

# REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

by Allen Greene  
Scarsdale, N.Y.

## 1. Some Attempts at a Definition of Terms

In political debate, terms are often thrown around in a rather facile manner with little or no attempt being made by the debaters to define them. We've all been guilty of this. Such terms as "revolutionary socialism," "social-democrat," "third-camp," as well as "participatory democracy" are examples. Members of SDS seem to lack any basic introduction to the meanings of those terms (See Dave Cunningham's article, *Anti-Imperialism and the American Left: A Reply to Tom Condit*, Sept. 2, 1966 NLN), largely because SDS organizationally has avoided real political discussion.

SDS in the Port Huron Statement and in its later activities and educational work, defined participatory democracy as essentially the control from below of social and economic institutions. It went on from there to criticize American society because the ruling elites of that society's main institutions by virtue of their power and influence cause colossal events to happen the consequences of which these elites are generally divorced from having to face (if these consequences are undesirable), while the people, here and abroad, face such consequences. The implications of these thoughts are, at least to me, the simplest, yet most ultra-revolutionary, implications.

Socialists have traditionally attacked the institutions of corporate capitalism from the standpoint of intrinsically socially irresponsible nature of the control such institutions' hierarchies exercise over the destinies of

men in society.

Marx, if anything, was a humanist in his support for what he felt would be a replacement of the present situation, in which systems of economic power control men and direct their lives in alien ways, with a profoundly different one, in which the majority of men control systems keeping themselves the end (rather than the means to another end—the system) and use the system to serve them. It is here that we reach a dividing line between the two essential brands of socialism. While all socialists in criticizing the immense consolidation of private power attacked the obviously anti-democratic nature of capitalism, some did not draw from their ideological perspective with regard to the way capitalism is any kind of seemingly consistent view as to how to change that society, or as to what socialism would look like.

The debate between the revolutionaries and the social-democrats has resulted in some genuinely good political discussion, as well as much misunderstanding. But no one has ever attempted to define what seems to me to be the main difference between revolutionary concepts of democracy, along with tactics and vision that flow from such concepts, as opposed to merely reformist concepts. Basically, there's a world of difference between tactics leading to, and vision of a society characterized by participatory democracy at all levels (industry, office, college and community), and the "vision" of a mere centralization and control of economic power by a bureaucratic and militaristic state, which provides beneficent tokenisms

to the citizenry and workers to appease them.

Now, analyzing present society as operating within a framework of corporate control (both in terms of concrete social relations involved, and in the ideological rhetoric used to justify that control) involves us equally in an attempt to draw from this a conclusion as to —

1) whom we should direct our attacks against first — the Johnson Administration, or the corporations that benefit from American imperialism, and

2) who objectively represent the forces most concretely able to screw capitalism in a permanent radical way.

It must be emphasized that a conclusion for the tactic of direct action against U.S. corporate power within the framework of militant union organization should not, and most definitely does not, preclude other forms and areas of protest. It merely attempts to judge the realities of overriding power as they currently exist. The resources for America's wars come from industry, and the workers are in these industries. It is as simple as that.

It must also be reiterated that SDS people who throw the rank-and-file workers into the same bag with their union bureaucrats because these workers may be racists indicts these SDSers' self-avowed responsibility to change that political framework in which, they feel, those racist poor and workers have been forced to act by our society; for, in disposing so easily with the largest group of people in the country (white-collar and wage-workers), they dispose of the essential issue they started with — where power lies and how to take it. They thus leave themselves open to justifiable criticisms of a kind of unreality in dealing with social change which comes from those who themselves would substitute for this New Left unreality the crackpot realism of dependence on small leadership coalitions, as Tom Kahn, for example.

Revolutionary socialists advocate and work for the self-initiated activity of masses of people to seize and control modern social-economic institutions, and to open up to those who were oppressed the right to exercise direct say in making the decisions of those institutions — decisions which affect them. Workers' councils in Hungary '56, soviets in 1918-19 Revolutionary Russia, and in certain parts of Europe where abortive revolts occurred were examples of the highest aspirations of radicals today for participatory democracy. Social-democrats, on the other hand, have traditionally shunned such radical activity and peoples' organization (unless it benefitted them politically), and have concentrated on influencing lib-lab leadership coalitions, and on parliamentary methods of attaining small-scale reforms that do nothing to affect fundamental relationships of power. They especially do not take into consideration the very criticism revolutionaries voice about the State itself, whether parliamentary, monarchial or totalitarian — that it represents, in reality, the centralized military force which acts to preserve class rule of a power elite over the rest of society, and today, capitalism is the particular form of class society which exists.

The State works to preserve these relations both at home and abroad. Because of its responsibility to such anti-democratic forces as the corporations and its consequent necessary centralization, it can never truly respond to the legally exercised wishes of the people, save in a token manner. The people will never be able to "decide" within the confines of the political-economic-military complex that is the modern State, because the function of "recognized" politics within the State is a repressive and distortive function. Through either cold-war ideology, coercion, red-baiting, etc., the capitalist State represses the independent, self-activity of the people. When LBJ lies about the War, it's easy for him to do so, because he has the whole State complex, through the mass communications media, working to justify the long-range interests of the corporate system, which are presented as the "public" or "national" interests, and which include, not very strangely, being in Vietnam.

Thus, there is a real strategic difference between what Tom Kahn and his crowd propose — working for more Congressional reform bills and for 14-B's repeal — and what radicals in SDS are doing — the Mary-

land Freedom Union, the Boston Labor Project, the JOIN projects. Kahn is oriented towards a basically elitist social structure, whether "socialist" or "welfare-capitalist," in which the formality and lack of substance of democracy are unchanged (i.e., a bureaucratic State, as opposed to the workers' control of factories, the student-teacher control of universities, the control by poor people of the welfare departments which revolutionaries propose). SDS people, on the other hand, are anti-elitist, and this anti-elitism, it seems to me, leads to a basically libertarian kind of socialism, and to a radical democratic approach to social change.

What about electoral politics as a means for social change? How useful will the running of "peace" candidates be in the long run for building a significant anti-imperialist, pro-human rights movement, a movement for the establishment of democratic control from below of the socio-economic institutions of this country, i.e., a movement for radical socialism? And what about the organization of independent political organizations? How do (or should) they come into being? Political campaigns and/or organizations are most relevant when the parties arise out of the actions of people in struggle to crystallize demands and coordinate the struggle. They don't come first from coalitions of liberal, or even radical, intellectuals or "leaders". And while the party may coordinate, it is always recognized that the basis for its power is with the social class that initiated the struggle out of which the party grew. One of the more unfortunate results of what, up to now, has been the failure of radicals to organize among discontented white-collar and wage-

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Vol. 1, No. 39 let the people decide October 14, 1966

## the Waning of Congress

by Bill Higgs

When Stokely Carmichael, at a press conference in Washington on July 1, denounced the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 as "totally useless and totally unnecessary," many of the so-called proponents of civil rights in the country felt that this charge was the unreasoned cry of a black power demagogue. Certainly the American press exerted all resources toward creating this impression.

