

# NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS  
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•CHICAGO ILL.



VOLUME 2, NUMBER 30

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

## ON NCNP "Personal Liberation and Social Change"

Steve Halliwell

reprinted from New Politics News,  
August 29

Rennie Davis and Staughton Lynd

We think the National Conference for New Politics should disband. The coming-together of so many people at the NCNP convention expresses the desire of Movement People working in local projects to find ways to pool their energies and to have real impact on the national structure of power in the United States. But we think NCNP represents the wrong way to pool those energies and to begin to have that impact.

NCNP is perceived by black radicals and by the poor as an organization controlled by, and interesting to, the white middle-class. That perception seems to us correct. If NCNP conceived itself as an assemblage of electoral organizations in middle-class communities, it could play a useful role in the Movement. But in aspiring to be the political arm or expression of the Movement as a whole, NCNP plays a role which is, on balance, destructive.

This criticism applies whether or not NCNP decides to back a King-Spock ticket in 1968. We have not been convinced that it represents the most effective short-run political strategy to stop the war in Vietnam; and we are quite certain that it does not represent the most effective next step in building a long-run movement for radical social change. But the so-called radical alternative to local rather than national electoral politics, appears to us subject to many of the same objections.

Whether its orientation is to national or local electoral action, NCNP represents a turn toward electoral politics without first having built a base through non-electoral organizing. We think this is the wrong way to organize anyone, and particularly disastrous when the people at the top are white middle-class intellectuals and those whom the Movement most wants to organize are not. We believe black people must lead an American radical Movement and that national organization will become appropriate only when regional radical networks, with black leadership, call it into being.

To call for the dismantling of NCNP is not to call for the elimination of white middle-class people from the Movement. We believe that the people, the money, and the power that NCNP represents can be redirected to the support of a new organizational structure more in tune with the actual state of the movement. This structure should consist of regional councils of federated local projects. The function of the NCNP convention, and of subsequent national conferences, should be to make possible exchange of experiences among these developing regional groupings.

This organizing perspective may seem prosaic, even lacking in militancy, when compared with the visible drama of an election campaign. But as a Movement we have had experiences from which we should have learned. In the South, the Movement looked to the vote as a key to unlock that closed society, and expected the Federal government to protect the struggle to achieve the vote. But we learned that the vote did not solve the problems of economic deprivation and imperialist war, that the Kennedy Administration and the Central Intelligence Agency helped to finance voter registration lest more militant forms of

In any electoral campaign, the message must come through that being a radical involves changing your life and the structures affecting that life, not just your electoral affiliation.

One of the most serious issues dividing SDS and NCNP is the relation to traditional liberal politics. In the personal lives of SDS members, the break with ties to authoritarian institutions and the creation of a radical stance is closely tied to a rejection of conventional politics of pressure and persuasion for amelioration of social injustices; in other words, people who recognize the political process as perverted will not seek change through the institutions that process has created.

### Becoming Radicals

The process of radicalization leads to an understanding that voting has nothing to do with changing your life. Voting is a passive act, a choosing between alternatives provided by someone else. A radical conception of society sees the necessity for people to undergo a re-evaluation of their society, beginning with a deobfuscation of the existing reality. (Malcolm called it "telling it like it is".) That deobfuscation leads to a disengagement from existing institutions and value systems; once people are aware of the manipulative nature of American corporate control, once they understand "where it's at", they must reject the rewards and demands of that society in order to clear the ground for a new conception of society. Rejection of those established values creates the need for new values and new sources of human relations built on community and understanding rather than alienation, estrangement, and distrust.

Once people have a sense of the potentials for human beings, once the diseased values of this society have been challenged in an individual's life, then an outright attack on the established authorities must occur. Institutions must be desanctified, stripped of their power over people and new sources of power developed among communities of people.

So the business of radical change is more fundamental, more closely tied to the individual's conception of himself and his social relations than can ever be indicated by voting patterns or achieved by electoral campaigns. It is inconceivable that the violence of our society, the distance between individuals and social groups, and the dependence on brutal and authoritarian conceptions of self could be eliminated without people's undergoing the process of radicalization described above. As President Eisenhower once said, you can't legislate love, nor can you elect a President who will eliminate the dependence on authoritarian forms.

### New Experiences

Once a person has made a break with traditional politics, it is important that he find his way into the "alien subculture" as it is labeled that will mount the challenge to that perverse system. He must find out how black people live and what the political realities of ghetto life are; he must find out how the poor survive and what a solution to their problems would entail; he must understand the life of the migrant worker; he must find out how schools are run in the cities, how police treat people who don't have connections; what happens to people on welfare; why kids tune in, turn on, and

drop out in America. That experience, far removed from any election booth or campaign slogan, provides the basis for a radical solution to America's problems. That experience leads to organizing projects in poor communities and migrant labor camps; radical caucuses in labor unions (that are establishment-oriented); community-based draft resistance unions, community schools, and campus movements to make education relevant to people's lives. It leads to a conception of self that can sustain a resistance to the incursions and insults of that society and makes understandable the forms of resistance taken by oppressed people in America and its victim nations abroad.

It is only when institutions grow out of the participation of people affected by them, be they police, city government, poverty programs, universities, that those institutions are legitimate. Liberal politics seeks to work within existing institutions; SDS members respond that working within a diseased structure cannot create a healthy solution.

### A Vision Is Emerging...

That participation will never come until new politics people recognize how fundamental the change in people's lives must be to build a sustained radical movement. Until the concern with respectability is overcome in an individual's own life, he will be unable to create a politics that deals with the fact of how unrespectable the fabric of American life is at present. What does it mean in the Call to speak of "the young men and solid citizens of Harlem"? Aren't the young men "solid citizens"? What about junkies, prostitutes, pushers, pimps, winos, queers, and hustlers? Aren't they "solid citizens"? How will America deal with the obscenity it has created? Will we write off the thousands of people who have been ground down by this society so that they don't fit your concept of "solid citizen" any more than their finances would satisfy Dun and Bradstreet?

There is a vision of a new America emerging among oppressed people of this country, and the vitality of that vision is being sought by young people through music, drugs and a new style of life; that vision will find political realization only when people work from the recognition that politics is part and parcel of their existence, and not just a way of helping people get what we already have. What "solid" middle class America has is diseased and is being abandoned by the young in search of something more complete. SDS is able to do radical organizing only because it grooves, if you will, on that new vision—organizers see their own lives integrally tied to what they are creating as a political reality. And the emergent reality will be one with institutions built on the participation of people, institutions that exist because people believe they are responsive to a new concept of human potential. If NCNP is serious about changing the society and creating new institutions, then it must accept this deepest level of combined commitment to both personal liberation and social change.



This picture has nothing to do with the story on page 5

resistance develop, that Federal assistance came too little and too late. In the peace movement, neither massive demonstrations nor the Congressional campaigns of 1966 have done as much to slow the escalation of the Vietnam war as the direct action of draft refusal. The lesson both of the Southern civil rights movement and of the movement against the war in Viet-

nam is that we must rely on our own resources, build our own power, create small pockets of strength which we can control securely rather than superficial coalitions and image-oriented public relations campaigns. It is in this context that we put forward the perspective of building radical regional federations.

continued on p. 6

# Letter

Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Brothers & Sisters,

I read with some interest Jeff Shero's comments on the Moscow conference. I was more than interested in the comment of the Secy. of Komsomol—"the Leninist Communist youth League"—Mr. Pavlov discussing the American New Left and SNCC in a critical fashion and attributing its problems to "its bourgeois origins". Oh my God—not more crap from the self-appointed pontiffs of "the world revolutionary movement of the working class" on "petty-bourgeois" (or as US CP hack James West prefers "middleclass") radicalism. By the way—somehow the comments...and their curious stricture from the printed record (ah, for revolutionary honesty!!!)...strike me as the three things we are assured by those Americans closest to the CPSU (we do know whom I'm referring to) that Soviet Communists are never guilty of. 1) Interference in the internal affairs of the American revolutionary movement. 2) Great power chauvinism. 3) and, perhaps, as relates to SNCC just a bit of white chauvinism—imagine a white Russian (no pun intended) deciding what is right for Black Americans—guess Mr. Pavlov is unaware of the full implications of "Black Power" and the rights of all peoples—especially oppressed ethnic minorities—to self-determination. I can only wonder whether the American social democratic—I mean "Communist"—movement will be as quick to note and condemn in the editorial columns of its journals this interference by the Soviet Communists in our internal affairs as it is to imply or condemn revolutionary Cuba for the "interference in the internal affairs of Latin American communist parties" (i.e. denouncing the open treason of the CP of Venezuela) or to discuss the chauvinism of the Komsomol leader as quickly as it is willing to attack and vilify Chinese youth for trying to rid themselves of a handful of privileged bureaucrats. We must wait and see—but I fear it will be a long wait.

