

SDS BULLETIN

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CHESTER: MODEL FOR THE NORTH?

RENT STRIKE

PROBLEMS & POSSIBILITIES

by Joel Edelstein, New School

(Ed. note: Because news of rent strike developments has been so prominent of late on the front page of the NY Times, the following article--excerpted from a paper now being revised and updated--deals primarily with underlying factors and analysis, and only cursory mention is given of events.)

Although laws exist to ameliorate the evils of a housing market which is no longer self-regulating, they have operated in a singularly ineffective manner. Violations reported by health and building inspectors are acted upon by pro-slumlord housing courts. Here the community's responsibility is discharged by a fine of a fine hundred dollars. Fines are nominal when compared with profits--slumlords view such fines as a minute fraction of necessary upkeep expenses.

PRESSURES ON TENANTS

There are many reasons why tenants are reticent to file complaints. Fear of the authority of "the man" (i.e. the White) and his bureaucratic housing and welfare tangle pervades the Negro community. In the Puerto Rican community this feeling is

(cont. p. 15)

by Larry Gordon, Swarthmore '67

The last two months have witnessed the birth of a Negro movement qualitatively different from and more advanced than anything else in the country. The Chester, Pa movement has become a broad social movement with a program and activities which can unite great sections of the Negro community and eventually the white community as well.

Chester is a depressed industrial suburb of Philadelphia with a population of 63,000, including 27,000 Negroes (43%). White unemployment is 15%, Negro 30%. Housing and schools are highly segregated. The greatest part of the Negro population is confined to a long narrow section contiguous to the band of heavy industry lying along the Delaware River.

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Libertarian Radio Stations Harassed by Government

The Pacifica Foundation, which operates three FM stations (in NYC, Los Angeles, and Berkeley), has had an application for renewal of its license pending with the Federal Communications Commission for several years; since Jan. 1960 its stations have been operating on a temporary license. The trouble: Pacifica stations take seriously the Commission's dictum that stations have a community obligation to present a wide variety of opinions. Thus, the stations have had speakers ranging from Communists to Birchers. Of course, objections have been raised to Communist speakers; and the Foundation is being investigated for "possible Communist affiliation". And Pacifica's officials are currently faced with the problem of whether to sign non-Communist affidavits, as the FCC has asked them to do. A strong protest to the FCC is certainly in order. And Pacifica would appreciate any contributions (aside from the legal problem, the stations are non-commercial, income coming from listeners): send c/o WBAI, 30 E. 39 St, NYC.

CHAPTER REPORT: BALTO. SDS

by Pete Dawidowicz

Baltimore SDS is made up of Johns Hopkins U. people (undergrads, grad students, some faculty members), Goucher students (undergrad girls), high school students (about 6 regular participants), Morgan State C. students (about 6 from this Negro school), and a couple of working-class Negroes. Our activity is based on our belief that a good measure of the vitality of an organization is the degree to which it strives for and achieves a unity of theory and practice. This sounds like a slogan; however, I feel strongly that much of the recent failure and degeneration in some sectors of the student movement (SPU?) can be laid to a failure to act in cognizance of this "slogan". Thus, Baltimore SDS requires of its members the barest minimum of ideological commitment and no well-defined "positions", but rather attempts to achieve a systematic understanding of economic (and from there social and political) realities of our society. Action projects flow from our conclusions as to what is necessary and possible. With this brief background, I shall enumerate the education and action projects (the difference is not sharp but is useful) which Baltimore SDS has undertaken in the period October-December 1963.

ACTION

- We sent 25 people to the SDS/SPU Mme. Nhu demonstration in Washington.
- We were the main body of demonstrators against the death sentences in the Giles-Johnson case (three Negro youths allegedly raped a white girl in Maryland); the sentence was commuted to life. The demonstrations probably helped.
- We are doing the research involved in determining a site for the East Baltimore Action Group (see Dec. Bulletin story) to work in for community mobilization in the Negro slum.
- SDS serves to channel Hopkins, Goucher, and high school students into the NSM tutorial, and serves to "tutor the tutors".
- We serve as a publicizing and recruiting center for CORE to the extent that we often (and unfortunately) supply a (white) majority of its demonstrators. Current project is an employment drive against the tokenist hiring policies of large department stores.

EDUCATION (chronologically)

- Walter Carter (past chairman of Balto. CORE) gave a highly inspiring introduction to the problems of segregation and economic exploitation of the Negro in our society.
- A CNVA pacifist discussed the Quebec-to-Guantanamo Walk and gave the members a chance to examine this "subjectivist" approach to war and peace.
- Lalit Gardia (economics prof from Morgan State) gave an economic analysis of US foreign aid and industrialization of underdeveloped nations (India).
- Sid Lens (labor leader) spoke on Latin America, an area in which he is expert.
- John Salter (Southern Conference Education Fund member) gave a description/analysis of Nazi Mississippi, Nazi Eastland's attack on SCEF (see Dec. Bulletin story).
- Movie: "The Superfluous People" was a good introduction to the problem of urban poverty.
- Using Don Harrington's The Other America as an introduction (we distributed 25-30 copies among the membership) and using a panel format (with changing members each week), we spent 3 weeks in seminars attempting to delve deeply into the factors which cause, maintain, and surround poverty in America. Housing, unemployment (automation), and education were discussed extensively; and, I might add, with heavy stress on the paradoxes of the capitalist system which of necessity create these conditions. (It was at this point that we initiated our study of East Baltimore in connection with E.B.A.G.).
- Edward Helmgren (head of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.) gave a fairly radical and factual analysis of the Baltimore housing situation; he's a leading expert on that subject.
- Also, a large part of our membership attended talks by Martin Luther King, Dave McReynolds (of the War Resisters League), and Roy Wilkins.

(Ed. note: The foregoing is a shortened version of Pete's report to the recent N.C. meeting. I hope to have in the Feb. or March Bulletin a longer history/description/analysis of Baltimore SDS's two-plus years of activity and approach.)

CHAPTER REPORT: DETROIT SDS

by Bob Laufer

Over the fall, the Detroit chapter, just getting organized and developing a mailing list of 70-80 names, sponsored several speakers, including one on Cuba and, in conjunction with SNCC and CORE in the community, Ralph Allen on Americus, Ga. Also, planned is a speakers forum, designed to provide a place for students to present their views on specific issues. So far, a speaker on South Africa has been presented.

Planned for the Winter quarter are a film program (any suggestions are welcomed by Greg Nigosian at 647 W. Warren, Detroit, Mich. 48202) and, especially, a study of the Detroit school system and the position of various political groups in that institution. On the basis of our findings, we intend to go on to direct action. In an action context, such groups as CORE and NSM will be asked to cooperate to press demands for elimination of discriminatory practices in the school system.

(Ed. note: The paucity of chapter reports --and other information about what's happening on the college scene--in this (and undoubtedly the next) Bulletin is due, of course, to the intervention of Christmas vacation and midyear exams. Starting with the March Bulletin, I expect the usual complement of Chapter Reports again.)

As late as 1888, states in which the winning party's share of the total vote was less than 60% cast 82% of the electoral votes. By 1904 such states selected but 29% of the electors. In other words, by about 1904 politics had ceased to be meaningfully competitive between the parties in about three-fourths of the states.

New SDS Literature

- "Student Political Action", by Todd Gitlin
 - "Money Talks in the City of Brotherly Love"--reprinted from the Progressive. Describes and discusses the Phila. Negro community's "selective buying" campaign.
 - "The Student and the Vote", by Paul DuBrul. A brief (2 pp) paper brings up important facts and questions regarding students' voting in local, state, and national elections.
- To order, write the National Office.