However, the actual facts were that the SNCC chairman had carefully and quickly analyzed the Civil Rights Bill that had been reported out of the House Judiciary Committee on June 30, only two days earlier. That analysis revealed: (1) the jury selection provisions added nothing meaningful to existing law; (2) the provisions designed to prevent discrimination in housing were narrowly drawn and almost completely unenforceable; (3) the increased penalties for violence against civil rights workers were restrictively drafted and devoid of more than token impact; and, finally, (4) the new education title brought about the reactionary result of specifically preventing the Attorney General from suing at all to prevent de facto segregation. Moreover, the weakness and the negativness of what came out of the Judiciary Committee was contrasted with the omission of a host of constructive statutes, such as:

(1) No provision to force the A-G to place federal registrars throughout the South;

(2) No provisions to eliminate de facto segregation throughout the country;

(3) No provisions to reverse the then-just-decided Peacock case, which threw thousands of state prosecutions of civil rights workers back into the southern state courts from the federal courts;

(4) No provision requiring removal from office of state and local police officials who violate Constitutional rights, such as Sheriff Rainey, who still is sheriff in Neshoba County, Mississippi;

(5) No provisions to stop such election or trickery as the gerrymandering of election districts, the raising of qualifications for candidates for office, and the shuffling of election dates by the southern states, such as Mississippi and Alabama are now doing;

(6) No provision for a civil indemnification agency to compensate citizens for racial violence;

(7) No provision making cities and states liable for violation of, or for not protecting, a citizen's constitutional rights;

(8) No provision for completely cleaning up state court discrimination (Not just jury selection);

(9) No provision to prosecute in federal courts those responsible for all crimes committed on account of race;

(10) No provisions to set up an agency independent of the FBI to enforce the civil rights laws and to prevent denials of civil rights before they occur; and

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# REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

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workers is that now, as was recently illustrated by the actions of some of New York State's unions, instead of breaking completely with both major parties, some workers are going over to the Republican party, hardly a significantly progressive advance. In itself it means nothing, but it most assuredly demonstrates the legitimate discontents of today's working class — discontents that, with political work in the union among the workers in the shop, could lead to substantial moves toward independent politics by these workers.

## 2. The Failure of the Communist Bloc: A Reply to Dave Cunningham

The comments I made above basically seek to orient the radical anti-war movement in a revolutionary socialist direction. They also attempt to define terms which, up to now, are still more than hazy in the minds of most people on the Left. There will probably be argument with the way in which I tried to clarify these phrases, because the definitions I gave hardly resemble the concepts most people have of socialism today. It may also seem opportunistic to try to fit one's personal concepts of socialism into the kind of New Left libertarianism which characterizes SDS, but I can only answer such a charge with the response that I'm not trying to fit my personal concepts of socialism with the SDS idea of participatory democracy. It merely seems to me that the two concepts, coincidentally or not, are basically the same in their methods and in the results they seek.

In terms of what I have already said with regard to socialism, I would like to talk to some of the assumptions which were implicit in Dave Cunningham's paper on anti-imperialism from NLN of September 2. Dave evidently feels it is necessary for the peace movement to support what he calls the "Socialist" camp, because that is where the "progressive strength" of "anti-imperialism" resides, and he terms as "social-democrats" those who do not share his enthusiasm for the Communist bloc countries. The polit-

ical distinctions between social-democrats and revolutionaries are, however, more intricate than Cunningham's simplistic analysis assumes, as I've already endeavored to make clear. We might, however, reflect upon the Communist party in America and its actions, and ask if this representative of what Dave euphemistically labels the "Socialist" camp doesn't rather reflect something quite different than the kind of revolutionary democracy that SDS in its own activities is working to achieve. Although SDS has broken through the ideological myths used to support cold war capitalism, there are those in it who feel uncomfortable toward what they call "anti-Communism" because of the possibility they feel such a position creates of indirectly allying oneself with the U.S. Marines. There are, however, other ideological myths in existence, and it might be helpful to look at those who perpetuate them in order to dissect them, too.

Dave and those like him in SDS justifiably attack the "fetish of commodities" and statistical growth and "prosperity" in American corporate rhetoric as a sham. Yet they seem to use these very factors as criteria by which to judge whether or not Russia and China have achieved "socialism," although they fail to define what they mean by the word. To me, as I've said, the central premise of socialism as a system is the direct control from below of the institutions crucial to the running of society (especially industries), with the maximum openness in those institutions to give all people equal opportunities to work for goals they see as necessary and to express opinions they hold, political or otherwise. Socialist activity is consistent in both means and ends in what in that the organizing of community projects, radical caucuses in established unions, or militant independent unions, peace actions, and the political positions take — all have as their ultimate (whether expressed, or, unfortunately as is sometimes the case in SDS, unexpressed) criterion the achievement of revolutionary democracy.

Such democracy will not come about without struggle. Any reform is basically the result of discontent from below that expresses itself in either the threat or actuality of mass action — with ballots or bullets. The danger, of course, is making such mere reform the end of your movement. I assume, also that to achieve say workers' control, for instance, it is ludicrous to suppose that the repression of opinions or demands of

rank-and-file workers which represent significant overall moves in a progressive direction on the part of the workers — such repression or "management" by union bureaucrats can in no sense be said to advance the radical movement. Rather, it is a distinctive setback for the movement. What I am therefore about to say has to be looked at from the standpoint of the premises I accept and whether or not they're generally accurate, because the facts of the matters I shall mention can be proven simply by going into their history. Specifically, I am talking about the American Communist party and what its role has traditionally been both in American social movements, and itself as an agent for social change. Generally speaking, the C.P. has played two roles: 1) That of a hopelessly sectarian group that talks to itself and by its total dependence on the pronouncements of the party clique in Moscow for "ideology" on which it acted led it to stay uninvolved on any sort of level — grass-roots or otherwise — with significant social struggles of the day. Examples of course, stemmed practically from the party's beginning with its almost personal involvement in obeisances to the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian conditions that produced it to the extent that it failed to pay any real attention to the American situation. This very attitude opened the party to the willing "converts" it became to every twist and turn of Comintern foreign policy — from the "Ultra-leftism" and "Third Period" politics of the early '30's through the United Front days, the Stalin-Hitler pact, World War II and the post-War era; 2) The other extreme, i.e., an organization so involved in conventional American politics, or what are better known as "United front" types of action as to lead it to sell out and compromise itself down the line. The present thoroughgoing coalitionism of the Los Angeles Communists, who seem ready to back Pat Brown against Ronald Reagan as a "lesser evil" is a good example. If you remember, Pat Brown wasn't a "lesser evil" to the Berkeley students. Nor was LBJ to the Vietnamese people — but the C.P., in typical fashion, urged all "progressive" forces to back him in 1964. And, of course, the role of the C.P. as jingoists during World War II who told black people to subordinate the demands of their struggle to the "anti-Fascist effort," who vehemently attacked genuine radical labor leaders who led bitter strikes of workers, who wildly approved when the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis truck drivers were imprisoned during a strike there — all this is well known and properly despised by radicals. The actions of C.P.'s who controlled New York City SANE in 1962, repressing radical discussion and forcing revolutionaries to form the Student Peace Union — this, too, is "on the books," so-to-speak. And the isolation of radicals within New York's Teachers' union by leadership sympathetic to old-line C.P. tactics and policies, and the consequent prevention of such radicals from bringing up a militant anti-Vietnam war, pro-withdrawal position for discussion — such occurrences are recent and, again, well known.

