

# BULLETIN

STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY

1st. Institut  
So. Geographische  
Hauptstadt: 212 11  
Amsterdam

OCTOBER 1964

Vol. 3, No 2

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT 119 FIFTH AVE., ROOM 302, NEW YORK CITY 10003

## GOLDWATER

By Dick Flacks

### BERKELEY REVOLTS

Thousands of students revolted last week at the Berkeley campus of the University of California in protest against the university administration's curtailment of freedom of speech. SDS chapters across the country responded by sending telegrams and petitions in support of the students and freedom of speech to President Kerr of the University of California. Some chapters also held demonstrations both to express sympathy with the Berkeley students and also to protest in loco parentis and the lack of academic freedom on their own campuses.

(The following history of the Berkeley protests was given to the National Office by Eric Levine, chairman of the Berkeley SDS chapter and one of the negotiators for the Berkeley students.)

In the early days of the Berkeley campus there was complete freedom of expression and activity. But during the red scares (cont. p. 21)

Current public opinion polls suggest that Barry Goldwater will be strongly defeated on election day. The polls are hopeful, but I doubt whether any of us believes that there is nothing to worry about. In fact, polls in such locales as Gary, Ind; McKeesport, Pa and other working class places show Goldwater running far ahead of any previous Republican candidate. The paradox, of course, is that the most anti-labor, reactionary candidate in this country should receive such strong support among labor's best-organized constituencies.

The newspaper explanation for this phenomenon, as well as for other manifestations of popular support for Goldwater, is that it represents a white reaction (cont. p.19)

### INSIDE...

President's Report .....	2
Nat'l Secretary's Report .....	3
Fall National Council Meeting .....	4
Political Education Project .....	6
Fall Conference .....	7
ERAP .....	8
ERAP Project Reports .....	10
Literature List .....	27

# PRESIDENT'S REPORT

# WHICH WAY SDS?

By Paul Potter

Students returning to the campus this fall are encountering political and social action of an extent and variety that is phenomenal considering the state of the campus only a few years ago. Oddly enough, the greater amount of activity is much less visible than were the first rumblings of discontent. In part, this is explained by the fact that student action has become routine--barely worth noting; in part it is caused by the greater diversity of that action, in both its objectives and the arenas in which it takes place (and in large part it is caused by the routinization of action--the sapping of spontaneity, the hyper-organization of discontent leading to dissipation).

## FROM THE EDITOR

This Bulletin should serve two main purposes. The first is to inform the membership of what is going on within all the different parts of the organization; the national office, the national projects (the Economic Research and Action Project and the Peace Research and Education Project), the 30 chapters, and associated groups such as the Political Education Project; as well as outside the organization.

The second purpose is to bring members into the mainstream of the organization--into its thought and discussions. The SDS program and analysis are neither static nor complete. There is a continuing dialogue within SDS and it should not be limited to the National Council and other members who are active at the national level. In order to participate, members must know the background of the topics being discussed and they must understand the choices that face the organization. I hope to receive many responses to articles in the Bulletin--either for publication or just to let the national office know your thoughts. Both would be appreciated.

I hope the Bulletin this year can serve both purposes.

Helen Garvy

### NEXT BULLETIN DEADLINE

Friday, Oct 23

Out of the confusing plentitude of motion--peace seminars, tutorials, anti-Goldwater clubs, pro-Johnson drives, end the draft efforts, student government elections on issues, civil rights demonstrations, local electoral issues, various kinds of community action and organizing, efforts to unionize student employees, and all sorts of forums, debates and other educational opportunities--we must choose a program for SDS that is effective and radical.

Perhaps the most difficult thing to do now is be clear about what is happening--and its radical potential. Some of the points that we felt most clear on a couple of years ago have become seriously blurred. For example, the tutorial was once thought of as an ideal way for involving students in the community (particularly the ghetto) and giving them through their exposure to the conditions of rampant poverty a grasp of the unavoidable necessity for drastic change. Today the tutorial flourishes as part of all sorts of establishment, status quo operations--staffed as often as not by students who have yet to be deeply moved, not to mention reconstructed, by the experience. Or again, we have seen in some cases that the "peace" courses that students battled to have inserted into the curriculum have succeeded only in making discussion of peace academic and esoteric.

A more current example is the flood of students who have been galvanized by the election to cast aside their traditional  
(cont. p. 25)

# NAT'L SEC.'S REPORT

## SDS TODAY

By C. Clark Kissinger

It is easier to see where we stand today organizationally by looking back at where we were a year ago. The 1962-63 school year was a year of rapid growth for SDS, principally on the strength of the Port Huron Statement, which had been drafted at the 1962 National Convention, and on the strength of the personalities involved in organization. At the close of this year, the 1963 Convention drafted a second statement, America and the New Era, which outlined an analysis of the contemporary political situation and the new possibilities for radical insurgent politics which emanated from the new conditions.

Armed with these two statements, a handful of active chapters, and a couple of paper projects on the national level called the Peace Research and Education Project and the Economic Research and Action Project, SDS entered the 1963-64 school year. Looking back now, it's a wonder that we made it. Although we had some good staff, we had virtually no organizing materials--not even a printed pamphlet explaining what SDS is--and worst of all, we didn't really have a program.

But slowly things began to happen. The chapters began to pick themselves up. National Secretary Lee Webb darted about exhorting people. Things began to pop in Chester. Joe Chabot (the "phantom of Chicago") opened the first JOIN office. Steve Max came in off the road to help with the increased demands on the National Office. And finally, Rennie Davis took over the Directorship of ERAP.

The crucial discussions which led to the SDS summer projects took place at the 1963 December meeting of the National Council. This meeting, held in New York and attended by over one hundred members, (cont. p. 23)

# SDS OFFICERS & STAFF 1964 - 5

### National Officers:

Pres: Paul Potter (Oberlin, Cleveland project)

VP: Vernon Grizzard (Swarthmore)

### National Council members (at-large):

Paul Booth (Swarthmore, PREP)

Jeremy Brecher (Reed)

Rennie Davis (U Michigan, ERAP)

Nick Egleson (Swarthmore)

Todd Gitlin (Harvard, PREP)

C. Clark Kissinger (U Wisconsin, NO)

Ken McEldowney (U Michigan, Cleveland project)

Sarah Murphy (U Chicago)

Bob Ross (U Chicago)

Jeff Shero (U Texas)

Charlie Smith (U Texas)

David Smith (Tufts)

Lee Webb (Boston University, JOIN)

Jim Williams (U Louisville, PEP)

Carl Wittman (Swarthmore, Newark project)

National Office (119 Fifth Ave., room 308  
NY 10003 Al 4-2176)

National Secretary: C. Clark  
Kissinger

Ass't National Secretary: Helen Garvy

Staff: Carolyn White

Allan Sherman

Debbie Boughner

### Economic Research and Action Project

(1100 E Washington St, Ann Arbor,  
Michigan 764-7480)

Director: Rennie Davis

### Peace Research and Education Project

(1100 E Washington St, Ann Arbor,  
Michigan 764-7480)

Coordinators: Paul Booth

Todd Gitlin

Political Education Project (associated  
with SDS) (119 Fifth Ave, room 309,  
NY 10003)

Director: Jim Williams

Staff: Steve Max

(for ERAP & PREP project addresses see p9)

SEND FALL ADDRESSES TO THE NO---NOW!

# PLANS FOR FALL MADE FALL N.C. MEETS

By C. Clark Kissinger

An enormous amount of business was accomplished at this meeting of the fall National Council. This was in part due to the fact that the NC followed a three-day conference which was designed in many ways to discuss the sorts of questions on which the NC would have to make decisions, e.g. what should the campus programs of ERAP, PREP, and PEP be? It was also due in part to the fact that the officers of the organization came prepared with written and mimeographed proposals which could be distributed directly, amended, and voted on. In consequence, it would take an appendix as large as this Bulletin itself to print the complete texts of all the motions considered by the NC.

The NC was attended by 14 of the 17 national officers with two others being represented by alternates. Only 11 delegates from eight chapters were present. In addition to the 27 voting members, a number of national staff and observers stayed throughout the meeting (all members are invited and encouraged to attend NC meetings). Four new chapters were accredited: Boston U., Bergen County (NJ), Western Kentucky State College, and the University of California at Berkeley, while one inactive chapter was dropped, Wayne State.

The following actions were then taken:

1) It was decided to expand the "worklist" to take in more persons active in the organization. (Chapters especially should notify the National Office who in their chapter should be receiving the bi-weekly worklist mailings.)

2) Archie Allen was hired to be a joint field secretary for SDS and for the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

3) A system of regional organizers was adopted.

4) The NC approved to creation of "national campus programs" by the National Office. That is, the NO will develop materials and coordinate activities for a number of campuses to work jointly on a common program, such as university reform, unionization of university employees, etc.

5) The Boston Project was transferred from ERAP to PREP.

6) The program of the Peace Research and Education project was approved. It consists of a three part program on ending the draft, reconversion of the defense economy, and American involvement in the underdeveloped world. Paul Booth and Todd Gitlin were appointed co-ordinators of PREP. A PREP executive committee was established consisting of the Co-ordinators, the President, the National Secretary, the directors of the PREP community projects and 7 members at large. The 7 at large members elected were: Dick Flacks (U. of Chicago), Otto Feinstein (Wayne State), Carol McEldowney, (Cleveland Project), Larry Gordon (Swarthmore), Lee Webb (Chicago JOIN), Liora Proctor (Canadian Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and Richard Rothstein (Chicago JOIN). Tom Hayden (Newark Project) was elected alternate.

For more on the Peace Research and Education Project, see "Toward an Effective Peace Program on Campus" enclosed with this Bulletin.