RETRACTION

A letter received from Indiana University Dean of Students Robert H. Shaffer (who is an SDS member) reads in part:

"I wish to protest the inaccurate, unfounded and unworthy insinuation" contained in the Dec. Bulletin article on harassment of I.U. YSA members (p. 12). "You state that one of the three students lost his scholarship '...the university being unable to rationalize to its alumni and other influentials financing such a student with university money.'" That student's "activity in radical groups was well known to the university when it awarded the fellowship to him and was considered to be irrelevant. The criteria for its award and the criteria for retaining it are well known to students. (His) academic work for the school year 1962-63 was such that it did not ever come close to meriting continuation of the fellowship..."

The information which Dean Shaffer rightly terms "insinuating" was obtained by me in a telephone call to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. By saying this I do not mean to accuse C.A.B.S.; the information was asked for and given very informally and off-handedly. But I do wish, in the light of this letter, to withdraw the statement and to apologize to Indiana U.

Don McKelvey, Bulletin Editor

WAS OSWALD INNOCENT?

A thorough, well-documented defense of Lee Harvey Oswald by Mark Lane (a lawyer and former Reform Democrat Congressional aspirant) is available from the National Guardian, 197 E 4, NYC 9. (Prices: 15¢ each, 10/\$1) Lane not only seeks to establish "reasonable doubt" as to Oswald's guilt, but goes on in an effort to prove his innocence. Lane has been asked by Oswald's mother to act in Oswald's behalf before the Warren Commission.

It is important for racists to maintain peripheral forms of segregation (bus stations, lunch counters, etc). They establish an atmosphere that supports a system. By debasing and demoralizing the black man in small matters, it eats away the sense of dignity and pride necessary to challenge a racist system. But the fundamental core of racism is more than atmosphere--it can be measured in dollars and unemployment percentages.--Robert Williams, Negroes with Guns

HAZARD - THE HIDDEN

The area around Hazard (Perry County) and the other six mining counties in eastern Kentucky (Floyd, Leslie, Letcher, Johnson, Pike, and Knott) is in some ways quite prosperous. Every day on the radio in Hazard, the Coal Operators Association announces the amount of coal mined that day and states how many more thousands of tons were mined the same day last year. One coal operator managed to make \$60,000 in sixty days in 1963. The coal operators, doctors, and local businessmen seem to have fairly nice houses and most of the same problems faced by suburban America-- where to park the car when the boat is in the garage, where to get parts for the foreign car, which church is attended by people of their "station", which sherry party to attend, how to keep their children isolated from the world, etc. The Affluent Society exists in Hazard, and it is easy to exist within it and see little else.

HIDDEN POVERTY

In the same way, it is fairly easy to travel through Hazard and not see much "poverty", for the extreme cases (holes in the roof, no fire or food, few clothes, broken windows) are either in the hollows where few new cars travel or they are far enough from the road to look "quaint" rather than miserable. Near the roads are the box-sized houses where live a large family with about enough coal to keep the place warm but which has trouble buying enough food, clothes, school supplies, etc.--the same type of poverty that many Americans pass by and don't see every day. It is the poverty of a man either without a job and no promise of one, or with a job paying between \$10 and \$20 a day that is up to 12 hours long; the poverty of rented houses not too well cared for; the poverty of having your land stripped by coal operators' bulldozers but not being able to get the federal government to enforce the contract requiring the replacement and reseeded of the land. These are the economic and political poor whose poverty is economically, socially and politically imposed and enforced.

DEMISE OF THE U.M.W.

The United Mine Workers once gave some a measure of economic and political strength, but after pressures from automation and

the coal industry, decisions have been made in the structure of the union which haven't left the miners much room to stand (the loss of free union-run hospitals, initial support and then opposition to strikes, etc) and the union has now about decomposed out of sight. A union today seems to direct its actions on the terms of what is profitable and what is not--and "outmoded" men are unprofitable.

Even if a union did again gain strength, most would only "strike themselves out of a job", leaving the unemployment figures higher, although it might prevent an average of a man a week being killed in the mines. The union is busted because people are being busted; in terms of the present work ethic, automation outmodes men, and so these men have to pay the price of living in the wrong society. It will take a re-evaluation of a society and many of its cancer-like traditions before these persons can more than exist.

Voluntary contributions cannot begin to meet the needs of eastern Kentucky, much less other depressed areas: the tons of food taken down in the "Bring Christmas to Kentucky" drive by the Committee for Miners will last only a few weeks. The specific demands of the forty miners who went to Washington Jan. 7-9 were the immediate Congressional enactment of the \$45 million legislation meant to provide 1000 jobs in the area for four months, and the declaration of Eastern Kentucky as a disaster area by Pres. Johnson. These will be only a piddling first step in meeting their general demands for Food, Jobs, and Justice.

E. KENTUCKY & N.E. TEXAS

The situation in Eastern Kentucky is only one example of a problem that is spread over the U.S. and other parts of the world. Eastern Kentucky and northeast Texas mirror each other socially, economically, and politically: both Lufkin (Texas) and Hazard are nice middle class towns; both have poverty "discreetly" scattered about in the surrounding countryside; both are one or two industry areas (coal in Hazard, lumber & oil in Lufkin) in which the industry has "declined", yet both the Coal Operators' Ass'n and the Texas Lumberman's Ass'n make statements spoken by people whose income is not declining; and in both areas

BECOMES VISIBLE BY GEO. GOSS

those with economic power seem to have close to absolute political power. And in both the "poor whites" play their usual role in the structural racism and are reminded of that role by political, social, and economic pressures. They will become more racist, despite integrated organizational background (Populist and UMW) unless they are organized and come to see the civil rights movement as one composed of brother "cast-offs and undesirables".

Once organized, however, these men will be able to point out a few facts now ignored by the U.S. They can point out that the society has a certain obligation to the people in it to provide them with food, clothing, shelter, education, either by assuring jobs to all those able to work or to abandon the idea that all must work if they are to eat. Perhaps a defense budget which not only goes toward the destruction of people but also the destruction of jobs will have to be questioned more seriously and strongly. In an automated society, a redefinition between manual, artistic, and scientific production and human need might be in order.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM

This is not a problem of one union, one industry, one area; and it is a national problem only in the context of conventional thought. In that context, it is a great national problem. And as the number of "pockets of poverty" grows and unemployment increases, the more it is explained away by people in Washington, the more defense contracts only add affluence to the Affluent rather than creating jobs--and the more of a national problem it will become. In another context, it is more a problem of people. Certain segments of our national society and other national societies have continued to consider production and status more important than men and their feelings and beliefs. Only a few groups such as (in the US) the civil rights movement, spots of the peace movement, and spots of the labor movement, have stood up and demanded a change in the rules.

In a land which needs schools, roads, houses, buildings, parks, food and clothing, education, there is enough work for the immediate future and there is enough

Conference Set - Lit Available
On March 26-28, an-ERAP-sponsored conference will be held in Hazard. It will discuss both local (E.Ky.) and national economic problems. In connection with this, please note:
--George Goss (who has recently visited Hazard) will be available to speak on the area's problems. Contact the N.O. to have him speak at your campus.
--Two papers are available from the N.O.:
A Program for Kentucky, by Bob Heifitz and Hazard--the Hidden Becomes Visible, by George Goss (an amplification of this article).

money (if properly released and committed) to pay fairly for the work. This work could give us enough time to prepare to live in a machine production society in which men need only to work 6 hours a week to produce enough for the society of the world, live in a society where men can study and work in surroundings free from being tied to a machine, and where they will be able to become more involved in helping people they are now isolated from by distance or ignorance.