In terms of its actions, the Communist party has played a generally anti-radical

role in relation to movements for thoroughgoing change from below, and its coalitionism suspiciously resembles that of Kahn-Harrington-type social-democrats. Differences between them, of course, are merely different sides of the same coin. While Kahn, Rustin and Harrington critically support the Western powers as the "democratic" bloc, the C.P. (usually uncritically) supports the Soviet bloc as the "progressive," "peace-loving," or "anti-imperialist" bloc. Now Dave himself initiated the discussion of this bloc by saying the peace movement should support it as the anti-imperialist force, and this assertion involves the prior premise that foreign powers are a proper subject for discussion in SDS where the policies of these powers relate to SDS and the American radical movement. Since I agree with the premise, but not with Dave's conclusions in the matter, I shall use this opportunity to continue discussion on these powers, and I hope Dave will deal with some of the points I make.

I first should like to posit premises for the methods I feel radicals should use for judging political parties, which can help us in some indirect way to see the relations between the C.P. and Russia, and the nature of the subordination of the former to the latter that has resulted. From here, we can then make some judgment about the Russian state itself. The ideologies or public precepts a party puts forth, and the consistency with which it puts forth one or another set of precepts and publicly adheres to them reflect the internal character of that party, and the extent of its internal democracy. Thus, generally, the public stands on issues and the action taken by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party reflect a remarkable amount of internal democracy within that organization (By "internal democracy," I use the same criterion I would use for defining a socialist institution: i.e., how much control and participation is there in the party by the membership, and how much openness to organized dissent within the party?). The same is true of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. However, publicly accepted precepts and the consistency with which they are invoked in the talk of the party is not the sole criterion for judging that organization, for to the extent the organization puts forth one set of values, but acts in a totally different fashion, it banalizes the values it puts forth. This is true of the American corporate state and of the two capitalist parties. Finally, to the extent a party, or, indeed, any organization, in its actions and talk resembles some other power, and to the extent that the resemblance stems from a conscious subordination by the party to this power, a subordination which has become structurally inherent in the character of the party — to this extent, that party is controlled by such a power. The Comintern in the 1920's began by putting pressure on the American C.P. to expel elements who dissented from the positions of the then newly-arising Stalinist power elite in Russia, as, for example, when the Lovestoneites were kicked out because they had been sympathetic to Bukharin, an old Bolshevik whom Stalin disliked and later got rid of. Now it seems questionable, to say the least, whether a truly international radical democratic movement would act in such a paternalistic and elitist fashion toward one of its component organizations, especially for reasons of mere personality or disagreement over technical political points. It also seems that such a movement would allow its component organizations enough of a measure of autonomy so they might more successfully cope with peculiar problems in their respective countries, and this again was not done by the Comintern. One of the most blatant examples of the totally arbitrary and stupid manner in which the Comintern acted was in its insistence, during the early '30's, that the "differences" of Communist organizations with bourgeois left-wing groupings in Germany were far too great to coalesce with them in an anti-Fascist "United Front," while the immediate danger to all left-wing groups grew steadily more critical. The refusal of Communists, who had a very strong position among the German workers, to join such a coalition was probably a major cause for the ease of Hitler's rise to power (I am assuming that the backing of LBJ against Goldwater by "progressive forces" is far different as a tactical strategy from joining a United Front to prevent a Fascist threat that is immediate and overt.). Yet the policies of the Comintern have, since the early years, largely deter-

## Huelga!

by Marilyn Salzman

The Obreros Unidos, a union of Mexican-American migrants organized this summer by Jessie Salas, SDS, in Wautoma, Wisconsin, has called a strike in the Burns sorting sheds as of Friday, October 7. Seventy-five workers, representing 50% of the total number employed in that shed, are demanding workers elections for recognition of their union and negotiation with Burns about their grievances.

The issues around which the strike was called are:

- 1) higher wages; workers now earn \$1.25 to \$1.50 per hour
- 2) overtime compensation; the work day ranges from four to seventeen and a half hours per day and scheduling is inconsistent
- 3) better working conditions; workers are allowed two meal breaks a day, depending on how long they work, and there are no other rest periods or breaks
- 4) better housing; housing is very inadequate, especially now that cold weather is setting in, there is little insulation and no heat.

The Obreros Unidos need \$250.00 per day and a half to support the families of the striking men. The strike will last indefinitely or until the workers demands are met. So, the need for money is crucial!!!

Burns has been especially vicious in dealing with the men in his potato shed. He has threatened one union organizer with a gun, has consistently refused to talk with union representatives, and has been spreading anti-union literature to other workers.

In another shed called Central Sam's, where the union also threatened to strike, the owner offered to settle with the union by promising that elections would be held in four weeks. Burns has refused to do this.

Please search your pocket and other special hiding places to support this migrant worker strike. Send money to Jessie Salas, c/o Obreros Unidos, P.O. Box 323, Wautoma Wisconsin.

(ED. NOTE: As we go to press, we've just received word that the strikers are obtaining financial aid from the AFL-CIO. Moral support, however, is still solicited.)

## ON GETTING NEWLEFT NOTES, NATIONAL COMMUNICATION NETWORKS, ETC.

A lot of you don't get NLN for 2 or 3 weeks after it's mailed, so the information in it becomes largely irrelevant in terms of chapter activity. We can't, for instance, give you last minute information on programs, because you won't get it until it's too late. The NAC has discussed an answer to this problem, which is to send at least 1 copy of each issue of NLN per chapter by first-class mail. The main problem is doing this is that it's very difficult to keep track of where people in our "chapter contact" list are, their current addresses, etc. At this time we have sure contact with about 85 of our 200 chapters.

We have, therefore, a proposal for you. If chapters will be so kind as to give us a mailing address to which a single copy of each issue of NLN should be sent by first class mail (airmail to the west coast), we will do so. Where at all possible, this address should be a permanent chapter address rather than the address of an individual whose movements we may not be able to keep track of. In the case especially of chapters which continue to function over the summer but have different officers (e.g., Bloomington), the best way to do this might be by getting a post office box in the name of the chapter, thus providing a high degree of continuity. How about it?

