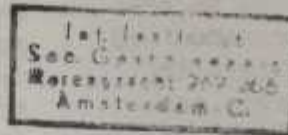


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STUDENTS FOR A
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COFO VS. MISS. RACISM

By DOUG IRELAND

GOLDWATERISM AND HOW IT GREW—

By JIM WILLIAMS

The Goldwater phenomenon continues its spread across the American body politic, causing increasing concern for American liberals, radicals and decent people generally. In every community, new strength is being shown by the Goldwater forces.

Since the San Francisco convention the following events have taken place:

(1) Public sentiment is obviously swinging toward Goldwater at an unpredicted rate. Before the convention the polls (Lou Harris, et.al.) showed Goldwater with only 20% of the public behind him whereas Johnson had the support of about 73% of the nation. In the very short space of three weeks after the convention, a similar poll showed that Goldwater's support had jumped to 39%! Obviously, much of this was based on pure-and-simple party loyalties and the Republican bureaucracy -- but note that at this point his support had doubled. Goldwater has also made terrific gains in the South which are still hard to estimate simply because of the immensity of his effect. The abdication of George Wallace from the race has boosted

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In what may prove to be the key to building a realigned and revitalized Democratic Party, the Mississippi Council of Federate Organizations (COFO) is sponsoring a political challenge to institutionalized racism. The challenge takes the form of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, an interracial group which, primarily under the leadership of SNCC, is sending an integrated delegation to the Democratic National Convention this year to challenge the seating of the lily-white official slate of delegates.

This is but one part of a three-pronged political attack that marks this year's "Freedom Summer." The voter registration

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Summer BULLETIN Editor: STEVE SLANER, who is responsible for unsigned articles. Signed articles do not necessarily reflect the opinion of SDS as an organization.

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ERAP SUMMER

By RENNIE DAVIS, ERAP Director

The first phase of the SDS program to organize ten communities around economic and social issues is nearly over. There is less than a month before a sizeable portion of the nearly 150 ERAP field staff leave their project areas. As this crucial summer railroads to an end, all of us, wherever we stand in relation to our community action program, need to begin the hard task of evaluating the ERAP organizing effort.

- It is important, I think, that the evaluation be centered around common questions and central issues and not become two (or more) debates unrelated to each other, carried on, on the one hand, by those who spent the summer in community work and, on the other, by those who did not. The evaluation of ERAP should engage the entire organization as much as possible at the same level.

Hardest of all to answer is the question: Did the projects succeed? was the enormous expenditure in human and material resources worth it? The difficulty lies in agreement as to what would constitute "success." No project succeeded in giving life to our slogan, "an interracial movement of the poor," and certainly none "organized a community."

The projects did succeed, however, in developing scores of viable block organizations around economic (particularly housing) issues. They did demonstrate that college students could organize in poor Negro and white areas. In virtually every area, solid and substantial contacts were made in the community. A base for continuing the initial program with the participation of local people was laid. Dozens of small victories could be counted: liberating congested streets for community play areas; getting people who were dropped from the welfare lists back on; forcing unemployment compensation offices to come through with overdue checks.

The accomplishments of a period of less

than two months have been impressive and generally encouraging to those who now dedicate themselves to organizing a new, powerful constituency among the American poor. But in this short time we have come to appreciate much better what we are up against, to see the enormous barriers and to understand the need for still better analysis, strategy and program.

Probably all of the ERAP community workers have developed a deeper sense of the extreme slowness of building permanent community organization on a program of fundamental change. Todd Gitlin talks of the enormous time consumed in Chicago developing neighborhood associations of unemployed. Scores of unemployed are talked with in the JOIN office adjacent to a large Chicago unemployment compensation center. An organizer can spend two or more hours with a single individual. Through hundreds of conversations, slowly, clusters of unemployed contacts are made and identified on city maps. One person in a large unemployment area is approached about having a meeting; he agrees, but hasn't the time to contact neighbors. So the JOIN worker calls every nearby unemployed by phone or sees them in person. Thirty people are contacted; eight turn out. One is a racist, but his arguments get put down by the group. One (maybe) is willing to work and has some sense of what needs to be done. The others go round and round on their personal troubles. The process is slow, particularly when there is no visible example of what unemployed people can do to create pressure for jobs.

On the other hand, one often gets a sense that the potential for a militant community grouping exists in the tender beginnings of a neighborhood tenants' council, block organization or organization of welfare mothers. In Cleveland (near West Side) where a recently-formed neighborhood group donated food to a mother who had lost her son in a summer drowning, poor white people are discovering for the first time in their lives

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the community they live in -- that it can act collectively, that it shares common problems, and that something should be done about them.

In Hazard one gets the same sense: that people are seeing new possibilities because they are meeting and talking. Among the hollar organizations that have developed this summer, there is utter disgust with the way school funds are administered, particularly those for the school lunch program. It would appear that only a few steps need be taken before the Hazard community would mobilize to vote out three (among the five) school members up for re-election in November.

But those few steps can meet enormous resistance from a threatened power group. Already, supporters of the school board are attending the hollar meetings on better schools, intimidating the participants and disrupting the sessions. Since most of the people attending the meeting are on welfare, they fear any controversial action, particularly if it looks like it could fail, because of the real possibility of being dropped from welfare.

From these and related experiences, major problem areas are emerging. One central concern, however, has come to dominate the discussions of those who organized this summer, and should now dominate debate in the organization. The issue is "strategy." What do we do to prevent or withstand city-wide smear campaigns? With what people are we most interested in working, and around what issues? What is the immediate political unit (city, congressional unit, state) on which we should focus?

In my view, the primary considerations at this time should be those of political strategy. SDS needs more discussion and decision on methods for radicalizing and changing communities. Should our approach be to organize around a single "radical" issue, like unemployment -- an issue, in other words, that has many sides? Some argue that to demand full employment may

be to demand an end to income differentials and to call for redistribution of power and new concepts of public control over the economy. Should our strategy be to "take power" in a local community by building our support in Negro and white communities around a series of immediate, conscious issues (bad schools, in adequate housing and recreational facilities, no housing, etc.)? Should our aim be to establish small "islands" of power (a Congressional district, a city, a town) with a base of radicals to serve as a symbol or an example for others? Should our strategy be more modest -- simply to test organizing techniques, to gain experience and knowledge before finalizing any long-term strategy at all?

The list could be extended at length. And it should be. Practical questions of strategy are being explicitly raised by the summer ERAP work and must not be backed away from now.

This is not to say that we should ignore the closely connected issues of program or goals (the "strategy for what" question). The summer has pointed up numerous gaps in analysis and programmatic detail which need filling. In particular, I think, the summer has shown that we need solid information on the political economy, the organizations and the traditions of the communities where we work; more subtle insights into the real maneuvering of the power structure; proposals that movements can adopt as programmatic demands; and a constant stream of exposure in leaflets, pamphlets, articles and broadcasts.

Only some of this work can be done by the actual full-time organizers and the people of the community. Much needs to be done by students, teachers, union research staffs, newspapermen and any others whose professional activity complements our program. Not only will this create a bank of information, but it will also broaden the base of our movement by forging meaningful links between community organizers and allies in mainstream insti-

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tutions. From this can come insurgence not only against poverty but against the affluence and decadence which permits it -- not only movements from the ghetto but from all those who are denied control over their work and living conditions.

In addition to this "strategic" and more immediate task, we must stress the profound importance of broader studies of the critical trends affecting our political economy: monopoly concentration; vast differences in income and opportunities; the placing of private greed over public needs; the relation of automation to our traditional productive system; the future of the labor and consumers' movements; the character of poverty and deprivation; the function of the defense economy; alternative models of planning and democratic control. More than anything, the summer has shown that it is time for a popular revival of hard thinking on these kinds of strategic and programmatic issues.

COFO

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campaign is aimed at registering 300,000 disenfranchised Negroes in an unofficial "Freedom Registration"; they will then be eligible to vote in the Freedom Democratic Party convention and in the mock November election which sees four Freedom candidates opposing Senator Stennis and Congressmen Whitten, Colmer and Williams, all established racists.

The Freedom Democratic Party was established at a Jackson meeting on April 26th, at which 300 delegates elected a party executive committee. All efforts have been made to comply with all state laws which apply to the formation of political parties, and their activities will parallel those of the official Mississippi Democratic Party, thus laying the groundwork for a legal challenge of the political basis of the Mississippi power system.

As of this writing, nine state delegations have passed resolutions opposing the seating of the racist delegation, although only

two (Michigan and California) include support of the Freedom Democratic delegation in their resolutions. According to some press reports, President Johnson recently made a deal with the Governor of Mississippi, Paul B. Johnson, to the effect that the official Mississippi party would send a delegation pledged to support Johnson at the Convention which would be seated in return for stopping plans to run a slate of unpledged electors in November, thus forcing the President to run as an independent in Mississippi.