We have a choice, as self-proclaimed liberals, radicals, or whatever: either to work in asking questions pointedly to our society, work in demanding the questions be heard, be able to help in forming the answers ... or ...we could all simply sit down and wait for a long hard rain.

ONE-MEAL FAST 4 SNCC

Continuing a program started last year, Brandeis U. students are co-ordinating a nation-wide fast of one meal by college students, the proceeds to be used to purchase food which will be sent to SNCC. (As they did last year, the Teamsters Union will transport the food free.)

The fast is being called for the evening meal on Wed, Feb. 26. Students are urged to arrange with their college administrations to obtain refunds for that meal. Checks should be made out to Brandeis U. "Fast for Freedom Food" and sent to Northern Student Movement, Brandeis U, Waltham, Mass. 02154. Contact Bill Caspe at Brandeis for further information, and to inform him of your intention to participate.

CIVIL RIGHTS

over 400 students have been arrested for picketing and other protests against segregation in Tallahassee, Fla. Demonstrators have come from Negro Florida A&M and tokenly integrated Florida State U. Tallahassee has been a center of student integrationist activity since early 1960; the new development is the participation this year of substantial numbers of white students. Academic freedom and student rights are also an issue, as students have been academically disciplined for their activity.

*

Mrs. Carolyn Daniels, one of the first to open her home to SNCC voter registration workers in Dawson, Georgia, and herself a devoted activist, was the victim of a shooting and (while having a foot wound treated in a hospital) a bombing attack of her home by night riders. The campaign itself, in "Terrible Terrell" County, saw 78 Negroes apply to register in the first three weeks of November.

*

Five Mississippi law officers, charged by the US Justice Dept. with seven counts of conspiracy to deprive Negroes of their civil rights, were set free by a Federal jury. The five were accused of beating 5 civil rights workers who had been arrested in Winona after entering a white rest room in a bus station.

*

A boycott of the NYC school system has been called for Feb. 3 by the Citywide Committee for School Integration, which includes CORE, NAACP, and two large parents' groups. The Board of Education and Superintendent Calvin Gross were charged with having "flagrantly violated in spirit and in fact" their commitment, made last fall under threat of boycott, to prepare a city-wide desegregation plan and timetable providing for substantial integration in every school district by Sept. 1964. The NAACP charged that the Board had made no commitment on integration and was attempting to shift the responsibility for integration to Negro parents with a plan for increased open enrollment on a free transfer basis. "Freedom schools" will be conducted by the boycotters.

A relatively unenthusiastic response to the idea from NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins (The N.Y. State NAACP is closely

involved) has touched off a controversy within NAACP. Wilkins decried "indiscriminate boycotts" but later said that the NAACP National Office would help any local chapter with its action projects.

In a parallel development, a Federal Circuit Court Judge declared unconstitutional a Long Island School Board's drawing of school district lines on the basis of race in order to assure integration; race could never be the basis of such lines, no matter what the purpose, said the Judge.

*

Benjamin Franklin U. in Washington, D.C., previously segregated, was forced to admit all qualified applicants starting in Feb. after Washington CORE engaged in direct action against the University and persuaded the D.C. government to exclude the University's downtown business school from a list of schools approved for personnel recruitment by District agents.

*

A society band leader, Meyer David, has agreed, in negotiations with National and NYC CORE, to give immediate attention to placing Negro musicians in his widespread enterprises. He will also discuss hiring Negroes in shipboard entertainment, an area largely all-white.

More than 3000 citizens of Atlanta marched and attended a Dec. 15 rally as part of a protest against token integration and ghetto and slum conditions. Termed a "Pilgrimage for Democracy", the demonstration was sponsored by many Atlanta groups. SNCC Executive Secretary Jim Forman was among the speakers. "You have to get your rights for yourselves," he declared. "We have two powerful weapons--the dollar and the vote."

*

An agreement negotiated by CORE National staff and NYC members provides that the Trailways bus division operating in the area between NYC and Washington will hire and upgrade minority group members by spring. The company also agreed to take similar steps in its terminals outside NYC.

*

Chapel Hill, N.C. (the seat of U. of N.C.) has seen the development, since early December, of a movement aimed at desegregat-

NEWS BRIEFS

ing restaurants. Over 200 demonstrators have been arrested in a ctions led by CORE and SNCC people. Three demonstrators spent Christmas in jail, and several have conducted hunger strikes. Quinton Baker, vice-president of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee, was hospitalized recently after being forced by a restaurant owner to swallow ammonia.

*

Aaron Henry, recent gubernatorial candidate on the Mississippi Freedom Ballot, has appealed to the US Supreme Court his loss of a libel suit to the Police Chief and District Attorney of Clarksdale, Miss. The Miss. Supreme Court reversed an earlier decision in granting the suit to the two officials. The suit was instituted after Henry charged the two with completely fabricating a morals charge 2 years ago.

*

SNCC demonstrations against an Atlanta restaurant chain, participation by Dick Gregory and his wife (the latter, along with SNCC Chairman John Lewis and 22 others, spent Christmas in jail), resulted in "a satisfactory agreement", according to Lewis.

*

The sheriff of Dallas County, Ala., the County Solicitor and 4 policemen, recently raided the SNCC office in Selma, arrested nine people (on charges of "illegal circulation of literature promoting a boycott"), and completely wrecked "Freedom House", an apartment used to house SNCC workers. Less than 1% of the voting age Negroes of Dallas County are registered. The US Justice Dept. has filed suit against the two officials mentioned above, charging them and the White Citizens Council with intimidation of and discrimination against potential Negro voters.

*

160 Berkeley, Cal. stores are being picketed by Berkeley CORE in an effort to have them join a fair employment agreement already signed by 14 stores (including the downtown area's largest single employer).

*

By a margin of 69 votes out of 10,000, voters in St. Joseph, Mo. passed a public accommodations ordinance in early December. The City Council had passed the ordinance but a petition forced a referendum. 3% of St. Joseph's 80,000 citizens are Negro.

*

A very detailed commitment by Seattle A&P has followed a CORE-sponsored boycotting and picketing campaign.

*

SNCC workers, invited by the Raleigh, N.C. Citizens Ass'n (a co-ordinating body of Negro organizations), will work on voter registration in Raleigh and Wake Counties, where 32% of eligible Negroes are registered.

*

6 Negro housewives, members of the local NAACP, were arrested in Jackson, Miss. for parading without a permit and blocking the sidewalk when they walked silently, carrying signs, along Capitol St. (the city's main street and the subject of a boycott).

*

The last Louisiana parish (county) without a registered Negro saw in early January the registration of 15 Negroes, CORE Field Sec'y Ronnie Moore announced. Tennesas Parish officials were reported to be cooperative, and no intimidation attempts were reported. Yet.

*

The Jacksonville, Fla. NAACP launched in mid-December a campaign of selective buying aimed at increasing employment opportunities for Negroes. As stores adopt fair hiring and promotion policies, NAACP will urge that customers trade only at these stores.

*

San Francisco CORE has negotiated industry wide fair employment agreements with 317 supermarkets and groceries and 30 department and dry goods stores. Under the agreements, the stores will employ the phrase "equal opportunity employer" in all phases of recruiting and will actively recruit minority group members.