7) A committee consisting of Dick Flacks (U of Chicago), Tom Hayden (Newark Project), Todd Gitlin (PREP), Robb Burlage (Nashville, Tenn.), Steve Max (Political Education Project), Lee Webb (Chicago JOIN), Paul Potter (Pres., Cleveland Project), Paul Booth (PREP), Bob Ross (U of Chicago), and Vernon Grizzard (VP, Swarthmore) was established to plan an SDS meeting to consider the problem of forming a new adult grouping on the left.

8) The Political Education Project was established as an independent organization associated with SDS under Article IV, Section 4 of the SDS Constitution. This was necessary because SDS's tax status prohibits partisan political activity. Jim Williams (U of Louisville) was approved as Director of the organization, and a liaison committee consisting of the Director of PEP, the President and National Secretary of SDS, and 7 at large members was chosen. The at large members selected were: Vernon Grizzard (SDS VP, Swarthmore), Paul Booth (PREP), Bob Ross (U of Chicago), David Smith (Tufts U.), Pete Davidowicz (Johns Hopkins), Rudy Frank (U of Ill.), and Todd Gitlin (PREP). Alternates in order: Barry Bluestone (U of Michigan), Joe Eyer (Haverford), and Lee Webb (Chicago JOIN).

An advisory vote was taken over the location of the PEP office with the result: Ann Arbor, Mich. (11), New York (7), abstain (5). The PEP, however, decided to locate its National Office in NY adjoining the SDS National Office. The NC voted its approval of PEP's pre-election and post-election programs, and approved the issuing of a statement on the elections. (For more information see p. 6 or write to PEP, 119 Fifth Ave, Room 309, NY 10003)

9) A committee was established to consider our relation with the National Student Association and to plan next year's Liberal Study Group consisting of Helen Garvy (Ass't Nat'l Sec.), Paul Booth (PREP), George Brosi (Carleton), Clark Kissinger (Nat'l Sec.), Barry Bluestone (U of Michigan), Bob Ross (U of Chicago), Vernon Grizzard (VP, Swarthmore), and Rennie Davis (ERAP).

10) The President and the ERAP director were mandated to visit SNCC offices to investigate the possibility of joint institutes for SNCC and SDS community organizers.

11) The fall program of the Economic Research and Action Project was approved and Steve Max (PEP) was elected to fill a coming vacancy on the ERAP Committee. Briefly the ERAP program consists of: a) continuation of 6 or 7 community projects throughout the year with full-time staffs, b) on the campus--the creation of community organizing projects near the campuses, the organization of student

committees for a war on poverty, the radicalization of the economics classroom, fund-raising and campus education, student and faculty research, unionization of campus employees, and the development of a campus program for Appalachia, c) the deepening of fraternal adult contacts.

12) The terms of the at large members of the ERAP and PREP Executive Committees and the PEP liaison committee are to run until the 1965 post-convention NC.

13) The community projects are to consider their primary obligation to campus organization to be during the first month of the semester. The NC approved Liora P Proctor as a field secretary beginning in December. And the NC affirmed the organizational necessity of one full-time campus traveller.

14) A series of proposals on periodical publications was approved: a) SDS shall have a closer working relationship with New University Thought, and NUT shall be offered to SDS members at a reduced price. b) A joint ERAP-PREP-PEP Newsletter (printed) shall be issued out of Ann Arbor. c) The membership Bulletin will be used primarily as an internal discussion bulletin. d) A periodic mailing to adult friends, money sources, and fraternal organizations shall be established. e) The worklist mailing shall continue as an administrative house organ.

15) A series of motions proposed by Lee Webb on improving the quality and distribution of our publications was passed.

16) The President's report and proposals on fundraising were approved.

17) A proposal by Jeremy Brecher (Reed) for a leadership training institute was referred to the next meeting of the National Council.

The next meeting of the National Council will most likely be in New York City during the last week of December. PLAN TO COME!

---

now available from SDS

THE CRISIS ECONOMY -- revised edition

by Ray Brown

use literature order form -- p. 28

# PEP PREPARES FOR ELECTIONS

By Jim Williams

The Political Education Project, a newly-formed associated group of SDS, was established in order to enable liberal and radical students to have access to a political action and education group geared to the SDS vision of the new society. PEP's main focus is helping the student to relate to electoral politics in a radical fashion, by supplying information about important campaigns and by making available significant research and education programs.

This fall, PEP is primarily working to defeat Goldwater. Although a Johnson victory will not usher in a new era of peace, freedom, and jobs, but it will provide a threshold from which to launch fresh drives for new social gains. With this in mind, PEP has developed anti-Goldwater materials of its own and is acting as a central distribution point for other materials published by groups such as AFL-CIO COPE, etc. PEP is making these available in quantity to SDS chapters and other student groups such as the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

PEP is continuing to develop new materials. In preparation is a comparison of platforms of the two major parties with a model PEP platform which incorporates many aspects of the new society. This will serve as a liberal anchor to preserve our values in the drift of election rhetoric. Also, in preparation is the public record of Lyndon B. Johnson which will give extensive quotes and an analysis of his congressional voting record as we did with the paper Goldwater: the Public Record. Books such as Art Frommer's Goldwater from A to Z and Fred J. Cook's Goldwater: Extremist of the Right are also available for a small sum.

PEP is assisting students to set up anti-Goldwater groups and is coordinating a campaign to register graduate students and seniors to vote and urging students to relate to community groups like COPE and liberal Democratic groups.

The third aspect of the PEP election program is that of campus education on the issues of the campaign. Through its program, PEP serves as a focal point for liberal concerns in a campaign where real issues may be swept under the rug unless dedicated persons keep them in the public eye.

This means a real job in the campaign is up to each individual. Every SDS member should consider himself a committee of one to defeat Goldwater. This means stocking literature to give to friends, family, and acquaintances and getting local student groups, unions, religious groups to also distribute our materials. Needless to say, your local Democratic Party organization will also want to utilize the materials we have. PEP also has other printed materials which are geared specifically to the community and are done from a labor standpoint.

PEP, at this point, is the most active active student organization in the election, even surpassing Young Citizens for Johnson arrangements in many areas. This is a critical time for coalition building and students can play a vital role as a liason between the labor and the civil rights movements. Students should utilize this area to make new contacts for the future and to develop friends in local labor organizations.

PEP wants to hear from every active student about his needs in the campaign. Hopefully we'll soon be on the road to meet with many of you personally.

---

now available

GOLDWATER AND THE WHITE BACKLASH  
by Tom Kahn  
GOLDWATER: THE PUBLIC RECORD  
by Steve Max & Doug Ireland (eds)  
GOLDWATER: ITS ORIGIN AND IMPACT  
by Jim Williams

use literature order form -- p. 28

# FALL CONFERENCE

By C. Clark Kissinger

The evaluation of the SDS summer program and the discussion of SDS's program for the coming year was the subject of a conference held in Philadelphia, Sept. 3-5. Although the conference was poorly advertised and the location was not chosen until the last minute, there were still 108 registrants. The conference served many purposes. First, it provided an opportunity for the summer staffs of the various community projects to get together and discuss their experiences and ideas in a relaxed and in informal manner. Second, it provided an opportunity for chapter people to participate in the discussions and get some flavor of what the summer projects were all about. Third, it allowed for a discussion of the role of SDS on the campus this fall, and in particular what role would be played by students returning to the campus from community projects. Fourth, it allowed for considerable discussion of the SDS National Projects (ERAP and PREPO and their programs, and particularly the problem of the elections and the creation of the Political Education Project. And, finally, the total of these discussions prepared the way for a particularly fruitful meeting of the National Council which immediately followed the conference.

The whole first day was devoted to small informal discussion groups on the ERAP summer community projects, except for brief talks in the middle of the afternoon by Ronnie Davis (ERAP director), Vernon Grizzard (VP, Chester project director), and Bob Ross (Chicago project). The evening was free to again let people meet in the most informal setting.

The Friday session began with a panel on the American campus scene. The principal speakers were Bob Ross (giving an overview since 1960), Steve Robbins (President of the National Student Association), Jim Williams on the South and the Southern Student Organizing Committee, Ellen Estrin (UCLA) on stu-

dent political action in Los Angeles, and several others. Following lunch and an address by Paul Potter (SDS Pres) on "The SDS Potential", the group heard presentations of the fall programs of ERAP, PREP, and the Political Education Project. The body then broke up into three workshops to discuss and criticize the programs just presented. The three workshops were reconstituted after an hour to allow everyone to discuss at least two of the programs.

Saturday afternoon began with an organizing clinic. Myles Horton, from the Highlander Folk Center, spoke of his days as a radical student leader and union organizer of the thirties. He blamed the failure of his generation on being over sectarian and expressed the feeling that today's student radical organizations were better (even though smaller) than those in the thirties. Vernon Grizzard then gave a history of the Swarthmore Political Action Club and how it came to become an SDS chapter. Finally, Clark Kissinger spoke on the "gamesmanship of student organization" with particular emphasis on building SDS as a community of people sensitive to the needs of the individual. The panel was followed by general discussion from the floor on the specific problems of campus organizing.

The conference ended by breaking the session up into regional groupings so that people from neighboring schools could get acquainted and make plans for regional SDS activity and organization. In all likelihood, several SDS regional conferences will result from these short meetings.

now available -- use literature form

## THE ECONOMICS OF EQUALITY

by Tom Kahn

"The Negro problem is the same as the American problem. It is not simply an issue of morality or even racial justice. It poses the most basic political, economic and social determinants of the future of this entire nation, black and white."

# ERAP

## ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND ACTION PROJECT

By Rennie Davis

This report of ERAP activity will be brief, as most projects have slowed down due to problems of staff reduction, money shortages, and house moving. The transition from a field staff of nearly 150 people to one that is one third that size has been difficult, despite the sizable list of local people capable of taking responsibility for continuing meetings and activity.