Second, an IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT! As of this date, no new memberships or changes of address will be plated for NLN unless they include ZIP CODE as part of the address. We have to put zip codes on all addresses by January 1st, at which time the post office will cease to deliver copies which don't have them. Rather than type the addressograph plates twice, we'll simply delay until we have the full address the first time. If the zip code DOES NOT appear as part of your address for this issue, perhaps you'd like to drop us a note and tell us what it is, thus saving time & money later.

— Tom Condit

## Latin America Committee

A national youth committee on Latin America is being organized, spearheaded by SDSers including Dave Gelber, Tom Bell, Paul Booth, Phil Russell, Jon and Nancy Frappier, and Mike Locker. Young academics in the field, activists in the University Christian Movement, and others are giving enthusiastic commitment to the project, which would launch a concerted effort to educate America to the nature of the problems of Latin America, the need for revolutionary change, and the relation of U.S. interests to Latin America.

Programs envisioned include a frequent magazine aimed at a wide circulation combining the academic format with the journalistic style of *Viet-Report*; national action project around the problems of an individual country pinpointing U.S. political and economic policy in that country; speakers programs; summer work projects in Latin America; etc.

Interested members of SDS should write to Frappier and Locker c/o Radical Education Project, 201 W. Hoover, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

A founding meeting is planned for November.

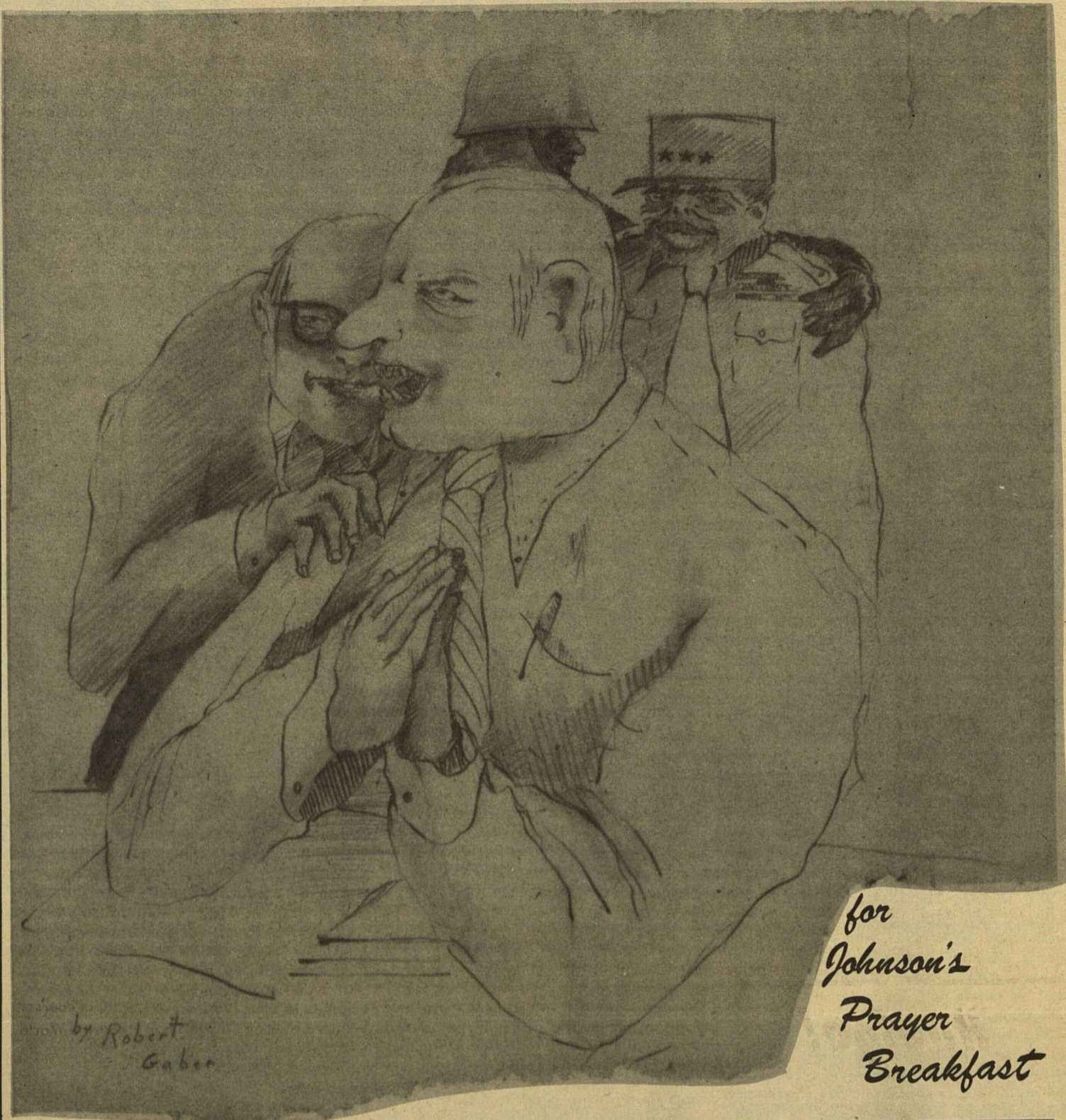
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SERGEANT THOMPSON, U.S. ARMY

Thompson the Terror  
 that's what they call me  
 out there in the mud,  
 fastest grenade grower  
 fastest flame thrower  
 in the Southeast;  
 goddamn glorious  
 with these women too:  
 grow like clams  
 in their damn rice paddies  
 like skinny yellow lice  
 on vines: I pick 'em  
 a little burnt: ripest then,  
 you know.  
 The gooks got glimpses of me  
 they know me  
 You can bet your ass:  
 the Dang Xoai Devil,  
 the Walking Explosive,  
 that's what they must say,  
 the ones not in graves.  
 Man, before I was  
 Tubby Thompson the tenth man  
 or hey Thompson bring us your car  
 can we use it, or lend us your nude cards;  
 now those bastards back home  
 won't come close, afraid of stripes  
 and Thompson the Terror,  
 man, I'm gonna break even somehow,  
 am ripping out their guts  
 like that cutthroat Cong  
 I interrogated today.  
 Had to squash the s.o.b.  
 under a tank before he'd talk.  
 So what if I shot a buddy in the back?  
 it was dark, you can't see who's who  
 can't even tell if he's American at night  
 and all of us boozing a bit  
 you know how it gets  
 well, hell, I won't take it on the chin  
 for him being outticking the village women,  
 I told him not to, can't be trusted  
 those girls: touch their nipples  
 and its likely to trigger a bomb between the  
 breasts  
 and blow you both to pieces.  
 Rice everywhere, women with rice bellies,  
 North South can't tell the difference;  
 keeps coming so you've got to get rid of it,  
 so burn it, shoot it, that's what I do,  
 otherwise you sink, you're stopped by lead,  
 and you're lucky if its in your foot  
 and not your head;  
 but we're blasting 'em now  
 we're giving it to 'em with guts  
 and stars and stripes,  
 and Jesus H. Christ  
 they'll remember us, and me especially;  
 Jesus Christ, we'll be remembered.