It is not clear whether Johnson will actually oppose ousting the Mississippi racists from the National Convention, which begins August 24 in Atlantic City, N. J. But reliable reports indicate that pressure is coming from the White House on the state delegations which have already pledged themselves to fight the racists at the Convention.

It appears likely that, whatever the outcome of the Mississippi challenge, the Alabama delegation, which is supporting an unpledged slate of electors, will be expelled. This is in retaliation for Alabama's Governor Wallace's earlier independent presidential candidacy which collapsed in the face of overwhelming Southern support for Goldwater.

As of this writing, CORE and SNCC have announced sponsorship of a demonstration outside the Democratic National Convention in support of the Freedom Democratic Party's right to be seated. The demonstration, which is to be held the evening of August 26, is expected to focus public attention on the moral and political issues involved.

The War Resisters League and the Committee for Non-Violent Action, among other organizations, are sponsoring a demonstration outside the Democratic Convention the evening of August 25 attacking the "dirty war" in South Vietnam and calling for the withdrawal of U. S. troops from that area. The demonstration will take the form of a vigil, emphasizing the shame and horror felt by the participants at U. S. policy in Southeast Asia, and comparing our situation to that of the French in Algeria. There will probably be buses leaving from NYC at an approximate cost of \$4.00 round trip.

ERAP REPORTS

CHESTER

By SCOTT SPENCER

It has become undeniable, for all those who may have been skeptical before, that the movement for freedom in Chester, Pennsylvania is not a flash in the pan or seasonal movement, but rather a force for social protest that will be the main determinant of Chester's political and social life for the next years. Although it has been several months since Stanley Branche and the Committee for Freedom Now held the mass demonstration that led to hundreds of arrests, the Negro community in Chester is still very much aware of the freedom movement and, in almost all cases, thoroughly sympathetic with it.

Our main focus is still on block organization. (See July issue of SDS Bulletin). Significantly, however, there has been a shifting emphasis in regards to the why of block organization. When this question was discussed during the winter and at the beginning of the project, it was taken as a given that our primary objective was to work towards a rent-strike. The CFFN had come out for rent-striking but it was fairly unorganized and very sporadic, and we thought one of the most valuable things we could do was to work for a rent-strike that had the support and active participation of the community. But as we worked in setting up block organization, and after we talked about problems with the people here, it became apparent that much more than a rent-strike was needed to secure decent housing in Chester.

The problem of housing here has two focal points. On the one hand there are hundreds of families that live in houses that should have been condemned and leveled years ago. Secondly, there are plans for a great deal of urban renewal and for "Project 70," a state-wide project that will clear neighborhoods in favor of parks and parking lots. The programmatic demand that naturally flowed from the consideration of these objective

circumstances was one for decent low-cost public housing. People whose house will or should be condemned do not, by and large, have places to move to. In certain areas, Project 70 will start in within a year and whole neighborhoods will be displaced, homeless. So in the past few weeks, we've been raising demands that the city take responsibility for people who have no place to live and that they meet this responsibility by building public housing. This is a good issue on which to organize. It is clear, to the point, and obviously justified. There is good reason to believe that the city also understands the value of this demand since a few days after petitions were being circulated demanding public housing, the newspaper carried a headline story announcing plans to build a public, low-cost high-rise for people over 62 years. It was a sop, and a sop of a city justifiably frightened by the potential of a real and vital movement for better housing.

All this is not to say that the idea of a rent-strike has been abandoned. Some of the block organizations are still thinking in these terms, some will think in these terms in the future. The blocks also devote time to social welfare moves as a method of organizing people, like the tearing down of a rotted house, the blocking off of a street so it can be used as a playground, demanding stop-signs etc.

Although our work with blocks demands a high level of commitment and activity, we do do other things in Chester. We recently two children's marches to city hall demanding a swimming pool on the Negro side of town. As it stands now there is no place for the Negro kids to swim except the white YMCA, where they are allowed only 1 hour a week, and the Delaware River, where three or four drown in that dirty water every summer. We organized the kids by playing guitars in the playgrounds and the housing projects and then let them fan the show from there. They literally took over City Hall when they went down, and, as it looks today, they

ERAP (CONT'D) . . .

had a great deal of success. The city is promising to open up the YM and YWCA for swimming every day for the rest of the summer and to have a pool ready for the beginning of next summer.

Work still continues on voter registration. There has been a steady and vigorous campaign against the infamous machine of John McClure; if it were called for a voice vote tomorrow, McClure would be dislodged. But as long as thousands shy away from the polls (there is a logic to this, however, since many have been persecuted for voting Democratic in Chester) there will be no hope for unseating the machine. Although many of the activists in the freedom movement look at the County Democrats with a good measure of skepticism, we have been working in cooperation with the Democratic Party and, as yet, they have given us facilities without overtly trying to change the political nature of the registration campaign.

The CFFN is taking to the streets again. Picketing of slumlords is going on every day. There are mass street corner rallies that attract three hundred people and are growing. A boycott of Scott Paper is being discussed because it has been charged that Scott is guilty of unfair hiring practices. Mass marches are planned for the next two weeks. So, with the combination of grass roots community organization and the flare of mass street demonstrations, it is clear that the movement in Chester is rising up to meet not only this long hot summer but all the cold, cold winters ahead.

CLEVELAND

By JOAN BRADBURY

In the last Bulletin, Nanci Hollander described the kind of neighborhood we are working in and some of the problems inherent in it -- the dependency and isolation of the people on welfare and within public housing projects. Both of these factors become critical in the process of organization. Is the dependency upon the

management of the housing project or the welfare department so great that people will be afraid to confront these institutions? Will the isolation and distrust created by the system be too great for people to be able to form an organization and cooperate on some project? Or will the organization itself -- a tenants' council or a group of welfare mothers or unemployed men -- destroy this dependency and isolation enough just by providing opportunities for the people within to take leadership and face and fight the institutions which control their lives?

Tactically, these questions have become critical ones in the housing project. Groups which enthusiastically came together for the first or second time were suddenly confronted by the management. The recreation director of the project sat in on meetings and cast doubt upon the CCP: "Who are your superiors?" "What right do you have to use these communist tactics?" (printing a leaflet). Are the tenants' groups going to be strong enough to withstand this threat of management disapproval? Is it best to avoid conflict for the time being and build as a neighborhood improvement organization of sorts, or is it better to confront the management immediately and hope that the personal rapport built up with the tenants will hold them to our side?

In the case of welfare, we are not so immediately faced with this problem. We will not become a visible threat to anyone until we start leafletting the food-stamp office, and maybe not until we picket the welfare department. Even then, it may be that the welfare department will be more sympathetic to our demands than the housing authority will be to demands of a tenants' council. Nevertheless, we are forced to deal with the problems of dependency and isolation in both short and long-range program development. Some kind of LDP (leadership development program) must be built into our work with the welfare mothers' group. Initiative must be developed, isolation dissolved. Even before the first meeting, there were positive signs in this direction. A woman,

ERAP (CONT'D) . . .

whom we thought we had not reached when we visited her home called up the next night raging about the welfare system ("What do they think we are ... wated Americans?") and announced she was bringing a list of nine questions to the meeting to be discussed and that we would make sure there were enough copies for everyone.

At the first meeting, a high-pitched gripe session on several levels, it was decided that we would divide into three smaller groups for the week to find out about issues in three areas of possible future action: (1) clothing (2) foodstamps (3) allowing mothers to work part-time without getting cuts in their checks. Each of us was to work with one of these groups. So far, IDP looks good. The mothers have been willing to spend time in small meetings talking. The foodstamp group met first to talk about what questions should be asked of the foodstamp official, questions about the exclusion of certain items such as cleaning supplies and questions about who had the power and the money to open another office, or to keep the present ones open longer on crowded days of the month. Then they met again to visit the official and talked afterward about the runaround he had given us and what possible action might be taken. The clothing group drew up a list of minimum clothing needs for each age and sex for school, and this was on the inspiration of one of the mothers. Initiative has really been taken in the field of recruitment. One mother made up a list of about 15 people on welfare and has volunteered twice to go around to visit these people with us. Another woman planned a whole day of recruitment activity for herself and one of us. And another took one of us to the Spanish Mission.

The whole IDP process raises questions of its own. We are growing certain for future leadership -- Are they the best ones? Are we running the risk of cutting future numbers by developing women who are for the most part friends of one another and belonged to the previous

welfare mothers' group? Will we be able to interest men in an organization led by women?

