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PROTEST JUSTICE DEPT. INACTION KENTUCKY: A CALL TO ACTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Of 8200 children in Letcher County, Ken., three out of four are underweight and a similar percentage suffers from intestinal parasites. "I've seen children who are pot-bellied and anemic," said the County health officer; "I've seen children eat dirt out of chimneys." School conditions are abominable; some "schools" are tarpaper shacks many of which are unheated or poorly heated (one teacher explains that the stove would explode if used) and falling apart; their total enrollment often consists of a handful, but the area's governments are either too poor or uncaring to consolidate them. These children's plight exemplifies the brutal conditions throughout Southeastern Kentucky, one of the most chronically depressed areas in the country. Ten percent of the labor force (consisting largely of coal miners) is unemployed, with little chance for re-

(cont. page 16)

In early November, SDS and Friends of SNCC groups in many parts of the country held coordinated demonstrations protesting Southern officials' deprivation of Negroes' rights and interference with civil rights workers, and demanding Justice Dept. action to meet its responsibilities to these citizens under Federal law. The demonstrations, called by the U of Mich. chapters of SDS and FSNCC, demanded: (1) prosecution of officials who violate civil rights (this is provided for in Section 242 of the US Criminal Code); (2) formation of a civil rights task force separate from the FBI to insure protection

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substantive discussions to highlight N. C. meeting

SDS's National Council, composed of 17 Convention-elected members plus one representative from each chapter (two from chapters with 25+ members), will meet in New York City (probably at 218 E. 18 St.) Sat. through Tues., Dec. 28-31. We strongly urge any SDS member who will be or can be in the area to attend any part of the N.C. meeting which he is able to; the meeting is equally open to all individuals who are interested in SDS and the people in SDS. (We can provide living accommodations for anyone from outside the city; it would help if you could contact us beforehand.)

There has been a distinct effort, in drawing up the agenda, for this NC meeting, to bring much substantive discussion into it, and to decrease the amount of purely organizational discussion; this should be clear from the tentative agenda below. Thus it is doubly important that as many active and concerned SDSers as possible attend—and that those interested in, but as yet unconvinced about, SDS also come. There are too few opportunities indeed when our respective activities allow us to come together simply to exchange ideas with others from around the country with different viewpoints and experiences; in fact, this is one of the vital political and community-developing functions which a national organization can perform. So do attend.

The tentative agenda follows (topics in quotes are in a panel/discussion format):
Sat: President's address; "US radical political action: its character and direction"
Sun: "Who is our constituency?"; "Critical assessment of SDS since Port Huron"
Mon: continuation of "Assessment"; "Goals for the organization in a year"
Tues: Project reports; consideration of Resolution Comm. (meets Mon. night) report

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

by Todd Gitlin

The difficulty in writing a President's Report, however brief, about SDS is that we are an organism as well as an organization, and as such not easy to describe at any juncture in terms of numbers, places, realms of paper mimeographed or pieces of literature distributed. That is, an adequate report of where we are and where we are moving is more properly the province of the December National Council meeting, at which chapter views and moods can be exchanged and out of them a more thorough sketch constructed, than a thousand or so words emanating from Ann Arbor. Still, I want to say a few things about our state as it looks from here.

We are growing. We are becoming known in the liberal and radical communities as a repository of some of the most creative social and strategic thinking on the student scene, if not in the country generally. By no means should we defer activities for an orgy of self-congratulation, but I think we can be proud of this place. Nonetheless, too often the organization is identified solely with its leadership, and we are hard pressed to explain exactly what we do: not our conception of the student movement, not a scheme for social change, not an ideology of participatory democracy, not a group of intellectuals gifted with the perception that certain social issues connect with one another, but what activities, present and projected, are specifically and uniquely those of SDS. In other words, who we are is better known than what we do; and this is true within as well as outside our membership.

The problem is both local and national, but in different ways. Nationally, we have embedded in a fairly extensive set of papers--now being augmented, but not quickly enough--and at least one relatively well-financed project, the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), at least a sketch for a program of action. The difficulty is that the program often seems illusory, a nice armchair strategy but one difficult for chapters to apply to the communities where they are. The issues that ERAP arose to grapple with--unemployment, automation, economic archaisms, the corporate economy--are only with difficulty susceptible of action in the locality. But the action focus of SDS is and must be

the campus chapter as long as the first "S" remains in our name; and the emphasis in America and the New Era on "local insurgency" based on issues of local importance supplies a purposefulness to seemingly disparate forms of local activity that they would otherwise lack. But that purposefulness lies "in the long run", or so we say; presumably, at some point in the future the fruits of scattered insurgencies will be melted into a common political force with common objectives. Now: I do not believe we can ask much more than this, considering how new in post-war America is the strategy of social change through community work; but we at least ought to be considering the political forms we would like our insurgencies to be taking, with the 1964 elections as our most immediate cause for concern.

I wrote "social change through community work"; this is quite new even for SDS. The clear trend in the leftward student movement over the past two or three years has been, paradoxically, its departure from the campus. SNCC is the extreme case, but NSM is not far behind, and while SDS lags in this trend it would seem to be more for financial than for motivational reasons. The coming of the test ban and burgeoning of the civil rights movement seem virtually to have halted the old "peace education through demonstration" efforts that enlivened campuses in recent years. And despite our co-sponsorship (with the Student Peace Union) of October's series of demonstrations over American policy in South Vietnam, the old peace issues are not playing at all a significant part in our deliberations or activities. Neither does university reform seem a burning issue on campuses; and the heroic efforts of Nada Chandler at our University of Rhode Island chapter to compile theoretical outlooks and useful case studies of university reform efforts may very well demonstrate that, for the foreseeable future, the eyes of at least many of our members will be turned outward. This is by no means to discourage those members and chapters for whom the issue is still flaming; where the assertion of power in the larger world is best approached through efforts on the campus, well and good; but increasingly, I think, our members are

(cont. bottom next page)

CHAPTER REPORTS

(More chapter reports will be found in the Americus report starting on page one.)

VOICE (U of Michigan)

by Barbara Steinberg

One of the most exciting new things to happen to VOICE in a long time is our current "project" (a very unstructured one) to evaluate and use "cultural" means of making people aware of what's wrong with their world and offering what solutions we have. Our newsletter, "The Campus VOICE", will now publish (in addition to the usual articles on current projects and issues) poems (this month's by Todd Gitlin and "Timeshenko Markovitch" (who we think is Bob Martin) and stories and articles that approach political concerns rather obliquely. Various VOICE people have written ar-

ticles and evaluations of new methods to reach "that 10% who'd be with us if they knew and understood better". We'll be glad to send along copies of these to anyone who wants them; just write VOICE, Student Activities Bldg, U of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Our film festival will continue through this semester and probably next also. We try to tie the week's films (Dec. 5--civil rights) in with the activities of the VOICE committee in that area. There's always a discussion afterwards. At the suggestion of SDS Field Secretary Steve Max, we're sending information and catalogues to SDS chapters all over the country in hopes of getting programs started on other campuses.

We've also continued a day-to-day program: (cont. next page)

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

"leaping a historical stage" straight into activity "in the world", or close contemplation of such. This is no monolithic trend; there is very little monolithic about us. But it seems real nonetheless.

The attempt to organize around issues that concern us--primarily racial and economic--is crucial, both for its own sake and for the invaluable training it provides. ERAP's sponsorship of Joe Chabot's work in Chicago, organizing white and black unemployed around the issue of jobs, will hopefully be a model for similar work elsewhere. The hope is that a new variety of "radical vocation", of off-campus work, will be created: one that requires full-time dedication similar to that of SNCC field secretaries, yet one in which students can participate, if less actively, while still regarding the campus as their (temporary) home. Another problem becomes clear: how to do real work outside the campus while maintaining educational and programmatic liaison with the campus. Perhaps the model of the Swarthmore chapter can be applied elsewhere: campus seminars on issues involved in outside activity. For the tension between action and education seems to have heightened. As the social scene becomes more fluid, and action more possible, obstacles appear more dramatically than in the days when radical inquiry in itself was a rare departure from the frightened norms of student be-

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havior. Automation is fairly easy to conceptualize, hard as hell to build program around. Likewise unemployment. Yet once we begin to act, however tentatively and experimentally, on these and similar issues, we encounter the need for quite hard-headed research and strategic thinking, so that pressure points may be located, specific demands formulated, and local action programs co-ordinated.