Coupled with staff shortages are the even more serious problems relating to empty bank accounts. The summer ERAP program cost approximately \$20,000. Few projects began this fall with more than \$200 in the bank. Most had less. The acute financial need is made more serious by the fact that the chapter fund-raising base is temporarily stalled, as campus organizing is only beginning. The foundations and national unions which have received ERAP prospectuses generally make decisions in late Oct; or Nov. Thus in the immediate period, field people starve.

In an effort to take off some of the strain, the ERAP office has sent over 500 fund appeal letters to adult friends of SDS and most projects are holding "parties", or meeting with local union officials or sending out letters to solicit support. Nevertheless, if SDS chapters or individuals can help raise money, they are strongly urged to do so. We suggest that you order the new ERAP brochure in quantity for money campaigns. Also available for fund-raising are JOIN (Jobs or Income Now) buttons and bumper stickers.

Despite such problems as these, morale in the field is generally strong and expectations are high. The summer has produced an active base of community people. Unions of unemployed (interracial) are fairly strong in Baltimore and Chicago and are beginning to take root in Cleveland and Philadelphia. All are linked together with a common name, JOIN. Cleveland has revived and strengthened a group of welfare mothers on the near West side (white community)

who are rapidly becoming an impressive political force. Called the Citizens United for Adequate Welfare, these mothers have collected several thousand signatures for putting "luxury items" back into welfare and have been active in an anti-Goldwater drive among food-stamp recipients. In a two day period, they registered over 400 people and in the process recruited dozens of new members into their own ranks.

Newark probably has the largest number of community people involved in a ERAP project as measured by functioning block organizations. Unfortunately, however, organizing activity there has had to slow down in recent weeks for two reasons. One is caused by serious tensions between the established neighborhood group in Newark--the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council--and the newly formed block clubs in the lower part of Clinton Hill. Disagreements between the two groups (which until recently have been working together as one organization) have led to time-consuming meetings and new pressures on the staff to submit their program to greater control of the executive board of the Clinton Hill Council. The second reason is that the staff has had to spend major time assisting people on rent strikes who face serious legal battles. Nevertheless, hope is high in Newark that the existing base will expand rapidly in the coming months and begin to include sections of poor whites.

The summer progress has caused many of us to believe that a significant and visible number of local people will become active in the months ahead. By December, it is anticipated that approximately 100 community leaders from the seven projects will meet (probably in Cleveland) to discuss their various organizations, their programs and their strategies for involving Negro and white poor in political action. Such a meeting will substantially enlarge the national consciousness of the local groups and strengthen the base of the local leaders. Even before the December meet-



## ERAP...

ing, community people will take an equal part in national ERAP committee meetings. Many are being invited to the next ERAP session in late October and some will formally represent the project staffs.

Such developments are indicative of the success of the summer and give hope to our future work. We enter a fall program with many problems but with good reason, I think, for optimism. Typical of what I mean is the Chicago situation, explained by Dick Flacks in a recent letter: "I was at first disturbed to come back and find only (Richard) Rothstein and (Paul) Millman working on the JOIN staff. This leaves us quite short staffed, meaning cutbacks in the kind of work done this summer, particularly in the operation of the office. But right now it looks all to the good-- Rothstein is very good; has moved in with great effect despite the fact that neither Bob (Ross), Lee (Webb) nor I were here for two weeks. He has produced at last a solid group of perhaps 10-15 indiginous leader-activist types who are highly committed to the organization and have a concrete, continuous program of work that will carry them at least to the election. The group is very heterogeneous, including Southern migrants, Puerto Ricans as well as other ethnic types. They are also hot to do fundraising, including apple-selling at an up-coming Pete Seegar concert, and speaking before union and college groups. And all tied together by a very good set of demands which the group itself developed. I've never been more excited about the situation.

NEED A THEME, A TOPIC, A THESES ?????

The National Coalition for a New Congress needs detailed research on the social, economic, and political nature of your congressional district.

NCNC will provide a detailed research outline; thus giving you a chance to do some valuable political work and an academic paper at the same time.

Contact the Political Education Project, 119 Fifth Ave (room 309), N.Y. 3, N.Y.

## ERAP-PREP PROJECT ADDRESSES

### BALTIMORE:

c/o Kim Moody  
326 S Broadway, Baltimore  
c/o Walt Lively  
1012 N Gay St, Baltimore

### BOSTON (PREP):

c/o Jim Morey, Boston PREP  
337 Western Ave., Cambridge, Mass

### CHESTER:

c/o Don Jackson  
364 Lamokin, Chester, Pa.

### CHICAGO:

c/o Richard Rothstein, JOIN  
4849 N Kedzie, Chicago

### CLEVELAND:

c/o Ken McEldowney, CCP  
2908 Jay Ave, Cleveland

### NEWARK:

c/o Carl Wittman  
194 Ridgewood St, Newark

### PHILADELPHIA:

c/o Connie Brown  
737 S 3 St, Philadelphia

## HAZARD, KY.

Leaders of the miners movement and the Committee for Miners staff working in the organizing drive live in constant danger to their lives. In the last few months official intimidation and harassment has increased. Today the situation is reaching a crisis.

On Oct. 8, shots were fired into the Committee for Miners office and the home of Jason Combs, vice-president of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, narrowly missing Mr Combs.

Send letters and telegrams to the Justice Department urging protection of miners and Committee for Miners field staff in their organizing efforts.

now available

CONVERTING AMERICA by Paul Booth  
THE CASE AGAINST THE DRAFT by Todd  
Gitlin

use literature order form -- p. 27

# ERAP PROJECT REPORTS

## BALTIMORE

By Kim Moody

Since the last report on the Baltimore Project which appeared in the membership Bulletin, the Union for Jobs Or Income Now (U-JOIN) has made significant strides forward. For those who may be unfamiliar with this project, we are concerned with organizing the unemployed around a program of service and action programs--with a stress on action. Naturally, most of our efforts up to this point have been concerned with organizing a base among unemployed and working people. For about the first month and a half we were content to draw recruits together and let them discuss their problems. Since then, however, we have begun to have structured business meetings and to begin acting like an organization. Each week the members of U-JOIN elect a chairman and a recording secretary to be responsible for the weekly meeting. This process has revealed a number of articulate and active workers who form the informal leadership of U-JOIN. These workers now fulfill many of the tasks previously done by the staff.

This development of a small but committed cadre has been our most important break-through. This has freed the organization to move on to other matters. For instance, the members have set up two committees. One of these committees, the planning committee, is busy drawing up By-laws for the organization and investigating the possibility of getting U-JOIN chartered. The other committee is the Rally committee. This committee is busy planning the full-employment rally called for by the membership in one of the meetings. This rally, which will be the first large public action by U-JOIN, will be held on Oct. 3, and will feature Brendan Sexton of the United Auto Workers as a speaker. In addition,

there will be speakers from the civil rights movement (stressing economic issues) and the local labor movement. The rally has proved a good way to get workers actively involved in U-Join work. Aside from planning much of the rally, they have helped us plaster the city with posters advertising the rally. Some of the more enthusiastic workers have gotten many of the residents of their neighborhood to post them in their windows, as well as in stores and on abandoned walls, thus involving more people in U-JOIN activities. In one five block area, a crowded poor white area, U-JOIN is omnipresent. In this area U-JOIN workers are greeted from practically every door step. While no other area is quite this well penetrated, U-JOIN posters are appearing in places where we never expected to see them. Naturally this was the goal of the rally, to spread the word about U-JOIN and open new areas for organization. There are already about four areas in which U-JOIN is well known. Our biggest problem is finding enough time and people to organize those who are now learning about us. At this point we are acting with only four full-time staff members; one half the number that we estimated necessary to keep us actively in the field. Aside from rally work, most of the staff's time is taken up with fund-raising and office work. However, we are expecting some re-enforcements after the rally.

U-JOIN is already a fully interracial organization. In fact we have had no trouble at all on the race question. Several southern white workers have spoken energetically at meeting about the need for interracial unity within U-JOIN. Also, we have reached many workers on the Goldwater question. A number of our best activists--best on the race question as well as economic questions--were planning on voting for Goldwater when we met them. It should

## ERAP...

be made clear that these workers, and many like them, do not fit into the white backlash concept. Their reasons for voting for Goldwater were varied, but they were never racial. Mostly it seems to stem from a frustration with the meaninglessness of liberal politics and the pressures of combined government-corporation manipulation of workers-- which has, after all, come from the Democrats. Anyway, we have convinced most of them that Goldwater does not represent a legitimate protest as far as workers are concerned and, with a bad taste in our mouths, we have urged many of them to vote for Johnson.

Finally, the members of U-JOIN have drawn up a program, which will be a guide to action as well as the theme of the rally. These demands were proposed and voted on by the members. They are:

1. Planning for automation and technological innovation so that all Americans may enjoy their benefits.
2. Expanded and improved retraining programs.
3. Changes in the tax system to relieve lower income groups.
4. 30 hour work week with no reduction in pay.
5. Retirement at 55 with full Social Security benefits.
6. A higher local, state, and federal minimum wage.
7. Increased unemployment compensation and welfare benefits. Extended eligibility for unemployment compensation.
8. An end to discrimination in hiring for reasons of race, age, sex, creed, or national origin.
9. Massive Federal aid for job creating programs:
  - a. Job producing contracts for Martins Aircraft.
  - b. Construction of housing,

schools, harbor improvements, etc.