But it is not only in the short range that dependency and isolation enter into consideration of organizing around welfare issues. Essentially these two factors are products of the welfare system as it now exists. What might this mean in terms of long-term considerations? First, it makes us question the desirability of the welfare state notion. Do we really want to expand public housing projects? Do we want to have bigger and better welfare benefits covering more and more people? Secondly, it makes us think of possible ways of altering the welfare system, altering it enough so it might not produce the dependency and isolation so evident today. Suppose, for instance, that benefits were really adequate; then welfare recipients would not be forced into isolation. Income would be high enough to afford transportation and recreation and entertainment of friends in the home (and with this government subsidy of transport and the arts would begin). Some of the dependency could be broken down if mothers were allowed the chance to work if they wanted. Suppose then that the program were designed to leave this opportunity open. Job training programs could be set up, child care provided, and maybe even a severance pay for leaving the relief roles, as an extra something to get going on. But this latter suggestion does not deal with those still on the relief roles (of which there may be ever-increasing numbers) These mothers should be receiving adequate amounts, but it should not be in the form of a dole, but rather as an income for going mothers (remember.. nothing besides the FBI is so sacred as American Motherhood) This income could not be cut without due process; and it could not be allowed to fluctuate at the whim of the worker or the whim of the government when it decides roads are more important than mothers and children. Children on welfare should have the same opportunities as other children. They should be able to keep what money they

ERAP [CONT'D]

want and not have it deducted from their mother's check or from the family rent in a housing project. There should be a trust fund set up for any child's education, college or trade school.

Do these tentative visions significantly alter the basic welfare set-up? Do they alter it enough so as to exclude the dependency, the isolation, the insecurity, the degradation, the hopelessness that is built into the present welfare system? In any case, it is clear that these characteristics, which almost define the poverty group in our community, have significantly affected our choice of areas of concentration this summer and also the tactics of organizing and long range goals for these areas.

HAZARD

By ARTHUR GORSON

The Federal trial of unemployed Hazard, Kentucky miners ended last Thursday in Lexington Kentucky. The trial on charges of conspiracy to dynamite a railroad bridge had begun July 13. The verdicts of the jury were as follows:

Not guilty -- Combs and Huff

Guilty -- Hensley, Stacy, Turner, Engel

Hung Jury -- (No verdict) Berman Gibson

The charges dealt with conspiracy to plan to dynamite a railroad bridge. The bridge is still standing and the defense charged throughout that his was a simple effort to frame these men. The defense was handled by New York attorneys Paul O'Dwyer and I. Philip Sipser, and Pikeville, Kentucky attorney, Dan Jack Combs. Paul O'Dwyer handled the cross examination and most of the actual trial work. He did an outstanding job and overwhelmed the government attorneys. The miners had the full power of the FBI, state police and railroad detectives massed against them. O'Dwyer skillfully exposed many inconsistencies and malpractices on the part of the FBI agents testifying for the prosecution. At one point in the Trial, the Federal judge called the head of the state FBI from Louisville for a special three-minute appearance on the stand. During

this period the judge soundly reprimanded the FBI chief for the conduct of his men.

The four men who were found guilty had been coerced into signing confessions at the time of their arrest one year ago. The judge ruled that the confessions were admissible as evidence -- hence the jury's guilty verdict. Huff and Combs had not signed confessions and the jury could find no evidence upon which to convict them. Berman Gibson had been cited by the prosecution as the leader of the conspiracy. There was no real evidence against him, and the jury was unable to reach a verdict. A hung jury in Berman's case means that there must be a retrial. We are not positive at this time whether or not the government will choose to go into the entire process of bringing Berman's case before another jury. If the case is tried, it means that we will once again be involved in complicated lower court litigation on Berman's behalf. Our lawyers feel that a very strong trial record has been made. It is felt that when the case is taken to an appeal court and the transcript is scrutinized, the only possible verdict on points of law will be not guilty.

After the trial, Berman Gibson said, "They found all these men guilty 'cause they were out to stop our movement. When they re-try me, they'll work even harder to put old Gibson behind bars. In Kentucky, a man who fights for the rights of these people finds all the power of the government up against him. Look at the facts, and you'd think that no jury in the world could find us guilty. Those who are against us will find that it is very hard to stop our movement."

TRENTON

By WALT POPPER

The project staff for the month of August is down to five full-time people and about ten part-time workers, high school and college students from the area. Work continues with the tutorial and with the Mercer Jackson Tenants' Council in our integrated neighborhood.

ERAP REPORTS

We have begun to work on blocks in the all-Negro South Ward, an urban renewal area scheduled for destruction in a year or so. All the residents are afraid that the city relocation plans are incomplete, especially in the area of low-cost public housing. Block groups are acting as a pressure group for better housing and lower rent in the city as well as demanding that the city build playgrounds in the area now, and clear lots and remove garbage. The city, while very liberal, has been down on us ever since we started distributing leaflets and organizing block groups. By then they should be able to tell the city that the residents of the area refuse to move until each family is relocated in satisfactory housing.

The city has stated that with a housing project now under construction there will be sufficient low-cost housing. To determine the validity of this argument, we have undertaken a survey of all the rented housing units in the city. Through this survey we will find out how many families have applied for public housing, and how many want to apply. With the list of potential applicants we may be able to have a public housing registration campaign. Housing projects pay for themselves over a thirty-year period; the only reason that there are not enough now in Trenton is that federal legislation sets a limit on the number the federal government will help finance. Most of this program, if we decide to continue it at all, will be an activity of the Princeton chapter next fall.

We hoped, originally, that one would be able to start a city-wide organization on the issue of more public housing. In poor areas of the city there would be a concentration of applicants, and they would be organized on a neighborhood basis. Such block organizations would then become multi-issue groups, united on a city-wide level by the principal issue. The issue is an economic, not a social one, and so the movement around the issue would be interracial. Public housing registration would be similar to voter registration in the South. The list of applicants would increase enormously and the city and fed-

eral government would soon feel pressure.

There are several problems with the plan. Even without government interference, the amount of manpower needed for mass registration is prohibitive. And as soon as the city officials realized the plan, they would find legal-technical obstacles -- interviews, inspection of present housing conditions, etc. But most important, a single-issue organization, where the issue is utopian or has a long-range solution, has little chance of winning those small victories which will encourage its members and increase its numbers.

NEWARK

By CARL WITTMAN

The project is located in the Clinton Hill section of Newark's South Ward (one of five wards). Upper Clinton Hill is an interracial middle and working-class residential area while the Lower Hill is part of Newark's 200,000-person ghetto. Project work is concentrated in the Lower Hill which, despite its relatively pleasant facade, is rapidly becoming a slum. Most of the houses are now owned by absentee landlords -- sometimes the ex-resident who has moved to the suburbs but more often a realty corporation or slumlord. The density of population has greatly increased with the subdivision of apartments and the creation of rooming houses. The houses themselves are deteriorating and the rents are rising.

Blame for these conditions is placed by the remaining whites and some Negro homeowners on the "different kind of people" who have moved into the neighborhood: dirty, irresponsible people who don't take proper care of their children. It is clear, however, that the blame belongs with the system which forces Negroes to leave the South, to enter an urban-industrial society where they are unwelcome and where their labor is fast becoming irrelevant because of automation.

The city of Newark is not unaware of its problems. By most standards it is a "progressive city." It has probably the earl-

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iest and one of the largest comprehensive urban renewal programs in the nation; being a depressed area, it has applied for many of the federal programs to fight unemployment; its councilmen will, if pushed, deal with citizens' complaints; it has, at city hall, innumerable plans for a "new Newark." But from the streets of the Lower Hill the City's plans look more like a fraud than anything else.

The urban renewal program has removed much of the slum area of the center-city. It has built high-rise housing projects which in structure, design and administration, are inappropriate to the needs of the people living in them. They have, in fact, done little more than institutionalize the already existing poverty. The people who were displaced by the slum removal program moved, for the most part, to the South Ward where, on arriving, they were told that their new home, lower Clinton Hill, was a blighted area and that they were to be replaced by light industry and middle income housing. That the area was becoming blighted was assured by the de facto cessation of city services.

Street cleaning slowed down, as did garbage removal. Deterioration of housing was accompanied by a decrease in housing inspection. Remains from burnt housing stand for years. Schools have remained the same size despite a phenomenal increase in school-age population. These factors as well as increasing taxes served to drive middle-class and well-off working-class families into the suburbs. As a result, Clinton Hill rapidly took on the aspects of the ghetto: concentrations of low income families, ADC mothers, inadequate welfare payments, slumlord housing with high rents and no services, band and de facto segregated schools and unemployment.