Abbott Small

## REHEARSAL



for  
 Johnson's  
 Prayer  
 Breakfast

## Some Comments on

## "A Student Syndicalist Movement"

Martin Oppenheimer, sociology, Vassar College

SDS at its Clear Lake Convention apparently decided to turn once again to one of its earliest tasks, that of organizing the campus; all the more important Carl Davidson's article on Student Syndicalism (Sept. 9, 1966). As a faculty-level member of SDS, that particular task has been bothering me for some time.

First of all I share with many the idea that SDS should have a two-pronged overall strategy -- one that Paul Booth, in the August issue of *Liberation* termed "countervailing" ("the building of domestic forces whose impetus competes with the military for the priorities of the nation," chiefly organized movements of the poor, democratic oppositionist groups in the trade union movement, and civil rights-associated groups); and "containing" ("politically limiting the extension of the war machine into new areas of our society . . .", that is, the tactic of the peace movement). Within such an overall strategy, in this case on peace, but applicable to other issues as well, there exist a series of groups with which one must work, or which must be created, and a series of target populations whose interests, it would seem, might coincide with such a strategy. In a general sort of way, those groups and populations fall into the broad heading of working class, and middle class. (One of the jobs REP has set for itself is to clarify precisely this matter; such a clarification is a prerequisite to defining the tactics needed to make Booth's strategy operational.)

It would seem that both working and middle-class elements play roles in both the countervailing (revolutionary) and contain-

ment (reform) strategies, though at the present time it is easier to equate poor with countervailing, and middle-class (e.g. the peace movement) with containment, and maybe it will remain that way for a while longer. But there is no reason, in the abstract, why working-class people cannot play significant roles in containment strategy, and why middle-class people should not play their part in a countervailing strategy. In fact, the whole idea is to create a movement encompassing both strategies in which this will be a real possibility. SDS has in recent years developed a certain ability to deal with working-class and unemployed populations; still, this ability leaves much to be desired, and success has not been exactly tremendous in building a movement that is really able to "countervail" the existing power structure of the nation, even though there have been limited successes locally. At the same time SDS has become the radical on-campus group, though again this has been more a matter of reputation than one of reality in creating groups that can contribute significantly either to countervailing or to containment. Clear Lake mandated that we grapple more with the campus problem than has recently been the case, so I want to try to put a few things into perspective, as we proceed to grapple.

What should be our chief tactic on the campus? For containment purposes it has to be to build student movements on specific issues of immediate concern; for countervailing purposes, something much more is needed: to create cadres of professionals who will be able to act in a revolutionary way in the milieus in which they find themselves after graduation. Building a student movement, and building cadres, are different, and they

are complementary. They have to be tackled together, but they also have to be distinguished. In the long run the second tactic should be primary, but the first is necessary to accomplish the second, for cadres get recruited only on the basis of immediate issues that make sense to them.

Let us look at the size of the job for a moment. In 1963 some 4,400,000 students (full and part-time) were enrolled in courses leading to degrees, in some 2100 institutions of "higher learning," served by some 363,000 faculty and some 50,000 administrators (n.b. nearly one administrator per 100 students!). By 1966, according to the N.Y. Times, there were 6 million students (including one thousand suicides!), and at this rate by 1970 there will be 6,250,000 or so. (That is, if SDS membership remains stable, there will be twice as many SDS members as there are attempted suicides on campuses.) Given the size of the task it should be obvious that we are probably not going to build a mass student movement -- population growth is too rapid for recruitment to make much of an inroad. What we must do is to permeate American social institutions with organizers, using the campus as a recruiting and training ground. The institutions to which I refer will chiefly be the following: (1) graduate schools which in turn supply faculty who in turn help create new cadres on the one hand, and play roles in their communities (ACLU, unions, anti-poverty, religious groups, professional organizations, independent politics, etc.) on the other. Further, as activists in professional groups (e.g. the Society for the Study of Social Problems; the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, etc.) they help to strengthen the graduate student

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## Film &amp; Filmstrips

This is just a brief note on a couple of films and filmstrips available from sources other than SDS.

Peter Gessner's *Time of the Locust* (16mm black & white, sound, 13 mins) is a short film on various aspects of the war in Vietnam, using U S, NLF and Japanese TV footage. With music. Tundra Films, Inc., 41 W. 35th st, NYC 10001.

Canadian Film Board's *Black & White in South Africa* (16mm, 30 minutes, sound) is a good documentary. Available for \$8 per showing from Contemporary Films, Inc. (267 W. 25th st, NYC 1001; 614 Davis st. Evanston, Ill; 1211 Polk st, San Francisco, Calif. 94109).

Lionel Rogosin's full-length feature *Come Back Africa* (16mm, sound) is the most powerful film on South Africa yet made. It features Miriam Makeba, and Mr. Rogosin agreed last spring (at the time of our abortive Sharpeville program) to make it available to SDS chapters at a flat rate of \$75 for audiences of any size. Inquiries should be sent to: Lionel Rogosin, Bleeker St. Cinema, 144 Bleeker st, NYC 10012.

Those of you who were at the December Conference may remember Emmie Schrader's long filmstrip on the war in Vietnam, which combined war photos and comic-book panels. It's available from her for \$1.25 per copy at 297 E. 10th st., apt 2-B, NYC 10009. Kathie Amatniek (169 Sullivan st, NYC 10012) has made a shorter (70 frame) filmstrip called *Our Enemy in Vietnam*, which is intended to deal with the nature of the Viet Cong as an opening for uncommitted audiences. It sells for \$2 per copy.

Finally, the American Committee on Africa has copies of two television documentaries on South Africa: CBS's *Sabotage in South Africa* and NET's *South African Essay*, the first 50 minutes in length, the second two 30 minute sequences. Write them for rates at: 211 E. 43rd st, NYC 10017.

- T. C.

# the other Delano GRAPE GROWERS

by Ken Blum

In the struggle of the Delano Grape strike, attention so far has centered on DiGiorgio and Schenley, and rightly so, for they are the largest Delano growers. Both are public corporations, that is, they sell stock on the market to the public. Though the other Delano growers are mostly incorporated for tax purposes, as is common in business when profits get around the \$25,000 a year mark, they are not public, but private concerns. DiGiorgio, in fact, is virtually the only public corporation dealing in fresh fruits. California Packing Corporation (Calpak) is public, but it deals with canned foods under its Del Monte label and does not handle fresh produce.

