



new left notes

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let the people decide

APRIL 3, 1967

FLORIDA A NEW MOVEMENT

A SPRING FOR PEACE

MOBILIZATION

CHICAGO MARCH 25, MOBILIZATION DRAWS MANY

Rich Berkowitz

Last Saturday, an estimated 8500 people marched in Chicago to protest the war in Vietnam. It was the largest peace demonstration in Chicago since the inception of the Cold War. The parade drew people from most of Chicago's communities. There were trade unionists, young professionals, black people, poor people from Uptown, women and their children, and students and young people. Over 1/3 of the participants were students and young people.

The parade, down State St., and rally, that followed at the Coliseum, was sponsored by the Chicago Area Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, Chicago Trade Union Division of SANE, Chicago Area Women for Peace, Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, Chicago Area Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Midwest Faculty Committee on Vietnam, the midwest regional conference of Students for a Democratic Society (sds), and Chicago Area Fellowship of Reconciliation. Numerous individuals also endorsed the parade and rally from the ranks of clergy, union leaders, educators, community organizers and student leaders.

THE PARADE

The peace parade began at 1 p.m. at State and Wacker and proceeded through the

Kentucky

Robert Frampton
U. of Kentucky

Report from the University of Kentucky

1) Hoping to repeat the success at Iowa, we are running a slate for Student Government officers. William Murrell, the Secretary of the U.K. Chapter of SDS, and our delegate to the Berkely NC, is running for President of S.G. on a student power platform. Martin Wheeler, associate editor of the *Bourbon and Tobacco Gazette*, is his running mate. The main issue discussed by the other candidates, is how to choose Student Congress representatives in the most equitable way -- i.e. how many to elect at large, and how many by housing units. Our position is to urge that the representatives be chosen by lottery (a statistical sampling is the most representative) and shift the discussion to the question of what S.G. should DO... to give priority to discussion to function rather than form. S.G. has \$20,000 to spend this year, enough to finance the cultural revolution at U.K.

2) The chapter is also planning a Gentle Monday for April 10. We will have Pete Seeger and the Southern Folk Festival.

3) We have been active in forming Citizens for Peace in Vietnam, which is largely faculty and townspeople. They have set up a Peace information center at Nexus Coffee House, 412 Rose. They also have organized a weekly silent vigil for Peace in Vietnam every Tuesday on the campus. Participation has averaged about 20 persons.

4) Since only two more states are necessary to call a National Constitutional Convention -- on the issue of one man one vote -- we urge discussion about the new left should regard the convention if it is called. Should we urge its calling? Could we push for regional government? Could we work for the Bill Higgs amendment to limit the powers of the president to wage war? Constitutionally initiate participatory democracy? Perhaps we could have a workshop on this question at the N.C.

5) The sentiment of the U.K. chapter is to support the April Mobilization; for chapters like ours, this is something we can build new constituencies around.

center of the downtown district. The parade, which had 8500 participants, was larger than a similar parade held last March 26, which had 5500 participants. The parade was marked by inadequate and often harassing police protection and mild harassment from the people lined on the sides of the street. A few incidents of scuffling took place. An attempt to beautify the parade was

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Alan Levin
Spring comes early to Florida, and with it this year has come the first blossoming of the anti-war demonstrations which will once again attempt to sweep the country. The Florida Days of Judgement on the War in Vietnam (March 18-26), organized by peace and freedom groups throughout Florida, is probably the largest anti-war mobilization in the South. It attempts to coordinate demonstrations in as many cities in Florida as possible within a one week period. The emphasis has been on local demonstrations and organizing by local groups.)

Many Northern SDS and peace groups have decided against marches and mass

demonstrations as being played out and no longer effective. The South, however, has still not felt the impact of a great deal of the confrontation, debate, and concern that demonstrations bring to the surface of a community. It was with this in mind that many liberals and radicals came together in Gainesville, Tampa and in other activities. It was hoped that the demonstrations would spark questions and debate in the minds of those who witnessed or read about them.

On March 18, THREE HUNDRED people marched in Gainesville followed on the 19th by a large vigil in Tampa. Not one word of the activities made any of the State Newspapers. On Friday and Saturday (24 and 25) a marathon walk was staged from Lauderdale to Miami -- a complete report of the walk will appear in the next issue of NLN.

The movement in the South has neither the resources nor the people to make all the mistakes that the Northern movement has made. We must begin to plan activities that are not dependent on publicity from the very power structure we are protesting. Emphasis on local demonstrations is not enough. The demonstrations themselves must be planned with the thought in mind that they will most likely only reach those who participate in and those who see them. They should be short, easily transportable and effective. Some of the techniques used by the Artists in New York should be considered.

We must learn to plan our actions according to the possible responses of the enemy. If they can black out months and months of our work and organizing simply by not printing it, we must find another way.

DO IT NOW

Mike James

-- JOIN

(On March 25th, Mike James gave one of the addresses to the 8,500 people assembled for the Chicago mobilization for Peace. He received the only standing ovation (after a speech) of all the speakers. The following is the complete text of his speech -- including audience participation.)

Before I start I'd just like to point out that some of these photographers are not just photographers they are policemen; and a group of them are over there trying to take a kid's picture because he didn't take his sign down fast enough out in front. They don't want to do that just to harrass him here; they want to do that to put him on record like many of you here will be since this one cop was taking your picture -- you're on record for ever. So some of you might consider goin' over and either taking your picture with him or help him not get his picture taken, whatever he'd like. Over by that post.

There is a guy, a man, who lives in the neighborhood I live in; that's Uptown, Chicago, Illinois, The United States of America. He's a poor man, on welfare, who came north from Georgia seeking work. Recently he spoke at a meeting of poor Southern Whites, Negroes and Spanish people at the JOIN Community Union. He and the others had just seen a movie about war, John said: "War is a terrible thing; I fought in two of 'em, when I got off that boat in San Francisco in 1955 I swore to myself I'd never fight in another; they'd have to take me in a casket."

John's right -- war is terrible. That is why we are all here today. **BUT WE HAVE BEEN HERE BEFORE, AND WE WILL BE HERE AGAIN**, because our marches are just not enough. They won't stop this war. More importantly, they won't stop the military-industrial complex, the powerful institutions that decide the fate of people in this country and most people throughout the world. Our marches are not going to stop the present government that represents the military-industrial complex from waging other wars or finding other ways to control the world's people, ways to suppress them, ways to keep them down.

We must do more than march. **WE HAVE TO DO MORE**, or this system that kills people in Vietnam with guns will slowly kill us -- all of us. Its institutions, its self-interest and shallowness will destroy the potential of that beautiful human potential we are all born with: the ability to reason, think, create, love and be free. The United States' mammoth effort to defend freedom abroad -- with guns and by buying people's minds and lives -- will kill freedom here. Killing freedom here started long ago, and it continues.

I think one of the first things we have to do is go beyond the good hearts, the good emotions, that brought most of us here today. We must understand the system within which we live and participate. We must break through our private walls that defend us from reality, and we must come to understand that we are living inside the guts of the ogar. Whether we like it or not, we are forced to be a part of that ogar.

If we are going to stop this war, and other wars, we've got to deal with the many things that conflict with our fairy-tale or sunday school image of America. We must be like a child -- a person -- who becomes strong enough to question his or her parent's decisions and their poor answers to real problems. We have got to deal with paradoxes. (applause) Try these and ask yourself what each of them means, and what *painful implications they have about America when taken as a whole*.

We live in a country that controls three fourths of the world's resources. Yet about one third of our people are poor. Their incomes do not meet the minimum standards for adequate living set by the government, standards themselves that are far from adequate. *People are made to be poor -- we cannot forget that*. A lady named Mrs. Lease, a populist from Kansas, once said: "You may call me an anarchist, a socialist or a communist; I don't care, but I hold to the theory that if one man has nothing to eat three times a day, and another has \$25,000,000, that second man has something that belongs to the first." (applause) People's lives; my life, your lives, are connected to the hillbilly woman with ten kids who barely subsists on welfare. Our lives connect to those of Negro, Puerto Rican, White, gang kids who fight each other rather than the people who exploit all poor people. (applause).

Those guys that ride the N.Y., N.H. railroad to work every day do not see, nor understand, the lives of people in Harlem. They don't even look out the window of the train, but instead concentrate on their Wall Street Journals and New York Times. The white shirted sterile employees of Kemper Insurance in Uptown do not know what life is like for the 50,000 poor southern whites living there. They don't want to know; they resent hillbillies and all poor people; they look favorably on urban renewal -- or poor people's removal. Urban renewal brutally wipes out a community when people are just beginning to build roots, to make the community their own. Kemper Insurance, and the many outfits like them, are very much involved

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URBANA

CAMPUS KINDLING Urbana - SDS

A free speech fight at the University of Illinois - Urbana campus has kindled a broader movement for student power. Over 800 students demonstrated for two weeks against the Clabaugh Act which prohibits "subversive" speakers from publicizing and carrying on the activities of their organizations on the campuses of the University of Illinois. On March 23rd, over 2,000 students gathered on the quad to hear Louis Diskin of the Communist Party speak. Later, State Rep. Clabaugh claimed that the act had been violated, but no action has yet been taken. The free speech activities have sparked discussion on a far broader range of campus issues. There will be a complete article in a later issue of NLN.