A point of information about my interview with Reies Tijerina. For space'

sake an interesting comment—a story he told the guards at the state pen that won some support and admiration from them—was edited out of the article as it appeared in The Movement. The story that Tijerina told—and regularly uses to describe the dynamics of the struggle of los pobres de la tierra—be they American blacks or chicanos—or peoples of the third world—is included here for NLN readers.

"This evil system (the US) is like the lion, the king of beasts...but the poor are like the cricket, the king of insects. The lion challenged the cricket to battle. He is sure he can win...he will crush the cricket with his powerful paw. But the cricket gets into the lion's ear and burrows deeper and deeper. The lion begins to scratch at its head and still the cricket goes deeper. The lion tears at his head, he bleeds and bleeds. And finally he tears off his own head, insane with anger and rage." The cricket wins, and the violence perpetuated by the United States against the poor people and the colored peoples of the world becomes the force of its destruction.

venceremos,

Jim Kennedy

SPECIAL ISSUE OF NLN—The national office is contemplating a special issue of New Left Notes to be distributed free on all campuses where there are chapters. Chapters should send in the number of copies they could use—in each case, please take into account distribution possibilities (100% saturation for campuses with central distribution possible, less for campuses with less systematic distribution facilities or commuter student body) and minimum amount that would be effective.

## DO IT NOW!

CHAPTER CONTACTS—The existing list of chapter contacts is sadly out of date and must be revised before the fall semester begins. Please send name of a reliable contact, full address and telephone number.

DO IT NOW—DON'T ASSUME ANYONE ELSE IN THE CHAPTER WILL DO IT INSTEAD, OR IT WILL NEVER GET DONE.

NC CREDENTIALS—Chapters should file as soon as possible the names of delegates to the October National Council to be held the week-end of October 6-8 in Madison, Wisconsin. Delegates to the National Council are elected on the basis of one delegate for the first five to twenty-five national members and one delegate for each additional twenty-five.

### new left notes

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., 60612, except July and August when publication is bi-weekly. Phone 312-666-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1 per year for members, \$10 a year for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editors, Beth Gottlieb and Marilyn Buck.

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VOLUME 2, NUMBER 30 let the people decide SEPTEMBER 4, 1967

# draft stuff

...in San

Francisco

Steve Hamilton

Draft resistance organizers in the San Francisco-Berkeley area have called Oct. 16th to 21st Stop the Draft Week and have called for anti-war groups throughout the country to plan direct action against the draft in their areas. Where direct action is unfeasible we have asked groups to plan some demonstrations related to Stop the Draft Week.

In the bay area we plan to shut the Oakland Induction Center down for the entire week by massive demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience—blocking the doors, harassment inside, etc. We plan to start with a rally on the evening of the 18th in a park in Oakland or Berkeley, all-night happening with rock groups, sleeping bags, etc., march to the induction center beginning the following morning. Police reaction and the people will determine what will happen throughout the rest of the week.

Our goals are these—

(1) By getting large numbers of people involved in militant action and by stopping the system for a few days we hope to develop a consciousness among those who participate in or observe the demonstrations that collectively we are not helpless, that by political organization we can make our voices heard, that we, as individuals as well, do not have to meekly submit to the draft and the war.  
(2) To use this action as a focus for draft resistance organizing in areas where no organizing has been done.

That's only what we're doing here. That kind of action may be outside of the realm of possibility in some places. We urge people to consider, however, what kind of mass action they are able to plan for Stop the Draft Week in their area. We would like to hear what other people are planning. Write to Stop the Draft Week c/o The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco.

...in New

Orleans

An Interesting Tactic for Induction Centers

Robert Head  
New Orleans MDS

August 18 was the day Arthur Carpenter, member, New Orleans Draft Resisters Union, Local #3, had been ordered to report for his pre-induction physical.

At 6:45 Arthur showed up. With him he had a hundred copies of a personal statement that he had written especially for the occasion. He wore sandals, black pajamas and a bamboo hat. Five other union members clustered around while the guards checked Arthur's pre-induction notice. As the guards were letting Arthur pass the DRU guys started shouting, "He's a viet cong. Kill him kill him!" and shooting Arthur with red ink from a water pistol. In the confusion they pushed Arthur inside and themselves as well. The whole scene took about 30 seconds. The guards got their senses back and literally threw the guys outside—two of em they kneed—backwards in a heap down onto the sidewalk. They got up laughing.

Attention SDS chapters and members in Northern California:

If there is no serious objection and sufficient chapter response, the Stanford chapter of SDS will serve as the regional office and co-ordinator for the Northern California Region. We will publish a monthly newsletter consisting of chapter reports and announcements of coming events. Our address is Students for a Democratic Society, Box 7333, Stanford, Ca. 94305. Contact us now.

...in Texas

Richard Arvedon  
Dallas, Texas

In the past two weeks there have been draft resistance unions or committees formed in Fort Worth, Dallas and Austin. Activity around the issue of the draft has been going on in Houston for some time. Plans are now being laid to stimulate that kind of activity throughout the state.

In terms of movement, at this time we feel that the emphasis must be placed on draft resistance. The logic behind this is as follows: (1) the immediacy of keeping people out of the war machine, (2) the prospects of clogging up that machine in terms of creating structural reform and (3) the opportunity of building a mass political movement with a radical base and analysis.

It is to this last point that we speak when we say that it is not enough just to get people to resist the draft. But that it is crucial that they understand why they are resisting the draft. (Understand it in terms of the war machine, the war, the economy and the system.) So that they can develop the commitment to analysis which will allow the draft resistance program to become a relevant radical political movement.

We are forming the draft resistance program around the slogan: "If you don't want to, you don't have to go!"

Although we are concentrating on keeping people out of the Army by manipulating the legal loopholes of selective service, it is with the understanding that we will keep people out of the Army by any means necessary.

We have set up the programs along the following guidelines: (1) train counsellors in each locality, (2) recruit people to work on the program either full or part time, (3) use any means of publicity to get word of the program into the community, e.g. leaflets, posters, underground newspapers, radio talk shows, the establishment press, etc. It is vital that any person in any section of the community threatened by the draft know about the program.

In Dallas, S.D.S., Dallas S.N.C.C., and the Dallas Organizing Committee have merged to work on the draft resistance program. They have opened an office at 4312 South Oakland, Room 202. The office will serve as headquarters for the Texas Draft Resistance Program, the Dallas Draft Resistance Committee, Dallas S.N.C.C., the Dallas Organizing Committee, and although not yet approved by the region, it will function as a regional S.D.S. office.

Plans are underway for a Texas-wide Draft Conference to be held in about a month probably in Austin. Those interested in more information on this conference should write the Dallas office.

...in Montana

Lee Smith, a former member of the University of Minnesota chapter who has taken an indefinite leave of absence from the diploma mill to work on organizing draft resistance in Montana, wishes any NLN subscribers in the state who have an interest would contact him. (3825 Seventh Avenue South, Great Falls, Montana 59401 Ph. 452-4535)

Smith and a small group of high school students have made plans to leaflet the Great Falls bus depot each time northern Montana draft boards send groups of inductees to Butte by chartered bus for physicals (they have a source for advance notice of these journeys). They have heard by rumor that a resistance group in Missoula has been leafletting the induction center in Butte, and, at this writing, Smith is preparing to travel to Missoula to hunt up these comrades.

The group is also participating in general leafletting against the war in the community's shopping center parking lots, an activity begun earlier in the year and carried on regularly by a group of older radicals from the Great Falls area.

# The Immorality of Peace

## ZENGAKUREN

### A Beginning Bibliography

reprinted from The Movement, August, 1967

by Julius Lester

Peace.

Peace.

America cries out for peace. One side says withdraw the troops from Vietnam and let there be peace. The other screams annihilate Vietnam and let there be peace. Yet, this peace, this peace that is so desirable, what is it? Is it the silence when no guns are firing? A blue sky unblemished by fighter planes? Does it come when the uniforms are put in garbage cans and carted to incinerators?

There is a phenomenon in America called the Peace Movement and its main function seems to be to mobilize thousands of people for demonstrations, pass around petitions, help the New York Times get richer by taking out full-page ads and proclaiming, with varying degrees of intellectual proficiency, that the world needs peace.