The inadequacy of the City's solutions to its problems is further shown by the programs of the Youth Unemployment Service office in the area. The city optimistically states that only 6% of the high school graduates from 1962-63 are not in college, the army or on the job. However, independent estimates of youth unemployment range upwards of 30%, and for Negro females easily double that figure. Programs

offered by the Youth Unemployment Service office are unappealing to those who have become so discouraged that they have stopped looking for work. When the agencies find a job, more than occasionally it is berrypicking at ridiculously low wages. Retraining programs are fitted for employer's needs and are totally inadequate. Skills such as construction are awarded to all-white unions.

Until this spring, the only local organization concerned with these problems was the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council. Formed 9 years ago, this neighborhood improvement association has fought the city on the blight declaration, the decline of services, and the multitude of injustices done to residents. They, in cooperation with a group of labor, professional and civic leaders who formed the Newark Committee on Full Employment, invited our project into Clinton Hill. The staff of 13 students and graduates work in coordination with the local groups and the National Committee on Full Employment research staff to lay the base for a community movement which will speak to the problems of Newark.

Laying the base for such a community movement, as we see it, involves the formation of as many block groups as possible in the area, the development of leadership within these groups, the education of the people on the block as to the real causes of their condition and the way in which they may deal most effectively with them, and the eventual federation of all the block groups within the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council. The block organizations all begin with a discussion about and action on issues important at the block level. Eventually they develop to a discussion of major issues, such as employment, job security, housing, etc. At the present time we are working on about twelve blocks, each of which is in a different stage of development. From each group a minimum of two people have shown either leadership or unusual interest in activity and are beginning to adopt our analysis. Some of the more material gains that have been made have been: a play-street, welfare checks for several women who had hitherto been denied them, better tree pruning, garbage removal, a

REPORTS [CONCLUDED]

little more fair treatment by the cops, ruined houses demolished, liquor store kept out of the neighborhood, housing inspection, etc. In addition three apartment houses went on rent strike at the beginning of this month, which is particularly significant in light of the fact that there is no rent control in Newark. If the present trend in block groups continues, it looks as though a community-wide program for better housing inspection and repairs may develop in the very near future. Such a program would probably involve block-by-block action whereby a block would be surveyed for code violations, with the leadership of that block group coordinating the efforts of all of the block groups, working as a whole, to demand better service from landlords and the city.

STUDENTS AID [EQUALITY]

The Student Governments at the University of Chicago, Roosevelt University and students at Shimer College have created a new group called SAFE (Student Aid For Equality) to raise funds to aid the Mississippi Summer Project.

SAFE will send letters to all students at the three schools asking for one day's summer earnings. The object of the drive is to enable those students who are not in Mississippi this summer but wish they were to contribute directly to the Mississippi Project.

Letters will also be mailed to student body presidents and student newspaper editors across the country in an effort to spread the drive to other campuses. For those students on campus at the three schools, booths will be set up at which students can either contribute on the spot or obtain a coupon to send with their donation.

All money collected will go toward paying for books, supplies, lunches, gas, telephones, bail money and subsistence salaries for field workers. All contributors will be asked to send their money directly to Mississippi - to the Greenwood Office of the Mississippi Summer Project, 708 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

ice of the Mississippi Summer Project, 708 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

James Forman, Executive Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC), has endorsed the SAFE drive, emphasizing the need for students' cooperation in support of the Mississippi Summer Project.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The following article is reprinted from the NEWSMAN'S GADFLY, a monthly publication edited by Walter Gormly -- P. O. Box 26, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, 52314:

News stories on racial discrimination demonstrations within the grounds of the World's Fair in New York City on opening day left me with a feeling of bewilderment as to what they were all about.

James Farmer and Bayard Rustin were arrested for demonstrating at the New York City pavillion, but I didn't understand why they demonstrated there. I didn't know what the objective of their demonstration was.

Two days later, Mr. Rustin got off a plane in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and a radio and TV newsman tape recorded an interview for broadcast. I heard Mr. Rustin say . . . that they demonstrated at the NYC pavillion because the Mayor of New York had taken no action on a number of issues. He went on to tick off the specific points of inaction on the part of the Mayor that prompted their protest. I have not seen those specific points listed in any of the newspapers I read.

His explanation made their demonstration understandable. His explanation put a definite connection between the purpose, the locale and the demonstration. The news reports had withheld the specific purpose of the demonstration.

If a news report tells about a protest demonstration and gives little or no reason for the protest, that half-truth (if that half is true) leads people to believe the protesters are irresponsible, irrational creatures that cause trouble for the sake of causing trouble.

SPU CONVENTION: ANALYSIS

By CHARLES HOOK

A motion was passed at the recent Student Peace Union Convention calling for dissolution of the organization and the creation of a Student Peace Coordinating Committee in its place. Since the war system has not disappeared, since the threat of megadeath remains and no adequate machinery for resolving international disputes by reasonably sane and civilized methods has yet been developed, it is appropriate to ask why the convention acted as it did.

The convention was held from June 18 to 21 at SPU headquarters in Chicago; it was attended by about 35 delegates and a number of observers. The first sessions considered the political aspects of poverty and civil rights as they related to peace. The motion to dissolve, which was to take up most of the remaining convention time, was introduced by Mike Parker, one of the original organizers of SPU. The basic polarization that emerged in the ensuing debate was between those who favored a new form of organization to meet changed circumstances and thus supported the motion to dissolve, and those who thought SPU had a vital role to play and ought to continue on the reduced scale circumstances necessitated. The latter position was primarily supported by delegates from the most active local chapters. The motion to dissolve was twice defeated and twice reconsidered, finally passing on the last day of the convention when new facts on the availability of a national office staff came to light.

In considering the reasons for the final decision, it is important to distinguish the external conditions from the situation within SPU. In the international sphere, the establishment of the "hot line" phone, the outback of fissionable materials stockpiling, and the general improvement of relations between the U.S. and USSR have been viewed by many as sufficiently reducing the immediate threat of war to make the peace issue a less pressing concern. Within the United States itself, the emergence of a vital civil rights struggle has caused many politically committed people on campus to direct more of their energies to combatting racism and, consequently,

less to fighting the Bomb. The struggle for Negro equality and against unemployment has the important advantage of dealing with more tangible issues than currently affect the daily lives of a large number of Americans; and since the country has recently become considerably more aware of these problems, it seems possible to involve more people and achieve more tangible results.

The changes within the international and national political climate have been reflected within SPU as reduced activity in many chapters, a drop in membership and a decrease in available funds. The SPU, since it has always been a student organization with no direct connection with the adult peace movement and therefore no direct financial support, has always had difficulty financing the staff and projects of its national office. Last year, approximately half the N.O. funds came from non-members and the N.O. accumulated a substantial debt, an important factor in the final convention decision. Furthermore, since the active members of the University of Chicago SPU had all left campus work for work in the N.O., the problem of staffing the N.O. assumed a crucial importance over and above its financing.

What lessons can those students concerned with peace learn from the convention decision to dissolve? Here, of necessity, one enters the realm of speculation. First, since a minimal detente does exist no matter how one may assess its extent or permanency, the peace movement must seek to link its appeal for a reduction of tensions and armaments with constructive proposals for creating permanent international machinery to insure peace by something more substantial than the fickle good will of sovereign nations vying for power in a cold war. To many, this means the strengthening of the U. N. by the abolition of the Security Council veto and undemocratic, unrealistic voting structure in the General Assembly, and the creation of a permanent police force, coupled with general and complete disarmament. Secondly, just as the civil rights movement is forcefully learning the connection between Negro

STUDENT PEACE UNION...

equality and job opportunity and thus the larger issue of poverty, so the peace movement must understand and make public the economics of war preparation and disarmament. Third, ways must be developed whereby the abstract questions of war and peace can be related to the actual conditions on campus, such as the sit-in movement related the abstraction of discrimination to specific cases; campus action directed against ROTC, fallout shelter programs, recruiting and the like could serve to make the war machine more visible in the community while providing concrete channels for dissent. Fourth, any student movement without a parent organization must realize that it is essentially campus-based and act accordingly so as to prevent embarrassment with problems of finances and staff.

The ultimate fate of SPU is as yet undecided, and probably will not be decided for another month or two. If total dissolution should be the final outcome, then the active chapters and individuals would probably re-affiliate with one of the other peace organizations, such as PREP, SANE, UWF or WRL. Alternatively, a student committee may be established to coordinate the activities of the remaining active SPU chapters. It is even possible that the New York SPU Regional Committee may ignore the convention decision and assume the responsibility of continuing SPU as the new National Office. Whatever the outcome, suitable re-thinking and reorganization could well provide the basis for a new growth of peace-centered awareness and action on campus.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Charles Hook, Vice-Pres. of Kansas University SPU, was a delegate to the last SPU convention and is a member of that organization's Steering Committee. He is also a member of SDS.

IMPORTANT!