10. A meaningful and adequate War on Poverty program, both locally and nationally.

## CHESTER

By Don Jackson, Molly Pratt  
and Peter Freedman

In the past week the blocks and the organizers have been increasingly focusing their attention on the city's proposed urban renewal program. Plans are being made to defeat the city's urban renewal or "people removal program" in favor of an area redevelopment program which would be written by block members, college students and other persons who will be fighting with us against urban renewal. First efforts will be directed toward the defeat of a proposed increase in the debt ceiling of the city budget which must be approved on the November ballot. This increase would make it possible for the city to float a bond issue to fund the city's share of the proposed program. Extensive state and federal aid is available.

Block meetings have been talking about the proposed urban renewal and how it hurts or fails to deal with the needs of their respective areas. Mass leaf-letting, street corner rallies, and the organization of a mass movement to protest the plan have been suggested. This week the blocks will be getting together at the regular meeting of the United Committees to consider forming an anti-urban renewal subcommittee to direct the fight. The mass movement would carry most of the work in the fight against urban renewal.

During this period blocks will continue to direct their attention toward block related issues. Their main concern in regard to the anti-urban renewal fight will be in writing part of an alternative program for area redevelopment which will meet the needs of their area. Leadership from the blocks will participate in the new subcommittee.

## ERAP...

People in the William Penn project have expressed quite a bit of interest in an area redevelopment program which will provide for improvements in schools and other benefits that would directly affect the project. At present, people in the project are neither helped nor hurt by the proposed program. They want to see what others who are affected by it are proposing to do. Then they will join with them in creating a program which deals with the needs of all.

Our current set of tactics for fighting the city's program was worked out in part by Fred Chambers. Until recently Fred Chambers had been suspicious of us because he could not see what plan block organization was related to. But he is very interested in the urban renewal deal and thinks that it will be an issue around which many people can be organized. We hope Fred is indicative of the attitudes of the demonstrators from the fall and spring about urban renewal.

Members of the Mary Street block organization are very interested in an area redevelopment program which would include provisions for the unemployed. Unemployed men in this area are considering the formation of a joint-type organization. The existence of this type of organization would be an important prerequisite to the inclusion of a job retraining program and preferential hiring of Chester's unemployed in the area redevelopment program. More work will be done with the unemployed men in this and other areas as we get more help from the colleges in the area.

Complications with a rent strike in the Kerlan St. area gave us our first major contact with the Department of Public Assistance this past week. The landlord of several of the families that were on rent strike went to the DPA and told them that the tenants were not paying their rent. The DPA worker threatened to cut off the DPA checks of the tenants if they didn't pay their rent. The tenants involved in the rent strike and some representatives from the United Committees for Self-help went down to the DPA office and called them to task for not supporting efforts for home improvement. We informed the DPA

people of Scranton's new pronouncement to the effect that people who were withholding rent for legitimate reasons were to be aided by the DPA. The DPA was to help them by withholding the rent for them. Some of the people on rent strike said that they would not let the DPA hold their checks for the next month for rent. This was because they had to use part of their rent money to pay other bills due to the inadequacy of their DPA allowance. The result of our conversation with the DPA was that the people agreed to pay part of their rent and to hold the rest until the landlord had completed the repairs. The next day in the mail, the people who had gone to the DPA received an increase in their DPA allowance.

Interest in fighting the urban renewal program on the East side which is not directly affected in either way by the proposal has only been moderate. Housing in part of this area is not so bad that all the tenants think that it should be torn down. Even those tenants who do feel that the area should be cleared do not seem to be excited about writing an alternative program. They are very much aware of the drawbacks of the present publically financed housing in Chester and don't seem to conceive of favorable alternatives. Inclusion of school and recreational programs may increase their support. A program written for this area will have to make provision for the diverse nature of of the area's inhabitants: tenants in dwellings which can still be repaired, home owners on low incomes who need money to improve their houses, and a few scattered home owners with adequate housing.

Tenants in the Norris St.--Church St. group are fairly cogniscent of how the proposed urban renewal will be hurting them. In terms of its immediate effect, they have been told by the Dept. of Public Safety that the housing code will not be enforced in their area. It would cost the landlords too much to make the required repairs in view of the short period of time before all the housing in the area will be cleared. In this and other areas urban renewal has been used as an excuse in posponing needed programs such as an increase in recreational facilities. People are told that they will have to

ERAP

wait until complete plans are made for the area before these facilities can be brought in. Awareness of the long-term effects of the program is not complete. The city's vagueness about whether all the housing in the area will be torn down and its vague hints that relocation will be provided was prevented some people from realizing the complete ramifications of the program. Block meetings are helping to correct this picture and to show the effects of this poor man-Negro removal program, the utter failure of the city to deal with the relocation problem and the need to fight Chester's chronic unemployment, and the need for better schools.

Larry Gordon from Swarthmore spent a few days with us talking to people in the white community. Conversations centered around the debt ceiling vote in November and support was found for a NO vote on the debt increase.

Larry is interested in doing something with tax structure as a possible organizing issue in the white community. The tax structure in Chester is very bad with a very high property tax, a \$10 head tax on everyone who works in Chester and a very favorable deal for industry. Interestingly enough, just a couple days after Larry arrived and started talking about tax structure revision, the Greater Chester Movement ("city improvement" group) came out with some rather meaningless proposals for tax structure revision. One exception to this is a proposal for a tax on properties owned by absentee landlords.

For the entire summer, and especially the past few weeks, we have been engaged in a debate on the problems of building a grass-roots democratic movement in Chester. Involved in the debate are 3 considerations: our knowledge of the current objective realities of commitment, awareness and consciousness of the blocks; the nature of the democratic movement which we would like to have; and the knowledge of what we must do in order to meet the demands of the current time situation.

The majority of the people in the block organizations lack experience in a successful democratic group situation. They lack faith in, and commitment to, op-

erating in this fashion. They cry again and again for "a Leader, a Leader", someone to do things for them. They lack the faith in their ability to accomplish things without a charismatic leader who can do this.

Political consciousness and awareness are in many cases at a very low level. Up to this time, block organization has had limited success in enlightening the people on the blocks and bringing them to an organizational level where they can voice and formulate their own program under their own leadership.

The current political situation in terms of the election only two weeks away would seem to demand a mass movement of committed, militant people in order to dramatize and present the idea that people should vote NO and that they should listen to our alternate program. Democracy is slow moving in terms of program and action formulation. People are not coming out of the block in terms of the numbers that the objective political situation demands.

Yet alternatives to a grass-roots democratic movement, which could meet the needs of this political situation, might mean the departure of our program from its central idea of grass-roots democracy. One of the possible alternatives, strong leadership and centralized control, could result in the leadership losing contact with the basic needs and desires of the people in the movement.

Our present solution to the debate is to use a mixture of grass-roots democracy and centralized control. Efforts are being made to give the people as many satisfactory democratic experiences as are possible. They will write as many of their needs into the area development program as possible. Blockleaders, Swarthmore and Cheney State College students, and other persons will draw up a total program which meets the needs of the blocks and the broader Chester community.

## CHICAGO

By Paul Millman

The unemployment rate in Chicago is as high (probably higher) as any in the country. On the North Side of Chicago the

## ERAP...

unemployment rate is above eleven percent. It in this area--where most of the population is white with a few small concentrations of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican, and Japanese--that the Chicago project chose as its area of concentration.

The project, locally known as the Committee for Jobs or Income Now, was organized to fight unemployment and all of the problems that accompany it. The unemployed and unemployable face daily problems with the Workman's Compensation Board, the Department of Welfare, the Social Security Administration, among others. At the beginning of the summer, under the slogan "In unity there is strength", the staff members of JOIN set out to organize the unemployed.

The staff of join rented an office a half-block away from the Workman's Compensation Board office and each day distributed leaflets telling the people about JOIN and urging them to become members. Slowly people began to come into the JOIN office and, after talking to some of the staff, some became members.

Local committees of JOIN were set up in five areas. At early meetings of these committees, a structure was set up and program and grievance committees were established. Discussions on the problems were held. Actions like apple selling demonstrations and picketing the mayor's office were held. Yet these actions were too seldom, too abstract in demands, and too small to have more than a dramatic effect.

Members of the committees began to get impatient. Comments such as "talk is cheap but what are we going to do to get our demands" were heard with more frequency. Slowly participation in the local JOIN committees began to decrease. At present one committee has completely folded while the others will probably all merge.

Yet with all this there is a great reason for optimism on the part of the staff of the Chicago project. The one active committee is very active. The committee is located in the Broadway and Wilson Avenue section of the North Side. The area is composed to a large extent of migrants from the Southern Appalachian region.

The people in this area are very energetic and very conscious of the problems of the poor. The committee has grown so that it now includes people of all kinds of backgrounds. It is a racially integrated committee and fears of race relations problems on the part of the staff have proved themselves groundless. At one of our more recent meetings, a white member, originally from Tennessee, rose and spoke of the problems that working men, black and white, face and must fight together.

At a recent meeting of the Broadway-Wilson Committee a letter was written to all of the 236 candidates for the state legislature. The letter listed demands of more unemployment compensation, a greater minimum wage, more social security benefits, tax exemption of 1200 dollars, a thirty hour week, Medicare, and more public works projects. Because of the at-large election in Ill. it is possible for us to support all of the candidates candidates who agree with these demands. The committee is also working in the fight against Goldwater and Goldwaterism.

---

## CLEVELAND

By Ken McEldowney

Cleveland's small staff is struggling to maintain the level of community activity achieved by a summer staff several times as large. The situation is aggravated by the need to find new housing, to raise funds, to establish new SDS chapters, to work and communicate on the Near West Side, and to carry on general SDS responsibilities.