A liberal luxury

Despite the political repercussions any action stemming from the Peace Movement might have, peace as a program is apolitical and immoral in the latter half of the sixties. It is a luxury in which liberals indulge themselves and momentarily purge their feelings of impotence. They parade to the U.N. chanting "L.B.J.! L.B.J.! How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" They paint posters to read "Peace in the World or the World in Pieces." And for a while they feel better. At last they have spoken out. Unlike Nazi Germany where the average citizen turned his back when the chimneys at Auschwitz started smoking. Nuremberg set a pseudo-legal precedent whereby one was not absolved of complicity and guilt for following the orders of his government. No, this time no one will go to the gas chambers without protests being lodged. With or without protest, though, a gas chamber remains a gas chamber. The liberal may be better able to live with himself because he has spoken out, but the fact remains that a few more feet of Vietnamese soil have been turned over to receive that day's corpses. And when the demonstrators ask L.B.J. how many kids he killed today, the answer is simple. More than he did yesterday.

Yet, is it not better that there are protests than none at all? Are not marches to the U.N. and the demonstrations in front of the White House better than turning the back and refusing to see or hear? Something is not better than nothing if that something is, in essence, nothing. To act inadequately or unwisely is the same as not acting at all, except it makes one feel better to act. Unfortunately, the conscience of liberal America is no more the issue than is peace.

Powerless

The Peace Movement has now reached the point where it can be considered dangerous, because it persists in trying to increase the size of demonstrations instead of increasing its own political consciousness. It shows pictures of napalmed babies and burned villages seeking to effect the consciousness of an America that at lunchtime reads The National Enquirer, which carries photos and stories on people beheaded by subway trains and babies that were burned to death with cigarette butts by their mothers.

The civil rights movement in the early sixties made the same mistake when it sought to move the American conscience by being non-violent in the face of police and mobs. The liberal conscience was moved to absolve its guilt. The American conscience enjoyed the vicarious experience of seeing blacks beaten. It was only with the appearance of Malcolm X and the later articulation of Black Power by SNCC that the possibility of creating a broad-based, effective movement for significant change came into being. They had thought that the issue was love from white people. It wasn't. It was power for black people.

The Peace Movement fails to understand what is happening in the Third World and to relate to that motion. The liberal is concerned about peace when three-quarters of the world's people are concerned about governing their own lives, politically, economically, and socially. Once this is achieved, peace will come, for peace is only a by-product of a way of life. It cannot be imposed or bestowed. It cannot be signed into existence by heads of state and ceremony. Only in Roget's

Thesaurus is peace the opposite of war.

Resistance, not Peace

To want peace in the world is to want the continued exploitation and oppression of Africa, Asia, Latin America and blacks here. This is the main force of America's working class, and America's motion around the world is to insure that they keep working. Contrary to the common view on the left, America has been very successful in the past ten years. Africa is becoming a secure bastion of neo-colonialism. Latin America is a little shaky, but still secure. Sukarno was deposed in Indonesia, and the U.S. now has permanent bases in Thailand and South Vietnam, which may be its ultimate aim in the area.

Yet, on each continent liberation movements have begun, and it is certain that in a few years the Green Berets will be operating in Africa, as they are doing openly in Vietnam and covertly in Latin America. Then will the liberal dust off his "Hands Off Vietnam" button, paste on it the new country's name, and march forth to do nothing more than speak out?

TO BE FOR PEACE IN THIS AGE IS INDEED TO BE PRIVILEGED, BECAUSE THE THIRD WORLD IS PREPARING TO MAKE WAR. The Vietnamese don't want peace. They want their country. The same is true for the rest of the colored world. It is immoral to want peace when peace will only aid oppression.

It is doubtful, though, that the Peace Movement has the potential to develop into a resistance movement. One of the failings in the character of the American liberal has been his need for a "cause". In the thirties it was Spain and Russia. In the early sixties it was civil rights until blacks started burning down stores and yelling Black Power. Now it is Vietnam. They don't seem to realize, though, that it is their own lives that are at stake. Nero fiddled while Rome burned, and the Roman liberals ran around trying to put out the fire. The job now is to spread the flames. Instead, the Peace Movement sits in the house, waiting to be consumed, unable or unwilling to feel the heat until it will be too late.

At least they will die with clear consciences.

## NO ORDINARY CRIMINALS

by Hamish Sinclair

Hamish Sinclair was a co-founder of the Committee for Miners in 1963 and worked for two years with the miners' movement in Hazard, Kentucky. The work there is now being continued by the Southern Mountain Project of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Movement strategists and tacticians should be familiar with the "conspiracy trial." It's a favorite government tool to stop a radical movement it can no longer absorb or put to good use. It parallels the "Committee Hearing" but doesn't get the same publicity.

Conspiracy trials are easy for the government to initiate. They usually deal with planning to break a law, a useful device since it is bound to catch the leaders who are the planners. Leaders have to talk to their constituents about the plans, and that's a conspiracy in court if the plan is to break the law.

A conspiracy is frequently difficult to prove unless the prosecution has a "plant" or supporting written material to evidence the case. The prosecutor may get a conviction in a lower court on that kind of evidence. Frequently convictions are reversed in higher courts because of the dubious constitutionality of the methods cops have used to get the facts.

Conviction, however, is not the main aim of the conspiracy prosecution, which is initiated not for justice but against protest. The target is to immobilize leadership, to divert public attention from the movement's politics to its criminal nature, and to get the movement on the defensive. It

takes years of debilitating and expensive proceedings to prove innocence. The administration hopes that by that time the emergency will be over—and the movement, too.

The arrest of students during Vice-President Humphrey's visit to Berlin is a recent illustration of the usefulness of conspiracy charges. In this case the radicals do not face long trial procedures. There was no evidence to hold them beyond Humphrey's stay. But while he was in the city the students' demonstration was cancelled because they were safely in jail on charges of plotting to kill or injure the Vice-President.

The government can afford the court proceedings that radicals seldom can. Politically too, the government is much better off fighting radicals in the courts. The court is the residence of a value system that sustains the establishment. By carefully prepared tradition it is mute to fundamental political debate. On principle the separation of the three branches of government sees to that. The government's ethics form the basis of court procedure, while the ethics of the radicals are not even discussed.

The CP-USA was not prosecuted in the courts for its politics. That would have been an abridgement of the right of free speech and therefore unconstitutional in a liberal democracy. The Party had to defend itself continually from charges of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence. The substantive act seems as remote as ever, but the prospect has busied many a government pro-

secutor and Party defense lawyer.

Prosecution of Eastern Kentucky Miners

The Eastern Kentucky miners had a similar problem. Two leaders of their roving picket movement were among eight miners arrested in June, 1963 on two charges of conspiring to attempt to dynamite a railroad bridge and the substantive charge of attempting same. The arrests come to mind at this time because the miners have just made their second application to the US Supreme Court for a hearing of their appeal. The Supreme Court recently rejected their first application.

The arrests were political—occasioned by the need to end the control the pickets had won over the movement of coal from mine to market. The federal conspiracy prosecution destroyed the picket movement where all local efforts to destroy it had failed. Local efforts to neutralize the power of the pickets had included everything in the book—from dynamiting miners' homes and attempting to kill picket leaders to state injunctions on picketing, and finally to high level negotiations of the pickets with the State Labor Board, the miners' former union—the United Mineworkers of America—and the local Coal Operators' Association.

In the area, people, police, and pickets all agreed that the function of the conspiracy prosecution was finally to "get Gibson," who was the strongest and most visible asset the pickets had. Although he was one of the eight arrested, they didn't

Tom Condit

At the convention, the delegates very rightly turned down the suggestion that SDS seek fraternal affiliation with a number of foreign organizations, on the grounds that we had inadequate knowledge about them. The purpose of this short reading list is to enable SDS members to obtain information about one of those organizations, the All-Japanese Federation of Student Self-Government Associations—ZENGAKUREN for short. I have included only material in English, since that's the only language I read with any degree of fluency. To the best of my knowledge, all the material in this list is currently available from the addresses and at the prices listed.

The ZENGAKUREN Secretariat (Hirota Building, 2-10 Kandajimbocho, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo) has published a brief history, Zengakuren, 20 Years of Struggle, available for \$1 per copy. It's a little sketchy, but contains a good outline of the group's development, and some great photos of demonstrators beating up cops, etc., such as we don't see much here.

The major political influence on the group has been the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, to which many Zengakuren leaders belong. There are sporadic "international editions" of mimeographed excerpts from their weekly ZENSHINSHA (1-50, Ikebukurohighashi, Toshima-ku, Tokyo) which are in English. You might write and ask them for material currently available.

In back issues of New Left Notes there are two articles: "SDS and the Japanese New Left", by Allan Greene (Aug 19, 1966) and "Zengakuren Action", by Hitoshi Nemato (June 12, 1967).

Raya Dunayevskaya's article "The New Left in Japan" in the May 1966 issue of The Activist (27 1/2 W. College St, Oberlin Ohio 44074; 75¢) deals with impressions gained from her own speaking tour of Japan, but doesn't seem to me to offer very much information to a person without previous knowledge of the subject.