PLEASE SEND YOUR FALL ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE -- EVEN IF IT IS THE SAME AS YOUR SUMMER ADDRESS. THIS MUST BE DONE IF YOU WISH TO RECEIVE FUTURE ISSUES OF THE BULLETIN AND OTHER SDS MATERIAL.

SOCIAL CHANGE

intellectuals in retreat

By RICH HOREVITZ

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested for attempting to sit at the front of a bus. In the nine years that have followed this event, America has witnessed the first real political movement in over twenty years. This year was and will be the high point in the creation of this movement. With the Mississippi Summer Project, the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the ERAP-SDS summer projects, the revival of a peace movement, and the ability to challenge the nation's right-wing forces in the November election, the basis for a sustained political movement has been created.

Throughout the history of this movement students from across the country have played a leading role, and hopefully will continue to do so. The possibility of divorcing the intellectuals from a center in the "movement" is a disastrous prospect, one which must be prevented. The student intellectual must see himself in a dual role. First, he must continue to be an activist, using his time in school as a chance to involve himself in the battle which we are fighting; secondly, and this is the point that will be dealt with in this article, he must remember that while being an activist, he must continue to regard himself as an intellectual.

"Freedom now!" is still the cry raised by civil rights activists across the country. It is a beautiful cry, and it rings in our ears, but what does it mean? For one thing, it no longer just means "public accommodations" laws, or equal job opportunity. It means the right of all people to have a job and decent standard of living. It means stop wasting \$80 billion a year on the defense-industry complex and start building low-cost public housing, hospitals, schools, urban transportation systems, etc., etc. It means real education and a life where a man is a man. But still today there is no real plan or idea for a decent standard of life beyond the concept of guaranteed income or jobs -- no outline of what a society is that makes a man a man.

social change

INTELLECTUALS IN RETREAT

It would, of course, be unfair to assume that there is anything like a complete intellectual bankruptcy that has failed to think of these questions, but they are not completely answered.

The Port Huron Statement and America in the New Era are, in fact, preliminary attempts to deal with these problems. But the debate must continue and new answers and ideas must be found. The need for such answers is not merely to satisfy the intellectual curiosity of those of us involved in the movement; it is, in a word, the only alternative to being "betrayed" by the flexibility of the capitalist system. The labor movement failed to develop an ideology and set of demands beyond the present, and was "sold out" by high wages, fringe benefits and job security (all of which may be lost today with the unchecked and irresponsible growth of automation). Will the new movement be sold out by equal employment practices, public housing and a guaranteed income? Without new alternatives to demand at the granting (however token) of each of today's demands, this betrayal is what we face.

It is, then, a time for renewal of debate, a time to reconsider PHS and ANE in the light of the changes both in America and the world since they were written, with the involvement of the new group of student-intellectuals who have had no experience in ideological thinking before. It is the responsibility of the "old guard" to teach the "youngsters" how to think and how to debate questions of ideology. It is also their responsibility to refine and update their own ideological thinking. Ideology should not be developed by a Marx but should be formulated by the group of student intellectuals who identify with SDS.

The mechanics of such development must be clearly outlined. First, meetings should be set up by campus or regional campus groups in the form of retreats. In addition to campus leaders and other interested SDS people from the campus, the national leadership should be invited, and see as

its obligation to attend and function in these retreats. And it is in these retreats, if they are carefully planned with a coherent structure and set of questions to be debated, that both new answers and new leaders are created. It is only in these retreats that the long-range perspective for action can be seen in terms of a new and developing ideology. It is here that SDS prepares to meet the future, as program, ideology and new leadership are developed.

The NO should see its function three ways: (1) to encourage campus groups to set up these retreats; (2) to help develop a series of questions to be asked, as well as a scheme for utilizing and coordinating the results of the retreats; (3) to make sure that some of SDS' top "ideologues" are sent to each of the retreats. The BULLETIN could be used to coordinate the discussions emanating from each retreat, and these discussion papers could then be incorporated into the Flacks Committee for revising ANE. This system, I believe, fulfills the two needs I have been emphasizing throughout this article: the development and refining of SDS ideology, and the involvement of new SDS people in the important discussions in a way that the convention certainly does not provide. So, taking a leaf from our community involvement, the only way to initiate discussion of this type is to have every interested person swamp C. Clark's desk with mail (mark it "personal").

With working capital of \$4.1 billion, GM made a gross profit of \$1.1 billion in 3 months. This is at the annual rate of 106%. Even net profit, after taxes, is running better than 50% of working capital -- a handsome return, indeed. . . .

It is this kind of fantastic profit-making that enabled GM last year to give 14,000 of its executives bonuses totaling \$100 million. But the share-the-wealth plan of industry is highly restrictive. The average factory worker's earnings show only a modest gain of 5.3% over the corresponding period last year (Progressive, June 1964)

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING - A NEW TWIST

By HARVEY GLASSER

We live in a potentially wealthy society. We seem to have the machines and resources which would enable us to live human lives -- lives in which necessary labor is reduced to a minimum; in which people are able to play, love, create; in which one man's well-being is not purchased at the price of another man's misery. Yet we have inherited a culture and a mode of political and economic organization which deny these possibilities. We work and live in an atmosphere of administration and manipulation. We inhabit ugly cities and towns. We feel trapped in jobs which are not our own. A deadening mass culture deforms us. Our natural exuberance, eroticism and playfulness are confined by repressive sexual and social mores. We keep our children in tutelage and when they are grown up they do not question. Our old people are lonely and afraid of death. We pay for our "comfort" with the sacrifice of the wholeness of our perception, sensuality, insight; we pay for our "success" by abandoning the quest for wisdom and each man's right to be an artist.

A COMMUNITY ALTERNATIVE

Is there a way out of this situation? The very productivity of our society makes any assertion that it is in need of radical transformation seem outrageous. However, because of the boredom and stultifying job alternatives in our society, there are those who see this need and who search for a way out. I want to suggest one possibility.

Since the shape of the world seems to be indicated by advanced industrial societies such as our own, it becomes vitally important to see if an alternative, freer, more human pattern of existence which utilizes the benefits of modern technology can be evolved. Freedom, it seems to me, involves participation in the basic decisions which affect one's life in the context of a community which presents meaningful alternatives, including the possibility of realizing one's human potentialities. I don't believe that such participation

can be delegated or represented. Thus the problem becomes one of decentralizing political and economic life to the point at which it is coextensive with a meaningful human community organized according to the principle of voluntary association and based on the values of freedom, play, spontaneity, eroticism, understanding and creativity.

For this purpose it seems desirable that diverse communities be established in this country. These communities could experiment in different ways with the creation of integral community cultures and with new economic forms involving the decentralization of technology and the reduction of working time. One group in the USA encouraging the formation of diverse types of communities is the School of Living, Rural Route 3, Brookville, Ohio.

A PROPOSAL

There is probably no one form of the "ideal community." Any community conceived along libertarian lines must reflect the wishes, attitudes, and beliefs of its members. I would like to invite those who basically agree with what has been said to begin a discussion leading to the establishment of a libertarian international community. I hope that from this discussion a group of people might emerge who know one another and who have worked out together mutually acceptable forms of association. My own ideas about the purposes towards which the community should work and the values on which it should be based are clear from what I have said. I would like to begin the discussion on a number of other points with a few thoughts, on all of which I would welcome comment and criticism.

My thoughts about location have thus far centered on the northeastern U.S. or perhaps Pennsylvania. I'd like to be on land which included arable land, woods, meadows and streams or lakes. My preferences in architecture are for the use of stone and wood. I like a lot of Frank Lloyd Wright's ideas about the "natural house."

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNITY

I think that we should aim at providing our own food through gardening, dairy-farming, poultry-raising, etc. After we were fully self-supporting, we might begin to experiment with the possibilities of integrating some form of industry or craft into the community -- maybe to see if a factory can be run without hierarchy.

I like the way the Quakers decide things at their meetings -- by getting "the sense of the meeting." I think that it is better to talk until we agree than to oppose a majority will to a minority will. The community should be small enough to permit this. I hope that the community would show a continuing concern with the larger society through study and discussion of its problems and through political action. Support of the peace and integration movements should be easier for people who cannot be coerced in their means of livelihood.

Education in the community should be devoted to the liberation of the senses, deepening psychological awareness, the cultivation of "sensuous reason" and of all forms of creative expression. I like many of the ideas and attitudes expressed in A. S. Neill's Summerhill.

We must fully recognize the difficulty of our task. In planning the community in our discussions we might study the history of past community attempts and try to learn from their failures.