The dialogue that ought to be arising around these problems is slow in coming. Desperately inadequate finances strain the National Office and hamper the peripatetic activities of the National Staff at the same time that a sharing of experiences and thoughts is imperative. Events erupt quickly--the coup in Vietnam, rent strikes in Harlem, the assassination--and our communications are inadequate. I have hopes that the office may be at least at the level of economic subsistence, if not affluence, within three months or so; but this is far from certain. One immediate imperative, then, as I see it, is attendance as widespread as possible at the December meeting of the National Council in New York City. The agenda will be structured to allow maximum time for discussion of the ways in which issues of substance impinge upon organizational priorities. I want to close these unfinished thoughts, then, by urging you all to attend the N.C. meeting. As President Johnson said: "Let us continue...."

CHAPTER REPORTS cont

Oct. 22: Malcolm X of the Black Muslims was brought to campus by VOICE and the Michigan Union. He met with campus and community leaders afterwards for questions. Only about 2000 people heard him speak. (1500 more had to be turned away), but his appearance caused discussion on campus and letters in The Michigan Daily for weeks afterward.

Oct. 28: At our membership meeting we discussed the need for a university reform project at UM, and a project to bring films and discussion into the dormitories in some way in order to try to overcome the apathy existent among the vast majority of the 27,500 UM students. Any suggestions or experiences other chapters have had here would be very much appreciated.

Nov. 6: We co-sponsored, with the Office of Religious Affairs, Rev. Malcolm Boyd (Episcopal Chaplain of Wayne State U.), who's called "The Espresso Priest"--in a program entitled "Readings on Race". Rev. Boyd, who was one of the first freedom riders, read from works by South African author Alan Paton, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and others--as well as some of his own plays--and added commentaries on his own experience in the civil rights movement.

Nov. 9: VOICE members spent the afternoon working with the Ann Arbor Dem. Party in a precinct which is 95% Negro and has a very low voting record. The canvassing resulted in 150 people who were unregistered but said they were Democrats. On December the City Hall is being kept open at night for those who cannot register during the day. We are providing transportation and babysitters in an effort to get these people registered.

Nov 10: VOICE and Ann Arbor Women for Peace co-sponsored a program on "Vietnam: Issues and Answers". Speakers were Profs. Anatole Rapoport and Adrian Jaffe. It was an off-campus, community event and was received very well.

Nov. 18: Gov. Ross Barnett spoke here. Over 4000 people crowded in to hear him. VOICE (unofficially) worked with Friends of NICC; we passed out a fact sheet on Barnett which asked people to join with us in a "Freedom Section"--we displayed signs before and after the speech (which was continuously interrupted by heckling from another group in the hall) and stood up to sing "We Shall Overcome" at the end --and were spontaneously joined by some people scattered about the auditorium.

TEMPLE U.

by Bob Kernish

We've found that a good way to get involvement is to set up a table at a central spot on campus and sell postcards for people to use in protesting; have sample messages and literature on the table. Response to the Americas demonstration, using this method, was excellent.

The U. of Pennsylvania is holding a Civil Rights forum ranging from Jackie Robinson to NSM's Peter Countryman, and Temple will be holding something similar under the auspices of Student Council's Civil Rights Committee. However, the main concern among activists here is Philly CORE, a live-wire militant organization.

CCNY

by Shelley Blum

The SDS chapter at CCNY is functioning, but a major difficulty is obtaining a valid part of the protest market since City has one of every flavor of political clubs. SDS members are involved in many of the projects of other clubs, though not in any large degree. At the moment the two outstanding activities are the CORE housing project and the Marxist Discussion Club (MDS) FBI furor.

The CORE people at CCNY are involved in an NSM-type housing organization in the West Harlem area near the College. The MDC has been publicizing FBI access to the student files and FBI plants in radical clubs. MDC forced the administration to investigate itself, and since CCNY has a new Dean of Students, it looks good. The FBI has even attempted to blackmail a foreign student into informing, holding loss of his visa over his head.

SDS qua SDS is perhaps less interesting. Working on university reform as a start, because of the new Dean, we have started a grievance committee. At City there are several people responsible for one or another aspect of the College's functioning (e.g. buildings and grounds, and the cafeteria) who refuse to talk to students; we are trying to have the Dean bring pressure to bear. We are also tackling the library; but librarians being what they are, we are not confident of getting results with any tactics short of guerilla warfare. The chapter has been conducting a successful seminar with Ray Brown, a Doctoral candidate at the New School for Social Research.

CHAPTER REPORT cont

U of RHODE ISLAND

by Nada Chandler

Membership in the URI chapter has grown considerably lately and now totals 33. Each member serves on at least one of the group's six committees: Peace, Political Action, University Reform, Labor and the Economy, Anti-Reaction, and Civil Liberties. Where other organizations exist, these committees work with them--e.g. two SDS members are on the Executive Comm. of the local ACLU; the state representative and 10 members of the Young Dems are in SDS; and the peace committee works with a faculty group, The Community Program for Peace.

At the last meeting, the group endorsed an "Operation Bootstrap" project of the local NAACP for Negro families in the community. SDS members are in charge of the project and SDS will lend its full support to whatever the project entails. Several members of the chapter visited the New England headquarters of the CNVA and spent a worthwhile day in discussion of civil rights as well as peace. Plans are under way for a "Ghandi Ball" to be held on the same night as the ROTC dance. In addition, a literature table on peace issues is being prepared.

The first issue of a monthly chapter newsletter has been sent out and should serve as a means of communication within the group. A seminar series is being planned to discuss issues in depth. Proposed seminar leaders include Eric Weinberger of the CNVA, Tom Cornell of the Catholic Worker (who will be speaking here before a larger campus group), Larry Spitz from the local Steelworkers Union, and members of the faculty. This program will be informal and will provide an excellent forum for the membership.

SDS members are active in other campus groups as well. Two members have been appointed to serve on a committee that is revising the campus judicial system. One member of the chapter will write a weekly column for the paper entitled "On the Left". In addition, plans are being made for a protest against a full-scale civil defense program, which started with the construction of air-raid sirens

U of LOUISVILLE

by Jim Williams

Students for Social Action is a newly formed SDS affiliated group at the U of Louisville. We have presented our constitution to the Student Senate, and we are going by the rules in the catalogue ("normal procedure"): we must ask the Dean to allow us to ask the Student Senate Exec. Comm. to allow us to ask the Student Senate if we may ask the Dean if we may petition the Board of Trustees for permission to be a campus group. (Honest!) The U's Exec. V-P (known for his action in throwing Dr. Georg Edwards and me off campus during last Oct's Cuban crisis for distributing leaflets) was overheard in a conversation as referring to our group as "Communist dominated".

SSA has established formal relations with the 31-man Quaker group on campus and will probably be working with them on many things. We've been active in the peace educational series of the Louisville Peace Council, whose Sunday meetings have averaged about 65. Representatives from our group joined with some GI's on Veteran's Day in picketing the segregated service clubs in Louisville and demanding that they be integrated; two "separate-but-equal" clubs are maintained. 50 attended a talk I gave to the Intern'l Relations Club on Revolutions and the Cold War. I drew heavily on Lens's pamphlet, the Port Huron Statement, America and the New Era, and Swezey's "Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy".

Our plans (still tentative) include the publication of a fairly regular newsletter, and perhaps some pamphlets pertaining to University conditions. A student has just written a paper on "Segregation at the U. of Louisville" and we hope to prevail upon him to let us publish it.

HUNTER (BRONX)

by Mark Scher

Much of the chapter's activity continues to be devoted to the tutorial project in a Negro/Puerto Rican section of the Bronx. Currently, 25 tutors are tutoring about 50 Negroes, and more tutors are being sought. Because of continued Administration foot-dragging over granting the chapter official status, the possibility of conspicuous civil disobedience (e.g. holding a public but unauthorized meeting on campus) is being weighed.

CHAPTER REPORTS cont

BOSTON AREA

WAYNE STATE U.

by Peter Werbe

A Detroit SDSer goes on trial December 4 for civil disobedience in a bank practicing discrimination in loans and hiring. The bank is being picketed by the local NAACP. Plans for next term include an investigation of the Detroit Public School system and the power structure of the Board of Education with an eye to the '64 elections. Also, further work with the "Unemployed Council", a group of local people (ACLU, UAW, other labor groups) who would like to see political action concerning the unemployed in Detroit.

WILSON C

by Alison Raphael

Although the Wilson chapter recently voted to devote its energies as an organization to study and discussion of the issues around which SDS policy is formed, individual members are involved in action in various groups. Many are active in the civil rights group, headed by SDSer Mary Berliner; the group collected \$160 for SNCC by conducting work projects and a poll-tax. SDSers are working with some Negroes in Chambersburg to start a CORE chapter, a prime organizing issue being protest of housing conditions. If possible, we want to work with high school Negroes to take a survey of housing conditions which will be used in the protest.