The Winter 1962 issue of New Politics (90¢ from 507 Fifth Ave, NYC 10017) included an article on "The Zengakuren", by Kenichi Koyama, in its special section on "Currents in Japanese Socialist Thought". Koyama served Zengakuren as General Secretary and later as President during the 1950's.

The two most valuable background articles I have seen have been in the English magazine International Socialism (36 Gilden road, London NW 5; 50¢ per copy). David Baker's "The Rise of the Japanese Trade Unions" (IS 23, Winter 1965/6) covers the background situation of the Japanese working class and radical movement. In IS 11 (Winter 1962) there is an article on "Marxism in Japan", by Kan-ichi Kuroda, one of the founders of the JRCL, which covers the political and theoretical factors involved in Zengakuren's evolution to its present position.

This brief reading list should provide adequate background for someone wanting to learn more about Zengakuren, and I hope that someone will do the same for other organizations with which they think we should establish relations. My own impression of Zengakuren has been overwhelmingly favorable, and I hope that it does indeed prove possible to establish a fraternal alliance with them.

get him. He along with three others, was dismissed for lack of evidence a year and a half later.

But they got something more important. The courts, the Federal Government, the railroad, and the local government of coal operators and businessmen got a reprieve from the kind of grass-roots control the pickets had won over them. The army of cops who testified for the prosecution at the trial was a tactical force deployed by the establishment to engage the miners in court. In the mountains the cops had failed to fight the pickets to a standstill. In the courts they had the advantages over the guerrilla fighters more used to mountain-mine warfare.

The Cincinnati appeal court judges said in reference to the lower court trial re-

continued on p. 7

# Bust in S.F.

Jon McKenney  
PLP, SFSC SDS

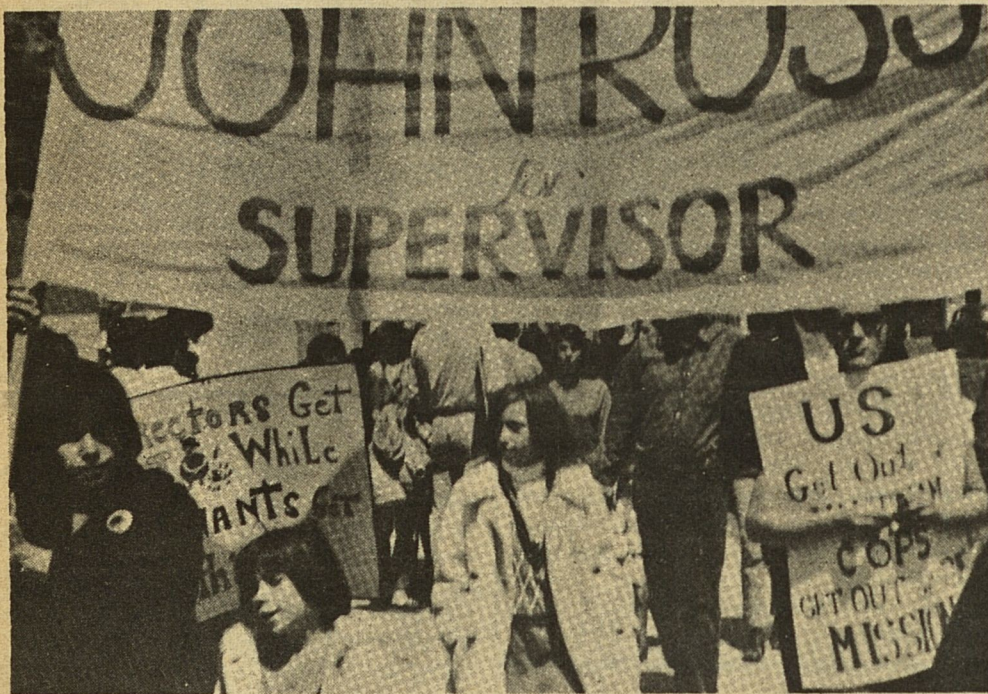
On Saturday, August 6, about an hour past midnight, about thirty cops raided a Draft Resistance Union benefit party in San Francisco's Latin American ghetto in the Inner Mission District. Firing pistols and throwing tear-gas, they arrested seven people under the false pretext of "felonious assault of a police officer", charged three others with various misdemeanors, and beat up several, among them John Ross, chairman of the militant Mission Tenants Union (MTU) and Progressive Labor Party candidate for city supervisor.

A "complaint of excessive noise" (as the cops later told the press) did not provoke the raid; the provocation was political. During the three weeks prior to this incident, John Ross and the MTU were engaged in a bitter struggle with local cops over several cases of violent police attacks against Mission District youths. Legal suit had already been filed against the cops, and the MTU had already staged several large protest demonstrations in front of the district police station. Moreover, Ross' campaign threatened to usurp the traditional prerogatives of the Mission District feudal aristocracy—cops and slumlords—for his vehement demands for rent control and a community run police control board were beginning

to grip the imagination of working people throughout the barrio. Within a few short weeks this summer we had collected over two thousand names on a rent-control petition.

The Draft Resisters' party had attracted, moreover, about fifty people who compose the leadership of San Francisco's six most militant community and student groups. Besides PLP, the MTU, and the Draft Resisters, the Black Anti-Draft Union, the Mission Committee Against the War, and nearly the entire San Francisco SDS chapter were there. The cops were evidently willing to haul in the whole load, throw a book of false charges at us, and keep us in jail or under probation long enough to break the political backs of San Francisco's radical leadership (the plan would not have worked, but they tried). Eighty percent of their intended victims slipped away before the cops could complete their round-up.

But they made the most of what they had, beat up their captives a few more times, dragged them off to jail and put two in solitary confinement. They set bail at \$80,000, which probably seemed excessive even to the corrupt political judges of this city, who later reduced it to about \$14,000. We posted a bond and got our friends back and, needless to say, our work continues.



## book review

# Galbraith's liberalism

Fred Gordon  
SDS, U. of Cal., San Diego

J. K. Galbraith seems to be the leading liberal economist in the country; he is head of A.D.A., and his new book, *The New Industrial State*, has been hailed as a magnum opus, for it strives to be a description of the whole society, of American economic structure and the effect of that structure on the quality of American life. If we can consider Galbraith the spokesman for the intelligent liberals, it is interesting how far 'left' he has come:

1) In *The New Industrial State*, Galbraith has given up the theory of 'contravailing powers'. According to this theory, which he espoused earlier and which enjoyed great popularity in liberal circles, power in America is distributed among different groups—labor, big business, and government. Now Galbraith sees that labor has lost more and more power with the onslaught of automation, and the government and big business co-operate more and more in furthering the same interests, rather than contending with one another.

2) Galbraith recognizes that the Cold War is largely maintained by an alliance between government and big business that depends upon government arms spending. He sees that the tendency of big business is to produce more surplus capital than it can use: to prevent the economy from going into a depression, the government must spend to use up this surplus. Galbraith has given up the idea which he held earlier that this spending could just as well be for public welfare and public works: spending must be in some area which does not compete with the markets of private big business. Thus armaments provide an outlet. Galbraith, however, considers armaments to be dangerous, and so suggests that this money be spent in some relatively harmless area, like competition with the Russians in space exploration.

3) Galbraith recognizes that the American economy is best described as non-competitive. It is big business that dominates the economy, and these big businesses do not compete in prices: they agree on prices. And their alliance with national government is so close that it is hard to say where the business sector ends and the government sector begins.

4) Galbraith realizes that advertising is largely a means of selling people things that they don't need, of creating demand. It does this by associating products with sexual aspirations, status, and imaginary happiness. Advertising has not only turned the countryside into an aesthetic wasteland, but has also degraded the quality of life of the whole nation.

5) Big business, which has set up great hierarchies for control and planning, managed to win the loyalty of 'the new working class' (what Galbraith calls the 'technostructure') to company ends. But working in large organizations tends to be dehumanizing. Big organizations tend to destroy an individual's sense of freedom. In fact, says Galbraith, the future of freedom under present conditions is highly problematical.

6) Galbraith realizes that the present concentration on higher education in America is not due to a humanistic revival, but that it is the result of the fact that big business needs college-educated people to man its technostructure. Obviously, under such conditions, the humanities and those subjects that strive for the enhancement of the life of the individual have been neglected.

