principles of the 'welfare state' must be extended to the world economy, and vigorous steps taken to stimulate industrialization of the 'Third World' as part of a sensible 'division of labor' in world production.

As an example, if sufficient capital was supplemented by long-term credits for infrastructure development, it should be possible to develop an African textile industry which could easily become more efficient (given the increases to raw material sources) than the backward and marginal European textile industry. For Africa this would mean the development of modern cotton ginning and of a relatively high-wage, high-profit industry. Aside from eliminating the dependence on textile imports, it would generate additional capital for further development. For Europe, it would mean the elimination of a relatively low-wage, low-profit industry and the creation of a prosperous Africa which would be a better market for the products of high-wage, high-profit industries such as electronics (not to mention textile machinery manufacturing). In order to ensure an even flow and allocation of capital (as well as to ease the pains of transition) it would be necessary to have centralized national and supranational planning both in Europe and Africa, but this is entirely compatible with the domestic social goals of this position's advocates.

The advocates of the above position very widely in their positions on the relative role of public vs. private capital, how far industrialization of the 'Third World' and supranational planning should go, etc. They are united in their view of the necessity of some degree of planned industrialization, and in their belief that this can be peacefully accomplished by an extension of 'welfare state' methods. I think the first point is demonstrably true. Our view of the second must partically depend upon our position in regard to the 'welfare state' itself – whether we think it can solve the problems of industrial society, and whether we would consider such a solution adequate in terms of our own human and social goals.

The neoisest, if not the most consistent, opponents of the 'social-democratic' position, are the Chinese. They maintain that the capitalists of the advanced nations have no more intention of industrializing the Third World than they have of providing a living wage to Mississippi Negroes. All their pretenses of doing so are aimed merely at lulling opposition or at co-opting it into an essentially capitalist planning structure as the labor unions have been co-opted into the welfare state. The 'Third World' countries should choose the revolutionary course, decisively break with the capitalist nations, and rely primarily on their own resources and on mutual trade to build an industrial base.

This "internationalist" verbiage masks an essentially nationalist Chinese policy based on Stalin's 'socialism in one country' policy of pulling yourself up by your bootstraps. After 50 years of this policy, accompanied by forced labor, brutal collectivisation of agriculture and totalitarianization of every aspect of life, the Soviet Union, despite its vast internal resources, remains one of the most backward of the industrialized countries. China began the same process 30 years later, with an industrial base far more backward than that of Tsarist Russia. No process of internal accumulation imaginable can bridge this gap, and only a "state of siege" can sustain the small progress being made.

The aim of Chinese policy is therefore twofold: to secure external military and trade alliances while increasing the internal cohesion and discipline of the regime. The theoretical basis of this policy is the doctrine of international class conflict between the rich, "bourgois" nations and the poor, "proletarian" nations. By reducing the social and economic problems of the 'Third World' to those of nationalist conflict with imperialism, it is possible for the Maoists to create a "Marxism" which places reactionaries of all stripes within the "proletarian" camp so long as they are 'anti-imperialist'. Central to the policy is the doctrine of encirclement and starvation of the world's "cities" (advanced industrial areas) by peasant revolutions which will cut off their supplies of food and raw materials.

In practice, this means that the Chinese can ally themselves to governments of many types, since their theory reports the relations of nations to other nations as more important than the internal social relations of those nations. Thus, China has ties of "mutual friendship" with the military dictatorship of Pakistan and seeks agreement with the "progressive" feudalists of Nepal, Afghanistan and southeast Asia, as well as the merchants of Manila and the bankers of Singapore – all in the interest of "socialist revolution" and also of China's foreign trade. The zenith of this opportunistic policy was China's hasty recognition of Boumedienne's military coup in Algeria in order to safeguard the Afro-Asian conference (which failed to come off anyway).

All this would merely come under the heading of normal diplomacy, no more remarkable than that of any other country, were it not for the disastrous consequences it has for revolutionary movements in Asia. To protect China's trade and military interest, 300,000 Indonesians were led to their deaths behind the nationalist demagogue Sukarno, hundreds of Indian Communists languish in jail, and the Japan Communist Party angrily denounces Maoist efforts to organize in the Zengakuren for alienating members of the "patriotic bourgeisie" by attacking Japanese capitalism: (the "patriotic bourgeoisie," for the benefit of the uninitiated, are Japanese businessmen who want to trade with China.)

For American radicals, following the 'Chinese' line is even more disastrous. Since Maoism effectively writes off all possibility of progressive development from within the "cities" of the world, the role of American "revolutionaries" is restricted to harassing the forces of imperialism, and "building cadres" to await the day when American capitalism will collapse from external pressure. As isolated outposts of the world revolution, they must hold out as best they can until relief comes. At the same time, their energies must be devoted to support of the main struggle, and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam (for example) must always have precedence over domestic social issues.

Since the doctrine of "victory from without" allows "revolutionaries" to identify with a world movement while relieving them of any responsibility for achieving concrete results at home, it has a certain attraction for middle-class intellectuals. In fact, since the Chinese apparently support the view (implicit in their analysis of the permanently reactionary character of the metropolitan areas) that the welfare state has indeed solved the internal problems of capitalism, it's possible to be both a Maoist and a well-fed-state liberal, simultaneously supporting guerilla movements abroad and reform democrats at home. It's also possible to join the Chinese in supporting every "nationalist" movement in the world in a completely uncritical way, which saves the painful bother of trying to find out what's going on. For more seriously revolutionary supporters of China (and I would include those SDS members who are also members of Progressive Labor in this number) the problem is one of reconciling the erratic and opportunist line of the Chinese with their own drive for a consistent and principled world view.

The central problem we've been running up against is a confusion between "nationalism" and "revolution". If we are to make serious policy toward the 'Third World', we must stop confusing the interests of governments with those of individuals, try to pick out the crucial problems of the 'Third World' and decide what we want to do about them. It would be well to bear in mind that the advanced industrial nations are quite likely to maintain their dominance for some time to come, and that therefore the responsibility for progress or reaction throughout the world rests most heavily on our shoulders. Revolution in our society is something for the people of the 'Third World' that we want for ourselves: food, clothing, shelter and medical care; decent working conditions, leisure, literacy, and the opportunity of every man to share the fruits of his own culture and others as well as the fruits of production; and the human dignity which comes only with individual and social freedom, and which can be assumed only by possession of democratic institutions thru which men can control the conditions of their own lives. True freedom cannot come as a gift of wise bureaucrats, however paternalistic or all-wise they may be.

We know two things about these goals. The first is that they cannot be separated from one another or from democracy: the ignorant man is robbed of food and shelter; the poor man is robbed of education and medical care; the powerless man is robbed of even his own culture. The second is that these are benefits which accrue to men and women rather than to nations: we cannot ensure food and clothing for "Brazil", only for Brazilians. Even when someone speaks of "national goals" or "national grievances", we have a right to ask just who within the "nation" has these goals, feels these grievances.