We are also beginning plans for organizing the College employees. Mary McGroarty has contacted one man who says there is much dissatisfaction among the employees about working conditions and who feels organization might be possible.

Sociology prof. and SDS member Nancy Jo Barton is working with Elaine Norton, Alison Raphael, and others on a survey of attitudes and behavior on moral and sexual questions. The survey will be followed by a seminar examining the reasons for the attitudes and behavior and how they relate to the social system.

SDS people are involved in the usual fights with the College Administration concerning such questions as extension of library hours and a change of the rather archaic social honor code. We hope to put out our Newsletter, "Comment", between Thanksgiving and Christmas.

by Mike Appleby

A series of four readings and discussions have been held on the general topic of "The Nature of Social Change in America". The first two meetings dealt with the Civil Rights movement in the North and the South; the latter two were "Poverty and Injustice: Background to Social Change" and "Revolution and Cold War". The attendance has averaged 35 and has drawn from a wide variety of schools in the Boston area. Current plans are for the development of a community social/economic research project to begin at the outset of the second semester. The project is in its early stages of formulation, and will probably deal with problems of automation and employment, and/or problems in the racial ghetto. Hopefully, it will be ready for presentation at an area-wide conference on "The Student Role in Social Action" to be held in early February. New chapters have been formed or are being organized at Northeastern, Tufts, and Boston Universities.

VASSAR C.

by Nancy Jervis

The activities of Vassar SDS have largely centered around the area of civil rights; we have been working mainly with the Civil Rights Committee. About 25 students spent election day collecting a voluntary poll tax for SNCC in the Poughkeepsie area; \$122 was collected. The Civil Rights Comm. also sponsored an informal meeting on the Vassar campus to which students from nearby colleges were invited. The meeting had two highlights--an excellent speech by Tim Jenkins (a SNCC founder now at Yale Law School) about the Mississippi Negro's conditions of life, and the informality of the talks. The guest speakers--including people from SNCC, ADA, SDS, and NSM--took this opportunity to "infiltrate" Vassar, discussing civil rights and other issues on an individual basis. This kind of meeting--packing in as much content as possible--seemed to be particularly suited to our campus, where it takes much effort to collect a decent-sized audience.

SDS organizational activities have been virtually non-existent for the past month or so. Since a primary need is self-education, we will probably attempt to set up some kind of a study group for the next semester.

SNCC HEAD PREDICTS SPLIT

In an interview with the Collegiate Press Service, John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, predicted a split in the civil rights movement in the near future between SNCC, CORE, and the militant groups on one hand, and conservative organizations such as the NAACP on the other. "All the groups will always be united in purpose and goals," he said. "The split will be over techniques...and [will] harm the movement only temporarily if at all."

He also reported a feeling of resentment within SNCC towards the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., for spending too much time on speaking tours in the North rather than engaging in the day-to-day activities in the South, and also for his having stepped in on several occasions to take credit for leading demonstrations which had been planned and led by others, "and then leav-ing them alone to face the police. You must stay and work with them [the people]." Lewis acknowledged King as a great leader of the people: "The people all follow him. But they are beginning to know who is really doing the work down there." Discussing King's refusal to call for demonstrations in Southern cities after the Birmingham church bombing, another move resented by SNCC workers, Lewis said, "I think that he is afraid they will lead to violence now. However, SNCC...will be concentrating...on voter registration drives in Alabama and Mississippi in the coming year...[We don't] plan on calling demonstrations of [our] own."

Lewis, whose speech at the August 28 March on Washington Rally was censored to cut out passages highly critical on the Kennedy Administration and its civil rights bill, said that the March was "a huge irrelevancy...It was very respectable and fashionable, and everyone went home feeling he'd done his part for civil rights." He expressed a fear that passage of the current, watered-down version of the civil rights bill would convince everyone that enough had been done but still offer no protection to SNCC workers and Negroes in the South against police brutality. "As white brutality continues...it is getting harder...to keep a non-violent attitude... This mood /of potential and imminent violence/ was evident in Birmingham after the funeral of the children who were killed in church." The SNCC Chairman agreed with King's statement that unless significant changes are made in the South by summer widespread violence is likely there.

Lewis said he was disturbed by general apathy among whites and Negroes, both North and South, "especially northern Negro students."

literature available

FROM SDS

A Fabian Program for America, by Daniel Friedenberg; reprint from Dissent
Bibliography on the American Economy, by Lee Webb
Cybernetics, the Silent Conquest, by Donald Michael
Consumers of Abundance, by Gerard Piel
Working Papers from the Nyack Conference on Unemployment and Social Change
The Negro freedom movement--a syllabus for study
Toward a Quaker View of Sex (progressive views on non-marital sexuality and homosexuality and morality generally) and Is the Problem Really Sex? (a view on the relationship between sex and physical touch)
The New Folklore of Capitalism, reprints from David Bazelon and Bernard Nossiter on the myth of "people's capitalism" and other bits of "folklore".

FROM ELSEWHERE

A must reading for understanding the "affluent" American economy is Michael Harrington's The Other America, now available in Penguin paperback for 95¢.

Available from SNCC (156 5 Ave, NYC 10) are:
* a basic brochure on SNCC, done very attractively and very well. Free.
* a brief story of The Movement in Danville, Va., with excellent photos. Can be obtained free, though contributions are greatly appreciated.

The 1964 Peace Calendar of the War Resisters League is devoted to the stories of 53 organizations and movements which have been "inspired by the American vision of justice, freedom, and peace for all." The calendar's cover is the official poster of the March on Washington. This attractive and informational--and functional--desk calendar is available for \$1½ (\$7/5) from WRL, 5 Beekman St., NYC, NY 10038.

LBJ'S VOTING RECORD | RETRACTION

(Ed. note: We hope to have ready for the January Bulletin a more extensive examination of the past record of President Lyndon Johnson, who remains an unknown quantity to many of us. For now, the following compilation of Johnson's voting record while a member of the House (1937-48) and the Senate (1948-60) will have to suffice. A summary of material appearing in the 11/29/63 issue of Congressional Quarterly, it is prepared by SDS Vice-Pres. Paul Booth.)

Agriculture: Voted consistently for strong price-support legislation.

Labor: Supported labor in 1959 and 1960 on the minimum wage and against the Landrum-Griffin Act. Prior to that time he voted to weaken minimum wage proposals, and to pass the Taft-Hartley Act over Truman's veto, and to retain its anti-communist provisions. He also voted against strengthening unemployment compensation in 1954 and 1958. In the 1952 steel strike, he voted to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act.

Welfare: Voted for liberalized social security on three occasions.

Domestic Aid: Voted consistently for such programs.

Education: Voted for federal aid six times, while opposing the 1958 public school construction bill.

Housing: Voted to reduce federal housing and urban renewal programs on 4 of 8 occasions.

Public Works: Voted for public power and works 7 of 9 times, voting against the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1952 and 1954.

Cloture: Voted against tightening the filibuster rule or invoking cloture 4 of 4 times.

Civil Rights: Voted to weaken 1957 civil rights bill (twice) and 1960 c.r. bill (twice); voted for both bills. And voted to pass McCarran-Walter Immigration Act over Truman veto.

Civil Liberties: Voted three times to limit the effect of Supreme Court decisions and against the bill to remove NDEA loyalty oath.

Statehood: Voted against Alaska in 1952, but for Home Rule, and later for Alaska and Hawaii.

Foreign Aid: Voted for Eisenhower policies in Formosa and Middle East, for the Bricker Amendment, for Antarctic disarmament, Voted against Congressional reservations to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

On p. 5 of the November Bulletin, an article appeared headlined "Cal. Y.D.'s Take Liberal Stands", the last paragraph of which could have been interpreted to indicate that extreme Right-wing elements had taken over the National Young Republicans. There was no intention to imply or state this; rather, the paragraph was meant to apply only to the California YRs. The Bulletin apologizes to the Young Republican National Federation for any error (the YRNF called this to my attention). Don McKelvey

SPEAKER BAN AT U.WIS.

(CPS) A bill designed to "spell out" to University students the Board of Regents' authority to ban speakers and groups from campus was introduced into the Wisconsin State legislature in early November, and quickly and unanimously passed the Rules Committee and was introduced into the Assembly. The bill is patterned after one passed by the Ohio legislature in October. It holds that the Regents have the authority to "withhold use of the facilities of the University for meetings or speaking purposes from persons who are members of the Communist Party, persons who advocate or persons who hold membership in or support organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States and its free institutions by force or violence, or whose presence is not conducive to high ethical and moral standards or the primary educational purposes and orderly conduct of the institution" (emphasis added).