These may seem like very wishy-washy points to the New Left. But one thing that is gratifying about it is the total mockery Galbraith makes of the economics profession in the United States. For example, Galbraith says that the reason that academic economists have not realized that the economy has ceased to be competitive is that the theoreticians in economic departments have a higher status in the economic hierarchy than the economists who are doing direct research on the economy. As a result, the theoreticians have ignored the work of their baser colleagues and so are thirty years behind the times. Another example: Galbraith sees that the whole economy is illegal by the standards of anti-trust laws. Why, then, are they ever invoked? Galbraith says that it is probably to convince liberal economists that the economy is still competitive. This, of course, is tongue-in-cheek; but it is good to see that Galbraith has at least given to the

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# Laredo: Radicals Dig In

Neal Birnbaum

Laredo is a city of 70,000 on the banks of the Rio Grande River in south Texas. According to federal government statistics it is the nation's poorest metropolitan area. Unemployment hovers around 10%, and the median income is less than \$3,000 a year; in some neighborhoods less than \$1,500. About a fifth of the city is without a sewage system, and more than one-half of the streets are unpaved. Illiteracy plagues one-sixth of the population. Annually, as many as 8,000 residents of Laredo migrate as farm workers; daily, around 4,000 Mexicans enter Laredo looking for work. This supply of cheap labor has historically served to suppress the wage scale in town.

Reformists crushed by local establishment

Although many efforts have been made at reform, they have all been successfully countered by the political and business establishment. Economic reprisal is the great and justly founded fear of all poor people in Laredo. Men who in the past spoke out against the "old party" for higher wages lost their jobs and were blacklisted. The bosses' answer to a discontented worker was and still is: "You're fired, and you'll never get a job in this town again." In the "good old days" some protestors were shot; some were jailed; some simply disappeared or fled. Today, violence is not as common as before, but economic reprisal remains.

Arising from this discontent, a reform movement to challenge the Democratic Party political machine was organized

several years ago. For a number of reasons it failed: first, it did not speak to the needs of Laredo's poor, who comprise almost 70% of the city's population; second, it aligned itself with the Republican Party which is really an appendage of the Democratic machine; third, middle-class people dominated the organization and refused to allow poor folks to participate and hold positions of leadership; finally, its campaigns dealt solely with the candidates' personalities and wholly disregarded the substantive issues. As a consequence, no meaningful movement emerged to confront the political status quo. Yet even had the middle-class reformers built an organization, the fortunes of the poor would most likely have remained unchanged. Because of its extraordinarily strong position the Laredo establishment cannot be threatened or dismantled just by electoral campaigns.

Neo-colonial reform from the top-down:  
The Texas war on poverty

For the last two years, OEO money poured into Laredo. During this time, all the expenditures were controlled by the local politicians and their business cohorts. The poor, for whom the program was designed, were completely excluded from any real participation. Then, this year an OEO directive forced representation of the poor on the War on Poverty Board of Directors; ten Neighborhood Councils were set up, and elections were held. Following the elections, the representatives moved to increase

their participation on the Board from one-third to one-half of the seats. This was successfully achieved, and presently they have effective control over the Laredo war on poverty. Moreover, these representatives can hire and fire the "expert" poverty warriors—and, in fact, more and more poor people are assuming the roles and jobs which once belonged solely to the "experts". Nevertheless, these changes have not been significant for the poor community of Laredo. The poor people associated with the War on Poverty have been coopted and gradually bought off; their function is still to flavor the OEO programs, not to direct them. The Neighborhood Councils are, rightfully, seen by the poor as appendages of the OEO apparatus; they are not viewed as independent organizations that can demand of the establishment the rights of the poor or propose the desired changes. No one speaks to the needs of the poor community; the OEO people are only interested in patronage for themselves and their personal followers. Thus, to break the stagnant status quo, we began an independent militant people's organization.

Radical insurgency from the bottom-up:  
VIDA

On February 11, 1967, in downtown Laredo, a motley group of twenty youths began an informational picket line in front of Deliganis' cafeteria. Their posters and six affidavits signed by Deliganis' employees stated that the wage in the

cafeteria was 25¢ an hour. The picketers said that they were simply protesting the injustice of such a low wage, and that they were requesting other people to boycott the restaurant until the wages were raised. They called their organization VIDA (Voices in Democratic Action), which in Spanish means life. After a week of part-time picketing, the VIDA's were joined by six of the Deliganis workers who walked out on strike. What had started as a simple protest against unjust wages became suddenly a "labor dispute" under Texas law. The students announced that they would try to raise money to support the workers; at the same time they demanded a contract with Deliganis which would at least guarantee the rehiring of the striking workers and also have a higher wage.

A series of court orders, hearings, and injunctions temporarily halted activity in front of the cafeteria; nevertheless, after the picket line was again resumed, the owners agreed to negotiate a contract. The final contract established a minimum wage of 80¢ an hour, more than three times the previous wage. Workers in Laredo saw that "it could be done". In the succeeding weeks, VIDA members were approached by workers from restaurants, hotels, motels, hospitals, department stores, and taxi cab drivers, all of whom wanted to be organized.

Halfway down the block from Deliganis Cafeteria is the Southland Cafe, another

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# Who's got the lawyer? NSA CONVENTION... Who's Afraid of the NSA?

excerpted from the Milwaukee Journal, Aug. 18, 1967

John Fuerst and Michael Grossman

The SDS chapter at La Crosse State University was denied a charter by the President of the University. So two members of the chapter, Dennis O'Keefe, an assistant professor of political science, and Michael Saxton, a student, are suing the board of regents of the nine state universities of Wisconsin, on the grounds that that action was a denial of the rights of free speech and assembly.

The hitch is that the attorney general of Wisconsin, who normally would represent the board, a state agency, has said that there was not sufficient justification for the President's action and that he "may not exercise his authority to unnecessarily limit freedom of speech or association." As a result, the board of regents decided, "We certainly would not want to have the attorney general represent us in view of some of the things he has already said."

This should have led to the deputy attorney general's defending the board. But the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union is representing SDS and financing the suit, and the deputy attorney general is a member of the WCLU board of directors. So he was out too.

Clearly, a special counsel had to be appointed. But the laws had to be bent to cover this. The attorney general's office wanted it done under a law which makes special appointment possible if the attorney general "deems it his duty to defend rather than prosecute." But since that did not strictly apply, they used a law permitting special appointment "to assist the attorney general in any action or proceeding." This one doesn't work either, since it's not a question of assistance, but that was the best they could do.

Now if they only have as hard a time with the judge....

The old corrupt NSA is dead; long live the new action NSA. They're all new, clean and pure; they went into the shower believing that there was a conservative part of the CIA and a liberal part of the CIA and they came out of the shower with plans to demonstrate against Johnson and to work for student power. Last year Ed Schwartz was NSA's Domestic Affairs Vice-President and he worried about admitting the CIA relationships because that would hurt the possibility of foundation grants and State Department friendships; now Ed Schwartz is NSA's President and he is brave enough to make radical speeches about anything under the sun. Before the 20th annual Congress met at the University of Maryland, NSA seemed bankrupt and doomed; two-thirds through the Congress NSA seems bankrupt and healthy. Everything has changed, but it all comes out the same.