SOUTH AFRICA, PART 1:

The Volk, Trekking, and Apartheid combine to form the core of Nationalist thinking in South Africa. The legislative program sponsored by the Nationalist Party are born out of the historical experience with which the Afrikaners (the descendants of Dutch settlers) identify. Each of the terms signifies a specific event or conceptualization of this experience. They feed on each other and give direction and support to the Nationalist leadership. The concept of the Volk is the most vital of the three, for it represents a "Unity", while the other two are means of maintaining that Unity. In order to actually comprehend the race problem in South Africa, it must be kept in mind that until very recently, the "race problem" was the antagonism between English and Afrikaners. The realization that the Afrikaners used every possible means at their disposal to avoid mixing with the English ought to provide some kind of measurement of their response to mixing with the non-whites.

THE VOLK

The Volk is a mythical conception of the race which came from Holland between 1652 and 1800. These men had in common a stern Calvinist religion, a code of law, and an education built upon their religious beliefs. The only relatively recent addition to the activity of the Volk is the political wing, the Nationalist Party. The necessity for political independence or dominance, depending on the situation, became apparent to the Boers (Afrikaners) during the 1800's as the only means of protecting the purity of the group. The purity to be maintained was not only sexual but religious and intellectual. The Volk was first threatened between 1820 and 1833 by the English, and later by the discovery of diamonds and then gold in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The loss of the Boer War was another serious threat to the purity of the Volk. This is especially true in light of the role of Smuts and Botha (the first 2 Prime Ministers of South Africa; Botha died in 1919, while Smuts was in and out of power till 1948, in attempting to conciliate Boer and Briton between 1907 and 1948. In so doing they reaped the scorn and contempt of the pure nationalist elements of the Volk. The response of the purists has been to form thorough-going Nationalist Parties every time Afrikanerdom was threatened by moderation. In the case of the Hertzog-Smits coalition (1932), Malan formed the Puri-

fied Nationalist Party. From the end of the Boer War till 1948 the Afrikaners struggled to maintain the pure Volk while in a politically subordinate role. Once they succeeded in attaining political control, nothing was to be allowed to interfere with the purification of the Volk. To insure this purity, all other groups had to be separated and thereby purified. Reification of "Volk purity" was essential for the Afrikaner. Only if he could implant in other groups a desire for separation would his separation and continued rule be insured.

It is within the context of Volk purity that both trekking and apartheid play functional roles. In other words, to examine the legislative measures introduced in the name of apartheid and to see whether or not Nationalists can be persuaded to change their policies is possible only if the role of apartheid is understood in relation to its function of protecting the purity of the Volk.

TREKKING

Trekking was the initial response of the Dutch to any threat to their system. The most famous of these treks occurred in 1835-36 and is known to history as the Great Trek. The result of the Great Trek was the re-establishment of the social system prevalent in the Cape and the founding of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. This arrangement lasted until 1899, when the Boer War began. Having lost the war and having no land open to Trek to, a period of separation and struggle with the British elements began, culminating in the elections of 1948, when the Nationalist Party came to power under the leadership of D.F. Malan. On its ascendance a policy known as apartheid began to become the law of the land.

Trekking and the Great Trek in particular today represent part of the Volk history and mythology. Historically it represents the strong desire to maintain the purity of the race and the intense suffering the heroes of these treks were willing to undergo to maintain that purity. It also provides a historical basis--military conquest--on which the Afrikaner justified his control over the Bantu (Africans). Finally, it provides a legal base from which to argue against those who claim the land was originally owned by Africans, inasmuch as it is true that the Boers entered the

BACKGROUND BY BOB LAUFER, WAYNE SI

Northern areas of South Africa at a time when few Africans were living on the plains. The claim of the right of first settlement, however, is historically inaccurate: the emptiness of the plains was due to a long period of war and Zulu expansion. In the eyes of the Afrikaner population, however, the time of the white arrival and the emptiness of the plains gives this argument validity.

The mythology of Afrikanerdom claims the great heroes from these treks. It is used to emphasize the need to remain faithful to the heritage of the forefathers and maintain the purity of the race in the great tradition of the Trekkers.

APARTHEID

Apartheid (or separate development, as it is now known because apartheid has bad connotations) is the functional equivalent of Trekking in a situation where there is no place to Trek to. Its thrust is twofold, creating conditions which are most favorable to the maintenance of white supremacy (thus ensuring Afrikaner purity), and being theoretically and morally justifiable because it provides for the protection and purity of all groups within the Republic.

Its second function is just as important as the first, since it makes good sense to the Afrikaner to protect the purity of a national group. Indeed, the Afrikaner can place God and virtue on his side regardless of any opposition, since he is doing for the other groups what he claims is so essential for his own. By maintaining, in theory at least, that he is providing the means whereby the native may flourish according to his own customs and traditions, the Afrikaner is giving the African theoretical equality with himself. This does not mean equality in the sense of equal footing in South Africa; in fact, the opposite is true. He is offering the African the opportunity to withdraw from White South Africa and seek his future in the Black Bantustan. Just as the Afrikaners have done in every instance, the Africans ought to maintain their purity through isolation.

Only if the force behind apartheid is understood does the danger of this philosophy become clear. Persuasion by friends to abandon what appears as a policy calculat-

New SDS Literature
"Students and Economic Action", by Carl Wittman, Swarthmore C. Points up the growing concern in the student community about the unemployment crisis and its relation to other movements for social change.

ed to bring about national suicide appears to the Afrikaner to be a threat to their national integrity and racial purity. Any such advice will be rejected and blamed on either naivety or communist propaganda. In either case it cannot make a dent on the leadership of the Nationalist Party, for they are supported by the institutions of the Church, School, Family, and History. In this perspective only two possibilities are open to those who would eliminate this regime: (1) an international boycott, or, if this fails because the major powers are unwilling to cooperate, (2) an internal guerilla-type uprising.

This is a framework for understanding So. Africa. In an article in next month's Bulletin, I shall deal with recent developments and attempt an analysis of the direction of events, with a few predictions of my own.

Our hope is human freedom. We care that men everywhere be able to understand, express and determine their lives in fraternity with one another. We seek to participate in the construction of a society in which men have, at last, the chance to make the decisions which shape their lives. We want a political and economic order in which power is used for the widest social benefit and a community in which men can know each other and themselves as human beings in the fullest sense. --from America and the New Ex

SPEAK SOFTLY -- BUT CARRY A BIG SNCC.

COMING SOON

The year's first issue of the SDS Discussion Bulletin should be to members no later than Feb. 7. Included will be:
--the proceedings of the National Council
--views on chapter organizing and the state of SDS--by chapter heads, National Staff, and other NC members
--a series of views on Pres. Johnson
--other articles of interest

SNCC Conference Emphasizes Economic Issues, by Betty Garman

The annual SNCC conference brought nearly 350 students from SNCC project areas in the deep South together with representatives of Northern "Friends of SNCC" groups and national student organizations. The 3-day meeting, held in Washington, D.C. over the Thanksgiving weekend, emphasized the need to couple the civil rights struggle with an attack on the deeper ills of the present social and economic system. Speakers from the civil rights movement and labor unions were featured at the conference. In addition, some half a dozen individuals represented the various federal agencies most directly concerned with conditions of widespread unemployment and poverty in the South.

RUSTIN URGES ALLIANCE OF POOR

Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director of the March on Washington, perhaps gave the most significant address. He stressed the need for the civil rights movement to seek allies at this stage in its development. The poor, the unemployed, and the unskilled as well as other racial minorities must be brought into participation in this movement for social change, he said. Demanding preferential treatment for black people hardly nets allies in the struggle. "What we need is a Marshall Plan for a particular economic category--that is, preferential treatment for individuals because they are poor, not black." Assuming that we will not have fair employment until we have full employment, Rustin went on to urge that SNCC begin immediately to work with the more responsive sections of the labor movement by urging joint consideration of the effect of modern technological developments on our present concept of work. He suggested that it is time for white students to work and organize in white communities, both North and South, particularly among the young and the unemployed.