The difficulties are formidable but the possibilities are there. If you are interested in joining the discussion, please write to Harvey Glasser, 1 Maple Ave., Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

CORRESPONDENCE

From MYRON SACHS

Some time ago I inquired whether PREP (and BULLETIN) endorsement of the May 2 Vietnam demonstrations, and the BULLETIN's carrying a Viet Cong Medical Aid statement, indicated that effective debate on Southeast Asian policy in SDS had ended. Both Steve Max and Don McKelvey hastened to assure me that SDS had not committed itself on Vietnam but instead was hoping to initiate

discussion on this problem. This satisfied me more or less until I received the July BULLETIN in which Messrs. Paul Booth and David Smith expressed extreme opposition to governmental policy in Indochina. Both evidently felt that they were expressing the dominant sentiment in SDS on this issue. A casual reader could come to no other conclusion than that this was the official SDS policy. After all, was not one the director of PREP and did not the other cite the SDS BULLETIN as one of the main advocates for removal of U. S. troops?

Of course, the casual reader might take some comfort in David Arnold's paper on Vietnam, an SDS-PREP product, which seems to be highly dubious of an immediate American pull-out. Even so, the paper offers no clear-cut alternative which is politically viable. Besides, doesn't the near-unanimous prevalence of opinion in the BULLETIN for the last seven months more accurately reflect SDS opinion than a little-read policy analysis?

I have little background to engage in a discussion on Vietnam, and this concerns me less than the curious way opinion and policy seem to be molded in SDS without any visible majoritarian consensus. However, I might indicate that I have found much of value in Bernard Fall's authoritative (though pro-French) Two Vietnams and in New Republic editorials and articles since 1960. These have assisted me in arriving at the conclusion that in a choice between two evils, intelligently and humanely aiding a benevolent, paternalistic, authoritarian government is far preferable under present circumstances to a removal of such aid with a subsequent increase in power of the "National Liberation Front."

EDITOR'S NOTE: Perhaps this is as good a time as any to note that BULLETIN articles reflect the opinion of the author, and not necessarily the official policy of SDS. This holds true for articles on ideal communities (see preceding page) as well as material on Southeast Asia. Where articles are unsigned, the BULLETIN editor must be deemed responsible for their inclusion. It should be noted that while SDS has taken a position opposed to U. S. policy in Vietnam, it has not supported the May 2 demonstrations or the Viet Cong Medical Aid Committee.

NAT'L SECRETARY'S REPORT

By C. CLARK KISSINGER

One aspect of our summer community organizing project is that more people than ever before are debating on a day-to-day basis the direction of SDS. And much of this debate will be given an opportunity for airing and implementation during the conference and National Council meeting scheduled for early September. The three-day conference (exact time and place not set) will be devoted both to an evaluation of our summer program and to planning a fall organizing program.

In preparation for this conference and the following NC, a number of persons and committees are currently preparing written programmatic suggestions. The ERAP Committee, which has met several times during the summer, will share a major burden in shaping the fall program, since many of the community projects will be continuing throughout the year. The return of most project people to the campuses, however, provides a real opportunity to carry the summer experience back to the chapters and to the campus base.

Both the Peace Research and Education Project and the Political Education Project are formulating written prospectuses of their programs for the school year. The President is preparing a comprehensive fund-raising program. Both the National Secretary and several groups of members are preparing written campus programs for the fall. And I urge all members to join in. Chapters should be debating the issues in preparation for sending their delegates to the NC. Even if you can't make it to National Council meetings and other SDS meetings, you can write us and share your thoughts about what sort of programming would be most effective on your own campus.

On other fronts, SDS is again participating in the National Student Congress through our sponsorship of the Liberal Study Group. In addition to the traditional publication of the Liberal Bulletin and LSG study papers, we will be sponsoring evening semin-

ars on such topics as University Reform, Poverty and Community Organizing, NSA Reform, Draft and Reconversion, Northern Unrest in the Ghetto, Goldwater and the Parties, the Third World and the Cold War, Christian Social Action, and the Mississippi Project.

Finally, now is the time for chapters to be preparing their fall programs. The first week of classes is too late. The National Office will, of course, be contacting those chapters already organized to give their fall efforts a little prodding. But it is the "lost hundreds," those scattered hundreds of SDS members who are not in chapters, with whom we are also concerned. Being a single, isolated member can often be a depressing experience. But it doesn't have to be. In addition to working in other student action organizations, the isolated member can remedy his situation by signing up his friends and forming his own chapter -- even if it is only a "paper chapter." At any rate, he can write to us, tell us what he is doing, tell us what we can do to help him get things going.

IN MEMORIAM

MICHAEL SCHWERNER
ANDREW GOODMAN
JAMES CHANEY

CHAPTER REPORTS

LOUISVILLE

By JIM WILLIAMS

New areas of labor-student friendship are developing in Louisville as local SDS members help the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, in their boycott against H*I*S apparel. On Saturdays and Mondays SDS'ers man the picket lines outside stores which carry the offending products with signs directed especially at students ("I'm going steady -- but not with H*I*S," "I'd rather wear burlap than H*I*S," and "Louisville Students Support Southern Workers' Right to Organize," etc.).

Labor-student relations hadn't always been so good here. Last spring University football players helped break a strike of photoengravers by escorting "scabs" across the lines and physically assaulting strikers. The Greater Louisville Central Labor Council complained to the University President and even passed a resolution to the effect that students were certainly not friends of labor.

Two winters before, SDS members had approached the Central Council to get help for the striking miners in Eastern Kentucky and had had no response because the body didn't want to damage its relations with the UMWA. This didn't endear the labor movement to progressive students who were working hard for what they felt to be labor's interests.

However, labor-student relations began to improve slowly as labor's commitment to civil rights became more outspoken and was transformed into reality when the State AFL-CIO affiliated with the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights in Kentucky. Students began to feel that labor wasn't quite as stodgy as they had imagined and re-examined labor history, taking a longer look at labor's role in American society.

So when SDS and ERAP members encountered an ACWA picket line in front of a men's clothing store, they quickly asked if there was any help that they could give. It seemed that there was. The ACWA was very glad to have student help because the H*I*S

products they were boycotting were geared to the student market. Mr. Jack Kadish of the ACWA Union Label Department pointed out that students at Harvard and Roosevelt Universities had also helped in the campaign in their cities. The stores were to be picketed which had signs directed at the student public; balloons would be passed out to children and leaflets to their parents. The roving picket line encompassed ten downtown stores. Lines were set for the Saturday morning and Monday evening rush hours.

The picketing actually seems to have had some effect and many young people have stopped and asked questions about the line, and why H*I*S was being boycotted.

H*I*S is made by the Henry I. Siegal Co., which owns seven plants located mostly in the south. Two of these are organized by ACWA and the remaining are unorganized. When the ACWA tried to organize the run-away plants in Tennessee, the company resorted to the vilest forms of red-baiting, race-baiting and a multitude of unfair labor practices. Although ordered to cease and desist by the National Labor Relations Board, H*I*S has not; it continues to disrupt workers' organization. It was at this point that the ACWA decided that a boycott was necessary -- and all over the country, wherever H*I*S products are sold and there is an ACWA local near, you will find an informational picketing taking place.

Since students are the main buyers of these products, we here in Louisville hope that SDS chapters all over the country will place cooperation with the ACWA boycott on their list of projects for the summer and the fall.

It is important that students, and particularly SDS members, participate in these campaigns. Labor is still the most liberal of the mainstream institutions and one of the biggest friends (admitting some bad guys) of the civil rights movement. As we continue our work in the Other America with the unemployed and

Chapter Reports

dispossessed, we will find ourselves depending on the labor movement more and more. In a crass, pragmatic sense, the contacts that we can make will be extremely valuable in the coming years.

Even if this were not so, our values and our vision still direct us to support of the labor movement which transformed America.

Students desiring to join the campaign locally should write to Jim Williams, 744 Heywood Ave., Louisville, Ky., or to Mr. Jack Kadish, Union Label Dep't, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, 15 Union Square, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Monday, July 27, we jointly sponsored a picket line against Ultra-Rightist leader Rev. Billy James Hargis with the Jefferson County AFL-CIO COPE. Since the Goldwater nomination they have been very receptive to action against the Ultra-Right, and many new forms of cooperation are developing here with COPE and the labor movement generally. [See above report on the H*I*S campaign.]

About 50 persons picketed Hargis, including 10 from SDS and the rest from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Tobacco Workers International Union, etc. Jerry Thompson, President of Kentucky State COPE; Richard Miller, Secretary-Treasurer of the Greater Louisville Central Labor Council; and Stan Clair of the ACWA Union Label Department led the line.

Over 400 people attended the Hargis rally during which Hargis blasted the Bradens, Jim Williams and Walter Reuther. Hargis called Reuther, a "Communist," a "socialist" and a "Keynesian Marxist." Hargis' main topic was assuring the Ultra-Rightists that they could now operate in the open with impunity since THEIR candidate was running. He pointed out that now Ultras could count on at least 50% press coverage from the "left" press.