The Urbana campaign for free speech follows another action which was taken a few weeks ago on the University of Illinois Circle campus against the Clabaugh Act.

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CAMPUS ORGANIZERS

A MEMO ON THE SUMMER INSTITUTES FOR CAMPUS

(Although this memo is an imperfect reflection, it has been prepared by Paul Potter after discussion with Greg Calvert, Nick Eggelson, Florence Howe, Paul Lauter and a number of other people, including the Steering Committee of the Educational Cooperative and represents a general consensus of a fairly large group of people that Institutes should be held this summer and can have substantive content and focus.)

This is to be a reasonably brief condensation of some of the discussion and thinking that has gone on about institutes this summer to train student organizers. The reasons for thinking about institutes are straightforward enough. If the current student movement is to grow, mature and deepen, it needs more people who see themselves as campus organizers and act in that capacity. The presence in SDS at this time of a group of experienced organizers, opens up the possibility that an intensive program of training this summer could recruit more people and qualitatively improve the level of campus organizing. One of the most difficult aspects of our work is getting people to begin to think and act as organizers; the institutes will provide an unusual opportunity to pay careful attention to that process with groups of people who have made a serious commitment to trying out this conception of themselves.

What we are proposing is that SDS and perhaps UCM sponsor two Institutes this summer -- one in Boston and one in Chicago. The Institute would have the following goals:

First, to help people develop an analysis and critique of existing social and economic problems -- particularly those that are likely to be of direct relevance in campus organizing such as education and the draft. The institutes should challenge students to develop a *critical radical perspective* through thinking about basic issues and in particular in trying to find the relevance of those issues to their own lives. In this sense, the Institutes should attempt to dig out the myths, preconceptions and nascent ideologies of the participant and confront them by presenting alternative perspectives and hard facts e.g. what kinds of feelings, contact and preconceptions do participants have about working class people and how do those ideas stack up against reality. Keeping this part of the curriculum from becoming abstract will be difficult but critical.

Second, to develop strategic and programmatic thinking about the nature and purpose

of student organizing. Specifically, this means (student power, Vietnam) and its relation (or lack of) to other movements in the society. The Institutes need to explore the kind of experience that people gain from the student movement and question how that carries over into the rest of their lives after college.

Third, to actually develop experience with the methods and techniques of organizing.

ORGANIZATION OF THE INSTITUTES

At the moment, we think that the Institutes would best be organized as reasonably small groups (around 15) living cooperatively and working with a staff of two or three people for 6 to 8 weeks. Perhaps the key person on the staff will be an experienced organizer (s) who will live with the Institute members and will accept responsibility for trying to teach the strengths and weaknesses of his organizing experience and perspective. In addition, one staff member would be asked to take primary responsibility for developing an approach to the material listed as the first goal. Finally, it has been suggested that there should be one staff member who is especially skilled in educational and group processes. Staff will generally share the responsibility of focusing as many of the resources on the Institute as they can through the development of case study materials, films, tapes, reading, presentations by special resource people and actually exposing people in the Institute to experiences and situations that they need to understand. The notion here is that the staff should present as forcefully as they can a comprehensive program that will lead to the development of radical organizers. Participants should be involved from the outset in criticizing, modifying even junking the staff's approach. The point is, however, that the staff is responsible for presenting a clear approach of what they think is necessary in order to become an effective radical organizer.

Although the actual time at the Institutes may be quite flexibly organized, several suggestions have been made about what kinds of things would happen during a day: One or more seminar sessions on the material listed under the first two goals in which specific reading or problems might be discussed or an outside resource person might make a presentation which would then be discussed. Skills workshops in which specific techniques and methods of organizing

would be talked through, role played, and related to strategy and goals. Case study materials, films, tapes, and outside resource people could again be used. Round tables -- thought of as regular, unstructured discussions run by participants with the assistance of an experienced group and educational processes person. They would provide a chance for reflection of the Institute and its method and open discussion of the whole range of personal and group problems associated with something as difficult as learning to be an organizer. Finally, there is actual field experience, perhaps done in pairs in which each participant is involved in setting up a reasonably self-contained organizing problem (e.g. organizing and giving a course at a summer school on draft resistance), developing a perspective on it and implementing and participating in criticism of his work. Leave in addition to this time for a fair amount of reading and some writing and perhaps research and you have a reasonably full schedule. (note. there has been strong feeling expressed by some people that field experience should not be limited to working with completely student groups, e.g. in Boston some people might work with the student labor committee to learn how students can be organized to work off campus with other political and social movements.)

SCHEDULING

There is tremendous pressure of time if the Institutes are to in fact happen this summer. Nick Eggelson has agreed to take general coordinating responsibility for finding staff, money, recruiting people and getting initial curriculum plans developed. Obviously, other people must help and specific commitments and statements of interest are needed.

CHICAGO MOBILIZATION

(Continued from page 1)

made by carrying a few artistic creations in the procession. Airplanes, submarines, and eggplants were a few of the creations.

SDS

The SDS contingent numbered well over 1,000 and at times grew to be 5 blocks long during the march. The contingent was comprised of people from the local chapters in the Chicago area and a Citizens for a Democratic Society chapter, and other young people and adults who identify with SDS. Three large banners were carried by the SDS people: *Students for a Democratic Society, Crush Imperialism, and We Won't Go. Individual signs included Resist the Draft, End the War Now, Bring the Boys Home, a couple saying End the War in Guatemala and one saying Kennedy in '68 (by mistake, I hope). Uptown's JOIN carried a banner calling for Poor People's Power and The Fight is Here. Many signs expressed the need of ending the system in order to end the war (Poor People's Power, Student Power, etc.).*

THE RALLY

The speakers included Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Benjamin Spock, co-chairman of National SANE, Emil Mazey, secretary-

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CONFRONTATIONS

SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO BEST CONFRONT THE POWER ELITE

With respect to the Stanford-Humphrey and Harvard-Goldberg confrontations, I'd like to propose the following program:

1) Foreign policy spokesmen for the administration will be permitted to speak on campus only if they agree to answer questions from floor mikes for a specified minimum amount of time. Any address which does not meet this minimum condition will not be tolerated. This means no trade-off such as a debate-free address in the morning and a debate in the afternoon. Every speech must end in floor debate. The implication, incidentally, is that no honorary degrees be granted to such figures.

2) Opponents should whistle at any comment made by the speaker which draws applause from administration supporters.

3) Opponents should greet the more extreme moral crudities made in a speech by snapping the fingers of both hands. This produces an insane effect of thousands of gnomes applauding. The speaker can speak over the crackle of the snapping. Should administration supporters try to drown out the snapping with normal applause, the snappers should begin to whistle (as well as snap).

4) Finally, and most important, The Question. Set in the most carefully worded context, avoiding sarcasm as well as moralism while making its moral profundity clear to all: "How many civilian deaths are you willing to tolerate to accomplish the political objectives set forth in your address?" It must be made absolutely clear that the questioner will not retire from the microphone until a literal number is given and that the questioning will not go further if the number is not forthcoming.

5) The text of the Question as well as the meaning of snapping and whistling should be written out in a fact sheet to be handed to the press in advance of the speech.

6) It is possible that should the speaker's answer to the question be obviously unresponsive that the audience might snap and softly whistle "The Answer Is Written in the Wind", or "The Horst Wessel Song" or "Yellow Submarine". Or they could hum. But the effect should be that the sound is soft enough so that the answer can be heard above the soft whistling, hymning and snapping.

7) The student body should be invited to practice these effects at rallies held the week before the Speech is delivered.

Fraternally,
Dick Walker

HARTFORD -- ON THE MOBILIZATION

Benedict M. Holden
U. of Hartford

The University of Hartford Chapter of S.D.S. has decided to give its wholehearted support to the Student Mobilization against the war in Vietnam. Our reasons for this action were varied and I have summarized them below:

1. From the viewpoint of political timing, it is important to realize that this summer will see the rump caucus of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. They will decide upon the candidates for the congressional, senatorial and smaller offices. Wanting to be re- or newly- elected, they will have to be influenced by the political sentiments of that section of the population which chooses to be vocal. (After the action of the Young Democrats, we should know that not all Democrats are Johnson's). If the population is openly vocal for peace, this will have to effect some politicians. Also, the Selective Service law is coming up for vote. The law supplies the manpower for Vietnam. Sufficient vocal action may convince those congressmen wishing to be re-elected that the Selective Service Law, which last time passed by only one vote, is not the way to obtain a return ticket to Washington in '68.

Finally, since both those voting on the draft and those who control the parties lump the "New Left" and opposition to the war and the draft in one pile, it would be disastrous for us not to live up to their expectations. If S.D.S. or SNCC were to boycott or not support the Mobilization, then ignorant of our own group squabbles, the politicians might think of the war as a

minor issue, not worthy of opposition. They must see large groups of people in both San Francisco and New York to realize the depth of opposition to the war. A lack of S.D.S. support would seem to indicate to the uninitiated that S.D.S. somehow had acquiesced on the War. To paraphrase the pentagon "It's the only demonstration we've got."