### Appearance and reality

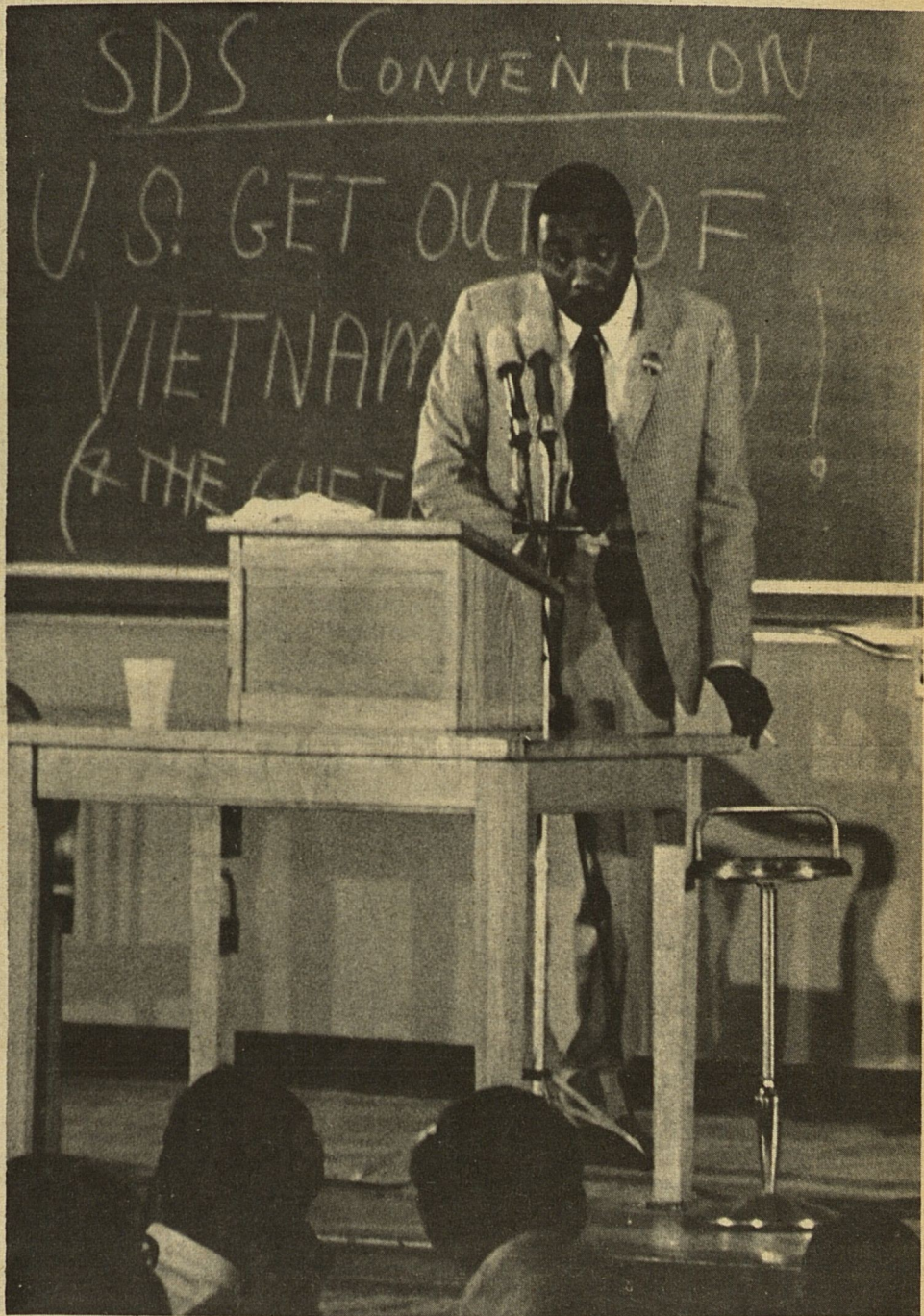
Two things of import have emerged from the Congress. The first is that American institutions can seem to be what they decidedly are not and enable everyone to take the appearance for the reality. NSA seems radical; it passed a resolution which supports black people taking "whatever means necessary" to secure their rights; it promises to lead militant student action; it talks about forming a membership union of students. NSA is even beginning to scare the folks back home. Yet beneath this is an organization composed of unrepresentative student governments, of people who go back home to a political vacuum which is also the source of their power. NSA is an elitist organization in the profoundest sense of the term. It takes political positions precisely because it is not responsible to a constituency; it gives the rank and file theatrical booking services and gets in return permission to use the rank and file's name to back up national politics. Being an elite, NSA can move to the right or left as it sees fit, but being an elite NSA can have little impact on the students it pretends to represent.

Ever since the CIA disclosures, the "house cleaning" efforts of NSA have incorporated a whole "move to the left" rhetoric, projecting an image of a new breed of leaders who are after a radical change in NSA, a new beginning, a "New Frontier." This was the image thrown back at those arguing for abolition.

However, the reality is that the same personnel are still running NSA. Chuck Hollander, NSA drug man, is a member of this "new breed." He advocated legalization of pot, and organized the NSA Drug Conference—but one finds it hard to forget who Mr. Hollander considered his constituency last February when he was quoted as saying, "it seems to me our hang-up is this: Do we serve our student constituency by telling the whole truth or please our government constituency? Man, the Government has the bread. We must stick with the bread." NSA's new President Schwartz and a good part of the NSA staff and the national officers acted equally deceptive and underhanded during the entire period of the CIA disclosures.

These are the same people running the present convention; these are the same people who six months later are spouting New Left rhetoric and programs. They now shout for "Student Power", the end of imperialism, of the war, and of the draft. Yet it is difficult to believe that they are motivated by much more than the political drive to relegitimize themselves by dissociating NSA programmatically from

Yet while some polarization of positions did take place, valuable dialogue developed, especially concerning the relevancy of NSA's new pet program—experimental colleges. These are new curriculae based on a principle of a community of learning, where students determine subject matter and professors become resource people. The NSA position is that this represents a 'revolution now' in learning; that student



Dick Gregory speaking at the SDS counter-convention

**For what's happening** in the West German and French student movements, pick up a copy of the Sept. 9 National Guardian.

**For the low-down** on the NSA, see the front page report by Carl Davidson in the Sept. 2 Guardian.

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## Trading Stamps for SNCC

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has asked support for a nationwide trading stamps drive through which it hopes to equip its Atlanta, Ga, garage. SNCC has recently been able to obtain, through redeeming such stamps, three mini-buses as well as several battery chargers, and tire-changing, wheel-balancing and other equipment which enables it to keep its cars operational.

All kinds of trading stamps can be used, SNCC says, but most helpful are S&H Green, Blue Chip, Top Value, Holden Red and Gold Bond. It asks that stamps be sent to Marin County Friends of SNCC, P. O. Box 210, Mill Valley, Ca. 94941.

If further information is desired write Al Lowry, c/o Marin Friends of SNCC, Box 210, Mill Valley, Ca. 94941.

the Establishment.

### SDS at the Convention

SDS advocates abolishing NSA, and came to the convention with a whole set of plans. We organized a counter congress with speakers who had refused to speak before NSA, published a daily newspaper which presented the SDS critique, and talked to hundreds of delegates. But all we could talk about was the potential for a future of radical campus movements and a present of hard work. We had ideas, but on most campuses represented at the Congress the ideas had not been turned into action and so assumed an image of fantasy for most delegates. Ed Schwartz's radicalism seemed more real than SDS's—in a world where reality was based on images.

The concept of publicly providing an alternative forum to the NSA symposium series in the form of a 'counter-convention,' combined with a call for disbandment, had the immediate effect of threatening people who came to the convention knowing little about NSA and less about SDS.

power is most germane to the classroom. They talked about humanism, fulfillment; they asked existential questions of great merit.

SDS, which first advocated the experimental schools four years ago (NSA just picked it up), developed its analysis through years of struggle and confrontation. The brunt of their attack was that these schools merely reinforce existing university structures; that they siphon off the most disaffected from the majority of students into isolated utopias, and further that they in no real way challenge the partnership of the multiversity with American imperialism through research, training, and recruitment.

The effect of the counter-convention efforts of the SDS contingent on the convention as a whole cannot easily be determined. Many delegates were presented with a radical analysis of America for the first time, and the NSA liberals and radicals were forced to play a game of left-wing leapfrog in reaction to it. The sentiment among the SDS people was that, while it was fruitful to have tried to communicate with the delegates there, our job was to organize students on campus and not the NSA student elite.

# The State of the Movement and How We Should Move

continued from p. 1

From the several thousand people who have come to Chicago to consider new political forms for the Movement there could spread a significant new strategy based on a realistic assessment of where we are. This strategy would ask that we find ways to strengthen financially the organizing efforts in poor communities; to train new people to organize; to service local movements with lawyers, doctors, and advocate city planners; to link different groups in a region together by newspapers, films, and radio stations of their own.

After dismantling NCNP, delegates to the "new politics" convention might well regroup themselves regionally to begin this task.

## The Limits of Electoral Action

People connected with the NCNP often say: "Electoral politics is a good way of organizing the middle-class." This may be so; let us assume for the moment that it is. But if electoral politics is *not* a good way to organize people who are *not* middle-class, then the organizer who uses elections as his principal organizing tactic will inevitably build a movement that is principally middle-class. The main reason we think the NCNP should disband is that, whatever its intentions, it is building a movement controlled by, and interesting to, people who are for the most part white and middle-class. That is not the direction we think the Movement should go. White middle-class allies are needed by the Movement but they must not control it. Electoral politics can be a helpful auxiliary tactic but should not constitute the Movement's basic strategy.

In the poor community, electoral politics cannot be the central organizing focus. Experience has shown that electoral activity in the ghetto is of two types. Typically, campaigns are single-shot efforts, dominated by the timetable of the election, run by workers whose sole objective is the electoral prize. The overriding concern is to reach as many people as possible in the shortest possible time with the simplest possible message. Emphasis falls on public relations rather than on the development of people and programs. When the single-shot campaign loses, it reinforces people's sense of their own powerlessness.

In the rarer reform campaign, years are spent preparing for election day. An organization is built which competes with the traditional parties in servicing the grievances of its constituency, and becomes known as a place that will "help." Nevertheless the goal of such a "radical Tammany" remains election success. Non-electoral activity is viewed as giving the voter something to do between elections. Power in the organization tends to lodge with the candidate, who operates at the center of the organization. Because the election objective is primary, the organization works to create support for this person rather than power for the people of the community. Thus when Vito Marcantonio died, the organization that had seven times elected him Congressman from East Harlem also died.