Hargis took time out to come down to the line and take pictures of Williams and
Dov... SDS'ers. They

will appear, Hargis told us, in a future issue of the CHRISTIAN CRUSADE.

The nature of his audience was not red-necks. For the most part they were well-dressed and composed business types of the petty-bourgeois bent. Their ideology, however, was obviously fascist. Many comments were made about Williams being a "Communist," etc. The brother of Congressman M. G. ("Gene") Snyder rushed up to tell Williams that he could expect a Grand Jury investigation soon. Joan Goldsmith was greeted with the crack "here comes a little fortune-teller girl" and the hecklers made no attempt to conceal their anti-semitic feelings.

At one point some Goldwater supporters counter-picketed the line -- which was what we had hoped for -- to blur the distinctions between Hargis and Goldwater. The signs we carried read: "Hargis supports Goldwater: BOTH oppose Medicare," etc. Noticeably absent from the line were members of the local civil rights movement -- even the militant Gandhi Corps. All civil rights groups had been invited. It shows that the civil rights movement is still way behind the times politically and is a real cause for concern.

COPE is now committed to all sorts of action against the right. It marks a new day for labor here.

WESTERN KENTUCKY

By AZLE BECKNER

We are at present corresponding with the Kentucky ACLU Academic Freedom Committee. They are going to investigate the lack of academic freedom at Western.

We have also made up a petition to give to the new editor of the school newspaper asking him to establish a Letters to the Editor column and take a stand on issues in an editorial section of the paper. None of these have been in past papers, and the Public Relations Department of the college has acted as censor for any articles that have appeared in the paper in the past.

(Chapter Reports continued on page 24)

GOLDWATER ANALYZED

(continued from page 1)

Goldwater's chances in the south tremendously and it is safe to say that he will carry most of the south this November.

While Wallace appalled liberals with northern gains of, say, 20% of the vote, it is important to realize that Wallace -- in the south -- would have actually won many of the primary elections or would have come very close. The transfer of the Wallace bloc, is then crucial to the south. Recent events in the north such as the Harlem and Rochester riots will only serve to increase the intensity of the "White Backlash" in these states and will help Goldwater in terms of new cadre and money as well as votes.

2.) Goldwater's capture of the Republican party machinery and the victory of his ideology is complete and is now in a mopping-up process of consolidating. The southern victory is only the most spectacular. The Wallace forces are setting the conditions for Goldwater's support and these are alleged to be a) veto over the appointment of the Attorney General and b) the barring of civil rights leaders from the White House. Even the Negro defection, which was expected, has not been as total as was previously thought. (Even in Louisville, the Negro Republican bureaucracy is supporting Goldwater.) Other defections, such as that of Javits and Keating, are deeply significant in terms of realignment in NY state politics -- but their apparent sparsity through the rest of the country has not been enough to indicate a major trend toward realignment in a national sense.

Thus, the Republican bureaucracy has remained intact in Goldwater's hands and Goldwater has moved to consolidate his control over it by appointing key rightists to important positions. It is important to note here the contempt with which Goldwater has been able to treat the bureaucracy and the total lack of organizational or ideological concessions to the liberal and moderate elements. The attitude of the larger sections of the party has been that of going along with their defeat; even Scranton, who had called Goldwater a "dangerous" man, capitulated without struggle or whimper.

Most state delegations were infiltrated by Goldwater supporters and members of the John Birch Society and indicate the intensive organizational footwork that the right has made within the party.

Mike Munk points out that the Texas and California delegations were prime examples of rightist control. He makes a breakdown of the delegations from these states. The 86-member California delegation was headed by William Knowland, an old China Lobby hand, and was closely assisted by former FBI agent and Los Angeles sheriff Peter Pitchess. Among the rank and file, according to the New York Times of 23 July were "between twelve and twenty-four" hardcore reactionaries, including Mrs. Fritz Burns, an avowed Bircher; Walter Knott, whose Knott Berry Farm bankrolls many rightists; Mrs. Patrick Frawley, wife of the Schick Corporation executive head who is a backer of Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. About a dozen delegates were wealthy corporate figures who represent a healthy section of California's economy and about forty-five others who were small business men and professional people. There were no Negroes, Jews, or Mexicans on the delegation despite the fact that these comprise 25% of California's population.

In Texas the Birchers take open credit for capturing the party for the Ultra-Right. Many former Johnson backers, such as Robert Kleberg, president of the famous King Ranch, now support Goldwater's treasury. In Kentucky, the Birch Society and its front the United Association of Constitutional Conservatives, have made tremendous strides and captured the Kentucky delegation. (This is also indicated in local and state politics, the Third District Republican congressional incumbent, M.G. Snyder, from Louisville, being one of the few members of Congress to the right of Goldwater, and Louis Nunn, defeated gubernatorial candidate also being a staunch Goldwaterite.) The list of Goldwater's national contributors is also impressive and puts the lie to the myth of "Eastern Money" being necessary to victory. Oil magnate H. Jack

GOLDWATER IN '64?...

Porter of Houston, Texas, puts it this way:

"Because population and political power has shifted, and because financial power goes along with this shift, for the first time the West and Southwest will contribute a major share of the candidates' campaign funds, and the party will not have to depend on Eastern campaign funds."

Goldwater's brain trust is also composed of the Ultra-Right, persons like Stephen Possony and Gottfried Haberler and Edward Teller being representative of the nature of his advice. Russell Kirk and Brent Bozell and William Buckley are also prominent in the speech-writing and publicity end of his campaign.

Also Apparent in every community is the fact that the "lunatic fringe" rightists are increasing their activities and have, in many areas, acquired a mantle of respectability and closeness to the Republican organization which was formerly veiled at best and unacknowledged at worst. At a recent meeting in Louisville, Rightist Billy James Hargis encouraged followers that they could now "stand up and be counted" for Goldwater was "their" man. For once he pointed out, the rightist viewpoint must be "given equal time in the left press." Except for the kookiest elements such as the Nazis and the NSRP, the Right is united behind Goldwater with all the significance of cadre influx that that will have.

I point specifically at the influx of cadres that is the result of Goldwater's candidacy. This is the most important contribution of the far right, that is, persons who'll give much of their time and energy performing the countless organizational tasks and administrative work. Rightist housewives will be manning desks and the little old ladies in tennis shoes will be out ringing doorbells. The greatest organizational weakness of the Republican party has been its lack of such cadres in the past. At this point, the Right is much better organized and has more devoted cadres than does the left.

Reaction is on the march in America today. How and why it developed is an important question for the left.

THE BASE FOR REACTION: WHAT IS GOLDWATER'S CONSTITUENCY AND HOW DID IT GET THAT WAY?

We have always been aware of a reactionary strand in the thread of American politics and are well familiar with its history, the Know-Nothings, the KKK, and other nativist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries and the degeneration of populism during this period which hardened into outright racism. We're also familiar with particularly 20th century examples, the Bundists, and Coughlinites of the '30's and the Columbians, Mundts and McCarthys that followed them up to the slick, modern reaction of today. American reaction has not previously followed the lead of older European Reaction but rather followed its own meager tradition. In the post-war period, though, the right seems to have borrowed more from the essences of European reaction. The most important thing about reaction in America today is that it has achieved an organizational sophistication which it never has had previously.

Historically in this century, reaction and fascism have been born out of an economic and political crisis in which the industrial elements and the middle class have felt themselves particularly threatened or hurt. In Germany and Italy it was largely the middle class which felt itself economically threatened. Fascism was geared, then, to the needs of a frightened middle-class as distinguished from traditional European reaction which was geared to the needs of the old aristocracy and such elements. The demands of fascism were an umbrella which included many of the middle-class demands and those of the lumpenproletariat. Fascism was brought to power by the middle-class elements. It did, however, devour its children in a short period, revealing that the middle-class had been used (i.e., its social dynamic) to accomplish the aims of monopoly capital.

America knows this tradition also. Native leaders such as William Pelley and, to some extent, Townsend and Huey Long owe their political careers to the frenzy of a disestablished middle-class.

HOT WATER IN '65.

Yet we are not in a period of severe economic crisis now. We are at an era where profits are up and stable and the threat of depression is nonexistent. We are faced neither with revolution at home nor with economic collapse. What, then, is the valid explanation of the rise of reaction among the middle-class?

The history of the middle class in the post-war period has been of rapid growth and expansion and consolidation. But, and this is an important but, the nature of the middle class has changed from the traditional sense.