Perhaps, in fact, we should challenge the relevance of the whole concept of nationalism. The major political problems today are economic and social questions which reach across national and pseudo-national boundaries, and readily translate from one tongue into another. If we are to look for units larger than the individual thru which to understand the needs of the 3 billion members of our race, and upon which to found movements for social change, then it should be not nations, but social classes. Venezuelan truck drivers have more in common with Congolese truck drivers, and Mexican peasants with Vietnamese peasants, than either have with "their" millionaires or government officials.

Similarly, American bankers and industrialists have more in common with their counterparts in the 'Third World' than with Detroit assembly line workers or Mississippi sharecroppers. The difference is that the bankers and industrialists are well aware of this community of interest, and have a domestic and foreign policy to express it. Our problem is to counter this policy with one based on the common interests of the oppressed and exploited. In order to do this, we must come to a common understanding of who the victims of our society are, and how they are victimized.

I use the phrase "our society" because it seems to me that the problems of Brazilians and Americans are not distinct, but areones of differing relations to a common system of exploitation. In that sense, the term 'Third World' is a misleading one. If a Latin American peasant is robbed of the fruits of his labor by the local landlord or moneylender, it is so that worthy may purchase a Cadillac, or the dividends on some shares of General Electric. Only in a few areas of subsistence agriculture are there social systems having an existence independent of the world market. Imperialism is not an independent phenomenon, but an integral part of capitalism, the dominant system of production in the world today.

The first essential feature of capitalism is production for the market rather than production for immediate use. Even in areas where most people grow food for local use (as in most parts of the 'Third World'), the portion which goes to the market is the decisive one, the one which determines how much clothing people will have, whether their children will be educated, how much of the burden of their labor will be lifted by modern tools and machinery. Moreover, this decisive sector is usually organized not on the basis of tenant farming or feudal relations, but on the basis of large-scale plantation agriculture or mining, organized along the same lines as a modern factory. The slogan "redistribution of land" is either irrelevant or reactionary in relation to this type of production. Moreover, this production for the market brings an increasing interdependence of areas in the world market – of American canneries on Bolivian tin and Bolivian mines on American machinery – which renders all "national" solutions to economic problems impossible.

The second essential feature of the system is the division of power within the productive process, a division which determines the nature of all other social institutions. On the one hand, we have those who own, manage, direct and issue orders, who to one degree or another exercise power as a "right" within the enterprise that we call a "business firm". We have those who are in the position of executors of decisions they did not make, and who have only such power as they are able to take 'dirty' within the organization. This principle of hierarchy and subordination, entrenched as "necessary" in industry, carries over as a part of all social organization. If men spend half their waking day in an authoritarian environment, they can hardly be expected to walk off the job and become responsible citizens of a democracy. "Management" and "director" are seen as essential at the heart of a society, they come to be seen as essential elsewhere as well.

This means that political and social struggles inevitably relate to the nature of the economy. Any challenge to the right of the ruling class to rule anywhere is seen by them as a challenge ultimately to their rule where it counts – in industry. Thus a peasant guerilla movement in Columbia or a demand for control of welfare institutions in Newark are both indirectly demands for the end of hierarchy in industry as far as the establishment is concerned. Once the principle of authority is successfully challenged in one sphere, it is endangered in all spheres. Every social or political struggle becomes more or less a class struggle, depending upon the extent to which the participants are aware of the implications of their actions.

I use the word "class" in a very old-fashioned way, as related directly to men's relationships to their work. Thus, if to one man a machine is something he owns, directs or profits from, and to another it is something which dominates his life, to which he is subordinated, and which is seen in the order of things as being actually more important than he himself is, then the relationship of those two men to one another can be summarized in their relation to the machine. Nothing that happens off the job, no question of income or "status", is as important in determining their lives and consciousnesses as that relationship. Rather it is opposite – that the relations of production determine questions of income and "status". The man who "owns" the machine determines the division of its profits, and the man who is subordinated to the machine is always his inferior in "status". Moreover, a machine operator who makes $3 per hour acts more like, thinks more like, and is more like a machine operator than one who makes $1 per hour than he is like a shopkeeper whose income is the same as his. Machine operators belong to one social class, and shopkeepers to another.

To the extent that those who are dominated and "inferior" in society become aware of their real situation and common interests, they discover that they are not as ignorant and powerless as they had been led to believe. As they reject the trappings of power (suggestion boxes, votes for candidates they had no part in selecting, etc.), they discover that their real power lies precisely where the real power of their opponents has its roots – in industry. If their "betters" derive power, prestige and income from the control of production, they can do the same by proving that that control is a hollow shell without the cooperation of the "workers by hand and brain". The strike, the slow-down, the challenge to work rules, are actions which challenge the very bases of power in our society.

If then the Asian peasant and the American auto worker have approximately the same enemies, and if they struggle against them for approximately the same goals (which might be summarized as liberty, equality and fraternity), our problem becomes to eliminate the false barriers between them, to make them aware of their common interest so that they may join their strengths.

At this point, many readers will already be totally turned off. The common view in SDS is that the organized working class, both here and in the 'Third World', has been 'bought off' with a bigger share of the profits of exploitation, and has become a part of the "middle class" and thence (by some form of osmosis) "the Establishment". The only potentially revolutionary elements in society are those who remain both exploited and powerless – the peasants of the 'Third World', the negroes and urban poor of the developed countries, and (again by some form of osmosis) students and intellectuals. This ignores two salient facts about wage workers.

The first is that they have a huge potential power. This is for two reasons – workers are more (rather than less) exploited than the poor, since the value of the product which is alienated from them is greater. Therefore,

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White Organizing...continued

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them find their way into social movements that are pointed to the future and not the past. I have never seen this concept of white people flooding into black communities and organizing them. I say never -- that's a slight exaggeration, but anyway not for a long time. When I first got involved in the civil rights movement almost 20 years ago I certainly went through a stage, which I think most white people do, of working mainly in the Negro community. But soon after that I went through my baptism of fire on that one and came to the realization that Negroes did not need me or want me to either lead them or organize them. I came to this realization through some things that happened to me, which I won't go into here because they are not pertinent now. But I made up my mind then, as many of you are making up your minds now, I think, that if I really believed the things I said I did my job was to reach the white people of my community -- and wherever else I could reach them -- and convince *them* of the evils of racism and of the meaning of real democracy.

As the new movement developed in the South in the late 1950's and the early 1960's, there was a growing tendency for the relatively few white people who were active to work in the Negro communities. I just never could see this. When SNCC started as an almost entirely Negro student organization, I felt that my job as a white person was to convey to the *white* students of the South a feeling of what was really going on and how they could relate to it. It was for this reason that SCEF started the "white student project" of SNCC, under which we made a grant to SNCC for the employment of someone to reach white students.

But at that stage, it was very hard to convince the white people who were active that this was their job. There was a great temptation to be where the action was, and the action was in the Negro communities.

Then, by the summer of 1964, white students (mostly from the North, but some Southerners) were coming into the South in great numbers, as you know. Mostly they were going to the black communities.