Voted for aid to Yugoslavia and Poland in 1958 and 1959, and against it in 1956.

Defense: Voted all four times for the draft, and all 7 times for increases in defensespending.

Taxes: Voted to make the personal income tax more progressive in 1954, but missed the vote on the corporate tax. Voted for repeal of margarine and telephone excises but against repeal of the transportation excise. Voted twice against tax cuts and twice against heavier taxing of the old industry, and three times against taxation of dividends and interest.

Federal control: Voted against federal regulation of oil and gas (four times) and of billboards.

General government: Voted to condemn McCarthy, against Cabinet appointment for Lewis Strauss, and for 1960 federal pay increase.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM VOTE A SUCCESS

Termed by SNCC Chairman John Lewis "one of the most significant events of the civil rights movement" and by Bob Moses "a political breakthrough in Mississippi", the "mock election" conducted by Mississippi civil rights organizations on Nov. 2-4 was highly successful. While "only" about 80,000 Negroes cast ballots (200,000 had been called for and predicted), the seriousness with which the white power structure took the effort was indicated by the brutality with which they tried to suppress the Freedom Vote Campaign. Campaign workers were shot at, beaten by police and others, arrested on trumped-up charges, fined, and generally harassed. Where polling places (churches, stores, etc.) were closed thru intimidation, "votemobiles" were used to travel around to pick up votes. Whenever these were halted and ballots confiscated, the Campaign went underground and Negroes were encouraged to mail votes or balloting was held secretly.

The Campaign was the first state-wide project conducted by the Council of Federated Organizations, a co-ordinating group consisting of SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and NAACP and headed by Bob Moses. The 80,000 turnout equalled the difference between the major party candidates (the Republican was the first of his party since Reconstruction to run for Governor) in the "real" election on Nov. 5, and COFO workers believe that the 200,000 goal would have been exceeded had the harassment not been so severe and had there not been a news blackout by local papers and the national wire services. Nonetheless, the turnout was quite impressive, considering the general conditions of fear and terror in Mississippi and the fact that this was the first participation in the electoral process for a large percentage of the voters--and a flagrant protest against voting discrimination as well. The Campaign showed clearly that there is a definite desire on the part of Negroes to vote, if only they were allowed to register.

Among the Campaign workers were a good number of northern students, including especially some from Yale and Stanford. They, of course, were harassed along with the rest; some were "run out of the State".

The team of Aaron Henry (Negro pharmacist

ERAP BROCHURE READY

Available from SDS's Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) is its basic, introductory brochure; for as many copies as you would like to receive, write: ERAP, 510 E. William, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

CENSORSHIP AT TUFTS

(CPS) When the Thanksgiving issue of the Tuftonian, campus literary magazine for Tufts U. in Medford, Mass., included one poem using two clinical terms referring to sexual activities and sexual organs, pressure was successfully exerted by the Tufts Administration to have the poem deleted. The University's Director of Publications (the Tuftonian's acting advisor) strongly advised the magazine editor against the publication of the poem, on the grounds of "propriety and discretion" and because publication would elicit strong protest from the Tufts trustees and faculty. In addition, the Dean of Students, though denying that the poem was actually censored, told the editor that the role of the magazine was being seriously questioned, and advised the poem's withdrawal. The Dean, however, refused to say that the poem could be printed. The Tuftonian staff is demanding a clarification by the Administration of the latter's conception of the magazine's role and function.

collegiate press service

The Collegiate Press Service (CPS) is the main arm of the US Student Press Ass'n, which was set up at the 1962 National Student Congress. USSPA is autonomous but closely related to NSA, and shares NSA's offices in a house at 3457 Chestnut, Phila, Pa. 19104. Stories marked CPS are written from CPS releases but CPS is not to be held culpable for stylistic aberrations.

and State NAACP leader; candidate for Governor) and Rev. Edwin King (white Dean of Tougaloo C.; candidate for Lt. Gov.) ran on a platform which included not only the guarantee of voting rights and desegregation of all public accommodations, but also improvement of school conditions and a \$1.25 minimum wage. This tying together of these issues was, to say the least, unusual in a Mississippi election.

In 1890 there were almost 200,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi; two years later the figure was 8600. As of 1954, Negroes, though comprising 48% of the citizenry of Mississippi, made up only 5% of the registered electorate (22,000 voters of 450,000).

RIGHTS GROUP FILES STOLEN (legally)

On October 4 the offices and homes of three New Orleans leaders of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) were raided by 100 city and state officials. Those arrested were Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF's Executive Director; Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF Treasurer and ACLU counsel in Louisiana; and Bruce C. Waltzer, Smith's law partner. In addition, SCEF files and mailing lists were removed from Dombrowski's home and the New Orleans SCEF headquarters. SCEF is an educational organization working for civil rights; its President is Fred Shuttlesworth, Secretary of M.L. King, Jr.'s S.C.L.C.

The action was taken on a complaint by the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, which charged that SCEF is a "well-known Communist Front Organization". The three were charged with managing a "subversive organization" and "distributing and storing Communist propaganda", each charge being punishable by a \$10,000 fine and/or a long jail term at hard labor.

The arrests and confiscation grew out of a TV statement by Alabama's Governor George Wallace, who charged SCEF with "racial agitation" in Alabama. (SCEF recently held an inter-racial conference in Montgomery, the first such meeting in Alabama for 25 years.) The raid was not co-ordinated with the FBI for fear that Attorney-General Robert Kennedy would be told and in turn "would tell his friend Martin Luther King", according to the Joint Committee's counsel.

The charges were dismissed three weeks later on the grounds of "no probable cause" shown for the warrants' issuance. But at that time the SCEF records could not be returned to SCEF because they had been subpoenaed by Miss. Senator James Eastland for use by his Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the subpoena having been issued the night of the raid. An injunction forbidding use of the records by Eastland or any of the Louisiana officials was declared moot when it was discovered that the records were not in the state. At this Dombrowski and SCEF filed suit for \$500,000 against Eastland, the La. Joint Committee Chairman, the City of New Orleans, Louisiana State Police officials, and others involved in the affair. Also filed was a motion calling for an injunction against use of the files by Eastland and the others "in any way whatsoever" and for their return to SCEF.

As of this time, with the case tied up in the courts, while SCEF will probably get their records eventually returned, the damage has been done: Eastland and Co. have the list of SCEF people for use in future intimidations.

The information for this article is taken from a report on the case by the Student Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Comm.; the full report—which includes an informative background on SCEF—can be obtained from: SCLCC, Box 4938, Washington, D.C. 20008.)

WSP PUBLISHES BOOKLET

An invaluable brief reference work for any peace-nik's library is a booklet published by Washington DC Women Strike for Peace's Disarmament Committee, entitled "The Story of Disarmament: 1945-63". Devoted primarily to summaries of negotiations and proposals relating to disarmament and attaining a nuclear test ban, including the full texts of the latest proposed treaties for general and complete disarmament suggested by the US and the USSR, the work also has a few pages of information on WSP, how to be an effective peace advocate, why to be for peace, etc.

The pamphlet is concerned, I think, with two main things: First, to give as objective as possible a report and summary (and, to a certain extent, analysis) of the history of disarmament efforts since World War II. The second objective is to clarify for American readers some of the causes of Soviet past and present actions in this area. To this end, there is more analysis and explanation and, in a sense, "justification" of Soviet actions than of American actions. I consider this emphasis (a not unreasonably proportioned one) to be good and correct, especially inasmuch as one of a peace advocate's main tasks is to deal with the question, "How about the Russians?"

"The Story of Disarmament" is available for \$1 (lower prices for quantities above 25) from WSP, 1822 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

further reading suggestions

from Clark Kissinger of the U. of Wisconsin.
Beginning #11/30 of Peace News: a 2-part article on C. Wright Mills
In October 1963 ADA World: article by ADA Chairman J. Roche on Kennedy and Liberalism

STUDENTS, FACULTY UNSEAT COLLEGE PRES.

(CPS) As the culmination of over six months of controversy, demonstrations, and string-pulling, R. Bowen Hardesty, President of Frostberg (Md.) State C. has taken an "indefinite" sick leave as of mid-November. He had essentially been forced from office by student and faculty protest against his interference in student affairs and academic freedom.

Hardesty, President of Frostberg St. C. since 1954, apparently was unable to cope with the radically changed student body and faculty resulting from Frostberg's being converted from a small (500) 2-year teacher's college populated mostly by rural western Marylanders to a larger (1050) four-year liberal arts college meant to take pressure off the main campus of the U. of Maryland (near Washington) and therefore attracting more students from urban areas and faculty from large east coast schools. The change occurred in 1960.