Now that DiGiorgio and Schenley are partially defeated (we still need an election at Arvin and Sutter with DiGiorgio), what about the other 33 or so growers UFWOC has strikes against? Who are these growers?

Among them happen to be a surprising number of "firsts" for the country. Tony Bianco is the grape juice king of the country, that is, he sells the most juice grapes to New York Italians who make their own wine. 1

Joe Giumarra claims to be the 1st for the "Biggest Best Longest California Grape Deal." This is probably true, for his Giumarra Vineyards Corp. alone out of his 3 companies ships 2,000,000 26-pound lugs a year. 2

Elmco Co., owned by Ed Merzozian, boasts the nation's largest cold storage of 1000 carlots. There is nothing like it in the area. 3

W. B. Camp controls the world's distribution of cala cotton which he helped develop. He also markets it from his three packinghouses as Famoso, Wasco and Shafter, under the labels Aristocrat, Georgianna, Mammy, Coat of Arms and Picaninny. 4

P.J. Divizich has the largest contiguous piece of land in the country owned by one individual, 5009 acres, with 4300 in vineyards. He also leases 500 acres. He is the second grower, after DiGiorgio, forced to sell his excess holdings under the 160 acre limitation. 5

We know that DiGiorgio owns 26,000 acres. How about the rest of the Delano growers? Here is the minimum acreage of 14 out of the 33 struck ranchers. (Minimum because we don't know if they own in Hawaii or Florida, as they might well do.)

## Acreage of 14 of the struck ranches (Minimum)

Anthony Bianco	6795
W. B. Camp	4908
Anton Caratan	1129
Mila Caratan	2183
P. J. Divizich	5500
John Dulcich	1431
Elmco Vineyards	3610
Giumarra	12,459
George Lucas	940
Pandol & Sons	2288
D. M. Steele	4187
A & N Zaninovich	2283
Marko Zaninovich	3686
V. B. Zaninovich	2157

TOTAL 58,019

<sup>6</sup> Average for the 14 3,825

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has organizing strikes against these 14 growers, and 19 others. Not an enviable position, by any standard!

Agriculture is a decentralized industry, and in this respect it resembles the garment and construction trades as opposed to the basic industries of auto, steel and aerospace. There are 20,240 grape farms in California alone, which breaks down into 8,997 rasi grapes farms, 5,798 table grape farms, and 5,445 wine and juice grape farms. There are 486,367 acres of grapes in California, and 38,772 acres in Kern County; 73,596 acres in Tulare County and 172,130 acres in Fresno County. Of course, the Delano strike is only in Tulare and Kern County, but most of Fresno's grapes are rasi grapes. Two struck ranchers, Morris Fruit Co. and Anthony Bianco own table grapes in Fresno County. 7

As can be seen there are many grape growers, but the struck ranchers UFWOC has to deal with are also packers and shippers. There are only 57 grape shippers a packinghouse, and a shipper sends the grapes by truck, ship or train. A packer who doesn't own an acre may buy the grapes

right off a field, just as Irving Goldberg is doing right now. More often, though, in recent years, packers and shippers are integrated with growers, and the small grower with 30 acres or so without a packinghouse sells to the various grower-shippers. These grower-shippers are whom the UFWOC is striking.

Anthony Bianco, for example, owns 320 acres of grapes outside of Delano, and that's how we know about him. His headquarters are in the Rowell Building in Fresno, and he owns 240 acres of grapes in Fresno County. He also owns 400 acres of grapes at Arvin which is near Bakersfield. He has packinghouses at Sanger in Fresno County and in Delano. He also grows grapes near Thermal in Riverside County, where he also has a packinghouse. He has a 500 acre peach orchard near Tipton along with 200 head of cattle and pasture land. He has cherry orchards near San Jose, but his biggest ranch is 4,000 acres of lettuce, cotton, vineyards and citrus near Glendale, Arizona. This was bought by a syndicate formed by A. Biancos Sr. and Jr., Carl Jarson of Detroit and Peter Malbandian of Phoenix for \$2,600,000. The Delano ranch cost \$500,000. and the Tipton ranch also cost \$500,000. Bianco has an office in New York to handle eastern shipping. He ships 3000 rail and truck lots a year. Each carlot holds about 1250 lugs, so he ships a total of 3,750,000 a year. Of course not all of these are grapes, and not all of the fruit is grown by him. He buys from Lodi and Modesto southwards throughout the San Joaquin Valley. 9

Most of the Delano grape growers are Democrats and Brown endorsers. Robert Setrakian, whose family runs Midstate Horticultural Company with operations in San Francisco, Fresno, Arvin, Delano and New York, is on the State Central Committee of the Democratic Party. A Setrakian is head of the Rasin Advisory Committee, which regulates a government marketing order. Robert Setrakian is also a bank vice president.

W. B. Camp, who was an assistant director of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) during the New Deal, was head of the entire cotton division, and was also the director of the Southern Region. He came fresh from his job of agricultural appraiser for the Bank of America (1929-1933). He made his money off the destruction of potatoes on a Kern County airstrip, which was the New Deal's way of putting business back onto its feet while 19 million workers were unemployed and hungry. He owes his fortune to the Democratic Party. He was president of the quasi-fascist Associated Farmers of California, the director of the agricultural committee of the State Chamber of Commerce, and even the director of the Agricultural Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce. His wife is a farmer in Edgefield County, South Carolina and is a director of the Bank of Trenton, South Carolina. W. B. Camp is mainly a cotton grower, and is only a relatively small grape grower. 10

John Kovacevich, whom the UFWOC doesn't have a strike against yet, but who is a grape grower in the Arvin area, has the distinction of sitting on the State Board of Agriculture along with Jesse Tapp, former board chairman of the Bank of America, and Howard Marguleas of the large San Francisco based shipping firm of Heggblade-Marguleas. This semi-official body of agribusinessmen appointed by the Brown administration, makes pious statements from time to time on how a 160 acre farm is impractical to farm, etc.

Even Democrat whose name appears on Brown ads in the *Visalia Times-Delta* of Tulare County.

Anthony Bianco is a director of the Grape Crush Administrative Committee which administers the bulk wine marketing order. He is also on the board of the Allied Grape Growers Association, a grower wine processing co-operative. 11

Even Joseph A. DiGiorgio is on the committee to administer the plum marketing order under the California Tree Fruit Agreement—the U. S. Department of Agriculture's price-fixing scheme. DiGiorgio, though, was nominated by the plum growers to his post.

These ranchers apparently can put up with momentary embarrassments such as Brown's "Viva la Huelga" to appease the labor vote because they reap the benefits of the Brown Administration.

(Continued on page 8)

# I.S. 201

INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL 201 EAST HARLEM is the first of the four-year intermediate schools created by the Allen Plan, aimed at breaking down *de facto* segregated education in New York City. The new, 5 million dollar building, situated at 126th St. and Madison Ave., has become, as the N.Y. Times puts it, "the center of violent controversy."