During September, Citizens United for Adequate Welfare (CUFAW), a group of welfare mothers, has been active with an ambitious program devoted to the defeat of Barry Goldwater. The mothers, with the help of the CCP staff, began with a highly successful voter registration program. More than 400 new voters were added to the rolls in a day and a half by intensive work at a food stamp line. Until the election, CUFAW will be conducting a political education program for themselves and members of two other community groups. The stress

## ERAP...

will be on understanding the issues and candidates, primarily on the federal level.

CUPAW has also established a grievance committee to press complaints against the Welfare Department. The committee will take a limited number of cases using as criteria the seriousness of the problem and the degree to which the Welfare Department is at fault. These will be fought using methods such as publicity, delegations, demonstrations, and petitions. More minor cases will be handled through existing contacts at the Welfare Department.

Cleveland U-JOIN is still developing a core of committed activists and debating the direction it should take in the fall. There are a number of hopeful signs for the future. A number of people now have a commitment to U-JOIN that goes far beyond attendance at weekly meetings. Members have begun recruiting either alone or with a CCP staff member. Perhaps most significant inroads are being made into the Puerto Rican community for the first time.

For the next few months, at least, attention is going to be centered on "spot labor". There are a number of agencies in town that hire men on a day-to-day basis for \$1.25 an hour, rent them out to local firms for nearly the union scale, and pocket the difference. This issue of spot labor appears to be one that arouses anger of both the employed and the unemployed. Discussion will begin this week on the type of program that will be undertaken.

The tenants of a public housing project have won more visible victories than the other groups with which we are working. The pressures generated by the active members of the group forced rat extermination, and expanded recreation program, and led to the creation of a tenant's council. The majority of the officers and committee chairmen are members of the informal group originally brought together by the CCP staff. The tenant council itself, although limited by the power of the management, has been quite active in several functioning committees. More important, the people we worked with originally recognize that there must be

work outside as well as inside the tenants' council. Thus the so-called rebel caucus continues to meet and discuss programs and plans that fall outside the formal jurisdiction of the council.

Of our other activities, only campus organizing has had any extensive planning. Within Cleveland, work has begun with two high school groups. Efforts are being made to involve a human relations group on the Far West Side into the activities of the CCP through a tutorial. The tutorial will involve the suburban high school students in tutoring elementary and junior high students in our community. In addition, a seminar program will be developed to deal with social and economic problems of the Near West Side, the city of Cleveland, and American society. Our exact relationship with the second high school group, formerly a peace organization, has yet to be determined.

Each CCP staff member has taken primary responsibility for one or more colleges in the greater Cleveland area. Intensive work will be done on these campuses to develop SDS members and chapters. A less rigorous program is planned for several other campuses in the area where the stress will be on individual contacts and the possibility of speaking engagements.

## NEWARK

By Carl Wittman and Tom Hayden

There has been significant progress in launching a community movement in a Newark neighborhood, Clinton Hill, focusing on economic and political issues. A core group of about 35-50 community people, working within the structure of a neighborhood wide group, block groups, and six house-wide tenants' councils, is carrying out a program for improved housing. This program includes rent strikes (approximately 35 units have been out on strike), legal action supporting the strikes (one case is now in appellate court of NJ, trying to legalize the strike procedure here and there is a proposed suit which will bring massive action against the city), "pest" action (small threatened strikes, mass reporting of violations, visitations, demonstrations, and mass meetings.) About 300 are directly

## ERAP...

participating in some way, and the publicity probably regularly reaches a clear majority of the 25,000 residents of the project area.

The issues of welfare, schools, unemployment, and recreation have interested people, but have been broached at most in a tentative fashion. Among the emerging leadership, the questions of political coalition and longer range solutions are discussed increasingly frequently and the complexities of program and tactics are confronted with more and more skill.

The Newark Project came into Clinton Hill on the inaccurate assumption that both poor Negroes and whites lived there. As it turned out, only the eastern, or lower half of the area could in any sense be called poor--the rest is working and middle-class, mostly Negro also. Despite the racial imbalance of the SDS group (all but one were white, and all three of the present staff are white) there was practically no opposition within the project area to the staff. Instead, both old members of the Neighborhood Council (our host group) and the newly organized block members accepted us with remarkable alacrity and warmth. And by the time the project came under major attack, from a group whose spokesmen included Negro liberals, neighborhood people defended the white staff instead of capitulating to the race-baiting of our antagonists. It would be highly desirable to have Negro organizers on the staff, but at this point it is not mandatory.

The ERAP program which has evolved does not attempt to isolate the cause of community ills in any broad sociological sense, and therefore neither denies nor affirms the idea that ills are not racial (or economic) in origin. The program does not isolate where change can and should come about. All it says is that through an alliance of small homeowners and tenants, the coalition of big political interests and slumlords can be defeated, and thus the major barriers to decent housing can be overcome. Although no attempt is made to deny discrimination (which undoubtedly exists) it is part of the staff's attempt to push the idea of a coalition with poor whites. In anticipation of moving to other neighborhoods, a good deal of information has been ac-

crued concerning the nature of other neighborhoods, and the nature of economic and racial conflict in the city as a whole.

A good amount of raw material has been collected concerning the attitudes of community people toward SDS and the ideas embodied in the "SDS analysis". Only on one point would we venture any conclusion, however: we have continued to work on the basis of complete honesty in our attitudes and positions, and there have been no significant instances of negative attitudes or impairments of our effectiveness. Often there is great interest in SDS, the other projects, and in our attitudes towards the power structure, the process of change, the Southern and international scenes. The other common response is polite interest, or "information to be filed".

The rest of our conclusions are most tentative, and admittedly are often a function of what we are looking for.

The most change in our constituency's consciousness is in terms of organization. A fight within the Council and with liberal groups in the city has made people acutely aware of the form of organization and its significance. The debate's ideological rhetoric was in terms of "the people" demanding their just vote, pitted against those who were trying to keep them down. The important lesson of this conflict was that our neighborhood people became more committed to the cause -- theirs and ours -- instead of becoming alienated from both sides of a factional dispute, as we feared. Through the struggle they sensed they were creating an organization; that they and SDS would have enemies, Negro as well as white; that it would take as much energy as did their existing personal or block-related activities.

The problem of leadership was only in part identified by neighborhood people as racial: "this is 1964 and things is changin' all over" is the way one put it. The deeper way in which the problem was identified was, very simply, democratic control. The sharpest attacks were against domination of the people by a manipulative clique, and against anyone displaying marks of snobbishness or privilege. The neighborhood people readily identified them-



## ERAP...

selves as the "little people", and they regarded SDS staff as "ordinary people" who were with them.

The positive manifestation of this democratic feeling was the form of the new organization which emerged: the program committee. This was a committee which was formed of representatives from all blocks, the staff, and anyone who could attend the meeting, one man one vote. The committee would meet weekly and make all policy decisions, decide its own organizational form and be chaired by an elected president rotated once a month. Although many of these suggestions were made by us, they were readily agreed upon and defended when questioned.

One of the larger questions throughout the summer was how a mostly white staff would relate to a Negro constituency. The subject is often discussed, and especially when broached by us, in a frank manner. For obvious reasons, there is no consciousness of poor whites being their allies, as none have come to them as allies. But partly because of the economic orientation of our program, partly because of our occasionally pushing the idea, and partly out of a flexibility in their outlook as to who allies are, the possibility of hooking up with white groups does not seem at all difficult.

In contrast to an apparent informality in race consciousness, the attitudes toward class are somewhat tighter. There is a strong strain of being a deprived class, resenting and ridiculing privilege; picketing a slumlord at his suburban residence inspired glee as well as fear; the 'lower' hill consciousness is strong, as is 'the little people' concept. The corresponding attitude toward 'the other America' is to lump all those with power and privilege into one group.

However, there is a strange mix of attitudes toward those immediately above and below them on the economic ladder. Probably a minority of the group has no antagonistic or snobbish feelings about anyone in the neighborhood: they are either the very 'nitty' tenants in the worst slums, or people in leadership who

are comfortably situated. But in contrast to this, there is a strong feeling among many that much of the problem is the people's fault, and that they must be educated to be responsible; the reason things are so bad is that people are lazy, stupid, and apathetic. This is not only a homeowner attitude: anyone who is already in the movement has a certain initiative, and they often resent or scorn those who do not have this initiative or ability to stay above water.

One function of this attitude is a belief in individualism rather than group action, and further, that change comes about through argument, and instruction, rather than through power. On the other hand, the rant strikes function completely on a collective basis, premised on the concept of power and conflict.

There is practically no consciousness of any political motion outside their own lives, except for a vague feeling for the southern freedom movement. We feel it is important to encourage this consciousness, through a visit by Bayard Rustin, through SDS pamphlets, books (Hentoff's The New Equality, Harrington's The Other America), through SDS conferences, and through cooperation with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in challenging the seating of party regulars at the January convening of Congress.

On the other hand, the world of local politics seems quite real. They comprehend how local politics works, and realize they are of interest to local politicians. It is perfectly possible for the movement to turn to politics as an arena, and even now our telephone squads invite politicians to demonstrations, in order to line them up with or against us.

## PHILADELPHIA

By Carol Glassman

Philadelphia JOIN came to the close of its first summer with a successful organization of mothers wanting a day care center, a small group of agri-

cultural day workers, a somewhat dormant group of unemployed men, and a decision to change the organization's emphasis from direct organization of the unemployed to a block approach in the Queen Village area.

The mothers group has met continually and at their last meeting made plans to join forces with the Health and Welfare Council Inc., is a red feather type group which has been coordinating forces for more day care in Philadelphia. Despite the cold shoulder they got from the state Dept. of Welfare, the mothers are determined and fairly optimistic. In addition to the day care center, the mothers have become concerned about the need for a tenants council. We have already held one formal and several informal meetings to discuss complaints about the project and what a tenants council could and should do.