Ar that point, I greatly welcomed and agreed with the SSOC project which was going to attempt to reach the *white* people of Mississippi. I know some of the problems of that project and that it was not the greatest success in the world. But I thought *your* idea was right, and I truly think it might have been different if there had been more than just the feeble handful of you interested in it. People say the poor white people of Mississippi cannot be reached -- but how do we know? Suppose all of the human energy that has been poured by white people into reaching Negro Mississippians had been put into reaching white Mississippians? What would have happened? We'll never know.

But at that time in 1964, the flood tide was running against this sort of idea -- and frankly at times I began to wonder if I was wrong. Surely everybody could not be out of step but me (and a few others). I thought.

Now, the pendulum seems to be swinging the other way, and more and more white people are deciding they must reach the white Southerner, especially the poor one, who by and large has been neglected by the movement and by us all.

I am glad they are deciding this.

What I disagree with is the concept that they will organize these poor white Southerners completely apart from the Negro movement -- and figure that somewhere down the road, maybe several years hence, maybe they'll get together in some sort of coalition.

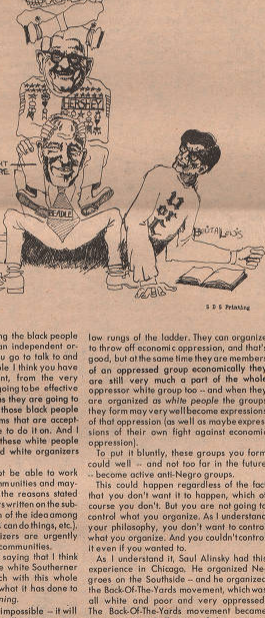
I don't think it can work that way.

I think some people's conclusion that it can stem from their applying in their thinking about white communities some of the principles that are emerging from organization in the black communities. And I think this projection leads to a mistaken course.

To be specific I can see the reasons (or think I can see them) why many Negroes are moving toward the idea of black organization. I know the reasons it is said that a "black consciousness" is needed. You all know this discussion; I won't go into it here; I think a great deal of it is valid. Therefore, I can see why Negroes want to build organizations of black people and build their consciousness as a people.

I just don't think the same arguments apply in organization of white people. For historic reasons, we may need "black consciousness." The last thing in the world we need is "white consciousness." As a matter of fact, of course, we already have "white consciousness," with all the evil and destruction that indicates. What we need to do is tear it down.

Again to be specific, if you are going to engage in a project (rural or urban) to organize poor white people, I can see how it might be desirable (and it may happen whether you think it is desirable or not) for



Negroes to be organizing the black people in that community into an independent organization. But when you go to talk to and organize the white people I think you have to say to them in front, from the very word go, that if they are going to be effective and solve their problems they are going to have to team up with those black people over there and find terms that are acceptable to the black people to do it on. And I think you should go to these white people with teams of black and white organizers working together.

White people may not be able to work in organizing Negro communities and maybe should not -- for all the reasons stated recently in various papers written on the subject (like the perpetuation of the idea among Negroes that only whites can do things, etc.). But I think black organizers are urgently needed to work in white communities.

In other words, I am saying that I think you have to confront the white Southerner you are trying to reach with this whole question of racism and what it has done to him from the *very beginning*.

Some may say this is impossible -- it will frighten him off and you'll never get to him. I am not saying it will be easy. We will fail many times. But I think we must begin trying in the beginning because I think if you wait it will get harder as time goes on and not easier.

In fact, if you begin to organize groups of white people without tackling this issue in a very concrete way, I think the problem is much greater than that you will just be wasting your time. I think you may be creating a Frankenstein. I think you may well find that you have organized groups and organizations that become a real danger -- to the South and to all you stand for.

Robb Burlage said something at a meeting in Atlanta a couple of years ago that has stuck with me: "He said: "White people don't organize *as white people* except for a bad purpose."

It is different from Negroes organizing as Negroes. They are an oppressed group, so when they organize as Negroes it can be for a good purpose -- to throw off oppression. But white people are the oppressor group. This is true even if they are on the low rungs of the ladder. They can organize to throw off economic oppression, and that's good, but at the same time they are members of an oppressed group economically they are still very much a part of the whole oppressor white group too -- and when they are organized *as white people* the groups they form may very well become expressions of that oppression (as well as maybe expressions of their own fight against economic oppression).

To put it bluntly, these groups you form could well -- and not too far in the future -- become active anti-Negro groups.

This could happen regardless of the fact that you don't want it to happen, which of course you don't. But you are not going to control what you organize. As I understand your philosophy, you don't want to control what you organize. And you couldn't control it even if you wanted to.

As I understand it, Saul Alinsky had this experience in Chicago. He organized Negroes on the Southside -- and he organized the Back-Of-The-Yards movement, which was all white and poor and very oppressed. The Back-Of-The-Yards movement became very strong and effective in fighting its own oppression -- but later it was the backbone of a movement to keep Negroes out of that part of Chicago.

Maybe this could not have been avoided. What I am saying is that we must try to avoid such mistakes by beginning in the very beginning to try to convince white people that their interest lies in teaming up with Negroes -- even if the Negroes want and are forming their own organization. And if we hope to convince them, we must confront them with the issue as we start -- because it will get harder as people get more organized, stronger in their own organization, more solidified, etc.

Let me give you an example. You mentioned somewhere (maybe the newsletter) that SSOC was considering "white community projects) in several cities, one of which was Louisville. Now Louisville is a city I know like the palm of my hand. I think a SSOC project working for joint Negro-white action would be a great thing for this city. But I can tell you right now that the last thing in the world we need in Louisville is a project that would come in and organize poor whites separate from Negroes. Let me be even more specific. If you were going to organize whites here, one natural place to begin would be a section of Louisville's West End known as Portland. It is almost all-white and poor. If you followed this "separate" idea you would go there with just white organizers, live, and organize the people around their grievances which are very real. You could do this--but if you did it that way I think it would be damaging to Louisville. As you helped these people gain added strength through organization, it is very likely that they would become more and more the rivals and antagonists (for public funds, power, etc.) of a well-organized group of Negroes in another part of the West End--Southwick. As this happened, the people in Southwick would become more and more bitter toward the white people in Portland, and those in Portland more and more bitter against those in Southwick. It would be a vicious circle that would continue to get worse. Such antagonism already exists in embryonic stage; organizing Portland alone would intensify it. Any talk of getting them together later--somewhere down the road--is nonsense, in my opinion. It would become harder with each passing day.

On the other hand, some real good could be done if you or someone with your commitments came in here and began to organize the people in Portland with the specific and immediate goal of tying them in with the people of Southwick to work for common aims and on common problems (and the problems in the two areas are similar in many ways) right NOW. Not tomorrow but now.

It would not be easy. But I think there is a good chance it could be done.

I cannot believe that what is true in Louisville does not have counterparts in many other Southern cities. And believe me, Louisville is a Southern city. Don't let anyone tell you it is not.