An election campaign in the ghetto *can* be a significant organizing tool. But we believe it must be preceded by building an organization which seeks power over the decisions of landlords, loan sharks, case workers, policemen, educators, urban developers, draft boards: men of power who do not hold elected office. The election should be seen as a further dimension to the total campaign for neighborhood control. The organizational workers should be permanent residents in the community, familiar to other residents through daily non-electoral activities, not temporary volunteers like the canvassers who flooded Marcantonio's district each election time. The idea of an electoral campaign should arise organically, when people feel that there are certain problems which they cannot solve by other methods and can perhaps solve by electing a candidate.

## The "Riots"

Across the country in the communities in which the Movement works, the Movement's core constituency is in revolt. It is essential that organizers assess and come to terms with the meaning of these revolts.

The bad effects of the revolts are obvious. Innocent people are killed. Tangible gains are small. Public leaders seeking "outside agitators" on whom to blame the problems they themselves have failed to solve, are reinforced. A tendency toward repression and militarism is strengthened.

The lives of many people in the Movement will be disrupted by prison sentences resulting directly or indirectly from the ghetto rebellion.

Nevertheless, we must unequivocally refuse to condemn the ghetto rebellion. The task of those not actively in rebellion should not be to help the government put its hands on organizers and oppressed black people, but to act as a communications link and buffer between those who rebel and the larger society. Were there no other reason for opposing a King-Spock ticket for 1968, it would be reason enough that the man who will keynote the NCNP convention has joined in stating:

Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such action. (Martin Luther King, together with Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and A. Philip Randolph, *New York Times*, July 27, 1967.)

This statement, according to the *Times* account "indirectly requested" by President Johnson, was issued the same day that H. Rapp Brown, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was arrested by the FBI on the charge of advocacy of arson and riot.

Most organizers have relatively little control over whether riots happen. The question for them is the question of the morning-after: whether from the single explosive act there can come a new base of black power. From the standpoint of the organizer anything which overcomes the sense of impotence and nurtures a consciousness of power among the most powerless, is potentially positive. The revolts do this. An organizer talks and talks with a person, and then after months of talking that person may act, choosing a way to begin to change his situation. The act is worth more than all the talking that went before it. It represents a new language that replaces the meaningless language and slogans used by the mass media and public officials. Anything that helps powerless people to produce their own symbols offers new possibilities for independent community power. The word "riot," illegitimate to the country at large, has been legitimized in the experience of many poor black people. It defines a new bargaining framework which they have made themselves.

Violence is not the only way such symbols and consciousness can arise. But reality requires us to recognize that for the foreseeable future it is a way likely to be used.

Like any other force, the consciousness released by the revolts may be put to many uses. In Newark and Detroit, hundreds of people who got a "piece of the action" were never involved in organization but are now searching for next steps. They will flock to organized activity that is directed towards gaining permanent bases of black power. They can speak with a new legitimacy within the community and beyond because of the potential power we all know they have. There exist incredible opportunities to build power out of the rebellion if organizers can find ways to reach leadership that is drawn from the snipers, the gang cats, and looters.

However, for many organizers this chance to build will be lost to whirlwind speech-making and the confusion of the recent revolts with revolution itself. The white organizer in particular needs to avoid such confusion and romanticizing. He can give concrete help to black people in the midst of revolt by documenting police brutality, and by performing other legal and investigative services. But he must not permit the existence of revolt in the black ghetto to become a substitute for his own work among whites.

The Movement must face the fact that in some of its segments the creative use of violence has been legitimized. As a result, the Movement will become more politically diverse: differences over strategy will widen. This circumstance imposes on us a delicate double task. While absolutely resisting pressures to condemn the revolts in the ghettos, we must reach out more sensitively and imaginatively to that majority of the population to whom the revolts represent the disintegration of society itself but whom repression would also offend. Within our own Movement it is essential to keep channels open, to avoid splintering, to resist turning inward and becoming haters of each other.

The ghetto rebellion constitutes a new source of power which makes possible new organizing. Despite the fierce response of the Establishment, we should not permit ourselves to be placed on the defensive. We should recognize that repression itself will bring us new allies offended by the erosion of accustomed freedoms, and that the urgent task of our Movement is to work directly with those who have rebelled.

## How We Should Move

The construction of new centers of power in the ghetto that aim toward taking control of neighborhoods remains the most important task of our Movement. We are acutely aware of the setbacks and problems which organizers using this design have faced. But we see no solution to our problems in rushing toward the familiar glamor of electoral activity.

One of the reasons electoral politics appeals to people doing community organization is that it gives them the feeling of overcoming the isolation of local projects and of relating to the "big issues." We think these objectives can be achieved by non-electoral means.

We must find a way to move beyond local projects while retaining the local project as the basic organizing instrument. We must find new forms for overcoming the intellectual and personal isolation of organizers. We must find strategies which link together different local projects and constituencies.

A new kind of organizer and a new kind of project must be supported: an organizer who reinforces existing organizers; a project the purpose of which is to serve existing projects. There is a need for city, county, and regional institutions which create an atmosphere sensitive to the needs of organizers, help them to break down their mutual isolation, encourage organizers collectively to come to grips with their problems.

A national organization of the Movement, if it is to develop at all, should arise only when several strong regional organizations feel the need for it and call it into being.

## The Long Haul

The tactical justification of the approach we have been urging is that it can help organizers to overcome present frustrations and move forward toward well-defined intermediate objectives. Unlike electoral politics, wherein furious bursts of activity alternate with morning-after let-down and organizational disintegration, the approach urged here holds hope for producing a cumulative effect and providing a rational perspective for sustained activity over a period of years.

The strategical justification of our approach is that it is consistent with the Movement's long-term goals.

The traditional route to social change in this country has been through the legislature. The Movement of the '60's is about a different strategy. The heart of this strategy is finding ways for people to participate in a week-by-week struggle for power which makes an immediate difference in the quality of life. What the Movement seeks is to make public and private decision-makers directly responsible to the citizen. Change toward this kind of society requires a central focus other than electoral activity.

We believe the purpose of government must be redefined to make possible an independent community politics. The central issue posed by a modern industrial economy is whether that economy can be democratically controlled; and this means, not so much nationalization or massive public works or an annual guaranteed income, as making resources available to communities for their own socialist experiments.

We believe this ideology of decentralization can be an idea which keeps organizers going over the long haul. We must work to define and develop that ideology, to give it a common language, and to bring America into debate about it. Politics is more than the bi-annual exercise of pulling levers for Tweedledee or Tweedledum. Politics is what it means for residents to control a neighborhood, for clients of social programs to become governors of the programs, for the purposes of institutions to be shaped by a well-defined constituency and for the employees of institutions to structure the work process. Politics, as we see it, is not only the insistence that government administrators as well as elected officials must be held responsible, but a redefinition of the "public sphere" to embrace many kinds of decisions presently made by private decision-makers.

An ideology of decentralization addresses itself to the central problems of the country. It also provides a framework for interpreting the value of local triumphs. When parents demand and win control of the local school, when citizens create and win approval for their own urban renewal programs, we should claim ideological victory. We must discover breakthroughs in power at a community, city and county level that give us the strength to begin to demand a reconstruction of the larger society, and a public platform from which to present the vision of our Movement to other Americans.



# GALBRAITH - THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE

continued from p. 4

economics profession in the U.S. the mockery and derision that it deserves.

What liberalism fails to see

Galbraith's book is, however, in a number of very basic ways, most unsatisfactory. It seems to me that he is theoretically inconsistent on some very important points, and that in other areas, he ignores important factors (such as who controls what in whose interest). Some examples of this:

1) Galbraith says that Marx is wrong: advanced capitalism has no problem of limited markets. Yet he holds at the same time that a) it is necessary for firms to advertise to create demand, and b) that the profits (economic surplus in Baran & Sweezy's terminology) that advanced capitalism produces are so great that it is necessary for the government to decrease them by spending in areas which do not compete with the markets of private business, e.g. in arms or the space race. If the markets were not limited, why would it be necessary for the government to avoid competition with private interests?

2) Galbraith says that government spending is necessary for "planning". By spending more or less, the government is able to stimulate the economy and prevent depression, or retard the economy and prevent inflation. But if the purpose of the government spending is planning and control, then why has government gone always up since WWII? This suggests that the government is spending not just to keep the economy on even keel, but because business produces more and more profits, more than it could ever invest to satisfy the demand of the people (given present wage rate). Thus government takes away from business money that the latter could not profitably invest, and gives it back for investment in production of useless products—arms and space vehicles—thus leading to corporate growth which would be impossible without government spending.