Among the latter were four English professors who were sneakered and bearded, held progressive views of literature, discussed avant garde poetry and controversial books, held off-campus discussions in Frostberg "cafes", and were lionized by students. These four were the first nub of conflict, for last Spring they were summarily fired by President Hardesty, whose own views were more conservative (he called their lectures on Tropic of Cancer "immature"). In reaction, students hung Hardesty in effigy, and he retaliated by putting 30 of the student leaders on probation, and over the summer pressure was brought to bear on them and the entire student body so that students felt that the administration was trying to dictate attitudes and values to them and to restrict their actions severe-

Wash. Summer Seminar

From July 1 to August 23, 1964, the Washington Friends Seminar Program, closely associated with the Friends Comm. on National Legislation, will sponsor, for college juniors and seniors and graduate students, a Seminar on "Congress and American Foreign Policy". Limited to 15 members and costing \$150 for room, board, and tuition, the Seminar will include formal and informal contacts with members of Congress, their legislative assistants, and Administration and Embassy people, as well as research, discussions, readings, etc. Interested students should contact Dave Hartough, FCNL, 245 2 St. NE, Wash. DC 20002.

ly. Meanwhile, a split had developed within the administration.

In the Fall a new controversy arose when the Student Body President was forced by Pres. Hardesty to resign for "filching a five-cent ice cream cone". The entire student body of 1051 met as a result of this incident and adopted, by a 1045 to six vote, a proclamation charging misuse of authority by the President. The proclamation concluded:

"We feel that the pressure exerted upon the student body and the faculty and the resulting fear have definitely hampered our learning process. Living in an atmosphere where a student may be placed on probation or expelled from college without notice or proper hearing, as has been done recently, curbs our initiative and progress. Thus, the students placed in such an atmosphere are not able to develop their potential as members of a democratic society."

Out of this situation, and in response to a faculty request, came an investigation by the Board of Trustees. At its meeting, while Hardesty was praised for his guidance of Frostberg's physical growth, his personnel policy was criticized severely and it was indicated that the Board felt his continuation in the Presidency would impair the College's chances of attaining accreditation next year. It was at the end of this meeting that his leave of absence was agreed upon. Apparently, he was genuinely ill and needed a rest. Nonetheless, there seem to be indications that he may still wish to retain his position, in which case he may have strong support from some faculty members.

n.s.a. offers program

(CPS) The National Student Association has instituted a program, centered at the U. of Wisconsin, providing up-to-date political background papers on foreign nations and areas. The analyses are to be done by NSA overseas representatives and student delegations and/or from research. Currently available are papers on Angola and Mozambique, and on South and South West Africa. According to Michael Schwartz, Director of the program (named Political Background Project), any student organization on a member campus of NSA may request its Student Government to make the service available to it.

SOCIALIST STUDENTS ATTACKED (legally)

In a case which started with an anti-Cuban blockade rally over a year ago, three Indiana U. students face two to six years imprisonment terms for violating a 1951 Indiana state law forbidding advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Federal or Indiana government.

The three, Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan, all in their early twenties and native Indiana residents, were officers last year of the I.U. chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. YSA members were among those who, on Oct. 24, 1962, participated in a protest against the recently initiated Cuban blockade; although the 22 protesters were attacked and several beaten by a mob, it was the YSA which was investigated by newly elected Rightist County Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley. Apparently Hoadley, a young man with political ambitions, was attempting to latch onto local right-wing sentiment for political profit, for he started a newspaper campaign against the YSA, with the avowed purpose of forcing the University to withdraw the group's University recognition because, in Hoadley's view, the YSA's existence violated the law mentioned above; however, the University refused to do so.

Local YSAers, seeking to absolve themselves by the same public means being used by Hoadley, challenged the Prosecutor to a public debate; but the latter refused. The YSA also immediately pointed out that it "does not and never has advocated the violent overthrow of the government."

the 'pro-violence' speech

The situation was compounded by Hoadley in the wake of a talk by National YSA Field Secretary LeRoy McRae (a Negro) on "The Black Revolt in America", in which he devoted one brief phrase to endorsing the Negroes' "Constitutional right to self-defense", plus a comment, in response to a later question, that "when you talk about are we for force and violence, that's absolutely absurd. We simply say that you have to be prepared for that sort of thing." (McRae did spend a considerable amount of time lauding the Cuban Revolution, especially its rapid desegregation of the country. A reading of the March 25 speech (which, with other materials on the case, is available from the Nat'l Comm. to Aid the Bloomington Students (CABS; address below)—clearly renders the charge of advocacy of "violent overthrow" ridiculous.

Nonetheless, the three YSA officers were indicted on May 1, 1963, for violating the 1951 Communist Act; and though the original indictment was quashed on grounds of faulty wording, a second indictment was returned on two counts, the second count pertaining to a May 2 meeting in one of the officers' apartment at which the defense was discussed and which was secretly tape-recorded by the landlord.

Over the summer, the National Student Congress, after a talk by Hoadley and hearing other evidence, resolved that Hoadley's actions against the students were "based upon prejudices against [their] political views, rather than because of any criminal action. This action is in violation of the principles of academic freedom which specify the right of all students to represent their own political views, no matter how controversial..."

Hoadley has kept up his attempts to convict the students by means of anti-YSA publicity, claiming that the organization "uses marijuana to recruit members" (he denied this later), was founded by "Moscow-trained agents", and the students are part of an international Communist conspiracy.

the present situation

The current legal situation is that the defendants have filed to have the case thrown out because (1) it is superceded by the Smith Act and (2) it is a violation of Constitutionally guaranteed rights. Also, petitions are before the court to suppress evidence obtained by secret tape-recording and to force the prosecution to file a specific bill of particulars (currently the charge is simply violation of the law) with no indication of when or where or how.

All three defendants have left school; two of them are working directly on the defense. One lost his fellowship, the University being unable to rationalize to its alumni and other influentials financing such a student with University money.

In a recent release, CABS noted, "Needless to say, the case is very serious. It is the first such attack at a student organization on the campus itself. It involves the most important freedoms, guaranteed by the US Constitution. It is a direct attack on the right of the Negro people to express, and act in behalf of, their grievances. A victory for Hoadley and the In-

A Victory over Censorship

(CPS) "I will not now nor [sic] in the future administer academic punishments for violations of literary taste nor [sic] for vulgarity of expression." The quotation is by John J. Meng, President of the City University of New York, in reference to an allegedly anti-Catholic play in Hunter College's literary magazine of last spring. The President, though finding the play personally distasteful, said that "questions of literary merit have little relevance" to the controversy and, in a report accepted by the Board of Higher Education of the City University, refused to take action against the magazine or the play's author (currently editor of the Hunter newspaper). In response to pressure from several Catholic organizations demanding action, Hunter Dean of Students Kathryn Hopwood stated, "If I start to shape up the students to my sense of reality, I may dredge out a lot of dross; yet, because my human judgment is fallible, I might also kill some things that have value."

However, newspapers and other publications of all the city colleges have been told that the Board is under increasing pressure from outside groups for censorship, and that editors should keep this in mind in determining policy.

STUDENT SOCIALISTS cont.

diana Communism Act would mark a severe setback to the cause of academic freedom and liberty."

There are many Hoadleys, some worse than this particular one. They must be fought wherever they oppose progressive social change. SDS members are urged to join with Stuart Hughes, A.J. Muste, and Bertrand Russell (who are among the Sponsors of CABS) in aiding CABS's work. Financial contributions for the heavy legal expenses and other forms of support are needed urgently. (Contact: CABS, Box 213, NYC 3.)

You citizens of urban areas, of big Eastern and Western Universities, of grassy communities lush with the leisure of "nice people"--don't be smug in estimating the distances of Bloomington, of San Francisco and "Operation Abolition", of Oxford, Mississippi, and the small "heartland" communities wherein otherwise-unnoticed communal problems are exacerbated by the presence of a nearby seat of learning. In America there are no such distances any more. --John Russell Hansen in The Nation, May 25, 1963.