2. Being a radical in a place like Hartford is pretty lonely. Our whole chapter has joined the movement within the past two years. Thus we hear how great it was three or four years ago in Washington, and we hear about the great revolutionary fervor which the Marches on Washington engendered, yet none of us has been associated with it. We hold our own programs, but sitting around talking with all the same people all the time gets rather depressing, arguing about and with the same birchers becomes redundant, and hearing how good it was before alienates us. We need the psychological boost of a successful and purposeful action. In fact, the lack of meaningful, national action during the past few months seems to have a direct correlation to the apparent stagnation of the whole movement. The new members of the New Left have been able to take part in no action of the magnitude of the March on Washington of Nov. 1965. The new New Left could revive the spirit of the old New Left if only the tenuous commitment were not exhausted by lack of action.

In short, in terms of political consequences and the morale needs of the New Left, I believe that support of the Student Mobilization is a necessity. I urge that it be brought before the NC for reevaluation and National support.

BREAK OUT AND DO IT NOW

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in poor people's removal, not just in Uptown, but throughout Chicago, America and the world. What does it mean?

Take the slumlords; some of you are probably out there; you may be for peace or civil rights in the south, but you make your money off the misery of other people. Or the police. Many of you would scoff at the words "police brutality." But it is a fact. Orlando Wilson has not reformed the Chicago Police Dept. (Anarchists hoots) He has only done a good public relations -- or snow job. (applause) The stop and search law only legitimizes what Chicago police have been doing for years: stopping, harassing, intimidating, framing, and taking money from people who are not yet organized to stop it. (applause)

We can't forget that we live inside of, and participate in, a country that boasts of its abundance. We must become strong enough to lift up the rug, see what is underneath, and deal with it. We could eradicate poverty in America. I have no illusions that the present government is going to do this, but it certainly is possible. But let me ask a question. Would it be worth doing if the then abundance of all Americans, rather than only some, were to be built on the exploitation of, and perpetuation of poverty for most of the world's people as it now is? You see, our lives, our comfort, are linked to the napalmed child, the starving Indian and ragged people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

What does it mean that Adlai Stevenson would stand in the U. N. and denounce apartheid in South Africa, and say not to support it. Yet he, Kennedy and Johnson have all receive campaign funds from Charles Engelhard. Engelhard is one of the largest contributors to the liberal wing of the democratic party. He is also one of the largest investors in South Africa -- a system which is predicated on slave labor. (applause)

What does it mean that Ellsworth Bunker, the new ambassador in Vietnam, was America's trouble shooter in the Dominican Republic? He told Johnson to crush a popular people's rebellion. Now, he is a member of the board of directors of the largest sugar company in the Dominican Republic. That company is American owned, as is a lot of that island. What does that mean?

And what about the supreme Court, that great non-partisan and supposedly objective body? Well I just can't buy that line any more. The court, in the Miranda decision, ruled that all defendants had the right to immediate council. And then they came along with the Johnson decision, clearly a political response to the right wing critics who claimed Miranda would open up the jails, and they ruled that the Miranda decision was *not retroactive*. *Due process is not retroactive*. What good is the right to council, when the court decides, as it did the other day, that police no longer need a search warrant, nor do they have to reveal an informant's identity. Talk about wholesale license to harass people and to set people up -- wow. (applause) Johnson's talk about fighting crime in the streets, and the court's complicity in that step, is nothing but the legalization of suppression, and I mean suppression here at home. *What does it mean?* (applause)

We have grown up on talk about freedom and democracy. Then we suddenly hear about the CIA permeating many phases of our lives and we are shocked. Well we shouldn't be shocked or amazed at the CIA's infiltration of the NSA and many other organizations. We should have known it. We should go beyond our surprise and start to ask ourselves what it means, what it says about America. You see, *I think America, with all its talk about freedom and democracy, has perpetrated a fraud on its own people.*

I also think that America is trying to perpetrate that fraud on the rest of the world. That is what Vietnam is all about. Stop National liberation movements. Stop the

example of North Vietnam, an industrializing country that was shaping itself in the interests of its people. *But No; a nation cannot industrialize unless it fits in with our plans, our needs.* South Vietnam, in contrast to the North, has few factories. We will let the South industrialize only if, and only when, it is in our interests to do so. We will draw the blueprints. We can't let people draw their own blueprints, build their own house, for to do so threaten's America's very identity and basis for life.

If the U. S. succeeds in stopping the people's struggle in Vietnam we will have succeeded in closing the prison doors on people struggling throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America for the right to shape their own countries, their own lives. I don't think Rockefeller, Kennedy, Engelhard, Johnson, General Motors, IBM, AT&T -- and all the rest of them, have a right to shape the world for everybody. They've done it for years and they've messed up. (applause) But they'll continue unless we, and those involved in people's movements around the world, become strong enough to stop them. Unless that happens this system will continue to suppress budding people's movements. They did it in Africa where the CIA was involved in 7 of the 8 coups in the last two years. They did it in the Dominican Republic, and they use napalm on peasants in Peru. They're doing it everywhere -- we're the cops of the world. (boo's and applause) The American government, and the interests it represents, is responsible for the misery of people forced to endure "our form of freedom," and they are responsible for the blood of those beautiful revolutionaries who say NO TO IT.

WE'VE BEEN TAUGHT TO LOOK TO LEADERS

We've got to stop this system before it kills us all. We must go beyond our hearts and deal with the paradoxes. And we must do more than just understand. We must begin the difficult and very slow process of acting to Stop America. We've just got to do that. We've got to build a movement that says no to the leaders we entrust our lives to every two, four or six years. I know I don't want them running my life for me. I've never lived my life before, I'm into my one and only chance, and I want to do it myself, along with others who believe people are capable of governing themselves. (applause)

I think most of you want that too. But we're not sure what to do. We've been taught to look to leaders, so we look to the leaders of the Peace, Civil Rights and Student Movements. Well we can't depend on the people on this platform. We've got to depend on ourselves and on each other; not on leaders. (applause - dull roar)

You women who are concerned with the shallowness of middle-class suburbia, there are things you can do in addition to giving money to SNCC and SDS. You can contact Women Mobilized for Change through the YWCA, and start fighting high food prices, rotten schools that distort reality in teaching your children, and your own subservience that emasculates your men. Do what you've got to do, but start doing it. (applause)

Middle class white: find out about Citizens for Independent Action (CIPA) in the 49th ward, and start to build an organization that will make your politics, as well as your lives and other's lives, far more meaningful than they are today. Do it.

All you students who are bugged with sand box campus politics, the military's infiltration of your campus, and paternalistic administrators, there are things you can do. Don't let Dow chemical -- the makers of napalm -- or the military recruit on your campus. Set up a training school this summer and learn how to organize. Then go back to your knowledge factories this fall and reek havoc. (thunderous applause) Have your own dances, art shows, plays, set up your own classes. Do research that is relevant. Start now, because if you don't you're going to end up selling insurance or real estate, telling future students irrelevant facts and false interpretations, or doing scientific research of a nature dictated to you by the source of your grant.

All of you had better start breaking out of your private jails now because if you don't and instead become the pieces of putty this system wants you to be, your lives will be nothing. You just won't be able to retreat far enough into your own private lives to escape. You cannot escape Vietnam, because it is already in your lives, and it will get bigger.

Black people: in Harlem, hundreds are saying I will not fight in this racist war. Why not in Chicago? Make it happen. Say screw you sam, you're not running my life. (dull roar) What would happen if all the Blackstones and all the Disciples, and all the other gangs marched together on Hershey's rotten Selective Service System and burned their draft cards? And tell Muhammed Alli, that great Black heavy weight champion, that you are looking to him and tell him to be strong; tell him to resist the draft. (Outburst of applause)

And what would happen if all of us who are subject to the draft just decided to resist. Not 10, not 100 but 10,000 and more. Don't hide behind your 2-S's and deferred occupations. Let's confront that system that infringes upon our lives and say "No". Let's start infringing on it, on them. Do it; do whatever we have to do to mess up the Selective Service System, but let's start to mess them up now. (thunderous burst of applause and start of standing ovation) We can't build a movement until we tell America that they can't have our lives.

Building a movement of people who want to control, shape and change their own lives is not easy, but it can be done; *it must be done and only we can do it.* Whether you are Black or White, 3 welfare recipient or a case worker, student or teacher, lawyer or artist -- BREAK OUT OF YOUR JAILS -- SMILE ON YOUR BROTHERS, GET TOGETHER AND START TO BUILD. (CONTINUED APPLAUSE) AND REMEMBER: WE ARE BOMBING THE SHIT OUT OF THE PEOPLE IN VIETNAM. What does that mean, and what are we going to do about it? Whatever it is, we had better start to do it RIGHT NOW (pandemonium).