On the political front Rustin saw a need for the civil rights groups to continue pressure for a strong civil rights bill. Because he felt that President Johnson has, in effect, no mandate from the American people, Rustin thought that the President would be forced to push hard on the civil rights front to capture that bloc of votes so necessary to win the Northern urban areas in 1964. "Thus we must help Johnson. How? By creating an atmosphere where he is pushed harder than the segregationist South pushes him."

GOVERNMENT LABOR REPS SPEAK

Representatives of federal agencies--Manpower Development and Retraining Agency, Area Development, Rural Areas Development Agency, and the Migrant Health section of the HEW Dept.--presented background information on their programs presently in operation in the South. The general feeling of the conference was that these federal programs are too small, as well as too poorly conceived, to accomplish meaningful changes. These sentiments were partially reflected in the following recommendations made by the resolutions committee at the end of the conference: SNCC field workers and field secretaries should make full use of the limited resources of the Manpower Retraining program, but should continually ask the government why the program is not implemented fully; SNCC should distribute widely information on federal programs to educate Black Belt citizens on the opportunities available and procedures to follow when local malfeasance in the administration of these programs is encountered; SNCC should encourage program directors to visit the South to observe how their programs are administered at the local level; SNCC should compile as much information as possible on various Southern communities which might be of use to the federal agencies in the development of their programs.

Jack Conway, Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, called for a broadly-based political party of wage-earners, minorities, old people, middle and low income urbanites, etc., without which the realization of a program of justice, full employment, peace, and the eradication of exploitation could not be assured. He also called for "democratic central planning" to reach these goals.

Both Conway and Stan Aronowitz of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers--the two labor leaders who addressed plenums--expressed concern that little cooperation had occurred so far between the labor and civil rights movements because they feel the economic issues facing the two movements are similar. Although the final resolutions committee report stressed the need to open lines of communication between SNCC and labor unions, much pessimism about the possible nature of the response from labor was expressed. There was concern that, since most sections in the

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cuba hurricane devastation: 2 american responses

"The Commerce Dept. confirmed tonight that it had refused two export licenses to the Emergency Comm. for Disaster Relief to Cuba...for two reasons:...For a subsidized product like milk, regulations would have to be waived and a 'validated license' issued. The department refused to do this. The other reason...was the committee's inability to guarantee that the milk would be used to feed young hurricane victims."

Thus read a buried (p. 11) dispatch in the N.Y. Times of Jan. 8. It tends to validate the Cuban Government's contention that "quasi-official" (Amer. Red Cross) American help was offered to Cuba not for humanitarian reasons but as a coverup of the US Government's attempt to starve Cuba into submission through the American embargo. It was in order not to help perpetuate what it considered American hypocrisy that the Cuban Government refused the American Red Cross's offer of help after early Oct. Hurricane Flora devastated Cuba's two western provinces. The Castro Government did welcome, however, any and all non-governmental sources of aid from the U.S.

Through a meteorological freak, Flora stayed over Cuba for five straight days, releasing torrential rains and high winds over 40% of the Cuban population, and blocking the outlet of the Cauto River, thus causing it to overflow its banks and spread to 30-50 miles width. 1200-1500 Cubans died; 100,000 lost all their possessions; 175,000 were evacuated; many animals were killed; and much property

An oil operator with an income of \$28 million in 1960 "paid not one single cent in federal income taxes for that year," according to Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill). He told the Senate on Dec. 12 that five other oil barons with incomes ranging from one to four-and-a-half million dollars paid little or no taxes in 1960.

SNEC Conference (cont)

labor movement have not yet demonstrated any great concern with the civil rights struggle or with the problems of unemployment, attempts to build allies in the labor field might not be totally fruitful.

(This article--except for the penultimate paragraph--appeared in the Jan. 1964 issue of The Liberal Democrat.)

was lost.

According to a member of a four-man mission of the American Friends Service Committee which delivered a planeload of medical supplies and food purchased with \$100,000 contributions from Americans, "The Cuban government--with the help of foreign aid from many nations, including the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic--appears to be meeting the needs of the situation." (Help has also been reported from other countries in Latin America, Europe, and Asia, and from UN and other international agencies.) Especially noted must be the Cuban government's ability to mobilize rescue activities (incalculable lives were saved thus), avoid epidemics, and start reconstruction immediately. Fidel Castro and other government officials were personally active in the rescue operation. Fidel is reported to have endangered his life at least twice.

At a mass meeting in Havana, attended by more than 500,000 people, it was voted, amid cheers, to increase prices on beer, cigarettes, meat, and poultry to finance the building of dams and canals in Oriente (the hardest-hit, mountainous western province of Cuba), in order to prevent such disasters in the future.

(A brief report from Ted Veltfort of the North American Amigos de Cuba in Havana is well worth reading: it appears in the Jan. 4 issue of The Peacemaker, 10208 Sylvan Ave. (Gano), Cincinnati 41, Ohio.)

TRUMAN ON CHINA, C.I.A.

Harry Truman has proposed "that we give, not sell" grain to Communist China. He said in the Wash. Post, "Why not just get off our high horse" and let "the shrill super-patriots" object as they may.

Truman, who set up the CIA, said in the Post Dec. 22 that we should "take another look" at its operations. He wrote that he never intended its use in "peacetime cloak and dagger operations" and that he now feels "there is something about the way the CIA has been functioning that is casting a shadow" over our institutions.

(It might be remembered also that Truman, while President, vetoed (and had re-passed over his veto) the Smith, Taft-Hartley, & Walter-McCarren Immigration Acts.)

southern peace walk encounters police brutality

Ed. note: The following is a short excerpt from an article in the December issue of Liberation magazine (5 Beekman St, NYC 38) describing the Committee for Non Violent Action's Quebec-to-Guantanamo Walk's passing through Griffin, Ga. These instances of police brutality are included as an indicative chronicling of what non-violent activists--even if not engaged in integrationist demonstrations--have to face in the South. The Walkers were an integrated group--3 of the dozen or so participants were Negroes--and the arrests and brutality followed the Walkers' insistence of their right to leaflet a row of houses in the Negro section of town near the highway they were following.

"An electric cattle prodder is a device capable of giving a powerful electric shock which produces localized sensations of extreme pain and burning and involuntary muscle spasms in humans. The variety used at Griffin was a thin metal rod about thirty inches long with a red handle containing batteries and a high voltage transformer at one end and bronze prongs at the other.

"Throughout the arrests and afterwards in the police station, the electric cattle prod was used principally by one of the GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation) agents, seldom by the police or other local officials. The agent particularly horrified the walkers and many of the officials by his cold, calculated torture of the walkers, often with no apparent end in view other than hurting them.

prod used sadistically

"Ross Anderson was dragged from the bus by two officials who held him by the shoulders. As he was hauled up the steps, the cattle prod was used on his neck and face. Tom Rodd was pulled from the bus, carried and dragged to the stairs. There the GBI agent set upon him with the prod, shocking him on his face, arms, genitals, and every other part of his body the prod could reach. The policeman wanted to carry Tom into the jail but the agent said, 'Naw, let him wriggle for a while.'