While the Housing Authority does encourage tenants councils they are usually powerless and become either social organizations or management pawns. The manager is under no obligation to them. We have tried to make our group aware of this lack and many have begun to see the real need for tenant power if only in a limited way. A proposal is being prepared as a program for the prospective council and will hopefully include some institutional power for the tenants. It will then be spread throughout the project to get support. Plans of how to approach the management are still vague but the mothers favor speaking to the asst. manager soon.

The agricultural work of our staff has been continually aimed at making contacts among workers by going out to the farms, seeing ministers to get them to support our program and announce our meetings, and leafleting at the buses. Plans for this group include continued contact and development over the winter. Some support from unions has been secured and will play a major role next summer.

The jobs committee has been somewhat hung up by its inability to develop successful intermediate tactics and to successfully involve a quite diverse group in joint action. Meetings have had smaller and smaller attendance. In addition to tactics, there is a problem of geography. The contacts made at the south Philadelphia compensation office come from all over the city, which makes holding meetings and developing an "esprit de corps" almost impossible. These problems, as well as our growing awareness of the need to develop a community base, have led to the decision to move into block organizing while continuing the mothers, tenants council and agricultural work. Organizing directly on job issues will, for the time being, continue only among high school students and drop-outs. This effort will be led by two local young people who have been active in the jobs committee. It is hoped that this group will be pretty cohesive and interested in the same things, i.e., training in and out of the school system and job opportunities for young people. It is believed that specific intermediate goals can be worked on by the group. It is hoped that eventually out of the block organizations unemployed people will be filtered into an unemployed organization or will be able to get the block organizations to take action on the issue.

Campus organizing has so far consisted of meetings with students from the U of Penn and Temple to discuss the possibility of forming SDS chapters and working for JOIN. Plans are still indefinite. Students from Haverford and Swarthmore have already begun to work with us.

send dues and fall addresses to the NO

A conference on myth and reality in the civil rights movement:  
CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE

Oct 30 -- Nov 1  
at Columbia University, New York

sponsored by the Northern Student Movement  
514 W 126 St, N.Y.

Speakers: Bayard Rustin  
Charles Silberman  
Jesse Gray  
Bob Moses  
Nat Hentoff

registration -- \$7

## GOLDWATER...

to civil rights demonstrations and disorder. This is plausible; in fact, those of us who have been spending the summer talking to white workers know the extent to which such racism has become manifest. But the newspaper emphasis on the white backlash, conceals a number of things which are also going on. As a result, it tends to say that the Negro uprising will elect Goldwater, providing a wonderful excuse for those who want to sabotage the Negro movement, putting the civil rights leadership on the defensive, and thereby giving the right-wing what it wants even before it takes power. Incidentally, a by-product of this newspaper connection between the backlash and Goldwater, is that it is a classic example of the self-fulfilling prophecy--the press is effectively informing voters that it is OK to hate Negroes and to vote in accordance with that hate.

It is my view that whatever strength Goldwater has and will gain among white workers and middle class voters has more complex roots than racism alone. My feeling is that Goldwater's strength represents an index of liberal default as well as white racism. In the first place, it is a widely held assumption that the working class voter--the urban voter in general--strongly supports the gains made by the New Deal coalition in terms of social welfare, labor legislation and the like. There is no reason to doubt this, but there is reason to suspect that many such voters have forgotten the links between social welfare and the labor movement, have ceased to be clear about the terms of the debate over the welfare state, and fail to see the possibility of further progress in this direction. The reason for this voter confusion is largely that the labor movement and other liberal forces have failed quite decisively to educate their constituencies or to provide an effective answer to the propaganda of the right-wing with respect to social welfare. Thus, we have found in talking to white unemployed, a significant number of people who believe that Goldwater wants to strengthen social security by making it voluntary, or who are frightened by medicare because it represents socialism.

There is every reason to doubt that liberals and labor will make a major effort to correct this situation during this election campaign. The bureaucratization of liberal organizations has reached the point that, in many places, they simply do not speak to grass-roots people, and more frightening, are not even aware that they have lost contact. There is, as yet, little evidence that the labor movement, for example, is going to undertake a major overhaul of its election practices--either to increase the intensity of its campaigning, or to begin a massive attempt to educate its constituency on the issues. Moreover, despite much talk about massive voter registration programs on the part of Democratic Party officials, there is much indication, in Chicago, for instance, that the machine is actually limiting its voter registration efforts, particularly in Negro wards. Thus, it is white racism plus voter ignorance, plus liberal passivity (and fear?) which is delivering votes to Goldwater in the northern urban centers. And it is not hard to calculate that if Goldwater makes substantial inroads into the normally Democratic voting strength in such states as Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin, that he will be able to carry these states quite easily.

Some reasons for optimism should also be indicated. First, there is the apparent defection of considerable numbers of moderate Republicans, particularly in western farm areas, upper-middle income suburbs and in the East. Much of this defection has to do with foreign policy; in fact, Goldwater may have miscalculated the degree to which large numbers of otherwise conservative Americans love the cold war. But these voters are by no means stable, and a considerable number could well be attracted back to the Republican side by election day.

Second, there is the increasingly intense desire of committed liberals and leftists to "do something" about Goldwater. In many places, independent anti-Goldwater groups have been forming and have begun to consider action. It is evident that many people who have been only peripherally active or concerned about politics will become involved in this campaign. But there is reason to ask whether their activity will receive effective focus or

leadership from the national liberal organizations or from the Democratic Party apparatus.

Third, there is the fact that working class voters whose concern has been activated with such issues as labor, unemployment, social welfare, etc. oppose Goldwater despite their racist sentiments.

Whatever reasons we might give for optimism, from swing-Republicans who fear war, to Democratic strategy to ride to the White House on a provoked wave of John Kennedy sentiment, there is every cause for alarm and every need for SDS members to be active in this campaign.

There are, it seems to me, some quite specific things which we in SDS can do in relation to this campaign. Since we have had some experience in communicating with working class whites we are in a position to undertake wherever possible, grass-roots education and electoral activity among such constituencies. Since we are on the campus, we are in a position to give some leadership and direction to that group in the population which is likely to feel most intensely opposed to Goldwater--the academic community. There is no doubt that activity both on the campus and in working class communities will be of great benefit to SDS organizationally--in helping us to make contact with new constituencies. And our somewhat unique experiences and position will enable us to make a relatively unique contribution to the defeat of Goldwater.

We need to keep certain things in mind as guidelines to whatever action we engage in. First, we ought to avoid duplicating other people's work. We are not Young Democrats, nor are we Young Republicans against Goldwater, nor are we willing to be precinct laborers in the Johnson machine. We ought to try to do those things that others are unwilling to do, or are likely to do badly. Second, we want to do whatever we can to see that our own views are represented as much as possible in the

now on sale

10 ¢

PART OF THE WAY WITH LBJ buttons

order from:

Clark Kissinger  
c/o SDS, 119 Fifth Ave, N.Y.

campaign. For, apart from the election of Goldwater, the most dangerous aspect of this election is the extent to which the Left viewpoint is being submerged or attacked. This is particularly serious in the area of foreign policy, especially with respect to Vietnam. The Administration is going to use every opportunity to demonstrate how brutal it can be and the excuse that this helps beat Goldwater will frequently be made. A similar pattern is emerging with respect to civil rights--as, for example, the attacks on "communist infiltration" of the movement. This is somewhat less serious because opposition to sell-out will be less easy to control. Third, we ought to avoid as much as possible getting hung-up in tortured definitions of our position with respect to Johnson. Our main effort is to educate people about the dangers of Goldwater, our main concern is to protect democratic institutions. We support Johnson in this election, and to the degree necessary to defeat Goldwater; if we preserve our own individual and organizational identity there is little danger that we will be "bought off." Furthermore, we should look for ways to exert pressure on Johnson from the Left.

With these considerations in mind, what can we do?

1. Of first priority, would be an attempt to organize anti-Goldwater committees in white working class areas. The emphasis should be on developing local, indigenous opposition to Goldwater, and on catalyzing anti-Goldwater people in such communities, rather than on flooding an area with students. Such efforts might possibly be undertaken in cooperation with union locals, a local church group, or even the local Democratic Party. The indigenous committee could be assisted in canvassing, voter registration, setting up meeting and coffee hours, distributing literature. These efforts should be undertaken by chapters wherever possible and also by city projects when desirable.

2. Some members may find themselves in areas where such an organizing effort may not be feasible, or they may find a very large campus sentiment which

can be organized for other activities in addition to the above. One possibility is to work in cooperation with the local Democratic Party, COPE or other labor organization in more conventional election work. In this instance, the chapter would become a funnel of student volunteers into the campaign. This is especially valuable if local Democratic candidates are worthy of enthusiasm. But in all instances, we should make it clear that we are independent of the party; and we should undertake a simultaneous on-campus educational effort for both the students we involve in election work and for the campus generally. Such an educational effort might include distribution of SDS literature, a major forum-debate program, intensive discussion and seminar efforts in dormitories and fraternities. The emphasis ought to be on examining the roots of the Goldwater candidacy, and why a society could go so wrong as to produce such a phenomenon. We ought to do everything possible to get across our analysis, and our concern with such matters as corporatism, automation, American interventionism and the Cold War.

3. In some places it may be possible to work with independent anti-Goldwater groups. For example, in Chicago, a Freedom Democratic Club movement has gotten under way, designed to support the Freedom Party of Mississippi, to engage in voter registration, to establish permanent organization in every ward, looking toward establishing a base of opposition to the machine. Such an organization is a good candidate for cooperation. Often, it is likely that participation of SDS members in such efforts will provide a needed stimulant, committing the group to serious and intensive effort.