Cornell vs. THE DRAFT

Henry Balsler,
Cornell SDS

The left at Cornell is getting serious. We are beginning to realize that, if we want to change this country, we are going to have to work hard and risk a lot. Right now, the idea of draft resistance is growing.

Five Cornell people started a national call for 500 or more people to burn their draft cards on April 15 at the Spring Mobilization in New York. The Mobilization is amenable to the idea, and important support has been received (Staughton Lynd, Paul Goodman, Dave Dellinger, et al). Finally, it was decided to solicit names at Cornell.

We ordinarily have a table at the "student" union to sell literature, publicize campaigns, etc. So the SDS desk was used to solicit names for the draft card burning. All went well for a while. Twenty people signed up. But then a student government committee decided that what we were doing was illegal and that we could not use the campus for such devious purposes.

We naturally decided that risking university disciplinary action meant nothing if some of us were risking five years in jail. The confrontation with the administration gained a lot of support, and at a rally in the student union, we talked about Vietnam. And we talked about a country where the university felt that it should enforce the Selective Service Act on campus. And people listened. We talked, without the rhetoric that we too often used, about being human beings in a country that is committing genocide. And now more than forty people have signed up to burn their draft cards if 500 others do. Many people who had never before participated in any form of civil disobedience have signed up. And 200 people sat in at the administration building to protest the actions taken against us. And we are not just taking this action. We are going into the dorms, fraternities,

sororities, and Ithaca High School talking about the war and the society out of which it grows. Our success in this has been amazing so far. For some reason, there is a growing sense of urgency about the war. Partially, this is because Stokely Carmichael came here and turned people on. And James Bevel came and people were thinking more about what they should do. Then came this confrontation with the draft system and the administration of Cornell. We expect that at least 50 people from Cornell will burn their draft cards if the required minimum of 500 is reached. And it could be even more on campus where one could not have expected to see more than fifteen or twenty do this.

We have been able to use the Mobilization as a tool in organizing people here. Those who have been adamantly opposed to the Spring Mobilization, as I and many others have been, should perhaps reconsider. Attendance now means support of those who are refusing the draft. And we are making it very clear that it is not a demonstration to end all demonstrations. We know that demonstrations will not end the war, but we can use them as a tool in involving people. When someone expresses his opposition to the war and a desire to go to New York for the march, he is told that his job is to get others involved and thinking. And an organization in which they can work to do this is being set up. We are not just getting the same old people.

The Mobilization, including the draft card burning and some of the other militant actions planned along with it, has given the movement a shot in the arm at Cornell. Literally hundreds are working on the draft card burning and the Spring Mobilization. We will continue to solicit names for this action in spite of any administration rules. Those of us whom the administration knows will be put up for disciplinary action, but

others are refusing to give their names. They will have to arrest us, but they are afraid of that. The last time the cops came on campus was to confiscate the literary magazine for obscenity. 2000 people rioted. And now, with a pot-LSD bust going on, things with regard to the law are rather touchy. We are now essentially breaking university regulations and getting away with it.

We still need more people to join in the April 15 draft card destruction. This will be the first really massive form of such a serious kind of civil disobedience and draft resistance. For copies of the pledge, write to Bruce Dancis, 107 Dryden Road, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Sign up for civilian life.

NOTES

Mike Wood -- ex-NSA official, is willing to speak to any groups about the CIA and NSA. Contact him through 49th Ward CIPA, 1236 Devon, Chicago.

THE N.O. HAS AMPLE EXTRA COPIES OF THE SPECIAL DRAFT ISSUE, IF YOU WANT TO USE THEM FOR ORGANIZING.

NEW THOUGHTS ON Organizing

Arthur Waskow
Institute for Policy Studies
Washington, D.C.

As a result of talking with people here at the Institute, particularly those like Sue Thrasher who are involved in creating a conference on organizing in the white community, and with Carol McEldowney during her recent rip here, I tried jotting down a number of kinds of "organizing" that are rather different from most of what people now think of automatically when they say "organizing". (I think people automatically think of welfare unions, tenants' unions, election campaigns, control-your-local-police groups, and new kinds of labor unions.) Of those jotted down below, some are being tried, in one or a very few places; others not at all, so far as I know. Most or all of them are usable either with the poor or the middle class, and I think all of them would provide extremely important ways of being a radical (or a good liberal -- a "bearded liberal, to turn Carl Oglesby's symbolism inside out) in the middle-class professions: architect, lawyer, teacher, etc.

Most of them are built around a theory of social change that, very briefly, I would call the process of transforming an image of the desirable future into a politics of creative disorder in the present. That is, you identify a way you would like to live, or an institution you would like to be part of, 20 years hence; and then you create it today even though the "rules" (legal or customary) forbid it. The dangers to avoid in this are on the one hand being so alien to the present rules that you are smashed out of hand, at once, and can win no support; or being so irrelevant to the present situation that everybody ignores you and encapsulates you. The tension that forces present institutions and rule-makers to confront the new alternative is what makes it creative disorder.

1. Art centers (e.g. Topper Carew's here in Adams-Morgan) where neighborhood teen-agers especially but maybe adults too, develop their own gut-felt art -- jazz, rock sculpture, puppets, etc. -- into the neigh-

borhood itself; also build a physical 3-dimensional model of the neighborhood as it is and develop one of how they'd like it to be, then take political action for the latter. (Maybe combine with storefront museum using lab specimens, art, etc. from storage rooms of big downtown museums -- but as much time as possible on self-creation.)

2. "Alley libraries" -- like one here in Adams-Morgan, in a basement with books, puppets, tapes, records, etc for kids 4-14 years old to come, play, sing, read, talk, etc. -- their own place for which they make rules, etc. What needs changing? Why? How? Constantly reach out to parents, but keep it as the kids' place.

3. Centers for the Practice of Social Psychiatry. Groups of lib-rad psychiatrists, psychologists, etc., set up places to (1) do individual or group therapy with emotionally ill in neighborhood or area; (2) channel the energies of those who are thus recovering into various forms of self-fulfillment: art, poetry, politics; (3) lead discussions or focus attention on those aspects of the community that are causing emotional illness and can be changed by political action.

4. Group Legal Aid -- and in cities where there aren't any, Group Health Centers. Pre-paid group practice of medicine or law. Take law: large numbers of the poor (who of course in civil and criminal cases now are both least represented and worst dealt with -- cheated, abused, damaged, etc. -- and thus if well represented would be a profitable practice for the lawyer and for themselves) get together to pay a small monthly "retainer" to a group of lawyers who share these retainers in such a way as to be, in effect, on salary. The lawyers defend all criminal cases of the clients, and undertake to advance all their civil suits. To prevent casual litigiousness, they might charge a partial fee to clients to bring a civil suit, or certain kinds thereof -- or maybe not. (Discuss this problem.)

5. Institutes and schools. Several different kinds: (a) Research centers with small numbers of students who also do research (like

(Continued from page 5)

Internal Education & "Institutes"

A position paper for the N.C. Tom Condit

No matter how much they may oppose it, and try to fight all its manifestations, radicals live within the existing society. Like all other members of that society, they are caught up in the habits, assumptions, and ways of thinking and acting which are common to members of their class or group within it. If we really want to make revolutionary changes, then we have to constantly reassess our attitudes and actions to make sure we're really thinking and doing things in ways which lead toward our goals, rather than merely in ways which are nearly instinctive to us because they've been imposed on us thruout our lives. This means in many cases a really rigorous sort of "hit-picking", aimed at discovering the implications of ideas and procedures.

What brings this up is the proposed "REP Summer institute". If this is indeed the "most important" of REP's projects in terms of "internal education", and the structure of it is to be that outlined in Mike Goldfield's report (NLN, 3 Feb.), then we need to examine the premises upon which both the institute itself and the way in which it's organized are based. The very name, "institute", gives a clue to these premises, but let me quote from Mike's report on the tentative plans:

"We are think of having one or two four-week sessions . . . A good hulk of the time would be spent taking four courses from radical faculty people. The areas might be The American Economy, The American Ideology, Radicalism in American History, and U. S. Foreign Policy. The rest of the time would be spent getting experience leading discussions, discussing chapter problems, learning to use new materials and techniques, seeing films, and planning chapter programs."

This is very similar to what used to be known in the "old left" as a "cadre school". Members of local branches in socialist or Communist parties who had "leadership potential" were picked out and sent to school to acquire a solid knowledge of the organization's worldview (e.g., marxian economics,

the works of Leon Trotsky, etc.) plus solid organizational skills (e.g., "experience leading discussions," "discussing chapter problems, learning to use new materials and techniques . . . and planning chapter programs") of the type necessary to organizers, members of local executive committees, etc. The assumptions were that a solid "cadre" of knowledgeable and skilled people was essential to a stable political movement, and that such a cadre could be built by a well-organized system of selection and training of "professional revolutionaries"

I think the first assumption is basically correct. A movement which wants to exist, grow, and renew itself, must depend on more than simple elan. You've got to have people who know what they're talking about, who have enough common assumptions and experience (even vicarious experience) to hang together, and who know how to explain the group's common positions, run a mimeograph, set up a meeting or conference, organize a march or a teach-in, etc. The assumption that you can produce such people in a "school", the way the State Department turns out its diplomats is a little harder to support.