STUDENT EDITOR FIRED

(CPS) In a not-very-strange coincidence, the editor of The Hurricane, newspaper of the U of Miami (Fla.), wrote a controversial editorial, was suddenly dropped from two courses, and then was dismissed from the editorship for not carrying a full class load (a requirement for all student editors). The controversy started when Elaine Gilbert, Hurricane editor, wrote an editorial urging a five-pronged start to ending subtle aspects of discrimination on campus (U of Miami was peacefully integrated in summer 1961): employment of Negro faculty members (currently none exist); a purposeful effort to recruit Negro graduate assistants and fellowship students (currently few exist); encouragement of Negroes' participation in intercollegiate athletics (currently no Negroes in "the big time athletic program"); the inclusion of Negroes in campus organizations; and fraternity and sorority chapters' removing discriminatory clauses from their charters, even if this meant standing up to the national organizations.

Miss Gilbert said that the two courses from which she was dropped "immediately after my editorial" were both journalism courses, one taught by the paper's advisor, and that she had permission to miss classes frequently in order to work on the paper. Though she was ostensibly dropped for excessive absences, she said she had received no warnings about overcutting.

She said that she had been told that there were certain areas--including integration, student freedom of the press, and morals--about which she was not to write editorials. According to H. Franklin Williams, Miami's Vice-President and Publications Board Chairman, "editorial restrictions are negligible and...only certain restrictions within good journalistic taste such as morals are clearly taboo subjects." While claiming that Miss Gilbert's dismissal had nothing to do with her editorial, Williams commented that "the editorial gave an improper impression that there are some reservations on integration at Miami. The impression of her editorial is incorrect, since the University of Miami has achieved complete integration."

Unsigned Bulletin articles are the responsibility of Editor Don McKelvey; no article necessarily embodies SDS policy. The Editor apologizes if this does not reach readers before Xmas; he was jailed in Delaware for 5 days for vagrancy just prior to "press time" (about which an article later).

BAYOU N.S.M. IN BALTIMORE

Of the 25,000 inhabitants of the Gay St. area of Baltimore, 99.9% are Negro. Median family income (average family 4.0 persons) is just under \$2000, while for Baltimore as a whole (average family 3.3) median family income is \$430. 80% of the population earns less than \$3000 (the comparable city-wide figure is 17%); 1% earn more than \$5000 (compared with 55%). The median age for the area is 17.2 for males and 18.9 for females; for the city, the figures are 30.5 and 32.0 years respectively. 30% of the population lives on welfare; almost 15% are unemployed (compared with 5.3% city-wide); 70% of those in the area who are working have semi-skilled or unskilled jobs (i.e. those most likely to be automated out of existence first and soon). Two-thirds of those 25 years and older in this area have less than 9 years of school; the median of education is 7.5 years. 10% have finished high school; less than 1% have even attended college.

It is this area into which Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited (BAYOU), the Baltimore project of the Northern Student Movement, went in the summer of 1963. They encountered not only the conditions suggested by the above statistics and the expected segregation (the high school with which BAYOU is working is 100% Negro and has the highest drop-out rate in the city), but a virtually unorganized population. The Gay Street area lies within the Second District (of six) of Baltimore. Despite the high percentage of Negroes in the area (45%, of whom only 37% are registered to vote), no effective Negro leadership has emerged. The Negro community leadership of Baltimore (NAACP, CORE, Civic Interest Group, Urban League, Muslims, etc.) reside in the effectively organized Fourth District (mostly West Baltimore) and little or nothing is done by Negro leaders in the way of program in East Baltimore.

bayou outlook and program

Within this context, BAYOU (now only five months old) is trying to work with the local population in identifying problems, developing community leadership skills, and finding ways to meet their needs in the areas of politics, housing, employment, and education. In addition, there is a concerted effort to break down all (not just Negro-white) stereotypes and prejudices in individuals' conceptions of, and personal relations with, others.

As with most (if not all) NSM ghetto groups, BAYOU started with a tutorial, which is still the major part of its program. 200 tutors and 250 tutees are involved in this work, whose perspective is one of developing skills in both tutor and tutee. In addition, 350 young people are involved in co-curricular activities, including an African Affairs seminar and Music, Art, Drama, Future Nurses, Fine Arts, and Charm Clubs. Also, a Community Action Committee is doing work in housing surveying and voter registration, and conducted a limitedly successful "chicken water" project.

"Chicken water" refers to drippings of fat and water from chicken carcasses sitting on ice outside a chicken storage plant; the drippings collected on the street (due to lack of sewerage), causing an awful smell and a health hazard. When protests to the plant manager did no good, neighborhood residents left jars of collected drippings on a few high city officials' desks--and got action. The street was torn up and sewerage installed, and the problem was greatly (though not completely) alleviated. The inadequacy of this effort was that no continuing neighborhood group was created to evaluate and draw conclusions from the experience and to continue similar work (e.g. on garbage collection).

A conscious attempt is made by the BAYOU staff (5 full-timers) to relate these various activities to the ghetto conditions which have caused so much social and economic and just plain human misery. Thus, an Art Appreciation Club discussion with a Negro painter includes just what it means to be a Negro painter. Or a Negro mathematician. Or a Negro nurse. One of BAYOU's current projects is the production of the classic Greek drama, Antigone; and staff members find that the young people identify Antigone (who tries to defy her uncle, Creon, and is thwarted) with Negroes, and Creon with whites. Once every three weeks or so (to be increased to bi-weekly), tutors and tutees get together in a seminar to discuss what the tutoring means to each of them and what it means to be black in this situation--or white; since the Fall's tutorial program started only recently, these seminars have yet to include discussions of the tutorial content in addition to the more basic one of role- and self-image-discovery. Staff members have discovered that a fundamental part of the ba-

BAYOU cont

sic value makeup of some of the girls is a "hyper white middle class" set of values and attitudes; thus, the girls are greatly disturbed when a staff member appears unshaven for a couple of days or when a white girl sits on a chair with her dress above her knees. The Charm Club offers many opportunities to chip away at this set of values and to offer alternatives.

an ambitious future

It is towards the offering of real--and basic--and radical--alternatives that the staff looks in the long run. Ambitiously, they are currently doing research in search of a nine square block area which can be the site of a multi-faceted and thorough-going attack on basic economic, political, and social conditions. Because the BAYOU program has been scattered, the selection of a geographically limited area was suggested for action by a group (tentatively) called East Baltimore Action Group (EBAG), which would be autonomous of, but closely related to, BAYOU and would be part of NSM. Having a limited paid staff, it would function mostly with volunteer help, especially in doing research and field work. Not intended as a membership organization, EBAG (like BAYOU) would be a community movement identifying problems and developing skills necessary to solve them.

Among the important criteria in selecting the EBAG site are the following:

- that it be a poor section with some not very poor people in it (thus the possibility of inter-class co-operation)
- that it be a Negro area close to a poor white section (possibility of setting up a project in the white area in about two years and co-ordinating the two)
- that the population be predominantly younger--roughly under 40 or 50
- that the unemployment rate be fairly high--roughly 25% (thus able to attack scab labor at the base; possibility of unionization; work with Manpower Retraining Act, Youth Conservation Corps)
- that enough of the property of up to four landlords be in the area so that a co-ordinated rent strike on one landlord could exert significant pressure on him
- that it be within the Second District, which is the only Negro area in Baltimore where Negro political organization and consequent political power are possible (other Districts are gerrymandered)

It is also desirable that:

- the project area be close to a large

- company (allowing an opportunity to work on job discrimination, automation, etc.)
- there be vacant lots available (possibility of Neighborhood Commons)
- there be neighborhood churches or other large facilities in the area available for meetings, tutorial centers, etc.

In each of the problem areas mentioned above, BAYOU staffers want to do research so they can have information available for the community on a number of different approaches to the particular problem. This means a thorough knowledge of the economics, sociology, and politics of the future EBAG area, the Gay Street area, and of Baltimore as a whole, as well as of city ordinances and city, state, and Federal programs available to ghetto residents.

In the area of housing, there are possibilities of any combination of strategies, including rent strikes, legal appeals, tenant education programs, and Neighborhood Commons. In education: tutorials, development of local kindergartens, day schools, adult education classes, etc, and various forms of self-education, including development of a community library. In employment: Manpower Retraining Act usage, apprenticeship training programs, unionization, calls for public spending, and protests against discrimination. In politics: voter registration, voter education, and development of political clubs. Other potential community programs include co-operative stores, protests against welfare and building laws, and the development of social centers. EBAG staff members' role would be to provide information on specific alternative programs in each area so that the community could move in whatever direction its articulation of the problem dictated; this requires extensive and specific knowledge indeed.

To be sure, this is a long-range scheme; but BAYOU staffers believe that only by tackling immediate problems within a long-range perspective can the problems' basic causes--and thus the problems themselves--be dealt with. One of BAYOU's main problems is to try to instill this perspective in the members of the community, who often have a much shorter-range perspective.