4. We need, on campus, to make sure that every student who can vote, does. New legislation makes it possible for people living in a precinct for 60 days prior to election to vote for President regardless of other residence requirements.

5. Finally, we need to give serious thought to a major action project during the campaign which can symbolize the existence of the Left. Perhaps Vietnam is the right issue, or perhaps something else will emerge. But this ought to be a serious matter for concern.

## BERKELEY...

of the 1930's the university changed its rule to prohibit any political or social action on the Berkeley campus. This rule was later relaxed but campus regulations still prohibited direct advocacy of political causes and any sort of fund-raising on the campus.

Beginning in 1959 with the blocking off of a street near the main entrance, a "free speech" area grew up at the entrance to the university. At the time it was thought that the free speech area was on city property, and students requesting permission to speak were told to apply to the city. This area became the accustomed location for literature tables of student organizations, political and fund drives, and soap-box speakers.

Suddenly this year, just as school was to begin, the University announced that the free speech area was on university property after all, and hence all university rules applied. You could speak, but not "advocate". And, of course, no fund-raising. Tables were banned.

On Thursday, Sept 17, all student organizations on the Berkeley campus, from Goldwater groups to the Young Socialist Alliance, hamed together, distributed leaflets and presented a list of demands to the university. In particular, they called for the return of tables and complete freedom of speech. Six students were chosen to represent the students in negotiations with the university; one person each from SDS, CORE, Friends of SNCC, Independent Socialist Club, Y-Dems, and a students for Goldwater group.

The university administration considered the demands and them met with the student negotiators on Monday, Sept 21. At this meeting the administration announced that a new free speech area had been created on the steps of the administration building, that tables would be allowed, but that the university regulations regarding "advocacy" and soliciting would still apply. The students accepted the free speech area and the return of the tables, but still demanded "really free speech" and the right to collect money. Most student groups set up tables, and proceeded to "advocate" and collect money. This went on all week without interference from

the administration.

At a meeting Sunday evening, Sept 27, the groups decided to set up tables at a new location on the campus, but one which was permitted under the new rules. On Monday morning, Sept 28, four groups, including SDS, proceeded to set up tables in the new location.

The Dean's office told the four groups that they would have to move and that they should make appointments to see the Dean. Their request to meet with the Dean jointly was refused. The same afternoon about 1000 students picketed the Chancellor who was speaking on the campus. And the Chancellor announced that the "advocacy" restrictions would be relaxed somewhat. The students could, for example, advocate the repeal of Proposition 13 (a constitutional amendment to outlaw fair housing ordinances). Some things could be advocated and others couldn't, with various metaphysical distinctions being drawn between them.

The tables stayed up and nothing happened until Wednesday, when officials again appeared and told the Friends of SNCC table that it would have to move. When the students at the table refused, their names were taken and they were told to report to the Dean's office.

Although only five names were taken, about 600 students signed a statement to the effect that they were equally responsible for the "wrongdoing" and wished to be punished along with the official five. At 3:00 pm when the five reported to the Dean's office, they were accompanied by about 600 who sat down in the hall when they were denied entry with the official five. Three more names were later added to the list to make the group the official eight.

The student sit-inners remained in the administration building all evening (the building normally closes at 7:00 pm) and at midnight the Dean announced that the official eight had been placed on "indefinite suspension", i.e. expelled for all practical purposes.

On Thursday morning, Oct 1, tables were set up in front of the administration building with large numbers of chairs so that many people could have the pleasure

of having their names taken. A rally was called for noon. At about 11:45, university officials with a campus cop arrived and asked a student at the CORE table for his identification. When he refused to produce it, he was arrested. It now appears as though the student, Jack Weinberg, is now actually registered on the Berkeley campus this semester.

As the police tried to take Weinberg to their car, students blocked the path. After the police had finally gotten Weinberg to the car, the students began to sit all around the car so that it could not move. At this point, Mario Savio, from Friends of SNCC, jumped on top of the police car. As he addressed the crowd, several thousand students gathered. There followed a whole series of speakers addressing the crowd on the sacred right of free speech.

Meanwhile, during the late afternoon a group of faculty met with the Chancellor. During this time a number of students continued to sit-in outside the Dean's office. Finally, as a unilateral gesture of good will, the students agreed to leave the building for a few hours, with the intention of returning before the closing hour. The at 6:30 the administration attempted to close the doors early, thus locking the students out for the night. Students immediately rushed to the last open door and blocked all efforts to close it. Although there were minor injuries in scuffling with campus cops, the students succeeded in keeping the building open, and then unilaterally decided to leave at 8:00 pm.

Back outside, the larger crowd of students still remained around the police car, containing the cop and Weinberg, and speeches with intermittent singing continued -- until 3:00 am. The students then bedded down around the cop car and the siege went on.

Friday, Oct 2, the students were still surrounding the car in the center of campus and Weinberg was still inside. Loudspeakers were set up and the speeches from the top of the car continued. Although it was a regular school day with registration still in progress, the administration building was locked up tight.

## BERKELEY...

Finally, Friday night a temporary six-point agreement was reached, based on the suggestions of an informal faculty committee. The terms of the truce are as follow:

1. Student demonstrators will desist from all forms of their illegal protest against university regulations.
2. A committee of student protest leaders, faculty, and administration will be set up to study all aspects of student political activity and make recommendations.
3. Weinberg will be booked, released without bail, and the university will not press charges.
4. The duration of suspension of the eight suspended students will be submitted to the Faculty Senate's Student Conduct Committee (the normal procedure).
5. Student political activity may resume under the existing regulations and the protesting organizations will be reinstated.
6. The president supports the deeding of the old free-speech area to the student government or the city so that university regulations will not apply.

The demonstrations were suspended and the car was released. But this is only a truce -- the basic student demands have not been met. Freedom of speech does not exist on the Berkeley campus -- and the demonstrations could resume at any time.

## VOICE RESPONSE

From a letter from the U of Michigan SDS chapter (VOICE):

...All morning the leaflets we printed up were distributed at four key spots on the campus. Come noon, about 200-250 students gathered to hear Barry Bluestone and Rich Horevitz (now chairman of VOICE) expound on the demands, call students to work together for a better university, and ask them all to come to a mass meeting...

The lesson of Berkeley is that a movement of unified students is a powerful instrument. And the time is now."

More chapter reactions will appear in the next Bulletin.

## NAT'L SEC'S REPORT...

launched the whirlwind of activities which characterized SDS during the spring of 1964. This last spring SDS sponsored four inter-collegiate conferences on poverty in America and began to plan a series of summer projects (later permanent projects) to mobilize directly the poor and dispossessed in American society.

The summer of 1964 marked the first time in its short history that SDS has had an active summer program. In addition to its normal summer chapter activities and the Liberal Study Group at the NSA Congress, SDS maintained over 125 full-time staff in the field on ten projects scattered from Hazard, Ky. to Boston. In addition it maintained two offices (in New York and in Ann Arbor) with an active staff of about ten.

Now we are starting into the fall of 1964. Rather than no organizing literature, we have brochures on SDS and ERAP and a chapter organizing handbook. Rather than a small cubby hole of an office we have two large offices: in New York the National Office has a staff of four full-time and several part-time workers and the adjoining office of the Political Education Project has two full-time staffers, and in Ann Arbor, the combined offices of ERAP and PREP each have two full-time staff. We will have a full-time campus traveller beginning in December and we now have a part-time campus organizer working in the South, as well as a network of part-time regional organizers around the country. Rather than a handful of active chapters, SDS has 30 accredited chapters with more being organized every day. We enter the year as the largest and most active radical student organization in the country.

Rather than simply a mimeographed Bulletin, we will have this year a printed newsletter coming out of Ann Arbor, the continuing membership Bulletin out of New York, smaller periodical memoes to the chapters from the National Office, and a close working relation with New University Thought.

And best of all, instead of paper projects we have national programs. Seven of the ten community projects of the Economic

## NAT'L SEC....

Research and Action Project will continue with full-time staffs, and ERAP will take an increased role in the preparation of written materials for use in campus educational programs concerning national economic problems. The Peace Research and Education Project will be conducting extensive campus programming on abolition or the draft and American involvement in underdeveloped countries, while pushing community programs (such as the Boston project) on the issue of reconverting the defense economy. Finally, in response to the long-felt need for direct involvement in electoral politics, there now exists the Political Education Project (PEP). Established as an independent but associated organization (because of SDS's tax status), PEP will be initially concerned with anti-Goldwater activity. But following the elections its programs will seek to give students the necessary knowledge and skills for electoral activity at the local level as well as provide running commentary on national politics and legislation.

Since its founding as Students for a Democratic Society in 1960, SDS has continued a pattern of steady growth, activity and involvement. This year promises to be the greatest in our history.

## NEW YORKERS

come to an

# OPEN HOUSE

date: Sunday, Oct. 25  
time: all afternoon  
place: SDS office (room 308)  
119 Fifth Ave (corner 19 St).

Meet other New Yorkers, the national staff, ERAP project staff members, and SDS national officers.



buttons: 10¢ each

order from:  
Clark Kissinger  
c/o SDS  
119 Fifth Ave, NY

## THE SDS NATIONAL OFFICE

- Coordinates chapter programs, ERAP, and PREP.
- Publishes papers on topics such as civil rights, economics, peace, foreign affairs, education, and politics.
- Publishes the monthly membership Bulletin.
- Sends periodic mailings to chapters.
- Processes new memberships.
- Aids chapters and members by giving advice, information, providing speakers, and helping to plan activities.
- Plans conferences and meetings.
- Answers many letters from members and prospective members daily.
- Gratefully accepts your dues and contributions.