Historically the middle class in America were the shopkeepers and artisans, that is people who had some fair degree of economic independence. This also included farmers and a variety of other occupations. Today the middle class is a different animal - it has seen the replacement of the shopkeeper by today's professional man. While the middle class of today retains the apparent status and trappings of the old middle class its role in society has been sharply altered. That is that the middle class has really lost its base of power in society. In a nation of shopkeepers, each shopkeeper swung some economic weight, some "real" power, but in an economy increasingly dominated by monopoly and oligarchy and where the middle class is now an employer rather than an independent agent, the middle class has lost its economic power and subsequently, much of its political power. In a vulgar sense, one could speak of the "proletarianization" of the middle class. This has resulted in the New Right and the new forms of protest. As William A. Williams puts it:

"The program of such protesting middle-class people is reactionary. They retain the ideas and general outlook of the middle class as of the time when that class did enjoy a position in the property system that gave them power and influence. They are far more concerned, incidentally, with recovering their former ability to act upon their environment than they are worried about their own status. To this important degree, they understand their own situation better than the acad-

own situation better than the academics who write about a status revolution. But these middle-class discontents want to restore the past, and hence they are reactionary."

The Pressures on the middle class in America today are many. One can quickly note that the neat world of the middle-class suburb is beset by many demons: mortgages, bills, interest payments, status expenditures; in short, the middle class is suffering from a profound sense of economic insecurity. Although the middle class has not suffered the economic rout experienced during the depression it too, is suffering from having won the war but not having tasted the fruits of victory. It is full of fear -- fear that Automation will next rid itself of the middle man as it is already depopulating the factories of blue collars; fear that it will be "outvoted" in the UN by the "underdeveloped" countries that "it" is supporting; fear that its favored place in white Protestant America is being undermined by the Negro revolution and minority groups, fear of Russian superiority, fear of spreading revolutions, etc. Important is the fear of the loss of identity as the old ways pass from the scene and new, modern but unfamiliar ones take their place. The middle class is becoming deeply alienated in a sense which it has never been. The middle class is economically dependent and politically atomized.

It is to this grouping to which Goldwater most immediately appeals. He has a program designed for their needs and responsive to their plight.

Goldwater's appeal goes further than this though. There are other elements in society to which he has an attraction.

One of these elements is a section of the working class -- particularly that element which supported George Wallace (e.g. the Gary steelworkers). All manner of skilled workers, crafts and building, trades feel pressure from two sides. On one hand they are pressured by increasing automation and the loss of their jobs which would probably mean that they will never work again. On the other hand, the Negro demand for "fair employment" is a threat in an already strained situation

BREAD & WATER IN '66...

This has resulted in the "White Backlash" and a new racism where none particularly had a hold previously. Also, cynicism is apparent among many workers who frankly distrust Johnson and his administration.

I'll also list a separate category which is really an umbrella -- that is, the racist vote. This is composed of the sections of the middle and working classes mentioned previously plus other less-defined strata. There is no room for doubt in the minds of any of the American racists -- Goldwater is their man. Every racist element from the Ku Klux Klan to the Citizens Councils to the workers, et., has actively endorsed him. Every manifestation of the "White Backlash" -- which has gained -- will vote Goldwater. Few radicals and liberals have really grasped the depth of racism in the American psyche and only the recent northern demonstrations have revealed just how deep that sentiment is.

The significance of Goldwater's movement is that it is an umbrella composed of many scattered and diverse elements. The Negro haters, the anti-semites, the anti-labor people, the anti-communists, the nationalists, the states righters, and all the various other gripes of the middle class. Fascism is also an umbrella.

Fascism arms and unites scattered masses. Out of human dust it organizes combat detachments. It gives the middle-class the illusion of being an independent force.

What is the size of this constituency? What is its force? The years of bragging about being a "nation of the middle class" comes back to choke us. Potentially, Goldwater's base is the whole middle class -- a majority element in our society. Potentially, his base is with the skilled workers and the lumpenproletariat. Potentially, Goldwater has the base for victory.

Radicals have always put forth the shibboleth that the middle class cannot play an independent political role. That is, that it must unite with either the haute bourgeoisie or the working class and that really it makes the key section of either side's victory. This is why one says that Goldwater has the potential support of the middle class. This is why

the Left still has a chance for an alliance with the middle class if it will speak to the very real needs of that sector.

The menace of the Goldwater movement is not that it is made up of "kooks" but on the contrary that the group who showed up at San Francisco were well-heeled, solid middle-class citizens. As I.F. Stone has said:

"This Mr. Conservative of 1964 is quite different from Taft, the Mr. Conservative of 1952. In foreign policy, Taft was an isolationist; he wanted to keep the country out of trouble. Goldwater, if not exactly an internationalist, is an ultra-nationalist who's ready to get into trouble anywhere. Taft fought NATO; Goldwater wants to strengthen it with nuclear weapons. Taft is what used to be called a Republican stand-patter with progressive fringes; Scranton was right when he declared several times in San Francisco that on such specific issues as labor, education and housing, he was closer to Taft than to Goldwater. In the political spectrum Goldwater is half-reactionary, half rightist European style."

THE MEANING OF THE GOLDWATER CANDIDACY IN OUR POLITICS AND WHY IT IS BAD.

As we've previously pointed out, the Goldwater campaign is aligning all sorts of previously splintered and often opposed groups of rightists around a national program. The factional differences between say, Robert Welch of the John Birch Society and, say, a Thruston Morton, Senator from Kentucky have become meaningless in the new context. While Birch was merely an "out" fringe yesterday, today it is a partner in the new coalition.

It will also enable the right to further rationalize its organizational forms and will witness the growing merger of much of the right which now will have respectability and legitimacy to a previously unheralded degree. It will also guarantee rightist control of the Republican party especially in local politics.

His candidacy also raises the danger that

BANG-BANG BARRY

the dialogue already hideously far right and will center around topics chosen by the right, that is we will debate how to beat Communism rather than how to end poverty and so forth.

Other dangers are that the left may seriously continue to underestimate Goldwater and fail to see the deep social ramifications of his movement. It is possible, moreover, that Goldwater may capture some of our constituency -- poor whites and etc. in the wake of the White Backlash.

Also there is the real possibility that Goldwater may win. Has anyone really considered what that would mean? Questions do arise which ask what could he really do? Some say that Goldwater would be severely limited and unable to carry out his program and what we would face would be another round of Eisenhowerism rather than reactionary terror. Some speak in terms of concentration camps and dictatorship. Neither of these is quite true but the fact remains that his victory would be an unparalleled disaster with real dangers to all of us and civilization as we know it.

We should point out here that the loss of votes in November at the polls won't be half as important to Goldwater as the retention of the tight, disciplined Right organization. There is no point in consoling ourselves of a probable Goldwater defeat at the polls. A defeat at the polls will not rid us of the organization -- the Birchers -- that made it possible to capture the Republican Party and is already bracing itself for other battles. Just as the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party continue to arm themselves, with or without Federal aid, to fight the unarmed civil rights workers, so the Birchers in the North become the polarizing force for reaction. The significance of the Goldwater phenomenon will outlast the November election.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above is the first of a two-part series of articles on Goldwater. The article in the October BULLETIN will focus on the response of the left to this challenge.

CHAPTERS

N.Y.U.
UPTOWN

(continued from page 19)

By JOHN ROBERTS

The Heights Freedom Movement -- the larger umbrella group of which the NYU uptown SDS chapter is a part -- has recently moved into high gear on its summer program. Our increased activity, mostly due to preparation for school in the fall, has focussed mainly around the publication of a "Freedom Bulletin" every week and a half.

The Bulletin's main purpose is to convey letters and news of the six people from our campus who are working in Mississippi this summer to those students remaining in the North. There have been articles concerning issues and events in the North, also, and pleas for material of a more analytical nature; however, it has been difficult to broaden interests and orient many of our members away from a strictly Southern outlook. Our membership includes all parts of the left but is basically made up of suburbanite liberal Democrats whose primary concern and area of information is civil rights. Our problem has always been how to approach this group.

One approach that I think had some success was a meeting held the Friday of the week following the Harlem riots. Attendance was surprisingly good in spite of the lateness of the hour, trouble with the mail and fear of taking the subway. The discussion, oriented by Clark Kissinger and two faculty members, ranged from Goldwater and the far right through the Democratic Convention to the Harlem riots and police brutality. Its success lay in the fact that some connections were made that had not been made previously, and some new bones were introduced to munch on.

Partly as a result of this meeting, there have been three committees set up to plan for the fall semester. One is preparing a pamphlet to be sent to all incoming freshmen and transfer students, another to explore our connection with the Presidential campaign and relations with the YD's, and the last to work on continuing our work with the Harlem Educational Program, NSM, Bronx CORE and possibly other groups.

PLEASE SEND YOUR FALL ADDRESS TO THE N. O. --
EVEN IF IT IS THE SAME AS THE SUMMER ADDRESS

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