It may be that the prophets of doom are right when they say it is impossible to bring the poor Southern white man into unity with the poor Southern Negro. I know it failed in the past when it was tried. I happen to think there are circumstances today that may make it different, circumstances I won't go into here but which I touched on a bit in my article in Monthly Review last summer. But I may be completely wrong. Maybe it is not possible.

But I say let's don't give up before we have tried. Let's try for a while pouring as much energy into that effort as whites have poured into Negro communities in recent years--and see what happens.

As for our Southern Mountain Project in East Tennessee, as I said earlier, it may fail. But this is just one effort. I think there are possibilities there--but it is too soon to say for sure. But one thing I do feel: I do not think the handful of people working on that project should have to feel that the whole burden of proving whether white-black organizing can be done in the South rides on their shoulders. If the project fails, it may fail for many reasons. They should not be burdened with feeling they must be the testing lab for an entire movement that includes many, many people.

I want to see some of the rest of you tackle this problem. Let's have many projects and many efforts. If we do that for a while, we'll have a better basis for any opinions on it. And if we fail, we will know that it was not because we did not try. I think we who are white have this historic responsibility at this time--and I think the responsibility rests on the shoulders of each of us.

if you aren't paid up, pay your dues now!

Position Paper for Convention...concluded

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their attempts to end or ameliorate their condition are far more dangerous in terms of potential profits and power lost to the ruling class. More important, however, is that workers are where the power is -- at the heart of industrial society. If the poor of Chicago decide to reject the present welfare system and refuse to talk to social workers, they can be ignored. If the workers of Chicago decide to stop working and refuse to talk to the bosses, the life of the city comes to a halt and the bosses must come to them. It's that simple.

The second fact about workers is that within the limits of the system, they cannot be permanently 'bought off'. A certain amount of yielding is possible (at least when times are good) on things like wages, pensions, etc. The more pie there is, the more each can have for his share. The system itself, however, depends upon the maintenance of authority and the 'prerogatives of management' in industry. Where the rulers cannot yield is on questions of democracy and human dignity within industry, and they are continually challenged in that area.

In 1964 (the latest year for which I have statistics) there were nearly 23 million man-days lost in strikes in America. Of these, less than 11 million were in strikes concerning 'economic' issues (wages, hours, fringe benefits, etc.) and more than half (12 million) were in strikes over plant administration, job security, union organization, working conditions, etc. -- questions of power and of the control of men over the conditions of their own lives. Moreover, these statistics include only actual strikes lasting more than 1 day, and thus exclude a large number of short wildcats, slowdowns, 'work-to-rules', etc. almost all of which were over plant administration and working conditions.

This is not to suggest that there is going to be a revolution in America tomorrow, or that workers are totally unconcerned with porkchops. It is to say that workers have a very real desire for freedom and dignity as human beings, and to obtain it they must challenge the power of managers and owners -- a challenge which is being made daily in factories and offices all over the country (and the world). I would also suggest that one of the reasons for the failure of the old left was its inability to grasp this fact. As long as radicals offered programs based either on economic elements which capitalism managed to meet (however inadequately), or on bureaucratic solutions which offered neither greater freedom for the common man nor an end to alienation in the workplace, they were doomed to failure. Only by directly attacking the roots of alienation and disenfranchisement, by demanding democracy within industry itself, is it possible for radicals to begin building an effective majority movement for the democratization of American society.

[The extent to which we can advocate the democratization of industry depends, of course, on how practical we think it is. I think that the majority of the vast army of managers, supervisors, foremen, etc., are totally superfluous to the industrial system. Their function is that of police -- not to direct traffic, but to keep the 'natives' under control. Decision-making and government of industry by elected representatives and mass meetings is not only possible but would probably be much more efficient.]

Obviously we can't build such a movement by just talking about it, or wishing for it. Equally obviously, we can't wait for a mass radicalization in industry before attempting to challenge the power of the ruling class in America. We must act and fight wherever we are now, whether thru civil rights or antiwar work, thru organization of democratic counter-institutions among the poor, or challenging university administrators. Those actions will become more meaningful and consistent however if we see them as tied to a not-so-long-range goal of carrying the fight into the enemy's home ground in the economy. They will also become more meaningful if we differentiate between those who are our potential allies and those who are not. Although the majority of our present membership is made up of students, the majority of students will probably always remain hostile to basic social change in America. That isn't necessarily true of faculty and university employees. Similarly, if we seek in the long run to challenge the principle of hierarchy in industry, then we must realize that one of the places that challenge begins is an attack on bureaucracy in the unions. Since that won't win us any friends at Solidarity House, we'd better forget about building any coalitions from above, or else forget about democratizing the society, one or the other. It's necessary to build a coalition movement of labor, minorities and the urban poor in order to break the power of the American ruling class, but that has to be a real coalition of women, negroes, Spanish-speaking people, etc., rather than a paper alliance of 'leaders' and social brokers.

If minorities and the poor in America can't wait for a mass social movement to begin pressing their demands, neither can the workers and peasants of the 'Third World'. For them, however, it's necessary to take a much more radical position at the outset in order to accomplish anything at all. The peasants of a nation like Brazil are scattered, ignorant. Any sort of day-to-day discussion and democratic decision-making among large numbers of them is nearly impossible. Their knowledge of the outside world comes from the radio, from newspapers, and from an occasional travelling agitator or guerilla band. They thus inevitably come to accept the leader ship of one urban group or another, and which group that is determines whether peasant movements are progressive or reactionary.

The 'national industrial groups' will, when push comes to shove, take their stand with 'lawful authority' in order to preserve their power. Students and intellectuals frequently take highly revolutionary positions, but since these flow from their heads rather than the conditions of their lives, it's impossible to predict which way they'll jump next, which makes them extremely unreliable allies -- aside from the fact that intellectuals are probably the world's most easily 'bought' social group.

That leaves the urban workers. In Brazil (since we've been using it for an example all along) there are 1 1/2 million factory workers. Together with their wives and families, and allied workers in transport, mining, plantations, etc, they make up a substantial minority, but still a minority, in a nation of 70 million people. Where they differ from other minorities is in three respects. First, they are concentrated in the large cities, where they are capable of exercising a working majority -- therefore they have social power, actual or potential. Second, because they are thrown together in large groups, (even in the plantations of the countryside) they are able to engage in discussion and come to common decisions on a day to day basis. Thus they are the only class in Brazilian society capable of ruling on even an internally democratic basis. Third, because of the nature of their work and their environment, they are literate and in contact with the world outside Brazil. This means that they are capable of carrying out a rational policy based on Brazil's real situation and the world, rather than on ignorance or wish-fulfillment.

But no one takes hold of power merely to keep it in trust for someone else. If the workers take over Brazil, even with the modest desire to merely 'break-up foreign-controlled monopolies, raise wages, redistribute land and trade freely with all nations', the very situation the nationalist capitalists of Brazil fear will have come into being. Once they have the power, they must either relinquish it to others, who might then proceed to use it against them, or use it in their own interest -- by for instance, democratizing industry. Once that happens, no more compromises are possible. The 'national industrial groups' and the military go into armed opposition, and the Americans and other Latin American ruling classes immediately try to isolate and destroy the Brazilian revolution. All the myths about national boundaries, 'self-determination', etc., are forgotten by the oppressors. They must likewise be forgotten by the revolutionaries, who have no alternative but to attempt at spread their revolution to as many neighboring countries as quickly as possible. Isolation means stagnation, dictatorship and eventual death.