"A policeman pulled Jack Shapiro off his seat, down the aisle and out of the bus. Another policeman took hold of his thumb and little finger and both dragged him to

the first set of stairs. One officer said, 'Take him by the feet so his head will hit the steps.' Jack protected the back of his head with his hands until they reached a small landing. There the same GBI agent stuck the cattle prodder on Jack's genitals. Jack yelled and rolled over. The agent then shocked him on the chest, ear, side, and cheek and, as he rolled to escape, on the eye. The pain was so excruciating that Jack jumped up and ran inside, the GBI agent after him, burning the back of his neck. The agent then ordered him up the stairs to the cell block. Jack went, the agent repeatedly shocking him in the back. At the top, Jack turned and faced the man, who forced him against a wall, then down to the floor with the prodder. The agent shouted, 'Stay there,' and ran back down the stairs.

all are tortured

"The cattle prodder was used on the rest of the walkers, burning them as they were being carried or dragged along. Officers burned Eric Robinson on the back of the head, hands, and back. One of the city policemen yelled, 'Stop! He's not going to get up.' The GBI man stopped and they carried Eric into the jail. John Stephens was dragged to the steps of the bus by a city policeman. Sheriff Gilbert then picked him up and put him on his shoulder like a sack of potatoes. 'This is an easier way,' the sheriff said, when passing another officer. The officer shrugged his shoulders.

"Michele Gloor was the first to be carried up. They asked her to go up. She said she could not. A policeman got the cattle prod and burned her repeatedly on the neck with everyone, including the policewoman, sheriff, and other officers, looking on. When several walkers began to cry out in horror and appeal to the man to treat Michele like a human being, he became ashamed and relinquished the prod to another burly officer who said, 'Heck, I'll use it.' He soon was revolted by the torture, too, and together with the first officer picked up Michele and carried her towards and up the stairs to the cell block. The GBI agent diligently applied the prod to Michele's legs and thighs. Tears streamed down the faces of two policemen standing by the door, but they said and did nothing. Kit Havice got similar treatment.

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police brutality (cont)

"Ray Robinson (Negro) was particularly brutally tortured. He turned over on his back when they began shocking him. He was stretched full length on the floor, the police standing over him with the cattle prod. They burned his arms, legs, then got him pinned down with the prod in the small of his back, on his spine. Then the prod was shifted to his genital area, held firmly in place. They kept yelling, 'Get up! Get up!' Ray screamed, 'I can't get up. I'll die before I get up for you.' He writhed in pain, shouted, 'Kill me! Kill me! Go ahead and kill me!' The walkers protested at the top of their lungs, asking the police to stop, asking them how they could treat anyone in such a manner. The officers finally stopped prodding Ray on the floor and dragged him upstairs by his feet, shocking and burning him on the way, particularly in his face.

"Tony Brown spoke to one of the policemen standing over him. He told the man that it was clearly unnecessary to use prods and that in the jail they must have enough men to carry each of the walkers upstairs. Although Tony had already been booked, an officer threw him a cross the booking desk, where Tony explained the error. Someone put a full nelson on him and carried him off the ground that way to the first landing. There the prod was put to his neck. He became trapped between the floor and the wall, unable to move away from it. He screamed and eventually began weeping. Eric Robinson shouted, 'Hey!' in protest against the torture and the officer booking him yelled, 'Stop!' Eric said that the booking officer was as scared by the brutality as he. Sheriff Gilbert came up to Tony, picked him up gently, put him on his back and carried him up the stairs. Tony put his hand across his eyes, frantically asking for his glasses (which had fallen off) and telling the sheriff that he could hardly see without them. Sheriff Gilbert later found the glasses and brought them to the cell.

"As they were negotiating the Walkers' release, Bradford Lyttle asked Sheriff Gilbert, the most humane, considerate and gentlemanly of all the authorities, if the arm-twisting had been called for. 'I did that,' said the sheriff ruefully. Later he defended use of the cattle prod, on the grounds that the noncooperation had been ungentlemanly. When asked if one ungentlemanly act deserved another, he replied, 'Now you're talking Christianity.'"

PREP REPORT

PREP Literature Available

---PREP Newsletter #2 was sent out just before Christmas. If you haven't received your copy yet, contact PREP, 715 Arch, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103.

---"The Peace Movement: New Possibilities?" by Dick Flacks and Tom Hayden-- suggestions for peace activity in the midst of a growing US-Soviet detente. Available from the N.O. Part of a longer, wide-ranging paper entitled "The New Possibilities for Peace".

by Lee Webb and Doug Ireland

At the National Council meeting, Dick Flacks, Director of the Peace Research and Education Project, promised that the PREP program for the coming year would be "vigorous and demanding". He admitted the failure of PREP to relate to the campus and its general lack of program and publications, but promised that things would be different.

In the coming year, PREP will concentrate on developing active programming for the chapters and the membership. The primary method for this will be regional conferences on the defense economy and reallocation of defense money to domestic priorities. Thus, PREP's major single conference will be titled "Cold War or Poverty War: America Must Choose", and will be held in the Spring at the U. of Michigan. It will be preceded by a special issue of the PREP newsletter drawing together material on the economic impact of defense spending and the arms race, and proposals for reallocation of these resources. The conference will be co-sponsored by SDS's Economic Research and Action Project and the Northern Student Movement. All these conferences will involve adults as well as students.

The PREP Newsletter is to be issued on a regular basis (every six weeks); the next issue will concentrate on Pres. Johnson's State of the Union message and its implications for American foreign policy and peace politics. Being considered is a national campaign on the draft, as a means of reaching many college students.

PREP is now raising money to hire full-time staff, and hopes to conduct projects this summer.

The Senate's Independent Liberals

During the past session of Congress, a handful of better legislators (mainly Senators) have contributed a great deal of perceptive commentary and lively, informative debate.

Sen. George McGovern (D, S.D.) is cutting a wide swath, flailing the military establishment and elaborating the "overkill" argument. He tried valiantly to slice 10% from the military appropriations bill, with the plaintive observation that since the total arms budget still would be \$50 billion, this hardly was a blueprint for pacifism. Now he has introduced a bill to create a National Economic Conversion Commission to plan for what to do if peace breaks out. The bill also would require major defense contractors to create conversion of committees which would plan the conversion of their plants to civilian pursuits. McGovern presents the issues of peace, disarmament and the economy with exceptional clarity and understanding--a stimulating improvement over tedious reiteration that nuclear war is bad and disarmament is good.

Recently I reported on Sen. Joseph Clark's precedent-shattering speech in favor of world population control. Now Sen. Ernest Gruening (D, Alaska) has offered an equally fine presentation on the subject. Judging from this and other utterances, particularly on the pesticides problem, Gruening has an understanding of man in relation to his environment that is not shared by very many legislators.

During debate on NASA (Nat'l Aeronautics & Space Agency) appropriations, a group of Senators, led by William Fulbright, attacked the magnitude of that incredible juvenile exercise, the crash program to race Russia to the moon. It was reassuring to find at least a few people troubled by the fact that we rush to play Buck Rogers at a cost of many billions, while we can't afford to tend to the well-being of the country. The Senate rejected an amendment to cut the NASA budget request by 10% but did accept a 2% reduction. On the same day, Sen. Stephen Young (D, Ohio) tried vainly to prune the nation's other departure from sanity, the fallout-shelter program. As a constant, sometimes vitriolic critic of that program, Young may have saved us from wasting billions.

Sens. Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening led a thorough dismembering of the foreign aid

program. Using a scapel, not a meat ax, they bore down particularly on aid to our rich European friends, aid to corrupt dictatorial governments which misuse the money, and military aid to Latin American and various other governments. As Morse said, we "must face the fact that we are arming the military castes of Latin America to destroy civilian government." It was a virtuoso performance and a highly entertaining one. I commend the debates to those internationalists who rigidly equate foreign aid appropriations with motherhood, and have reflexively defended the program against its genuine enemies for so long as to have lost their sense of discrimination.