A crucial problem with this long range community organization plan is money: few "angels" are interested in investing in this kind of radical program; certainly the foundations aren't which earlier supported NSM.

(This report was prepared from BAYOU reports and a discussion with BAYOU staff member Eric Craven, also an SDS member.)

KENTUCKY cont.

employment, due to mechanization of the mines--and yet the miners' leaders are being jailed for organizing protest action. A month ago (mid-November), Congress turned down the late President Kennedy's request for \$45 million for the area for emergency winter relief, despite the fact that in the area up to 45% of the people are on relief, subsisting on Federal food surplus handouts--though Leslie County doesn't participate in the surplus food program because it is too poor to fetch and distribute the food. Median family income in Leslie County is \$1838--and families are often large.

If a single set of facts can sum up the basis of these conditions, it is that (1) 75% of the membership of the United Mine Workers (UMW) has been lost to mine mechanization over the past 10 years and (2) no-one--not the union or the mine owners or government at any level (including the Federal)--has developed and put into practice a re-training program which would help these men. Not that this would be an easily solved problem. These men, thrown out of work and into degradation by an economic process of which they see only the end product, are poorly educated and single-skilled; if they were to move to the city (seemingly the only possibility), the readjustment would be a painful one for them. Indeed, considerable societal resources would have to be spent on such re-training, for it would mean a change not only in physical skills but in their entire world-view.

background

Mine owners, who had contracts with the UMW, followed a successful 1959 strike-breaking effort by "selling" their mines to "independent" operators, who in turn started violating union contract conditions: workers who had been making \$25 a day began receiving \$5 or \$10 a day--and in some cases as low as \$2 a day. The new "owners" knew that there was a large surplus of labor in the area who would prefer even poverty-level wages to unemployment and the dole. Soon, pension payments under the contracts were suspended. Finally, when miners' free care at UMW-run hospitals was suspended because the new "owners" had ceased paying the 40¢/ton royalty which financed the hospitals and the UMW refused to honor the hospital cards of those "owners'" employees, this was too much. Despite the UMW's refusal to sanction and lead a strike against the new

"owners" in order to force them to honor contracts, the miners, determined to do something about their condition, organized a wildcat strike.

Motorcades of striking miners roamed from mine to mine, setting up picket lines and getting other miners to join. By December 1962 (two months after the strike's start), a substantial number of mines had been closed down, despite efforts of operator-hired gun thugs and the collusion of "law enforcement" agencies. There was widespread fear of violence (an article in the NY Times a year ago reported an almost fatalistic feeling in the area that there would soon be extensive violence), and armed State Policemen were used to escort \$3 or \$4/day strike-breakers through the picket lines. A number of bombings occurred; strike leader Berman Gibson's trailer home and car were among the victims, as were parts of mines and a church. Then a truce was negotiated through the intervention of the worried State Governor; but it was quickly violated by the "owners", and picketing resumed.

By now it was well into winter, and a combination of the post-truce period of inactivity and heavy snow broke the thrust of the miners' movement. In addition, many court actions had been accumulating against them, and precious community resources had to be expended on defense. Then, in Spring 1963, the heavy snowfalls melted and the area was inundated by unusually high floods (some flooding is normal but this spring was unusually bad). The miners started talking about a seven-counties march on Washington for jobs and unionism.

Then, on June 11, eight of the miners' leaders were arrested for conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge, and less than 5 months later four leaders were arrested for armed robbery and assault with intent to kill (the second set of arrests was for offenses allegedly occurring almost a year before). It is clear that this device is being used in an attempt to break the back of the movement and that, if successful, it is very likely to do so.

help from outside

In response to the need for outside help, a Committee for Miners has been formed, whose sponsors include Paul O'Dwyer, Democratic Councilman-at-Large for Manhattan (O'Dwyer, also a leading criminal lawyer, is defending the strikers without charge against the indictments mentioned above, though there will still be much expense involved); W.H. Ferry, Vice-President of

KENTUCKY cont.

the Fund for the Republic; and labor leaders and writer Sid Lens. (Their address is 96 Greenwich Ave., NYC, NY 10011.) SDS is working closely with the Committee to help publicize these facts (almost all the material in this article comes from them) and to help activate concerned students.

For it is clear, if for no other than humanitarian reasons, that these miners, part of the Other America which proliferates in the midst of this "affluent society", deserve aid. Already, in New York City and the Philadelphia area, students have organized committees parallel in purpose to the Committee for Miners, following talks by Berman Gibson. As this is being written, these student committees are working on a "Bring Christmas to Kentucky" drive to send to the area as much food and clothing (especially children's clothing) and money as possible. Although this will not reach you in time to organize a drive specifically for Christmas, we urge you also to set up such committees on a continuing basis at your school and/or in your community. Not only could such a committee carry on the necessary work of raising money and collecting food and clothing for the miners and their families, but it could also start an inquiry into the causes of these conditions and why they exist so needlessly in such a potentially affluent society. This could include research, discussions, and field trips to Kentucky: Berman Gibson, on behalf of the miners, has extended an open invitation to students to visit the area. Thus work could begin on finding ways to attack such problems (and there are many areas of the country whose inhabitants live in the same degradation as in Hazard) at their roots.

As part of this educational work, SDS is planning a conference in early March, to be held in the area itself. Not only can

CONFERENCES

**Stud. Civ. Lib. Co-ord. Comm., first annual conference, Dec. 20-22 at U. of Chi. Write: Box 4938, Washington, DC 20008.
**"The Second American Revolution", on the Negro's struggle, early Feb., run by Haverford & Bryn Mawr students; contact: Kathy Boudin, B.M.C., Bryn Mawr, Pa.

"Membership /In the SDS/ is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal....

"SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership."

the specific local situation be dealt with at first hand, but it can be viewed in a broader and integrated context. Of great significance in such a view is the tight local coalition of mine operators, politicians, and police authorities (e.g. one County Sheriff is also a mine owner and reportedly deputized 70 men to protect the mines), including local and state police and the FBI. What does it mean when the Federal Government both helps mine operators "keep order" and denies starving unemployed miners any but subsistence living (if that)? And why did Congress act as it did? What good would the projected public works have done in the area? And how do we talk about participatory democracy in the context of conditions such as these?

In the '30's, there was a famous union song about Harlan County: "Down in Harlan County / There are no neutrals there / Either you're a union man / Or a thug for J. H. Blair." Harlan County is one of the seven counties in this extremely depressed area, and to these inhabitants of the Other America the class struggle is still real.

For more information on the situation, and for help in organizing, contact SDS (we will have George Goss on the road helping to organize Student Committees for Miners, starting the first of the year) and/or the Committee for Miners. This is no isolated struggle; it must be fought.

SUGGESTED READING

by Todd Gitlin

From Autumn DISSENT: "The UAW and Walter Reuther", by Harvey Swados; "King and Reuther in '64" by Bernard Rosenberg and Michael Walzer

From the Sept. 1963 SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN: "Technology and Economic Development", especially the introductory piece by Asa Briggs

From Summer 1963 NEW UNIVERSITY THOUGHT: "Good films and bad audiences--the misadventures of L'Avventura", by Gerald Temaner

From Autumn 1963 AMERICAN SCHOLAR: "On the Seriousness of the Future", by Robert Heilbroner

From NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS (sometime in Sept. or Oct.): review of Myrdal's "Challenge to Affluence" by Heilbroner

Protest Justice Dept. Inaction (cont)

of rights; (3) reinstatement in the civil rights bill of provision for appointment of Federal referees to register voters claiming discrimination; (4) Justice Dept. filing of "friend of the court" briefs on behalf of civil rights workers; (5) Federal Courts' issuance of injunctions against anyone's interfering with registration work or peaceful assembly. Those reports of demonstrations we have received, follow:

U. OF MICHIGAN

by Barbara Steinberg

The U of Mich. demonstration was on Nov. 7; SNCC Chairman John Lewis spoke to several hundred students and faculty members about the civil rights situation in general and Americus in particular--and joined us in singing freedom songs. Later he had dinner with the VOICE and FSNCC executive committees and discussed various needs, strategies, tactics, and aims with us.

WAYNE STATE U.

by Pete Werbe

On Nov. 7, Detroit SDS and Detroit Friends of SNCC sponsored a successful rally featuring SNCC worker (in Americus) Ralph Allen, and FSNCC and SDS people. Four days later, the same groups picketed the Federal Building in Detroit in support of demands that the Federal Government protect voter registration workers in the South and enforce the right of all citizens to vote--"one-man-one-vote".