3) Galbraith says that the modern corporation is not interested in maximizing the profits. He says that this is seen by the fact that dividend payments are

not very high. Furthermore, stockowners are so dispersed that they can no longer exercise control. He sees the aims of the large industries to be growth and stability. But what Galbraith does not see is that growth is precisely in the interests of the big stock holders. Since the rich save much of their money, it is far more profitable for them to hold stock which increases in value through corporate growth than to be paid in dividends. Dividend payments are taxable for the rich at 80-90%, while capital gains—tax for increased value of stock when sold—are taxable at a maximum of 25%. Instead of drawing dividends and saving themselves, the large stockholders can enjoy far higher assets by letting the company save for them. Thus large stockholders enjoy maximum increment of assets through corporate growth at the expense of the small stock holder who, being in a low tax bracket, desires income through dividends.

4) Galbraith says that the aim of the company is not the maximization of salaries for the technostucture (administrative and scientific personnel). This is seen by the fact that salaries for the technostucture are not very high except for the highest positions. Galbraith considers these high positions to have little or no power—the real decision-making processes go on in groups lower down in the hierarchy, and interference by those at the top merely causes resentment and disruption. Why then does the company grow? The company grows because those in the technostucture, for some strange reason which Galbraith never explains, consider growth to be a good thing. It is a metaphysical end, in Galbraith's view, to be realized for its own sake, a sign of health in the corporate body. But what Galbraith does not see is that these men at the top of the corporate hierarchy are not mere figureheads. Among their responsibilities, there is the power to say who gets advanced and who doesn't. Since the salaries of the men at the top depend upon the size of the company, those who do the most for the growth of the company are promoted. The reward for service to the company is advancement, and advancement brings one closer to the big money at the top. Thus the company grows not because members believe in growth

as an end in itself, but because aiding growth serves the interests of those on top, and the reward for this is advancement toward the top for oneself. We see that the opposite of what Galbraith says is true in this case.

5) The contradictory nature of Galbraith's views and his naivete are seen in his prospects for change. He says that the reason that a corporation grows is that the members of the technostucture consider the aims of the company to be higher than their own, and the aims of the company are, for some reason not fully explained, growth and stability (or strength). Yet when Galbraith talks in the last chapter of his book about the oppressiveness of working in a large corporation, he says that most of the members of the technostucture really would prefer to do something more humanistic and interesting, e.g., go into academics. Galbraith seems to think that the nature of the American economy could be changed by talking to the members of the technostucture and convincing them that the life of liberal studies is more interesting than what they are doing. But this is naive: if they do not like what they are doing, then why do they so easily put the aims of the corporation (growth and stability) above their own? This represents a childish view of human nature. Those who set the values of the technostucture are motivated not by a fuzzy enthusiasm for corporate growth (in which case the life of academia might very well seem more attractive and the technostucture would suddenly become enlightened humanists), but because they hope to make the big time—the large salaries at the top. These men are somewhat harder to convince, in fact nothing short of revolution would convince them, that corporate growth is less interesting than humanistic studies, for contributing to corporate growth means advancement, and advancement to the top means money and power.

6) The last fault that I will take up (and there are a number of less important ones) is that Galbraith thinks that the money that is now being spent on armaments, although it cannot be diverted to spending for civilian needs, can be put into something harmless like the space race. I think that to some degree this is

true (the United States seems not to want to get into an anti-ballistic missile race with the Soviet Union). But Galbraith does not see that much arms spending is for the maintenance of the U.S.'s economic empire. Arms spending is not just to keep the economy happy, but also to maintain opportunities for business investments abroad by putting down 'wars of national liberation.' The U.S. needs an armed forces, particularly in Asia and Latin America, and will not easily be persuaded to give up its investments, which are, in Latin America, at least twice as profitable as domestic investments.

What characterizes Galbraith's new book are some welcome realizations about American life: the degrading influence of advertising, the subservience of American education to business interests, the killing of the spirit of freedom by large corporations, the fact that the Cold War is being maintained in the interests of the big corporations, and the fact that in America there is no longer an independent sphere of competitive business, but rather a military-industrial complex. The fault with Galbraith's book is that he does not understand power; and this is odd. Galbraith realizes that the Crusades were fought for land and not religion, that the Civil War was fought for capitalist control of the South and not directly to free the slaves; but when it comes to modern America, suddenly power interests disappear. Corporations are not operating for self-interest, but to enjoy the health of 'growth.' And we are in Viet Nam (see his recent speech before the A.D.A.) not for any interest, but simply because old L.B.J. made an error and doesn't want to admit that he is wrong.

In summary, this is a book to give to frightened liberals, saying to them, "Why even J.K. Galbraith sees that..."; but clearly Baran & Sweezy's Monopoly Capital gives a far more accurate account of the American economy. (Incidentally, although Galbraith mocks his liberal academic colleagues and comes to agree with many leftist critics, there is not a single reference in his index to either Baran & Sweezy or C. W. Mills, or any other scholar on the American Left. This is striking because Baran & Sweezy's Monopoly Capital covers exactly the same ground as Galbraith's book.)

## NAC minutes

8-24-67

Members present: Silbar, Tepperman, Kissinger, Rossen, Buck, McCarthy, Spiegel.

Members absent: Segal, Pardun, Davidson. Also present: Kindberg, Halliwell, Gottlieb, Rosenberg, Kindberg, Glasby, Morarty, Dunn, Levine.

Agenda: 1. Police harassment letter  
2. Incorporation  
3. Fund-raising  
4. Internal education

I. Brother Halliwell read a letter addressed to the police dept which he had written as a possible way of getting the fuzz off our backs, or if not that, as the basis for a court suit restraining the local forces of justice from being nasty to us. The letter basically outlines the harassment we have been getting, asks that it be stopped, and then threatens to do something to them if they don't stop (no violence of course). Kissinger brought up the point that in order to go to court over this, we would need massive evidence—photos of cops, badge numbers, etc. We all agreed that this was true, and spent a lovely five minutes scheming up dirty tricks that we could do to get this evidence—none of which I shall tell you (1.) to prevent early disclosure, and (2.) to save my already befuddled memory.

Brother Silbar raised a dissenting voice over the political content of the letter—that since it could not be effective as a legal document, that it should be considered as a political position and therefore be much more explicit as to the politics of the Chicago Police Dept as opposed to SDS. His argument was not considered valid, and it was the decision

of the NAC that it should be written as a legal document.

Implementation: The letter will be sent to the ACLU for consideration of content, and then sent to our local gendarmes.

II. Basically two questions here—

1. Should we make a paper corporation that would hold all of SDS's property (presses, house, etc)? The purpose would be that in case of a bust against SDS, the forces of evil would not be able to seize our equipment.

2. Should SDS itself be incorporated? The reason that this becomes a question is that the capitalistic state has again pulled a fast one. In the past, any member of an unincorporated association (which SDS is) could not be brought into any legal suit against the organization unless every other member of the organization was also brought in. This meant that it would be virtually impossible for the state to take reprisals against any member. This has now changed. The law now says that any member of the organization can be held responsible for the full penalty in a case decided against the organization. Where this would be most effective would be in a civil suit with monetary penalties, which is the usual tactic used by uncle samuel to wreak great harm upon unruly political organizations. If SDS became incorporated, no member could be held responsible for a judgment against the organization.

So...the debate began.

1. Kissinger said that perhaps it is a good idea for the membership to be held responsible. Also, if you are incor-

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porated, you are then a legal body, and as such can be legally dissolved. Also, it may be much tougher to get a conviction in an American court against an individual than against a corporation—just because judges are the way they are. So in fact, it may make it harder to get SDS if we remain unincorporated.

2. Rossen said that people whom a judgment would be brought against if we stay unincorporated would be those members who have money, and that it does not make good sense not to protect our assets. That is that those members give their money to us, and if the state takes all their money away, SDS won't get any. So it is not sensible to take that risk when we have nothing to gain by it.

The debate then raged around these two viewpoints — the decision of the NAC was that to incorporate SDS itself might take a constitutional amendment, and at

least should be an NC decision, so we should leave it until later. As to the dummy corporation, it was decided to set up one, with the board of directors being the NIC.

III. Spiegel reported that on his fund-raising trip he managed through arduous toil to amass the sum of 12,000 dollars. We all congratulated him on his arduous toil. We also decided to hold one special NAC meeting to discuss what to do with the money. That meeting will be on Sept. 7th.

IV. John Rossen suggested that the office staff hold some kind of regular meeting that would be aimed at their advancing their political education. Everyone decided that it would be a good idea.

Until next week when Bureaucratic Centralism again takes over the NO...

TPM