There are interesting threads tying together these and similar events. In each instance, approximately the same small group of Senators participate. If one thing typifies them, it is a willingness and ability to grapple with the powerful forces of the scientific and technological revolution. They seem to be fighting to preserve democratic control over that revolution in order that we will run it rather than let it run us. More precisely, they are trying to wrest control away from technological oligarchies like the Pentagon, NASA, AEC and even foreign aid administrators. Like the tops of icebergs, these oligarchies have submerged beneath them a mass of private economic self-interest, which has powerful representation in Congress. Since they bear the mantle of the Administration, this greatly complicates the political alignments of the Senate. Here the liberals find themselves time and time again fighting against their own Administration's spending. Ironically, they have gained a veto power at times by attracting the votes of reactionaries who are against all government spending, good or bad. Thus we find Joseph Clark, Paul Douglas, and Maurine Neuberger shoulder to shoulder with Harry Byrd and Strom Thurmond. A good example was the amendment for a 2% cut in the NASA budget, which passed 40-39. Of the 40, 23 were Republicans or unreconstructed Southern Democrats.

This group of Senators we are discussing can be regarded as the independent liberals, contrasted with the "kept" liberals of the Senate Establishment. Of course they are also the ones who don't get the committee appointments and don't get their bills out of committee. It is possible
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the tax cut & full employment

by George Goss

If there is much question regarding the number of jobs that will be created by the proposed tax cut, the following article from the N.Y. Times of 1-6-64 should answer them pretty well:

"SMALLER CONCERNS JOINING IN DRIVE FOR AUTOMATION"

"Small and medium sized businesses, as well as large ones, are going ahead with extensive modernization involving automation, according to Edward G. Milau. He is president of Milau Associates, Inc., industrial builders of Great Neck, L.I.

"The trend toward new plants to house automation, electronic controls and mechanization, Mr. Milau said, has been stimulated by company mergers, product diversification, research and redevelopment programs and revised depreciation schedules and tax credits.

"The expected Federal tax cut, he pointed out, may increase availability of capital for new industrial construction among small and medium-sized companies. He predicted a moderate increase in construction costs in 1964."

All of which mostly means that a tax cut will greatly speed up automation by subsidizing it by means of a tax cut, and that government statements calling for a tax cut because it will speed up the economy and thus create many jobs is, as usual, foolishness.

THE COUNTRY IS CELEBRATING 100 YEARS OF FREEDOM 100 YEARS TOO SOON. WE (NEGROES) CAN'T BE FREE UNTIL THEY ARE FREE--BALDWIN

Independent Liberals
that this schism among liberals is accentuated by unhealed wounds dating back to the long and bitter debate on the communications satellite giveaway in 1962. Certainly the lineup is much the same.

There is considerable doubt in my mind that representative government can survive the atomic age. If it does, I am confident the Clarks, Morses, Douglasses, and McGovern will be the reason.

(This article is from the Jan. 1964 issue of The liberal democrat.)

RENT STRIKE (cont)

mixed with the desire not to cause trouble in the white community, which the Puerto Rican hopes to join as ethnic groups of more favorable cultural backgrounds have in the past. Contact with the legal system is avoided because of fear of exposing many of the activities of the poor which are illegal, such as playing the numbers. Infractions of the welfare regulations, such as picking up extra money by babysitting, also keep complaints down. Slumlords threaten to expose real or fabricated illegal activities of tenants who depend on welfare checks for survival. In addition, the courts which act on complaints are decidedly unsympathetic "slumlord courts".

The use of economic power by boycott has been one of the key weapons in the fight for civil rights. In housing it can be particularly effective because the rent strike can reach all the customers of an enterprise (i.e. the tenants) with a minimum of time and expense. This kind of concentration has an immediate and total effect on the profitability of a business. It forces action by the slumlord, creating an opportunity for the exposure of violations in a better context than the routine inspection cases.

HARLEM ORGANIZING

The first Harlem rent strike was started in the early Fall by Granville Cherry, at 2560 8th Ave. (near 136 St.), where the unemployed shipping clerk lives in a four-room apartment with his wife and six children. Cherry was joined by the Harlem Action Group (an NSM project), which has continued to work in the area. Rents have been cut to \$1/month and some improvements in the building have been reported.

In Oct. and Nov., the Community Council on Housing (6 E. 117 St) organized 16 buildings in the area between Madison and 5th Aves. on 117 and 118 Sts. The Council has been aiding tenants in getting complaints serviced for two years. Its leader, Jesse Gray, has been working on the housing problem for ten years.

The Community Council, like most of the other groups, is a grass roots organization. Its leadership is local and it works through elected building captains, who meet weekly. Gray places great emphasis on leaflet distribution as a method of moving into a new block or area. Responses are

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RENT STRIKE (cont)

met with instructions to hold a meeting at the caller's building at a specific time and date given by the organizer. The building captain chosen at this tenants' meeting (along with others who form a building committee) is the key link in communications between tenants and leadership.

EXTENT OF THE STRIKES

By mid-December, 58 buildings were on strike in Harlem. (In other parts of NYC, at least 13 buildings were also on strike --including a 14-month old strike.) In the 58 Harlem buildings, with an average of 15 families per building, and average rent of \$50/month, and 75% participation, 600 families and \$32,500/month were involved.

(Ed. note: In developments since then, the rent strike in Harlem has burgeoned to at least 200 buildings by mid-January. Mayor Wagner has made public statements supporting the rent strike--some say he is trying to "take it over"--and separate court decisions have allowed tenants to withhold rents and pay them to the court instead, and to withhold rents and pay them to no one. Also, bills have been introduced in the NY State Legislature which would authorize the withholding of rents where violations go unfixd. In view of the proliferation of the buildings on strike, the reader is asked to note especially the difficulties discussed below of inadequate personnel to service striking buildings.)

FURTHER PROBLEMS

The problems of the rent strike movement concern both organization and the situation in which it is operating. Close contact must be maintained with the tenants to offset intimidation from the owner's superintendent or agent. Tenants, often confused by long printed forms, must be advised frequently. It is by no means unknown for an agent or superintendent to tell a tenant that his signature is needed on a form for repairs to be made. The form is actually a certification of the tenant's permission to raise the rent. A strike will be lost if the tenants spend their rent money--but for the poor, with real and ever-present needs, the hopelessness of circumstances encourages a live-for-the-moment philosophy. Saving is near impossible. Those who hold money in their apartments are always in danger of having it stolen in these areas of dope addic-

tion. This has been a particularly difficult problem in the Community Council on Housing's buildings, where a lack of personnel has caused weak organization in the buildings beyond the original sixteen.

The fight against slumlords is also complicated by the tactic of switching ownership. When the pressure on a building gets too high, the property is transferred--to a cousin or another corporation. A tenants' meeting at 3 W. 116 St. was visited by a thoroughly middle class man, about 35, who announced he was the new owner. He proclaimed his plans to "turn this lemon into an orange". He said that, following his father's advice ("the streets of America are lined with gold"), he was buying as much property in Manhattan as he could and trying to make it pay for itself while land values rise. He told of his plans to clean his newly acquired "dirty diamond", estimating the cost of polish at \$3000. (The building needs a new boiler, new plumbing, new electrical wiring, a complete plaster and painting job, etc.). When someone mentioned putting his promises on paper, where they would be actionable if not fulfilled, he excused himself "to take my little daughter to the doctor --she fell in the snow this afternoon."