If the immediate goal has to be revolution in the rest of Latin America, defeat is still inevitable unless the revolution also spreads to North America. The economic problems of development and pressures of the world market must inevitably deform the institutions of any single nation or even region. The resources of the advanced nations must be put at the full disposal of the 'Third World', and only a workers' revolution, operating under the necessity of avoiding the 'Needed' from the underdeveloped world, would have the power or motivation to do so.

On this modest call for immediate and full scale social revolution, I'll close. All this has been necessarily highly schematic and dogmatic, and the absence of previous discussion of this nature has led me to try to put too much into one article. I hope the points I've raised will generate some more thoughtful discussion.

To Expedite N.C.'s

Chicago, Ill.

Like many others, I have been doing a lot of thinking about the mess that was the recent National Council meeting. My analysis is that the length and the indefinite agenda (or the tendency to continually readjust the agenda) caused many of our hang-ups. Of course, many problems of length could be overcome if delegates began to take their responsibilities seriously and return promptly after meal or overnight adjournments; at this point, however, I don't see how to implement this sort of orientation. But the fact that three days, or thereabouts are set aside for plenary sessions leads individuals to leave most of the thinking and all of the formal preparation on motions to the plenary, and allows all sorts of unessential things to be brought onto the floor. The possibility of talking, discussing, relaxedly analysing the possibilities for certain types of action are eliminated by the force of a long agenda. My suggestion is that, as in the long-age past (I am told), national council meetings be preceded by a couple of days of much less formal committee meetings that would formulate coalition proposals and present them to a one-day plenary. Discussions on virtues of ideas and actions in less hectic and more participant-oriented contexts (delegates could skip committee meetings they weren't interested in, while that doesn't work for floor debate) would (1) provide the deep analysis SDS needs, (2) effect a more coherently structured plenary (with consensus resolutions), (3) eliminate much of the need for procedural hang-ups (sending to committee, tabling until further study or until more delegates are present, formulating the literal content of resolutions, ordering and reordering the agenda without knowing what is going to be presented under each topic, etc.), and (4) minimize the prompt-ness problem by eliminating the need for overnight recesses.

Given the growing size of the organization, and the growing diversity of the opinions in the group, we have to avoid the urge to feel compelled to spend days in formal debate and instead try to spend time outside of discussing our differences, limiting NC business to items that really have to be formally passed by that body and increasing the amount of informal substructure in the national organization. The most difficult and important business of the NC should, in the future, be done before the NC ever convenes; perhaps then we shall maintain our sanity as well as our solidarity.

Brent Kramer

NC Minutes...concluded

(continued from page 2)

secretary, and another thirty-minute discussion on the function of the assistant national secretary culminating in another resolution delineating the number of assistants and their functions. Voice vote CARRIED.

Motion: on role of national secretary . . .

The National Secretary's exclusive area of responsibility and activity would be within SDS. SDS's needs for more effective programs, for internal education, for more and better publications, for stable and responsible structures, coordination of staff and offices, for internal and external fund raising, and the organization of new regions and chapters demand the full time attention of the National Secretary. Other roles, such as organizational spokesman, relation to the press, negotiator and broker with other organizations, are properly the responsibility of the President and Vice President.

The National Secretary should be based in the National Office in Chicago, and must pay particular attention to recruitment of National Staff, the division of responsibilities, and regular consultation, both personally and through staff meetings with the staff. A staff meeting shall be held at least once a week.

The National Administrative Committee shall also meet once a week. It has decision making responsibility in the allocation primary role is to oversee the National Secretary's carrying out of the NC and Convention's program resolutions.

Ross Amendment

Motion to extend debate. Show of hands -- no count DEFEATED

Vote on amendment: show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Vote on main motion: Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion that the NAC be seen as an important consultative body. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to have one and one only assistant secretary; all other positions being appointed by the national administrative secretary and the NAC. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to have the term of the national administrative secretary last only till the convention. Voice vote CARRIED.

Nominations for national administrative secretary -- all nominees except Jane Adams, who was elected by acclamation.

Nominations for assistant national administrative secretary -- all declined except Bob Speck, who was elected by acclamation.

Motion to amend the agenda to elect a large administrative committee. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Nominations for national administrative committee: Paul le Blanc, Paul Lauter, Bob Speck, Tom Condit, Jane Adams, Brent Kramer, Steve Baum, Aerlin Weissman, Greg Calvert, Earl Silbar, Mike James, Bob Barber, Pat Deer.

Motion to elect Jane Adams and Bob Speck by acclamation. No objection CARRIED.

Motion to consider Mike James and Pat Deer jointly. No objection CARRIED.

Each delegate was to vote five times, the five candidates receiving the highest number of votes being elected. They were: Paul Lauter, 47; Greg Calver, 43; Paul LeBlanc, 41; Aerlin Weissman, 33; and Mike James & Pat Deer, 30.

Motion to declare Tom Condit and Earl Silbar alternates. No objection CARRIED.

Motion to adjourn for the day. No objection CARRIED.

SIXTH SESSION

The sixth session of the national council meeting was called to order on June 19 at 2:15 p.m. in the undergraduate library by Jeff Shero.

Burning of membership card by Harry Kalstein in protest against undemocratic handling of council meeting.

Motion to have a twenty-minute discussion on democracy in SDS and the convention. WITHDRAWN.

Motion to move convention to end of agenda. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Motion to reconsider vote on location of convention. Show of hands: yes 16, no 34. DEFEATED.

Motion: It is a high priority of chapters, organizers, and regional travelers of SDS to increase Negro membership in SDS through promoting appropriate programmatic and inter-organizational forms.

Motion previous question. Show of hands -- no count CARRIED.

Vote on motion. Show of hands: yes 24, no 2, abstain 15. CARRIED.

ED. NOTE: *The minutes will be continued next week. The person who took the notes at the NC, Jim Irwin, got sick before finishing translating the minutes from his notes. The last of delegates was lost in Ann Arbor and therefore cannot be included.*

PEACE candidates

...the Salvation Army of Imperialism

ED. NOTE: *The following article was reprinted from* The Irregular, *the U. of Oregon SDS bulletin. In the light of discussion of peace candidates, I felt that this article could give some new light on the subject.*

by Jerry Paul Simpson

This shall be a slanted argument.

The recent Democratic primaries in Oregon were a test between 'doves' (Howard Morgan and Charles Porter) and 'hawks' (Robert Duncan and William Frye). Morgan lost, and badly. Porter won, barely. One up, one down. Nothing has changed. But whether these liberal Democrats won or lost should not have concerned leftists.