— Part of the dispute concerns its principal, STANLEY LISSER, whom (again quoting the *Times*) "the self-appointed spokesman for parents and community had declared unacceptable because he is white."

— More important, the controversy has brought out the imperative of a role for the community in the decision-making structure of the educational system; and to extend the issue, it questions the structures of power and decision-making in all social institutions.

The news media, however, particularly the press, have treated the controversy as part of a raging battle of black vs. white, and have limited their analyses to reports of the throes of that sanguine slogan, "Black Power". (Read esp. NY *Times* articles from Mon., 19 Sept. thru Sun. 25 Sept.) AN ANALYSIS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND OF THE ROOTS OF THE CONTROVERSY AND OF THE PRESENT DISCONTENT VOICED BY THE HARLEM PARENTS MIGHT HAMPER THE TECHNIQUES OF PRESS CIRCULATION, BUT WOULD VASTLY IMPROVE THE REPORTAGE OF FACTS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE DISPUTE.

... The Allen Plan for Intermediate Schools (5th to 8th grades) arose from the demonstrations and school boycotts that demanded a quality integrated educational system in New York. In 1962, the Board of Education began plans for the construction of an intermediate school in East Harlem. At that point, a parents council from the East Harlem community was formed to meet the needs of the situation. They pressed for a site that would be located outside the Harlem ghetto or near its fringes to create an integrated educational situation while not destroying the concept of the neighborhood school. The Board refused to accede to the demands of the Harlem Parents and began construction in one of the most depressed areas of the ghetto. In April, 1966, the Board announced that Stanley Lissier, formerly of P.S. 197 in Harlem, would be the principal of the new school. Along with Lissier, some of the instructional staff in P.S. 197 would also serve as faculty in I.S. 201.

The Harlem Parents immediately objected to the appointment, not because of Mr. Lissier's race but because of the principal's incompetence and inability to cope with the administrative machinery and functioning of P.S. 197, considered by many Harlem parents to be the worst school in Harlem. Once again the Board refused the parents request.

Another point of contention was the parents preference for some minimal form of integration even if it meant the bussing in of a few children. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION REPLIED: IN WHAT NOW COULD BE ASSUMED A TYPICAL ATTITUDE, THAT THE NEW SCHOOL WOULD INDEED BE INTEGRATED: 50% PUERTO RICAN, 50% BLACK.

Thus with the question of integration out, and the creation of a *de facto* segregated model of learning, the parents developed the demands of community control and participation with respect to I.S. 201. Their plan called for the creation of a tri-partite committee of parents, teachers, and administration. The committee would decide on questions such as curriculum (introduction of such courses as Afro-American and Puerto Rican history), grade techniques (Harlem obviously needed a system of marks which would take into account the objective conditions that lead to the present educational level of the children), hiring and firing poli-

cies (all too often teachers and principals meet the political and social exigencies of the administration or they follow their own peculiar dislikes and fancies and thus treat Harlem children as colonized and they the colonizers), and of the objectives of Harlem primary school education.

Underlying their desire for formalized community involvement is the growing realization and consciousness of the educational (and socio-economic) situation in Harlem that deprives the blacks and Puerto Ricans of their social identity. This is also, perhaps, the underlying reason for the refusal of the Board, the City Administration, and even the white community at large to meet the parents' demands and thereby implicitly (or explicitly) preserve the status quo.

By the early summer the situation had crystallized to the point where the parents' group had become the cohesive oppositional group to the Board's plans. By September the parents had become strong enough to force the closing of the school before it actually opened. The two groups then began negotiating. At this point the communications media began playing an active role in the dispute. Through their virtual control over every source of information, the New York community learned of the dispute and the parents demands for "total control," a phrase never used by parents' spokesmen and completely invented by the press. The editorial page of the *Times* was never more polemical since the death of Mike Quill. When Mr. Lissier asked for transfer the parents were near victory despite the N.Y. *Times*. Donovan had basically agreed to most of the demands for formal community participation and Mr. Lissier's transfer was seen as paving the way for an agreement.

However, new pressures from principals, the teachers' union, and in general the teachers' dislike for the Board's political maneuvering led to Lissier's reversal of his original position of transfer. From there the press filled its pages with stories of racial turmoil in Harlem. The East Harlem community, aroused by the distortion of the parents' original position, now demanded the substitution of either a black or Puerto Rican principal for Lissier. Lindsay entered the situation by condemning the Harlem parents' cry for "blackpower". With the press, the teachers, the Board, and the city power structure now arrayed against them, the parents were in the impossible situation of sustaining a long-range boycott to get their demands met.

IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY, WHETHER STUDENT OR ADULT, SUPPORT THE PARENTS THROUGH ACTION AND BY PUBLICALLY ANALYZING THE SITUATION.

The 201 situation has produced not one identifiable enemy, such as Lissier, Donovan, or Lindsay. It is rather the social, political, and economic institutions whether public or private, which are not responsive to the public needs and are responsible for intolerable situations and attitudes. It is not a racist Board of Education that breeds a racist education system but a corporate social structure that breeds racist institutions.

Racism, however, is only one side of the issue. WHEN THE PARENTS TALK OF CONTROL AND PARTICIPATING THEY BRING OUT A DEMAND WHICH IS RELEVANT FOR THE ENTIRE SOCIETY CONCERNING EVERY SOCIAL INSTITUTION. Their demands form the seed of the general call for the origination of alternative structures to the prevalent power relationships in American society. Community control in primary education is analogous to student-faculty control in the university and one step from popular democratic control over all the public institutions that so vitally affect us.

# the Waning of Congress

(continued from page 1)

(11) No provision to arrange for free or easily obtainable bonds for civil rights cases.

Carmichael concluded that: "The bill is a sham. Any civil rights organization or congressman who works for the passage of this bill, and any legislator who votes for it, is sharing in the hypocrisy of President Johnson and his Administration. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee refuses to do so."

Then the *Rabinowitz* Case was decided in an en banc decision on July 20 by the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals (covering the deep south states from Georgia to Texas). *Rabinowitz* rendered reactionary the jury selection provisions of the bill pending before the House of Representatives. The Administration, smarting under the court's language in *Rabinowitz* (strongly critical of the Justice Department) refused to recognize the existence of *Rabinowitz* and apparently encouraged the House to proceed with the Civil Rights Bill as if *Rabinowitz* had not been decided. SNCC, however, pursuing its Casandra-like role, distributed a detailed analysis pointing out the impact of the *Rabinowitz* case on the pending legislation. The analysis was ignored in the rush of the House to write a piece of paper bearing the name "Civil Rights Act" on the national statute books.