Even for tightknit, highly organized groups with well-developed programs and a coherent idea of their role in society, cadre schools were somewhat dysfunctional, mainly because they reinforced all the most negative aspects of democratic centralist organization. (Note: "democratic centralism" to a greater or lesser degree was common to most older leftist groups, social democrats or anarchists as well as "Leninists".) To groups which had already established a conscious dichotomy between "the party" and "the masses", they brought a new distinction between "the cadre" and "the membership". Not only did society become "divided into two parts, one of which is superior to the other", but revolutionary groups became so divided within themselves. What this led to was an increasing alienation of the group's "ideology" from the real needs and experiences of "ordinary people", as its theoreticians and "leaders" were winnowed out

(Continued on page 7)

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Student Power -- Behind the Slogan

A position paper
for the N.C.

Bob Speck

During this past year, SDS has adopted the slogan of "student power". Much of the momentum behind our adopting this slogan came from a position paper, *Toward Student Syndicalism*, presented for discussion by Carl Davidson, now the SDS vice president, at the August, 1966 convention. The convention, as such, did not discuss the Davidson paper -- an omission which may have been a mistake. This is not to say that the paper was not discussed, for that is not the case, but only that what dialogue occurred about, or based on, the paper was carried on only by groups of individuals who happened to be at the convention.

Following the convention, due to conditions which are related to the frustration and demoralization of SDS members active in both the protests against the Vietnamese war and in the Economic, Research and Action Projects, we began to put our major efforts into building a campus (student) base. Because of our lack of discussion of, and probe into, the reasons for our failures in the above areas (such an examination would have to be a prerequisite to the formulation of new, external programming aimed at the utilization of the energies and skills of our members in such a manner as to reextend ourselves beyond the campus community) Carl's paper, which was designed to give an overview and direction to campus organizing, found wide acceptance with little organized opposition within SDS to the concepts which were behind it. Given the present state of political dialogue within SDS, it became very easy to not even discuss Carl's paper and instead to just substitute the slogan of "student power".

I feel that the time has come for us to have a serious discussion of "student power", just what it is, what are its limitations, who are the students, what are the ramifications of "student power", etc. In the following paragraphs I hope to start some of that discussion.

Before we can deal with "student power" properly, it seems to me that we should decide just who the hell are the "students". Carl's paper only touched on the question by omission. His failure to state just who his "students" are, forces me to judge them by the kinds of programmatic suggestions which he outlines for them. It is obvious that Carl wishes us to address ourselves to that body of individuals (students) that are currently enrolled in school. Needless to say, such a definition, by default, of "students" is exactly the one which the administrators, bureaucrats, and politicians are attempting to force upon us. I don't believe that anyone in SDS, least of all Carl, would want us to have such a limited definition of "students". I think instead that our own definition would be based on the function of what we consider to be education and who we believe to be getting that education.

Indeed, I believe that we could agree with Tom Hayden when he exhorts "students" of the traditional (administrative) definition to, "Do not wish to be a student in contrast to being a man. Do not study as a student, but as a man who is alive and who cares. Leave the isolated world of ideological fantasy, allow your ideas to become part of your living and your living become part of your ideas." I believe that if we translate to positive terms of what we believe a student to be, it would come out thusly: a student is one who understands that his educational process cannot be separated from his social, political, and economic environment, that everything which happens affects him in some way and therefore contributes to the sum total of his learning.

I understand that this definition of the word "student" is radically different from the definition which our society accepts, and because of this excludes many individuals presently considered "students" while including many individuals presently considered "non-students". Because of this, Carl's paper is in many ways inapplicable to what follows, but I feel that it is mandatory upon us as radicals talking in terms of "student (or for that matter, any other kind of) power", to start to create our own definitions, for these definitions must be integral with our goals.

I feel that the next task before us should be to define what it is that we consider to be an education and to outline what we believe to be the optimum means of obtaining that education. Carl places much emphasis on this matter than he did on the question of who is to be thought of as a student, but he does this only indirectly. First, he attacks the "knowledge factory" conception of education which it seems to us that many "educators" have. He states the assumption, which most of us have, that the universities are used and twisted by the system in order to serve its needs. Second, Carl discusses education by making programmatic suggestions of things which he thinks we should work to change. He calls for the abolition of the grades system, the organization of counter-curricula, the participation of "students" in the determining of course structure, etc. What Carl, and, for that matter, everyone else in SDS has not done, is raise questions about the very nature of education itself, in such a manner that we can begin to challenge or confirm the assumptions about education that we and the rest of our society hold.

Now it seems to me that central to any conception of "student power" is an understanding of what "students" are going to do if they have that power. First, if we are to set up educational systems, we have to know just what specific changes, alterations, or improvements are necessary in the present systems, or, for that matter, whether we could just as well serve our own needs by completely destroying the present system. Second, if the power part of "student power" is going to be real, we have to understand that we are going to be taking that power from those in our society who now use the universities to serve their needs, in order to use that power to serve us in some fruitful way.

Any study of the nature of both institutions and revolutions should show us that the answers to such questions as -- "Are universities, schools, etc. necessary to the process of education? If so, how could we administer them to better serve us? If not, what would we like to replace these institutions with, if anything? etc." -- would become a moot point if we obtained control of some such institution as a university (jest) without a prior and full discussion of all the ramifications of what we should do under such a set of circumstances. What would happen without that discussion is that we would be forced to satisfy ourselves by modifying existing structures enough to cause partial solutions to pressing problems, while at the same time trying to force much of the existing structure to meet our needs.

SDS has in the past produced a large quantity of pamphlets (Student Social Action by Tom Hayden, University Reform by Shelley Blum, The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties by Don McKelvey, The New Radical Encounters the University by Paul Potter, Thoughts on Berkeley by Paul Goodman, Toward Student Syndicalism by Carl Davidson, etc.) on the subject of radical students and their relationship to the higher educational system (universities). With minor exceptions, all of these papers can be summed up with two words -- University Reform. Even when one considers the partial exceptions, we find that there are no real, substantive challenges to the present structural frameworks through which "education" is supposedly obtained. By this I mean that when we are at our best we seem to have accepted the notion that universities, schools, "communities of scholars", etc. are necessary in order for individuals to receive an education.

The best evidence that we have not challenged that assumption rests in the "free universities" which we have helped to create across the face of this country. Inherent in those "free universities" seems to be the crux of New Left thought and theory -- that you battle authoritarian systems and institutions (universities) by creating counter-institutions and systems (free universities) which have different curriculums, but which are in essence modeled after the institutions and systems which we are battling.

To give credit where it is due, I must admit that by raising the cry of "student power", we seem to be conceding that we are not as good at building these institutions and systems as the establishment is, and therefore what we now seem to want to do is take over these institutions and systems and alter them for our own use. The problem with all of this is that what we are doing is, in the case of the "free universities" -- fighting fire with fire, and in the case of both the "free universities" and taking over of the real universities -- playing the game by the rules established years ago, without even bothering to

New World in the Caribbean

Jay and Joan Mandel
U.W.I. - Barbados

The Commonwealth Caribbean consists of the independent nations of Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and the islands in "associated" status with Great Britain of the Leeward and Windward group. Independence, internal self-government in the case of the Leewards and Windwards, has come to the region since 1962. But its advent here was much more the result of the British's desire to withdraw from this once lucrative, but now impoverished area, than the climax of a wide-spread struggle for freedom. Though universal suffrage exists throughout the region, the absence of any kind of real mass movement, with the possible exception of Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party in Guyana, has seriously limited the extent to which meaningful decolonization has taken place.

The oligarchic domination by a small group of white British planters of a much larger number of black (or East Indian) plantation workers has more subtly continued until the present day. However, today, the nationality of those in control of these largely plantation oriented societies has, and is, rapidly changing from British to American in alliance with middle class native politicians and big local retailers. Though nationalist politicians such as Barrow in Barbados, Williams in Trinidad and Tobago, and even Burnham in Guyana, using occasional tinges of radical rhetoric, continue to win elections, it is very clear that the only approach they have to the pressing need to improve the economic condition of their constituents is the sorry one of maintaining close enough relations with the U. S. to encourage the influx of massive amounts of private capital and aid from North America. Where, as in the case of Guyana, a nationalist leader, in this case Jagan, threatened to act upon his radical formulations, he was cleverly maneuvered out of political office.

Into this political situation characterized by increasing American ascendancy combined with an absence of real social or economic independence, the New World Group has established itself. New World is not an organization or a political movement as such. Rather it is a collection of university students and lecturers who first share a Pan-Caribbean outlook, and who issue an impressive quarterly journal concerned with the study of the region. Though it originated in Guyana, the group is now strongest in Jamaica, which houses the largest of the three campuses of the University of the West Indies.