BROAD MOVEMENT NEEDED

To achieve its ends the rent strike movement must become a movement and it must be "radical". It must recognize that the problem which it is fighting is one of a group of interrelated problems of a racist society whose ideology of Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer has rendered it incapable of dealing with problems which require a collective solution. The sense of community which is necessary for effective action can only be built when people are aligned on a broad range of issues affecting nearly all aspects of their lives.

Each time people protest as a group against a problem they are reiterating and demanding recognition of the fact that the problem is not an individual one. Rent strikes will gain better housing if the principle of societal responsibility and societal action is extended to the crises in employment and education. Some of the leaders of the rent strike see the need to broaden their demands. Real success in the housing problem depends upon the establishment of a genuine movement with a broad base and comprehensive demands.

CHESTER (cont)

THE COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM NOW

Unhappy with a largely inactive NAACP chapter in Chester, NAACP Field Secretary Stanley Branche (aged 27) and several other local NAACPers formed the Committee for Freedom NOW (CFFN) in early 1963. But the relatively small number of demonstrations called by CFFN did not catch the imagination of the Negro population.

Then, in October, Stanley and several Swarthmore students (they had met when all were working in Cambridge, Md. the previous summer) conceived of the idea of beginning a campaign around old, run-down, severely overcrowded and under-facilitated Franklin Elementary School (95% Negro). On Oct. 28, a letter was sent to the School Board demanding relief of bad conditions, and eventual construction of a new school; a response was demanded by Nov. 11.

On Nov. 1, a boycott of the school was called for Nov. 4. Swarthmore students leafleted the school area that weekend and urged people to picket the school Monday. About 2/3 of the school's 1150 pupils stayed out of school, and the picket line, manned at first mostly by Swarthmore students but swelled by more and more Chester residents, continued through Wednesday.

Meanwhile, with no reply to the Oct. 28 letter, plans were made to block completely the entrance to the school the following Tuesday (Nov. 12). At a mass meeting Monday night 300 people cheered a long, rabble-rousing speech by Stanley. The next morning 300 people stood in front of the school, completely blocking all entry. The police, bewildered, gathered but gave up the thought of arresting 300 people with only one paddy-wagon. The school was officially closed for the day. The crowd marched through the downtown streets (dropping the children at a special Freedom School (taught by Swarthmore students and principaled by SDS Nat'l Sec'y Lee Webb) and poured, 100 strong, into an open meeting of the City Council.

There Stanley presented the demands about Franklin School. The City Council claimed it had no jurisdiction over the school board (it is true that the two bodies are separately elected and financed but it was

equally obvious to the demonstrators that the Council had much potential influence, even if only informally), and didn't know the conditions at Franklin. But the people weren't fooled by bureaucratic run-around: "What do you mean, put our demands on paper?" one woman said. "People have known about Franklin School conditions for years."

SCHOOL BOARD, CITY HALL BESIEGED

The crowd then marched to the School Board office, where they found locked doors. A hour-and-a-half confrontation between Stanley and Superintendent Long availed nothing. The crowd dispersed, after a mass meeting was called for that evening.

400 people--more subdued but more determined--attended: the day's events had exposed them to the city's political power structure and its basic lack of interest in their problems. Demonstrations blocking the school and the school board office were called for the next morning. When this was done, again nobody was arrested (the school was closed anyway due to vandalism the previous night), and the School Board moved elsewhere.

Afraid that another day without recognition or positive achievement would disillusion many people, we sought more dramatic action. The two groups (at the school and the School Board office) converged outside City Hall. Though there was no plan to go into the building, the demonstrators' chant of "We Want In!" led to our entrance into and complete disruption of the building (including a fire escape exit by the city fathers). Then came arrests; among the 150 arrested were 50 "juveniles", 20 Chester men, 40 Chester women, and 40 Swarthmore students.

The jailings really stirred up the people: after a mass meeting that evening, 500 people marched to the jail and would have stormed it had Stanley not dispersed them.

By this time the city officials were truly getting scared. They were determined to keep Franklin School open; the police were equally determined to keep it closed. 40 State Troopers were called in for Thursday's demonstrations, and 82 arrests and another march on the jail ensued.

At this point the city finally gave in and
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CHESTER (cont)

negotiated with CFFN. That night an agreement was announced. Although it was vague and time limits were not set on some promises. The city made significant concessions. In addition, all demonstrators were released.

THE CAMPAIGN'S SIGNIFICANCE

The success of the Franklin School campaign should not be judged in terms of the concessions won but according to the degree to which it contributed to the development of a movement in Chester. In two weeks of activity, 240 people were arrested and hundreds more picketed and marched. Millions of people read of the events in newspapers. The power structure of Chester was shaken for the first time in memory. The experience showed that people can be directly involved in activity around a problem directly concerning them.

Several lessons are to be learned from the week's events:

--Bad rather than segregated schools are an issue around which Negro response can easily be aroused. The movement in Chester achieved such quick success because it was not purely a civil rights movement. Integration of schools and housing is a very abstract issue which doesn't really concern the lower class Northern Negro. What he wants is a good school, a good house at reasonable rent. If he obtains these, the problem of segregation will eventually disappear.

--Thus Chester has shown that the Northern movement need not arouse specifically racial issues in order to gain the support of the masses of low income Negroes. Many have held that only the Muslims or black nationalist groups could be successful in drawing out the real power of this deeply alienated group. But an alliance of local leaders and white students did it in Chester, and the movement has not turned racist. Any hostility is directed not against whites as a group but solely against the power structure of the city which seeks to maintain the status quo. Swarthmore students were taken into the confidence of the local leadership and had a decisive influence on many key policy and tactical decisions. They were also enthusiastically acclaimed by the masses of

people.

--Mass action is valuable, but a mere vigil or demonstration of "non-violent love" is not sufficient to make changes. These tactics have been used in Chester before with little success. It was the dynamic, defiant stance which first attracted mass support, and then the threat of violence which brought action. It was not a moral plea to white liberals or the conscience of Chester, but the forced closing of the school, the Board of Education office, and the City Hall that brought the recent victory.

FURTHER ORGANIZATION NEEDED

The Franklin School campaign laid the groundwork for building a broad-based working class Negro movement in Chester. But a movement cannot continue to exist on school boycotts, stand-ins, and mass jailings. People did not yet look upon CFFN as an organization which existed solely to fight for their needs. There was no dialogue between the people and CFFN leadership. People might participate in CFFN activities but they felt no personal responsibility for the success or failure of a meeting, a picket, or a sit-in. It was not yet their organization.

Some things had been done to remedy this situation. In jail, we brought together some of the most committed people to form an executive committee of CFFN. But this was not enough. What was needed was to have in every neighborhood in the city an active grass-roots block organization which would develop its own activities around problems particularly affecting people in that neighborhood and feed into CFFN on city-wide campaigns. These block organizations would give every person a chance to express his own ideas and indicate his priorities for action. By developing programs on a community level, many more people could be involved in activity. These community groups would give CFFN leaders a much clearer picture of what problems people were most concerned about and enable them to plan mass activities more effectively. Most important: by intimately involving more and more people in planning and developing activity, the organization would develop in them the sense of responsibility now lacking, the feeling that the movement in Chester is their

(cont. next page)

LITERATURE LIST

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 - (10) C. Wright Mills: An Open Letter to the New Left
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 - (10) Noel Day: A White America in a Non-White World (a speech)
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 - (10) American Civil Liberties Union: Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities
 - (75) Irwin Suall: The American Ultras
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