U. OF WISCONSIN

by Clark Kissinger

On Nov. 7 we had a small but well-planned demonstration against the Justice Dept. in Madison. No attempt was made to get a crowd of demonstrators since it would be all students. We handed out a leaflet and carried signs reading: 1883 (followed by a picture of a noose); 1963 (followed by a picture of sticks of dynamite)--this is progress?; Kennedy is too patient with racists; RFK--the black man's burden; and Two cheers for the FBI!

The leaflet was entitled "We charge the Justice Dept. with failure to enforce existing civil rights legislation". After citing the Civil Rights Acts of 1870, 1957, and 1960, and Title 242 of the US Criminal Code to indicate that the Administration has the power it needs to protect those seeking to exercise Constitutional rights, the leaflet said: "What reason have we to believe that a new Civil Rights bill would be enforced when the powers granted by earlier bills are not even exercised?" Attached to the appeal for pressure on the Justice Dept. and on Congress for legislation with real teeth in it, was a copy of 4

sections of the 1870 Civil Rights Act (all 4 were soon repealed or declared unconstitutional), "to show people what real Civil Rights legislation looks like".

TEMPLE U.

by Bob Kernish

Ninety people, members of a newly-formed college-age Friends of SNCC group, picketed Independence Hall Nov. 9; in addition, over \$400 has been raised at Temple, half through clandestine solicitation (soliciting is illegal on campus) and half from a Student Council contribution to Americus. Also, some 400 postcards have been sent by Temple students to the Justice Dept., primarily on Americus.

HUNTER C.

by Mark Scher

On November 12, members of the Hunter (Bronx) chapter of SDS organized an all-day (8-4) picketing and petition-signing demonstration. 700 students, over one-fourth of the total student body, signed a petition demanding the strong Federal action outlined above. Good publicity was received both in the student newspaper and in the New York Daily News (page 4).

NYU.

SDS members were among those sponsoring a Freedom Rally at the uptown (Heights) campus of NYU on Nov. 12. The 200 students who gathered on the Library steps heard speeches by Paul Minkoff, Government Dept. Instructor, and Marion Wright, Yale Law School grad and one of the founders of SNCC. Miss Wright described conditions which Negroes face in places like Mississippi and Georgia, and recounted the mock election campaign in Mississippi, which had just concluded. Mr Minkoff agreed with Southern whites' complaints that (1) the Negro movement has been inspired totally by outside agitation (this should be supported constantly, he declared); (2) Northern whites, with terrific inequality in their own areas, are in no position to criticize the South; and (3) the Negro movement is subversive (of the American Way of Life, based on the "operative morality that one should do only what will help one get ahead) and revolutionary (only a total revolution in American thinking and morality can remedy this situation). Front page coverage the days before and after the Rally was accorded by the NYU Heights Daily News (from which this article is taken).

Pitney-Bowes, manufacturer of postage meters, has announced a decision to start hiring Negroes on a preferential basis.

LITERATURE LIST

I. ABOUT SDS (all items free; note request for contribution for some)

- Basic Brochure about SDS
- Port Huron Statement, 52-page manifesto of values and beliefs (25¢ donation appreciated). Product of 1962 SDS Convention.
- America and the New Era, 30-page analysis of "the American scene" and strategy for dealing with it. Product of 1963 SDS Convention. (10¢ donation appreciated)
- SDS constitution
- SDS literature list (one copy automatically sent with any literature order)
- What is the LID? Basic information about the League for Industrial Democracy.

II. PAPERS FROM THE 1963 LIBERAL STUDY GROUP (price: 1/10¢; 5/40¢; 10/70¢; 20/\$1.00)

- "Politics and the Academic Community", by Paul Booth
- "Our Crisis Economy: The End of the Boom", by Ray Brown
- "The American Planned Economy: A Critique", by Robb Burlage
- "Students and Labor", by Al Haber
- "Student Social Action", by Tom Hayden
- "Unions and the Working Student", by Tom Jacobson
- "Will Negroes Use Guns?" by Harlon Joye
- "Disarmament and the American Economy", by Ken McEldowney
- "The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties", by Donald McKelvey
- "Economic Development, the Major Powers, and Peace", by Donald McKelvey
- "The Intellectual as an Agent of Social Change", by Paul Potter
- "The University and the Cold War", by Paul Potter
- "The USNSA: A Policy Critique", by Bob Ross
- "On Neo-colonialism", by Tom Timberg
- "Latin America: A Continent in Revolution", by Arthur Valenzuela
- "Civil Liberties and the McCarran Act", joint statement by SDS & Campus ADA
- "Readings on Poverty in America", a collection

III. PAPERS FROM THE 1962 LIBERAL STUDY GROUP (price same as for II.)

- "The South as an Underdeveloped Country", by Robb Burlage
- "Deterrence and Reality: Where Strategy Comes From", by Todd Gitlin
- "The Political Significance of the Freedom Rides", by Tom Kahn
- "The Albany Movement: An Example of the Civil Rights Movement", by Jim Monsonis
- "The Campus Press", by Michael Olinick
- "Farm and Migrant Workers", by David Steinberg
- "Catholic Students and Political Involvement", by Mary Varela
- "Two European Views of the Cold War: 1. Berlin--Why Not Keep the Status Quo (by a German Student) 2. Two Hungarian Students' Proposal for Depolarization"
- "Bibliography: Civil Rights in the North", from the Sarah Lawrence Conference
- "Bibliography: Civil Rights in the South", by Robb Burlage
- "Bibliography: Peace and Foreign Policy", by Todd Gitlin
- "Bibliography: American Higher Education", by Ralph Kaplan

IV. PAPERS FROM THE 1961 LIBERAL STUDY GROUP (price same as for II.)

- "Disarmament", by Michael Parker and Norman Uphoff
- "Youth Conservation Corps", by John Warnock

(cont. on next page)

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I wish to join (see bottom p. 17) & enclose () \$1 initiation + () \$1/semester dues.

I am a member; enclosed are _____ for back dues &/or _____ for 63-4 (\$1/semester)

I wish to contribute to SDS: \$ _____ enclosed; \$ _____ pledged on _____ (date).

I do not wish to join but would like to receive the Bulletin for 63-4; \$1.50 enclosed

Send me information on SDS and mailings for two months.

I am ordering the literature checked and enclose \$ _____ in payment.

I am a member and need () a membership card and/or () a constitution.

LITERATURE LIST (CONT)

V. MIMEOED MATERIAL FROM THE OFFICE (price same as for II.)

- "The Economics of Apartheid", by Sam Boud
- "A White America in a Non-White World", by Noel Day (a speech)
- "The [Cuban] Revolution Not Seen", by Dave Dellinger
- "Peace, Power, and the University", by Al Haber and Dick Flacks
- "Politics of the Ghetto", by Tom Hayden (a speech)
- "The Bruns Strike: A Case Study in Student Participation in Labor", by Clark Kissinger
- "Bibliography: The American Economy", by Lee Webb
- "An Open Letter to the New Left", by C. Wright Mills
- "Cambridge, Maryland: A Report", by Carl Wittman
- "The Northern Student Movement": National Prospectus and City Project data (including Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, NYC, Phila, Wash.)
- "The Negro Freedom Movement": a syllabus of readings, by Swarthmore Political Action Club
- "Newsletter" of the Peace Research and Education Project
- "Toward a Quaker View of Sex" and "Is the Problem Really Sex?"
- "Working Papers" from the Nyack Conference on Unemployment and Social Change
- "New Folklore of Capitalism", by Bernard Nossiter and David Bazelon

VI. PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS (price as marked)

- "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities" by American Civil Liberties Union, 15 pp., 10¢ (bulk amounts as for II.)
- "Activist" magazine; sample copy free.
- "The Age of Automation: Its Effect on Human Welfare", Warren Bloomberg, 39p., 35¢
- "The American Ultras", by Irwin Suall, 64 pp., 75¢
- "Consumers of Abundance", by Gerard Piel, 10pp. 10¢
- "Cybernation: The Silent Conquest", by Donald Michael, 48pp. 25¢
- "Dissent" magazine; sample copy free; 25¢ each thereafter (3 issues available)
- "A Fabian Program for America", by Daniel Friedenberg, 17pp., 10¢
- "Fraternalities Without Brotherhood", by Alfred M. Lee, 159 pp., 35¢ (list \$1.45)
- "Health Services in Britain", British Information Service, 54 pp., 35¢
- "I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly"; sample issue free
- "New University Thought" magazine; sample issue free
- "The Minority of One" magazine; sample issue free
- "Peace Politics Newsletter"; sample issue free
- "The TVA and Its Critics", Gordon Clapp, 15 pp. 15¢

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