The debilitating poverty of the region is the main focus of the New World's concern, and their best and most fruitful discussions deal with the question of economic development. Their position is that development in the West Indies can only occur with the breakdown of the dominant authoritarian plantation system. Such a democratization of the society, is for them, a necessary condition for the emergence of the region from its current state of underdevelopment. Little or no faith is placed in the local entrepreneurs and it is recognized that expatriate investment alone cannot transform the society. Consequently, though only occasionally is this made explicit by New World, socialism appears to be the only answer according to their analysis.

How such a social change is to occur in the "American Lake" is an issue about which the New World group is distressingly vague. They envision the problem as a multi-class one, in which the society as a whole must throw off its persistent colonial or neo-colonial

yoke. New World has explicitly rejected the working class as the principle agency of change. Their strategy is rather that intellectuals should provide the analysis which will demonstrate to all classes the need for real social change and for the forging of a clear West Indian political, cultural, and economic identity.

It is the latter feeling which is responsible for New World's disillusionment with the nominal independence the area has
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ORGANIZING

(Continued from page 4)

IPS) -- focus on nature of local power structure, life of the poor, goals of the schools, etc. etc., and do their research through action; (b) Schools for people at large, chiefly adults, in "free university" or "free school" style. Danger: lib-rad content but traditional form (lectures, etc.). Way of dealing with this: maybe experimental form such as learning through fieldwork that is social action, using "simulation" or "games" to teach visions of a different society, etc. (c) Schools for organizers: much more intensive, smaller student body, turn out continuous stream of organizers. (d) Schools for kids -- using both radical content as in Mississippi freedom schools and radical form, as in Sylvia Ashton-Warner's *Teacher*.

6. Consumer unions (local ones) or local consumer review boards: instead of depending on weak governmental protection against the corporate selling system, organize at the base against high prices, shoddy quality, unsafe products (e.g. the worst autos), health-damaging processes (e.g. factories that pollute the air), poor service, etc. Use boycott, picket, etc. against local businesses that do badly. Use national information where useful, as from *Consumers Reports*. Organizing cooperatives may be more desirable but also more difficult; local consumer unions may be a useful first step toward coops, as well as a way of pushing the corporations off balance.

7. Future gaming centers. Use movies, simulations (role-playing), games, etc. to train people in political effectiveness and in possible decent futures -- alternatives they can invent, judge, etc. Give people chance to "experience" living in participatory democracies -- and confronting hostile establishments, etc. Cross between SNCC's use of nonviolent practice confrontations before sit-ins and RAND's use of hypothetical war-crisis games.

8. Lib-rad newspapers: crosses between the "underground papers" recently sprung up and say, the *Southern Courier* or the *Sunday Ramparts*: muckraking the city, presenting alternatives, etc. Perhaps have part of the editorial board elected by the readers? Hold meetings of readers with editors?

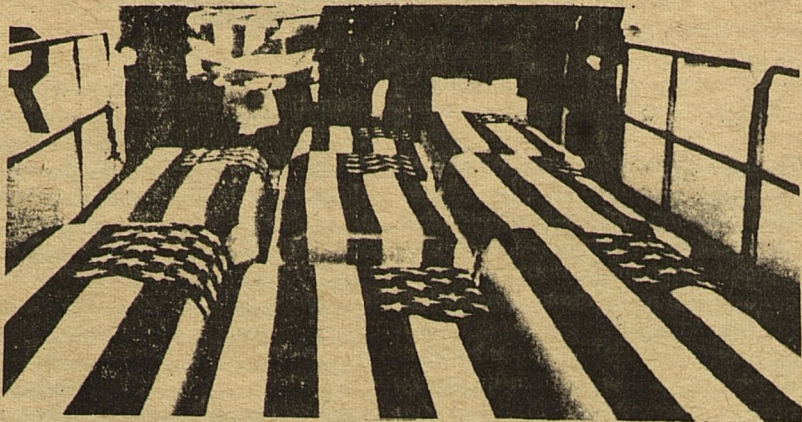
9. Crossnational organizations. Try to bring about "people's exchanges" between Tanzania and black Detroit or Mississippi, between student groups like SDS and Dutch *provos* and Zengakuren, etc., so as to build strong and permanent transnational organizations with multi-geographic home bases, access to multi-national information, etc. These are expensive and hard -- though maybe contracts between Latin American radicals and Puerto Rican and Mexican-American groups would not be; but if one is imagining a decent future, crossnational groups commanding stronger loyalties from their members than the national governments do will be important.

decide if, in truth, those rules are the only ones by which the game can be played. What I feel that we should do is challenge the entire conception that institutionalized elites, in the form of universities or "communities of scholars", are necessary for the transmission of knowledge.

In *Student Social Action*, an SDS pamphlet, we say that, "... education should be threatening and renewing. Threatening in that it should critically examine the deepest understandings of life, confronting taboo, habit, ritual, and personal ethics with a withering 'why', unearthing the values that society buries for security's sake, and exposing them to the sunlight of the inquiring mind.

Renewing in that it transmits human culture from generation to generation and place to place, transforming some parts, modifying others, concurring with still others, yet expressing reverence for the whole", and later, "above all ... reject the claim that only a privileged few can be independent, the view that creativity is necessarily the function of culture-preserving elites." ... believe that independence can be a fact about ordinary people. And democracy, real participating democracy, rests on the independence of the ordinary people." It appears to me that we base our hopes for "participatory democracy" on the theory that given an equally educated, well informed mass, individuals can freely participate in the decision making process. Basic to this theory is the feeling
(Continued on page 7)

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CARIBBEAN

(Continued from page 5)

achieved in the 1960's. Social, political and economic institutions have all been adopted wholesale from the West so that little creativity, freedom or real independence of any sort has been manifest. Here the Cuban experience is seen as being extremely relevant. Cuba, in its own way, was very much a West Indian "colony" before the Revolution with problems similar to those which continue to characterize the rest of the area today. At least one influential New World person has visited Cuba and has reported favorably on its "dynamic" model of development which strikingly contrasts with the "passive" model adopted in the rest of the region. It is the internal dynamic and self-creative process of a society like Cuba's determining its own fate which is so appealing to New World intellectuals who feel caught and dis-

gusted by the omnipresence of Colonial rule.

Once again, however, the problem of how to actually achieve a state where self-identity can be created is one which stumps New World. There is rarely serious mention of even the desirability, not to mention the effectiveness, of an attempt to transform the society by mass action. Though not without a healthy distrust of United States motives and designs in the region, a strong element of naivete nevertheless runs throughout New World's discussions of America. Thus one leader of the group advocates the re-joining the O.A.S. precisely because America's voice is going to be strong here anyway, so membership would be a good way of checking that influence. Or again there is the sincere belief that America would tolerate a third path to real development and independence as long as it was neutral towards the socialist block, though in this case, the United States action against Juan Bosch has tended to make New World think again about America's tolerance.

We think that New World in general has a fairly realistic idea of the problems confronting the West Indies' development. Their success in implementing the social change requisite to the eradication of those problems however, is severely limited by two important considerations. The first is that a deep-seated pessimism pervades almost every aspect of West Indian society. Even middle-class people who have "made it" in a white man's world share the belief of the society's poor that West Indians can do little for themselves, but must depend on the instruction, aid, and encouragement of others - usually white expatriates. The degree of this feeling varies from the complete docility evidenced in Barbados to an attempt at radicalism in Guyana. The fact that this fatalism can be partially explained by the realities of past servitude, colonialism, and present-day neo-imperialism does nothing to make the pessimism less real or any less disastrous for potential attempts at radical social change.

The second point is that the New World Group, lacking organization, has no real program for coping with the problems they so clearly understand. To this date their only program objective consists of helping intellectuals, by means of discussion groups, to recognize what must be done for real development and independence of the region. Knowing that the educated are those who will hold vital positions in the West Indies in the future, they choose to work on campus to radicalize university students, and hope that through them, in their future positions, the society at large will be radically changed. However the fact that the requirements for an influential position in the West Indies first entails an acceptance of the status quo is overlooked. In fact, if New World succeeds in radicalizing intellectuals, these new radicals undoubtedly will not secure vital places in the society's leadership. If their idea for a revolution from above is impossible to implement successfully, then it seems that New World's only hope is a direct approach to the people of the society at large. It is all the people, who must be educated to the problems and issues, if West Indian society is to effectively mobilize for change.

That the diminishing number of New World people will be able to do this job is unlikely. The original group of New World in Guyana has virtually disbanded, while New World's success in Barbados has been nil despite the presence of an organizer on the faculty of the University of the West Indies campus there. Only Jamaica where the quarterly is published has an on-going group. The New World Groups' lure to turn to the whole society, their choice rather to concentrate "on campus" in the beautiful foot hills ten miles outside of slum-ridden Kingston, in addition to their vague, discussion-oriented programmatic proposals together mean that the possibility of New World's fulfilling its desire to change West Indian society will probably go unrealized.

STUDENT POWER

(Continued from page 5)

that the means of education must be freely available to all individuals. From this I can only deduce that education must be considered by us to be a process by which all individuals in a democratic society are constantly receiving the relevant information which will allow them to make continual regulations of their society while at the same time controlling the institutions of that society. Any form of education or any educational institutions which do not produce citizen-students or student-citizens would of necessity fall short of what should be our requirements from education/educational institutions, therefore our efforts involving "student power" should be aimed at fulfilling those requirements.