## PRE S I D E N T . . .

abhorrence of all things political and join the fight against Goldwater. After November most of these students will sink back into the political invisibility from which they momentarily emerged, no more enlightened about the force of a right wing social movement than they were prior to the election and in fact, in most cases deluded into thinking that their six weeks leafletting and baby sitting was enough to "stop" the right wing.

There are at least two traditional left responses to these kinds of situations that we must avoid. The first, which I call monastic, has been to retreat from such ambiguous and unseemly activity, besmirched as it is with compromise and political banality, and to search out instead an issue and action that is unambiguously radical. The problems of monasteries however is that they tend to be isolated and apart, irrelevant to the concerns of most of the people. The second response, which strikes me as both cynical and manipulative, has been to capture the positions of power within existing political structures without either openly challenging their precepts or honestly involving their participants. The unenlightened remain much the same; only the political directorate changes.

What perplexes me most about these responses is that they turn what should be a basis for optimism into disillusionment and retreat. For the fact of the matter is that thousands and thousands of students who in 1959 would have been comfortably sealed into a life cycle of sex, football, and Monday, Wednesday and Friday classes are today out pounding the streets on issues or for candidates, working in lower class communities, seriously broaching problems of peace and the economy, consciously attempting to finance a revolution in Mississippi, etc. It's true that much of that effort seems constantly to be co-opted and distorted, but there is nothing in the nature of the case that requires that. The arena in which students today see themselves acting has not only expanded, it has qualitatively changed to include a different idea about the kind of questioning

and action that is appropriate. And that expanded arena is a creation in large part of a student left that fought by example and education the image of the student as an inanimate receptacle for canned university wisdom.

The problem is that the potential we have helped to create is too large to be captured completely by a still relatively small self-conscious radical community. It is also too complicated to be dealt with by the old and simple exhortation to action. Students are acting--but they are most frequently not acting radically.

Our approach should be two-fold. First we must attempt to educate existing action, to interpret the activity in which students are involved into a broader context which forces them to examine its basic relevance. For example, our involvement in the campaign should in large part be directed to making the October politicians understand that the right wing will continue to grow in a politics-as-usual, managerial system until the issues on which it feeds (bureaucratic proliferation, loss of individual initiative and control, destruction of community insularity, irresolute and seemingly unmanageable complexity, official amorality, uncontrolled violence) are finally faced. They must understand that Johnson and the whole liberal establishment feed the right wing by denying that the issues out of which it grows exist. Nor should we assume that there will be some deep resistance by students to a radical point of view. The resistance is there, but it has been significantly lessened by the legitimization of political action and inquiry of the last several years.

Participation in a peace seminar today represents the channeling of certain fears and frustrations that only recently went unexpressed. It is up to us to use that channel--to radicalize it, to come into the seminar with a program and ideas and values that make more sense and speak more directly to the needs of the student than does academic esoteria.

I am arguing then for a vastly expanded educational role for SDS that puts radical alternatives before students who are acting; but that itself implies that we

# PRESIDENT...

give a more articulate voice to, and develop deeper comprehension of, the ideas and programs that constitute alternatives; we must, in short, educate ourselves before we can presume to educate others. We must know how to help the middle class tutor see the reality of the ghetto as a human and social phenomenon produced by discernible forces that could be changed through political action; and we must show him that we have a program and strategy for accomplishing that change. We must disconnect the concerned peace activist or scholar from his belief that American foreign policy is benign and motivated by a concern for the "protection" of democracy, and make him face the reality of American imperialism and the forces that sustain it; and we must show him a program that would lead to the reconstruction of America's role in the third world.

And having done these things, we must show that there are points to begin working on a radical program and ways to involve all of those who see its value.

None of this is abstract brainwork that can be left to a touted group of national "ideologists". What I am asking for is hard, persistent, and clear thinking about how the loose agglomerate of values, strategies, and programmatic schemes that demarcate SDS can be made specific and relevant to the numerous contexts in which the organization operates. And the only way that this can be done is for the people who are closest to those situations to decide to do it.

PAY YOUR 1964-65 DUES NOW !

# STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

## LITERATURE LIST OCT 1964

ABOUT SDS (all items free; if possible, please contribute for PHS and ANE)

- Basic brochure on SDS
- SDS Constitution
- Port Huron Statement. 52 page manifesto of values and beliefs. Product of 1962 SDS convention. **ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED.** (25¢ appreciated)
- America and the New Era. 30 page analysis of the "American Scene" and strategy for dealing with it. Product of 1963 convention. (15¢ appreciated)

### STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY

- (5¢) Bibliography on Higher American Education: Ralph Kaplan
- (10¢) Paul Booth: A Basis for University Reform
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Student Political Action, 1960-1963--The View of a Participant
- (10¢) Al Haber: Students and Labor
- (10¢) Tom Hayden: Student Social Action (**ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED**)
- (10¢) Tom Jacobson: Unions and the Working Student
- (10¢) C. Clark Kissinger: The Bruns Strike--Student Participation in Labor
- (10¢) Don McKejvey: The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties
- (10¢) C Wright Mills: A Letter to the New Left
- (10¢) Paul Potter: The Intellectual as an Agent of Social Change
- (10¢) Paul Potter: The University and the Cold War
- (10¢) Bob Ross: The United States National Student Association--A Policy Critique
- (10¢) "Towards a Quaker View of Sex" and "Is the Problem Really Sex?"
- (10¢) Carl Wittman: Students and Economic Action

### CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

- (5¢) Bibliography on Civil Rights in the North
- (5¢) Bibliography on Civil Rights in the South
- (10¢) Connie Brown: Cambridge, Maryland--A Case Study
- (10¢) Andrea Cousins: Harlem--The Neighborhood and Social Change
- (10¢) Noel Day: The Freedom Movement in Massachusetts
- (10¢) Noel Day: A White America in a Non-White World
- (10¢) Nick Egleson: The Survey and Community Organization
- (10¢) Dick Flacks: The Chicago Project--Organizing the Unemployed
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: The Battlefields and the War
- (10¢) Tom Hayden: Civil Rights in the United States
- (10¢) Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman: An Interracial Movement of the Poor
- (10¢) Harlon Joye: Will Negroes Use Guns?
- (10¢) Tom Kahn: The Political Significance of the Freedom Rides
- (75¢) Tom Kahn: Economics of Equality
- (10¢) Jack Minnis: The Care and Feeding of Power Structures
- (10¢) Kim Moody: Some Thoughts on Organizing Poor Whites
- (10¢) Paul Potter: Research and Education in Community Action Projects
- (10¢) Dan Schacter: Deep in the Heart of Harlem--The Rent Strikes
- (10¢) Swarthmore SDS: Chester, Pa--Community Organization in the Other America
- (10¢) Swarthmore SDS: Chester, Pa--Block Organizing
- (10¢) Swarthmore SDS: The Negro Freedom Movement--Seminar Outline
- (10¢) Nicholas Von Hoffman: Finding and Making Leaders
- (10¢) Cathy Wilkerson: Rats, Washtubs, and Block Organization

ECONOMICS

- (5¢) Bibliography on the American Economy: Lee Webb
- (10¢) Ray Brown: Our Crisis Economy (new revised edition) **ESPECIALLY RECOMMENDED**
- (10¢) Robb Burlage: The American Planned Economy--A Critique
- (10¢) Robb Burlage: The South as an Underdeveloped Country
- (10¢) Robb Burlage: This is War--An Analysis of the War on Poverty with Emphasis on Appalachia
- (10¢) Committee for the Triple Revolution: The Triple Revolution
- (10¢) Bob Heifitz: A Draft Program for Eastern Kentucky
- (10¢) Ken McKelowney (ed): Readings on Poverty
- (10¢) Bernard Nossiter and David Bazelon: The New Folklore of Capitalism
- (10¢) Nyack Conference on Unemployment and Social Change--Working Papers

PEACE

- (10¢) Nancy Bancroft: The Christian Peace Concern
- (10¢) Bibliography on War/Peace Books: Todd Gitlin
- (10¢) Paul Booth: Converting America
- (10¢) Dick Flacks and Tom Hayden: The Peace Movement--New Possibilities
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Deterrence and Reality--Where Strategy Comes From
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: The Case Against the Draft
- (10¢) Ken McKelowney: Disarmament and the American Economy
- (10¢) Don McKelvey: Economic Development, the Major Powers, and Peace

POLITICS

- (10¢) Eugene Feingold and Tom Hayden: Politics 1964--Corporation and Crisis
- (10¢) Tom Hayden: The Power of the Dixicrats
- (10¢) Tom Hayden: Liberal Analysis and Federal Power
- (10¢) Tom Kahn: Goldwater and the White Backlash
- (10¢) Mark Lane: Comment on the Warren Commission
- (10¢) Steve Max and Doug Ireland (ed.): Goldwater--The Public Record
- (10¢) Sumner Rosen: Liberals and Reality
- (10¢) Jim Williams: Goldwaterism--Its Origin and Impact

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- (10¢) David Arnold: Vietnam--Symptom of a World Malaise
- (10¢) Andrew Frank: Exploitation of Aid--U.S.-Brazil Economic Relations
- (10¢) Michael Freeman and Andrew Frank: The Brazil Coup
- (10¢) Don McKelvey: China
- (10¢) Arthur Valenzuela: Latin America--Continent in Revolution

Please use this order form. Bulk rates available to organized chapters.

Send to: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, 119 Fifth Ave, New York 10003

Name.....school and year.....

School Address.....zip code.....

Home Address.....zip code.....

- I wish to join and enclose ( ) \$1 initiation & ( ) \$2 per year dues
- I am ordering the literature checked and enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ in payment
- Please send me information on SDS and mailings for two months
- I wish to contribute to SDS: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ enclosed (contributions are tax-exempt)
- I am a member: enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for 64/65 dues. PLEASE PAY YOUR DUES NOW