MORGAN

Morgan, running against Duncan for Democratic nomination for Senator, gave a prepared speech on Vietnam at Harris Hall here in Eugene on April 23rd. It was the same speech he used almost everywhere. Let's consider that speech.

Morgan laid into the personalities of Rusk and McNamara, said they were incompetent advisors to the President, called them names, etc. Sounds good on the surface. But not once did he question the system that makes the Rusks and McNamaras more or less unavoidable. The whole point was false–as if the problem of Vietnam were somehow dependent upon Rusk and McNamara (both of whom were appointed by Morgan's fellow flaming liberal, John F. Kennedy).

What would Howard Morgan do to stop the war? His proposal included all the usual moderate points: a cease-fire (how it would be arranged he didn't say), negotiations directly with the V.C., coalition government, free elections supervised by outside powers, etc., and lastly (both in chronology and important: withdrawal of American troops. It seemed to me that the whole process would drag on for as long as three to five years and might never succeed anyway. Meanwhile, what are those troops going to do? Play-hide-and-seek in the elephant grass maybe? (Also known as "pacification"–like, "pending free elections.") Except for the point about negotiations directly with the V.C., Morgan's proposal was identical to L.B.J.'s propaganda.

We should also consider whether this proposal would be acceptable to the Vietnamese. Twice they have been screwed by the West in "negotiations." First by the French and then by the U.S. Government. Morgan's plan would allow the West even another chance. The issue is not negotiations –the issue is withdrawal, and negotiations are purely a technicality. Any solution to Vietnam must first include some kind of proof for the Vietnamese as to U.S. intentions.

Nevertheless, Morgan's speech sounded good. The audience felt that there was hope for peace in this candidate, and they rewarded him with as much integrity that they entirely missed the implications, particularly the implications of his replies to questions.

Someone asked him what he would do about the C.I.A. He replied that he would join with those other Senators who are trying to bring the C.I.A. into the U.S. Government. In other words, he would do nothing about the C.I.A. The audience's response was ooh, aaah, wow...

Someone asked his opinion of the Domino theory, and as a liberal Democrat he of course took issue with it, more or less said it was hogwash. The Dominos can go either way, he said, and then he summed up by pointing to the results of the recent anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia: "Not bad, not bad, not bad...." An approving snicker arose from the audience. See? A safe slaughter of commies is okay–we did it–but killing commie gooks in Vietnam is bad because we might get our rear kicked in a war with China. So Howard Morgan is for peace in Vietnam, but elsewhere? Ah, the mind reels at this man's integrity.

When he was asked about the draft, he referred to a point in his political career a few years ago when he went on record for its elimination. At that time, he said, it looked like we could do away with the draft, but now "because of Vietnam" we are entering a "dangerous period" and will "need" the draft. Mr. Morgan apparently contemplates further American interventions, and large ones, in places safer than Vietnam.

Morgan says that Vietnam is "the wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place against the wrong enemy." Presumably then there is a "right" war–not just that some wars are right, but that there is a right war for us in the foreseeable future–maybe in the Andes? So, out of Vietnam and into Latin America.... If you think my interpretation of Morgan is too cynical, consider this. On the two occasions that I have heard Morgan refer to the American left, he has, knowingly and consciously misrepresented us for his own political gain. The first time was when he spoke before A.R.F.E.P. at the University last Fall Term. At that time he said our movement is composed of people who are opposed to all wars of any kind. Five years ago, this description of the peace movement would have been at least partly accurate. The old peace movement of the fifties was largely multi-lateralist and pacifist in its perspective. Today's peace movement is largely anti-imperialist and political in its perspective, and Morgan knows this quite well. The second time was when he spoke at Harris Hall, April 23. He acknowledged us only as "adolescent demonstrators." Howard Morgan is no fool. He didn't make a faux pas' when he used these smears against the left. He knew what he wanted even if some of his supporters don't know.

PORTER

Charles Porter presents similar discouragement for leftists. "Charlie" ran in the Democratic primary for the Fourth Congressional district against "hawk" William Frye and another "dove" Walter Swanson.

Porter spoke at the University on April 26, and during the question period I asked him: "If Senators Morse and Gruening are as principled as you say, how do you account for Morse's support of the overthrow of Goulart in Brazil and Gruening's support of American aggression against the Dominican Republic? His answers were nebulous. He apparently couldn't account for it, or didn't want to.

Charlies represents the left-wing fringe of the liberal establishment. On the one hand, Charlie says we live in a free and democratic society. On the other hand, he says it's hard to get elected without money. He doesn't see that the two factors contradict each other. In short, Charlie is a fuzzy minded liberal.

Mr. Porter notes that even hard liners on Vietnam like Senator Russell say we should get out of Vietnam if the Vietnamese don't want us. (Russell's remark was made during the April riots in Vietnam against the Saigon government.) Charlie says that if even warniks like Russell are thinking about American withdrawal, well then there must be something to it. Well, obviously there is something to it. But Charlie's point turns against him, for if warniks like Russell can consider U.S. withdrawal, why should people bother to elect fuzzy-minded Democrats like Charlie Porter?

Porter's politics are detrimental to the American left, for his approach is based on keeping people ignorant. He plays on the ignorance of the regular voters instead of trying to recruit new voters by educating people to the issues. For example, his approach to L.B.J.'s propaganda offensive–known in liberal circles as the "peace offensive"–was to say that he was "grateful" for it, i.e., that he was glad to see the Administration "working" for peace in Vietnam. What a bunch of garbage! By praising the Administration's propaganda offensive, Porter helps Johnson maintain his credibility. Porter paints the Administration's motives as being good, and re-inforces people's faith in the establishment that sends Americans into war; Charlie does his part for the war effort.

"BORING FROM WITHIN"

Morgan ran against a well known political figure, Duncan, and lost. Porter ran against a little known person, Frye, and won. According to the editorial in the pro-war Eugene *Register-Guard*, May 27, Porter won because he soft-pedaled his opposition to the war and Morgan lost partly because he stressed Vietnam too much. The *Register-Guard* editorial did not mention –and I wouldn't expect them to–that the total "dove" vote in the Fourth Congressional district was 57.9% (Porter 44.6%, Swanson 13.3%) against Frye's 42.1%.

The politics of Morgan and Porter are identical, regardless of the individual tactical differences in their campaigns. Porter, for example, ran as a "dove" in the Democratic primary against Duncan two years ago and lost. He then wrote a letter-to-the-editor to the *Register-Guard* wherein he expounded the virtues of Duncan, urging everyone to get out and work for his fellow Democrat, Mr. Robert Duncan. Duncan *totally* supports the Administration's war; again, Charlie did his part for the war effort. If Porter's support of Duncan was simply an "error" two years ago, then let's not assume his judgement at his age–has improved. If his support of Duncan was simply 'realpolitik', then his interest is first with the Democratic Party–other things like Vietnam are secondary. In either case, he's undependable and useless. And when Morgan lost to Duncan a few weeks ago, he said he still might support him against Hatfield. (The reports of Porter and Morgan's vote to the Oregon Democratic pro-war resolution in Medford on March 27 was to say that it was a "reasonable and responsible" statement.) And now Porter again says (June 1) he will support Duncan. This is the essence of "hawks" and "doves"!