Given, however incomplete brief definitions of both "students" and "education", I think that I can begin to get into a discussion of "student power" and how we should use that to further our goals. I will base my monologue on two assumptions, first, that if possible we should attempt to gain control of the educational institutions of our society in order to either alter them to fit our needs or to destroy them if they are inalterable in order to replace them with an educational framework which will fit our needs; and second, that whatever educational systems we work toward, they must serve the entire community of individuals represented within a democratic society.

To me, it seems to be inherent in any discussion of "student power" that we should use that to further our goals. I will base my monologue on two assumptions, first, that if possible we should attempt to gain control of the educational institutions of our society in order to either alter them to fit our needs or to destroy them if they are inalterable in order to replace them with an educational framework which will fit our needs; and second, that whatever educational systems we work toward, they must serve the entire community of individuals represented within a democratic society.

To me, it seems to be inherent in any discussion of "student power" that we should

(Continued on page 6)

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EXPO - '67

The Student Peace Union is planning a sit-in in the U. S. Pavillion of the Montreal World's Fair on the opening Day, April 28. The sit-in will be focused around the demand that "U.S. Troops Get Out of Vietnam".

Expo - '67 opens at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, April 28. Accomodations are available in Montreal for those who arrive Thursday evening. A supporting picket line will take place for those not able to participate in civil disobedience. All sit-in participants have been requested to contact the SPU national office in advance, 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., Tel. 212 BE 3-0464

REP PAPER

"Towards a Democratic History" by Jesse Lemisch. A critical examination of how conventional American history is written. It attacks the methodology, reliance on elite sources, and ideological presuppositions of orthodox American history, and surveys new work being done that writes history from a more democratic perspective. Should be quite useful to SDS members in raising questions with their fellow students in history classes. A Radical Education Project Occasional Paper.

1-10 copies, 10¢ apiece; 11-50 copies, 9¢ apiece; 51-100 copies, 8¢ apiece; over 100 copies, 7¢ apiece (freight costs additional).

"U.S. Foreign Policy and Imperialism" REP Study Guide 4, by Steven H. Johnson. 15¢ apiece.

Send orders to: Radical Education Project, 510 East William, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

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Continued from NLN, March 13, p. 7. Submitted by Paul Booth.

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Ralph L. Powell, American University

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Jonathan Garst, Agricultural Consultant and Author, Berkeley, California

Everett E. Hagen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Earl O. Heady, Iowa State University

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Carl Kaysen, President, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

Dudley Kirk, President, Population Council, New York

Gustav F. Papenek, Harvard University

Hugh T. Patrick, Economic Growth Center, Yale University

Panel B - Developed Countries

Abram Bergson, Director Russian Research Center, Harvard University

Harold Van Buren Cleveland, Vice President First National City Bank, New York

William E. Griffith, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Stanley H. Hoffmann, Harvard University

Charles P. Kindelberger, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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POSSIBLE USES OF THESE NAMES

- 1) Expose their roles to the campus - either as part of a university power structure or in connection with important foreign developments in their areas.
- 2) Challenge them to debate or to carry the opinions of the academic community on particular policies to the State Department (make sure they make public reports to the academic community of why the policy doesn't change.)
- 3) Make them the symbolic focus of protest action over particular developments.

student power paper

(Continued from page 6)

speak to the question of whether or not students, by themselves, are capable of taking any kind of power in the universities. Central to this question are three other questions - First, do "students" see themselves as a unit (class-consciousness?) with common goals, viewpoints, etc. in relation to the society as a whole? Only if the answer to this question is yes (however qualified) will it be possible to organize students as a group. Second, if the answer to the first question is yes, do "students" have any social, economic or political levers which would enable them to take power in the universities? And third, if students are capable of taking "power", do we consider that to be a radical goal toward which we should work?

I believe that students can be viewed and also view themselves in several ways. It is true that perhaps a majority of "students" (and I am, for the purposes of this section of my article, using the definition of students that college administrators use) see themselves as a separate segment of the society with some common problems, identifications, etc. At the same time that I say this though, two additional factors must be understood by us - that is to say that while students might view themselves as a separate segment of the society, the vast overwhelming majority of American students consider their existence in that segment to be transitory in nature, and at the same time see both that segment of society and the segment(s) of society which they feel themselves to be oriented toward from an elitist viewpoint. When organizing students, we should keep this last factor always in mind in order to push in directions consistent with our goals.

In addition to the above views of students, Paul Goodman provides us with what he considers to be a developing viewpoint of (some) American students. He says, "... (non-English) European and Latin tradition ..." of students, "... goes with early sexual maturity, with economic independence (in bohemian poverty), and with active involvement in politics. Classically, in Europe, it has also involved drawn-out education, many moratoria, much changing of schools and career plans, and 'being a student' as itself a kind of profession of young adults, especially of the upper class." Now, while I don't believe that this situation is truly parallel to ours, for a variety of reasons ranging from heritage to the nature of both American society and American universities, I am not going to go into that in this article. What I will do is say that if such a change in attitude is happening, we should attack it. The people in the American student population who are most likely to view themselves in the way European students do, are precisely the individuals who will consider themselves part of an intellectual elite. I believe that the attitudes which people assume which allow them to consider themselves as superior in some way to others in the society, must be fought if our goal is to be one consistent with a democratic society.

In answering my second question, I have to admit that I have found one lever which students can use in attempting to alter the power relationship between themselves and the universities. That lever to power, outside, non-student support, cannot be considered very strong.

There are some in SDS who will say that students have an economic power in that they can withhold their tuition and drop out of school. The only answer to that is that while such an action might be consistent with our goals, it is not consistent with the present and foreseeable goals of most American students.

To those who believe that students can selectively terrorise the administration into meet-

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INTERNAL EDUCATION

(Continued from page 4)

in a selection process isolated from the day-to-day activities of the group and of the people it created itself to fight for. This was reinforced by the notion that a revolutionary ideology, that is, a synthesis of "theoretical" knowledge of the world and the experience of day-to-day activity in seeking to change it, is something you can learn in a classroom from an expert or two on the subject.

I could go on at some length on the process by which "cadre material", once people selected because of their unusual ability to cope with new situations, etc, increasingly became composed of people selected for their resemblance to existing "cadres" and ability to talk just like them, the resulting solidification of self-conscious bureaucracy, twisting of ideology into dogma passed from generation to generation like holy relics, etc. I won't because I think the point is made, and because the picture is already overdrawn, implying that institutionalized internal education is not only the source of all organizational evil, but also causes warts and bad breath. This is not the case, nor is it the case that the REP Summer Institute is an insidious plot to turn SDS into a replica of the Communist Party of Stalin days, and/or one of the bureaucratic monstrosities of the Socialist International.

What is the case is that the REP people, seeing the same problem as the "old left" groups, have moved in the direction of the same false solution, a move facilitated in their case by a general over-attachment to "academic" outlooks. To be specific, they've accepted the establishment premise that social thought and political theory are things best propounded by "experts". At worst, this assumption leads its owner into viewing politics in terms of "social engineering". At best, it merely estranges him from his potential "constituency". The problem of developing SDS members into experienced and

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student power paper

Continued from page 7,

ing their demands by the use of sit-ins, etc., I reply that I have yet to hear of such a thing happening if the administration refused to be moved. I know of many actions which were nuisances to the administrators of the schools where the action took place, but I know of none which have forced an administration to cease functioning.

If anyone thinks that students can strike and thereby close down a university, forcing the captains of industry and their labor lieutenants to intervene and require the college to come to terms with the students in order to preserve the supply of trained manpower, I answer that this *might* be true (see my answer to the next question) as long as students don't make more than minor requests for change. However, any attempt to drastically alter the nature of the universities themselves will, by its very nature, disrupt the flow of trained manpower. Such an attempt will therefore be combatted by the captains of industry and their labor lieutenants. We must remember that if we are to consistently pursue our goals, it will be necessary to make continually more forceful and radical demands upon the university system. These demands cannot and will not be met within our present society.

If anyone feels that students could seize the universities by force, I can only reply that such an action would put us straight up against all the power of the state. At this or any foreseeable point in American history, such an action would be naive and romantic at best, and stupid and irresponsible at worst. At any rate, no matter whether it is at the best or worst ends of its spectrum, such action would be doomed.

Lastly, I don't believe that students enjoy any sizable portion of political power (in terms of votes, etc.). Tom Hayden provides me with a quote from Margaret Mead, "A handful of tugboat employees or flight engineers, because of their admitted rights in a complex system in which they are working members, can hold up a city or a country until their demands are met but in some states students are not even allowed to vote." To this I will add that most students are not over 21, and that a large majority of the states have laws which prevent students who are from out-of-state from obtaining residency status as long as they are students.

The question of whether or not students can, by themselves, seize power in the universities can be answered in only one way -- with an emphatic no! It would be understood that the key words in that question are "by themselves" and "power". Granting that we might find it possible to organize the mass of students, granting that students have at least one lever on power, this still is not enough. For us to speak of students obtaining real power in the universities is to speak of an illusion.

A careful study of student revolts in both the United States and in the rest of the world over the last twenty years should serve to demonstrate that at best students were able to accomplish either a small, though favorable, response to their demands when they had both outside and faculty support, or the students sometimes were able to seize control of their universities for varying lengths of time until they were physically ejected from their university and arrested or shot or both. This same study should demonstrate that almost all of the students revolts, those which did not have some kind of faculty or out-

side support, were crushed.

All of this is not intended to show that I believe that nothing can be gained from organizing students, for this is not the case. It should be obvious that we can organize students to reform some of the more pressing evils of the present authoritarian university system. However, even to do this requires some measure of faculty support, and this must be considered when we are talking about "student power". People should remember that at Berkeley, just to get minor *liberal* concessions (and that is all that the students at Berkeley won) from the administration took a student strike, a teaching assistants strike, and (before anything at all was won) the overwhelming support of the faculty.

It's clear that we can win thousands of different types of reforms within the university. We should however, be aware in advance that demands within the universities for freedom of speech, abolition of the grades system, curriculum reforms, abolition of the university's control over students extra-curricular activities, etc. (in other words all of the demands which we make in the name of university reform) are essentially liberal demands. By piling five liberal demands one on top of the other we don't make the demands more radical. We do make the people who we organize around our demands five times as liberal as they were.

Although I acknowledge that we can win many types of reforms in the universities, it is not the same thing as stating that we should put a major emphasis of SDS into doing so. I believe that we should orient our programming around things which both educate our members and help to build a sustaining drive toward a radical change in American society. It is true that if we succeed in reforming the present university system we will be helping people, in this case students, to become better prepared to be able to be participating members of a democratic society. Or is this true? There is a strong chance that if we are not careful we may be organizing a monstrosity which we may later regret organizing. By this I mean that we may fall into a trap analogous to what Anne Braden talks about when she warns about some of the dangers of organizing poor whites. Anne says that if you organize poor whites without fighting racism from the start, you may be creating an organization which allows them to better participate in the society while at the same time contributing to the general racist framework to the society. At the same time Anne believes that poor whites must be organized. Now the parallel in this case is that if we organize students in any way which enables them to better manipulate their way through the society without at the same time organizing within the rest of the society in order to enable other members of the society to become our citizen-students, what we may be creating is a new elite.

If our goal is the radical one of creating an educational framework which is necessary for the functioning of a democratic society, then in terms of immediate priorities it may well be necessary for us to build a viable base within the present campus community. We should be aware of the fact that this base should be used only for the recruiting and partial radicalizing of new people. We cannot afford to view this base as one which we can either stay in or retreat to in order to have womb-like security. We should agree with Tom Hayden when he says that we cannot view being a student in some manner which allows us to be divorced from either our goals or from the world around us.

From a long range view of the universities, we should be able to see that university reform can only take place in a liberal context. Using that view we should be able to say that what we wish to do is radically alter the nature of education itself, and that that cannot be done within the institution of the university, that any real changes to the educational system must take place within the context of American society as a whole, and that we feel that cannot be done if we view the universities as the sole, or even the major arena of our concerns.

Internal Education

(Continued from page 7)

"hard core" radicals is a very real one, but we won't move toward any real solution of it unless we ask very sharp questions, most of them beginning with "Why?", about each step.

Why courses in subjects like The American Economy, The American Ideology, etc? Why are they relevant and/or valuable? What can activists learn from a survey course on "Radicalism in American History?" To avoid the mistakes of others? Who will draw attention to the mistakes? The instructor? What does he know about it? (I can think of a number of "radical faculty people" "qualified" to teach such a course -- Herbert Aptheker, Jesse Lemisch, Hal Draper, William Appleman Williams, Eugene Genovese, George Rawick and Staughton Lynd come to mind. What one of them would regard as a reasonable presentation on the subject, the others might well regard as error at best and deliberate distortion at worst. Is any ideological viewpoint better than none?)

Why "radical faculty people"? Do professors know more about radicalism than students? Is there a PhD in "Revolutionary Theory"? Do we want the authoritarian classroom situation of the university recreated within our movement? Is there any way to use resource people while avoiding it? Answer the last question in 25 words or fewer.

Can you develop a "counter-ideology" from a four-week survey course on "The American Ideology"? Can you develop anything from a survey course on anything? Define the "American Ideology" in 25 words or fewer. Explain how you select a Radical Faculty Person to teach a course on (in?) it.

What is a workshop on Planning Chapter Programs like? Will we use models and graphs?

Who will go to the REP Summer Institute? Will it be just people who like to discuss and argue (like me)? Will it be just people who are rich, and therefore don't need summer jobs? Will anything they learn be of any use to their chapters? Is a radical who doesn't need to work a "professional revolutionary"?

I do have some constructive alternatives. First: Think Small, both in terms of "institutes" and in terms of the subject matter involved in each one. Second: Think Diffusedly, likewise in terms of both. A group and/or series of "institutes", scattered around the country at various times, with various people participating, and taking up various subjects, is more what we need than One Big Institute, with not enough people going to learn not enough to be worth the trouble of setting it up.

The subject matter of any "institute" (call them "conferences") should be precise and limited enough that a large proportion of the participants can be reasonably expected to read source material beforehand, thus making the format a "discussion" rather than a "class". The specificity also makes it more likely to be real-world rather than off in "cloud-cuckoo-land". The Amherst Select Problems in American Civilization series is a good model here (some of the pamphlets could even be used as texts for us). A detailed discussion of U. S. policy in Puerto Rico or the World Bank will teach people more than a survey of U. S. foreign policy. Similarly, a workshop in which people from different chapters in a region discuss their own problems is of far more use than an abstract discussion at a summer institute -- both because proximity lends a touch of relevance to the "models" and because active chapter people are more likely to attend.

The "classroom" situation is the hardest thing to avoid, since people will have come to learn things from people who know more than they do, but not to be told how to think about them. The traditional classroom situation is always a basically authoritarian one -- no matter how free wheeling the "seminar" atmosphere is, it is the instructor who determines the form and limits of "class" participation. Since we're trying to break people thru to making their own decisions on such things, we have to confront this problem. Two possible (inadequate) steps: (1) Limit the subject sharply enough that people can do advance reading and meet the "instructor" as peers, using him to draw out details relevant to consideration of the common knowledge. (2) Use two or more resource people with varying viewpoints, so they can undercut each other's "authority". Question: How do we deal with the "authority" problem in situations of confrontation, where the purpose of the activity, workshop, etc, is to push people toward considering questions they haven't given any prior thought to?

How do we create situations of "educational confrontation", like the teach-ins? One suggestion (very much under consideration in California) is the notion of a "travelling teach-in" mentioned in Carl Davidson's report. This can be organized in fairly flexible ways. From 1 to 5 people knowledgeable in various aspects of a subject (e.g., Viet Nam, South Africa, black power) can travel around to previously set-up "teach-in" situations tied to local people and programs. Where possible, a local "opposition" speaker should be secured for a debate. Films are high-priority desiderata for this type of acti-

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vity, as are saleable pamphlets, etc. One such "teach-in" on a fulltime basis might be hard to sustain, but the same idea can be applied on a part-time regional basis. A series of conferences or teach-ins on successive weekends in a single state or region can be reached by resource people who can't afford to go on SDS staff fulltime, or who we can't afford to hire. Much of the finances for these can be secured locally or regionally. (But see the last question in the previous paragraph.)

If at all possible, every SDS conference of any type, national, regional or local, should include "technical" workshops on things like mimeographing, poster production, film projection, etc, until we've developed a sizeable reservoir of people in all areas who can handle these things.

This may sound like an argument against a national program of internal education. It's not. While chapter work and movement activities are our main "school" of "internal education", conferences of all types play a valuable role in helping people both to exchange thoughts and experiences, and to break out of the "activist" bag of contempt for facts, ideas and "theory" in general. Moreover, the planning of conferences, securing of resource people, etc, can best be coordinated out of the REP office, where the resources exist -- speakers' list, pamph-

lets, knowledge of what's been done and is being planned in other places, etc. -- to minimize conflict and duplication of efforts. The point I'm making is that "internal education" of this type isn't a matter of "institutes", but of a variety of projects and conferences, tied to local and regional programs and aimed at involving a maximum number of local and regional people.

It's the job of both REP and the SDS vice-president (who's constitutionally in charge of developing such programs) to utilize the fullest possible local and national resources in getting conferences off the ground, drawing people from other areas, etc. The primary and specific responsibility, however, falls on the latter. I will, therefore, make the following motion at the Easter meeting of the National Council:

MOTION: That Carl Davidson be assigned to go to Ann Arbor, and to work with the REP staff on development of SDS internal education programs. This is done with the understanding that from now on this will be the primary staff responsibility of the SDS national vice-president. We further instruct him to report to the National Administrative Committee and the National Secretary weekly in writing and monthly in person on the progress of said programming, and to write a monthly report for *New Left Notes*.