DEFENDERS OF THE CORPORATE STATE

Neither of these liberals want to see the formation and/or continued growth of an open, avowed American left. Both of them are interested primarily in the Democratic Party. They want our imperialist empire reformed so that it can continue indefinitely. Neither of them are a significant challenge to the system, whether it be American foreign policy in general or domestic social change. They have very little long range relevancy to the problems of living in a Cold War America.

These men perceive, quite correctly, that in the long run China will not let the U.S. Government subdue the Vietnamese. They see that L.B.J. & Co. Inc. may over extend themselves and fall flat on their faces in the Asian mud, so they want to get out of Vietnam (eventually). But that's all it would be a different story altogether, for south of our border there is no bulwark against the North American colossus; there, the U.S. Government would have a better chance of "winning" against revolutionary socialism and other forms of radical change.

Some will say my arguments are impractical, idealistic. But the occupancy of a seat in Congress by, for example, Mr. Porter does not stop the war. It lettists devote all their abilities towards electing these kind of liberals every two years, we'll all be dead before there's even two dozen of them in Congress. Only public opinion or military defeat can stop this war, not liberal electoral politics. When the war becomes bigger and expensive and difficult, the regular politicians will pull out of Vietnam. If only to hasten the formation of a strong American left–"hawks" versus "doves" is a false issue, so let's not waste our meager resources on their games.

Let's put our energy into the small tangible things that help build a left-wing movement–direct action and educational projects, etc. Lettists too often end up as tools of the Democratic Party. It we dabble in electoral politics at all, it should only be for left-wing and independent candidates.

That's my slanted argument against liberals like Porter, Morgan, Hatfield, Robert F. Kennedy, *et al.* They don't want to stop the Cold War; they want to win it. They want to reform the system so as to avoid changing it. It's a family feud over the tactics of empire, and reformist liberalism is the ideological bulwark of that empire.

SOME OTHER PEOPLE

Let's consider the comments of two working people who are opposed to the war. The first person, who is moderately opposed, asked me if I was pushing for Porter. I said no. He said, well, a Porter win wouldn't change anything. I said yeah that's right. I was heartened to hear that a Eugene resident had a more realistic appraisal of the primaries than did the academic community.

The second person is strongly opposed to the war. She asked me: "Did you vote?" I said, "no." She laughed and said: "Neither did I...I saw Morgan on T.V.–my husband and I both–and we just didn't like him. He seemed to be kind of like he was above us, kind of like a snob...." I said, "Yeah, that's it, the whole thing."

I am not, in taking note of these two people, trying to idealize the working class. But I am suggesting that Morgan and Porter represent certain identifiable social and economic class attitudes. That little constituency in Harris Hall for Morgan–that was no community gathering. I was hard put to find someone there who looked average. These were not the people whose sons would probably come back from Vietnam in coffins. These were the national bourgeoisie who have an investment (psychologically and/or otherwise) in the status quo, and they were worried that perhaps their fellow anti-Communist liberals in the Capital had made some kind of "error" that might plunge not only the American G.I. into a war with China but also themselves, the national bourgeoisie.

Women peace pickets march through the Hyde Park community of Chicago on their way to U. S. 5th Army headquarters, where they conducted a brief demonstration, June 19. Some 200 mothers, young women and youngsters took part in the walk. *(Photo by Chuck Doehrer).*

Minneapolis Community Union Project

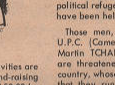
1. Staff. The project staff now numbers 10 people representing varying levels of involvement; but all living in Phillips neighborhood and working on the project at least part-time. A few people have commitments such as summer school which limit their involvement.

2. Tot Lot. The MCUP has assumed full responsibility for the development, maintenance and programming of a vacant lot (playground) owned by Waite Neighborhood House. The lot, located next door to the project house, has been cleaned up (the boulders and glass are gone, at least) and now must be leveled, covered with sand, and some play equipment located on it. Funds are urgently needed to get the playground ready. It is needed now! School got out last week and the kids are anxiously get

the playground built. We estimate the cost of tot lot including the lot, excluding equipment, to be about $50.00. Once the playground is functioning, some of the staff members; Sue Sternfels, e.g., will spend some time working with the kids. One project that will start soon, a demand of the kids around here, is the construction of a fort. We have committed ourselves to providing the lumber and materials. Construction of this edifice will require a little supervision by project staff just to prevent broken heads.

3. Orientation Session. Rich Rothstein and/or Bert Steck from JOIN will arrive from Chicago on June 20 to help us conduct a staff orientation and training session. We have agreed to pay travel expenses for both (if they both come) and to put them up for about a week. This session will focus around very basic techniques and strategies for the project staff and will, hopefully, place us all at the same relative level of ignorance. Funds, roughly in the amount of $100, are needed to underwrite this.

4. Organizing. Pending availability of funds soon, the project needs to acquire an office model typewriter, a mimeo machine, a file cabinet, some professional quality posters (an artist will donate his labor if we provide pictures and pay for the materials) and some buttons. One expense that we must incur is the cost of making a fund-raising appeal. We are prevented from making any large solicitation because we can't afford postage stamps, envelopes, etc. The project will also begin to look for an office soon, perhaps on Franklin Ave., to use as project headquarters. The place at 2535 13 Ave. is not an outstanding location, for organizing purposes anyway, and our tenancy is less than secure. Sometime in the near future, we will need some firm commitments of on-going financial support, maybe through a pledge campaign, to insure having rent and utilities paid for the office.



5. FUNDS!!! All of the above activities are predicated on some successful fund-raising efforts IMMEDIATELY! We need $150.00 by this coming Sunday, for instance. Actually, we should have the lot leveled and the sand on it before this amount of money, in effect, to get underway. Hit your friends, relatives, co-workers, people on the street, etc. (we have one guy selling pencils at Franklin & Bloomington now).

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

by Tom Condit

The June issue of *New Guard* (magazine of the Young Americans for Freedom, 1221 Mass. Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005, 54 yr.) has the standard dull fare ("exposes" of SNCC, Californians for Liberal Representation, etc; an interview with a conservative student leader at Col, etc.), livened up by a laudatory article on Marvel Comics as a bastion of pro-capitalist propaganda and an article on 'The Fascist Threat to America' which totally misses the point about totalitarian liberalism. There is also a review of *The New Left*, by Phillip Abbott Luce, a junky and police spy who now writes 'true confessions' about his adventures in the radical movement.

The May issue of *The Activist* (27-1/2 W. College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074; $2 per yr.) contains Raya Dunayevskaya's 'The New Left in Japan,' a report on the Zengakuren and the new working-class radicals. There are also reports on the Scheer campaign, the ADA convention, the coup in Ghana, white power in Rhodesia and the 'trickle-down theory of poverty.'

The June 6 *Bulletin of International Socialism* (339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012; $2 per year; 50 cents for ten issues) contains articles on the draft and the 2-5 deferment, independent political action, and the New York social workers' strike.

The March-April *Studies on the Left* (260 West Broadway, rm 202, NYC 10013; $6 per year) has articles on community organizing and the working class in Cuba. Joseph Conlin's review of Phillip Foner's book *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* effectively proves that wobbly 'revolutionary industrial unionism' was not a variant of European "anarcho-syndicalism" but was a distinctly American and much more radical approach to social change.

The June 11 *National Guardian* (197 E. 4th St., NYC 10009; $7 per year) contains an article on the role of the Job Corps as a bulwark of the status quo.

The National Liaison Committee, New Zealand Committees on Vietnam, puts out an excellen multilithed organ, *Quote* (1.5 Boundary Rd., Wellington 1, N.Z.), which reprints relevant material on the war. The April 19 issue contains an exchange of letters between the Whangerei Committee on Vietnam and Prime Minister Holyoake which is of interest to Americans because of its openness. Not only is the P.M.'s letter obviously a direct reply to the Whangerei telegram rather than a form letter, but it contains a reasoned factual (if incorrect) defense of the government's policy rather than an hysterical attack. Perhaps the traditions of democracy are more deeply entrenched in New Zealand than here.

The June *Industrial Worker* (2422 N. Halsted, Chicago, Ill. 60614; $1 a year) contains reports on the Chicago welfare workers' strike and on Swedish reactions to the recent congress of the Labor and Socialist International.

Steven Kelman, the *enfant terrible* of cold war liberalism, offers a coalitionist analysis of 'The Feud Among the Radicals' in the June *Harper's*. Despite a few factual errors, Kelman lays out a fair presentation of the issues at dispute.

The Student Union for Peace Action (658 Spadina Ave., Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada) has published a guide for Americans wishing to emigrate to Canada, whether to avoid the draft or for other reasons. ("Coming to Canada", 15 cents)

Two new reprints from *Liberation* (5 Beekman St., NYC 10038) are "Resistance to the Draft", by Stewart Meacham and "A Visit to Saigon" by A. J. Muste (10 cents each). Still available are 'Let Us Shape the Future' by Carl Oglesby (10 cents), American Atrocities in Vietnam' by Eric Norden (25 cents), 'Neither Victims nor Executioners' by Albert Camus (25 cents), and 'The Triple Revolution' (10 cents).

The May-June issue of *Iran Report* (P.O. Box 252, Cambridge, Mass. 02138; $3 per year) contains articles on military justice in Iran, the renewed offensive of the Islamic right, and the recent seminar on Iranian Studies at the University of Maryland (with a summary of the more important papers).

QUESTIONS ARONOWITZ

To the Editor:

It is unfortunate that Stanley Aronowitz's article (NLN, June 10th) appeared at this time. The communication coming from a long time friend of SDS—known for his own union activities—will have the net effect of causing those who have just made the smallest of beginnings, as well as those who are contemplating a beginning, to stop and wonder if they are choosing to work in a potentially fruitful area.

Aronowitz raises his questions in a historical setting, and it is interesting that he directs the major part of this article to the CIO period, 1935-45 (the 20 years since 1945 receive a scant 13 lines). In doing so he feeds upon the largely unhistorical romanticized notions which people have about the CIO. Largely ignored is today's labor movement. The realities of today's labor movement are not the realities of the CIO of the mid-1930's and -40's. They are rooted in the cold war decade 1945-55. People waiting to understand today's labor movement and any possibilities it might offer for social change should not ignore the CIO but they would do infinitely better to study the history of the labor movement since the end of the second World War. This period is not nearly as glamourous or as dynamic as the CIO but it does offer a much better understanding to those wanting to work today.

—WALTER TILLOW

N.O. Needs Money

It costs $3,000 a month to maintain the basic program and administrative functions of the National Office. We are taking in (on the average) $750 a month. We would like to ask members who have anything above subsistance paying jobs this summer to pledge 1% of their income to National SDS. We would then be able to build for fall programs and maintain the needed staff workers. All too often it is left to 2% of the organization to face such responsibilities. If more of the membership felt this responsibility we could ensure the continued functioning of National SDS this summer.

I promise to make a monthly pledge of to National SDS.

Name

Address

Form Draft Committee

The formation of an informal committee to study the possibilities of broad-scale national anti-draft programs, and hopefully present some result to the convention, was announced at the NC Sunday night. Members so far are Paul Lauter in Chicago, John Wilhelm of Yale, John Bancroft of Swarthmore, Earl Silbar of Roosevelt, Steve Weissman of Ann Arbor, Jack Weinberg of Berkeley, Jared Israel of Harvard, Don Olson at the printing office, Rich Berkowitz of U. of Illinois Chicago, and Mark Kleiman in L. A. The committee is being coordinated by, and interested people (with ideas or questions) should contact: Brent Kramer, c/o Firestone, 5335 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60615.

We are working from some of the preliminary proposals formulated before and during the NC (such as Paul Lauter's in the May 20 NLN), trying to be more realistic and more definite about them so the convention can receive some really potent ideas.

Resolution on Ghana

ED. NOTE: *The following petition was adopted by the NC. I included the motion and the amendment which were passed implimenting action.*

SDS takes note of the situation in Ghana at present, where certain political refugees previously granted asylum have been imprisoned by the leaders of the military government and are threatened with deportation to their native countries to face probable execution. SDS deplores this situation and declares itself in agreement with those standards of international conduct which state that political refugees should have the right to choose their next destination should they face deportation.

Amendment: SDS will distribute copies of this petition to all its chapters and encourage their further distribution by the chapters.

Petition on Ghana

APPEAL TO THE GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT FOR

THE LIBERATION OF THE CAMEROUNIAN REFUGEES

In Accra, Ghana, since several days after the military coup last February, some African political refugees (once welcomed in Ghana) have been held in prison.

Those men, who are the leaders of the U.P.C. (Cameroun Peoples' Union), Jean-Martin TCHAPTCHET and Michel N'DOH, are threatened with death in their native country, whose press has announced bluntly that they run the risk of execution if they are extradited from Ghana.

According to the standards of conduct set up by the International Convention of Geneva on the right of political asylum, refugees still in detention in Accra should be provided with the opportunity to choose their next destination should they face expulsion. Also, simple humanity, as well as the concern of defending men who fought for justice (as they conceived it), requires that TCHAPTCHET and N'DOH be permitted to leave Accra and that they have the right to go to a country of their choice. They should not be permitted to remain any longer the prisons of Accra, nor should they be delivered up to a government which wishes their death.

We take the liberty of requesting you to sign this appeal on behalf of the Camerounian refugees, returning it to:

PROFESSOR ST. CLAIR DRAKE,
% THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,
ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY,
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

SIGNATURE: .....

.....

Among those who initiated this appeal which originated in Paris are: Jean-Paul Sartre, Mrs. Richard Wright, Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Leiris, Louis Aragon, and Alain Resnais.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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