The situation deteriorated further on the House floor with the adoption of gutting and then even negative amendments. First came the changing of the standard in the jury selection provisions from that of a "failure to comply" to a "substantial failure to comply." This meant that all jury discrimination less than "substantial" would be permitted. Clearly the *Rabinowitz* Case would have been repealed by the statute. Then the House became most destructive and adopted the "anti-riot amendment." The amendment read as follows:

*Riots and Other Violent Civil Disturbances*  
Sec. 1

Whoever moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce or uses any facility in interstate or foreign commerce, including the mail, with intent to --

(1) incite, promote, encourage, or carry on, or facilitate the incitement, promotion, encouragement, or carrying on of, a riot or other violent civil disturbance; or

(2) commit any crime of violence, arson, bombing, or other act which is a felony or high misdemeanor under Federal or State law, in furtherance of, or during commission of, any act specified in paragraph (1); or

(3) assist, encourage, or instruct any person to commit or perform any act specified in paragraphs (1) and (2);

and thereafter performs or attempts to perform any act specified in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3), shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Sec. 2.  
Nothing contained in Sec. 1 shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of the Congress to occupy the field in which any provision of Sec. 1 operates to the exclusion of State laws on the same subject matter, nor shall any provision of Sec. 1 be construed as invalidating any provision of State law unless such provision is inconsistent with any of the purposes of Sec. 1 or provision thereof.

The reach of the amendment seemed sufficiently expansive to touch even the person who might contribute money to SNCC, or perhaps SDS.

Though their handiwork was rather well disguised, the so-called liberal majority of the Senate Judiciary committee was so lacking in intestinal strength as to include the anti-riot amendment, in their joint proposal to the Senate.

The defeat of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 as a result of a filibuster in the Senate is now history, yet the irony remains that many members of Congress in both houses thought that they were, at least in part, spitting Carmichael and SNCC when they defeated the Bill.

Three weeks ago, the Congressional civil rights drama of 1966 might have ended; but, as the papers indicate, it is now being fought into the closing days of the 89th Congress -- "the most liberal Congress in thirty years." Already the Senate has added an appropriations bill rider curtailing the already barely perceptible pace of desegregation of the nation's hospitals, and the Southerners are

in hot pursuit of the same objective in regard to school desegregation. Smelling blood, they are exulting in their new-found support among moderate Republicans and big city "liberal" Democrats.

It is interesting that the father of school and hospital desegregation through the use of federal funds cutoff -- Adam Clayton Powell -- was the first to feel the brunt of the change in congressional sentiment. In addition the alliance which accomplished the curtailing of Powell's powers was headed by the leader of the "liberals."

Democrat Study Group chairman Frank Thompson of New Jersey and by the liberal and able Southerner Sam Gibbons of Florida. As soon as the maneuver against Powell was brought to a successful conclusion, the Congress was free (1) to add an anti-riot amendment to the poverty bill prohibiting participation of poverty workers in demonstrations and (2) to permit Sargent Shriver to kill the moderately radical Headstart program in Mississippi, the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

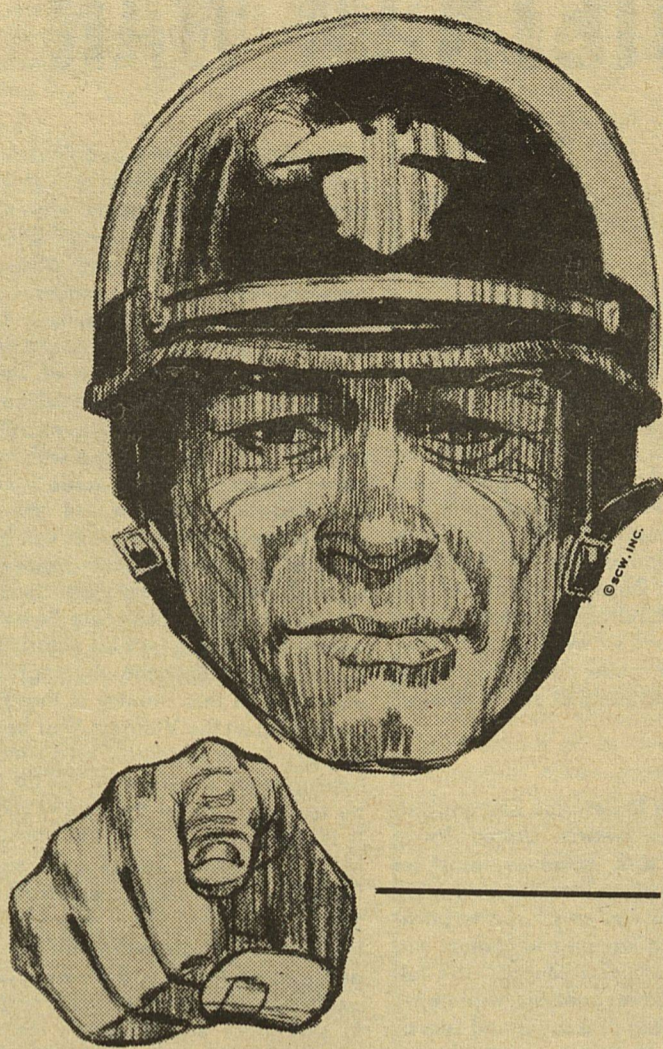
To round out a few of the broader lines in the picture, it should be added that the relentless interrogation of Commissioner of Education Howe by the House Rules Committee over the desegregation guidelines has at least brought about the establishment of a special seven-man subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee to investigate the enforcement of the civil rights legislation. When white emotional arousal by the nation's riots has somewhat subsided, this subcommittee may serve a constructive purpose.

Congressman Cramer of Florida (R-Tampa) is driving hard for the passage of the anti-riot amendment as a separate bill. And it may yet pass.

The House Administrative Committee under Burlison of Texas has set up a specific subcommittee to investigate Powell's handling of his Home Education and Labor Committee's finances. The subcommittee is headed by the rather racist Wayne Hayes (D-Ohio) and contains three racist southerners in its six man membership, as well as the "liberal" leader Frank Thompson of New Jersey (Note: Mr. Thompson engineered the defeat of the Mississippi Freedom Democrat Party's challenge against the seating of the Mississippi delegation in September, 1965.) Hayes once took the head waiter in the House cafeteria on a free trip to Europe and has been repeatedly demanding that the Justice Department throw Stokely Carmichael in jail. The public records of the all but perhaps one of the subcommittee members appear at least as questionable.

All that has been said before may suggest a few tentative conclusions. First, those interested in meaningful change may be compelled to resort to neutralizing a hostile Congress rather than seeking relief from a reformist national legislature. Second, and more bluntly, it seems clear that the legislative process can only play a limited role in the achievement of human rights and in social change. Third, the close relationship of the struggles for civil rights, peace, and redistribution and restructuring of both power and wealth is becoming clearer. And finally, the Congress has reacted to the challenge of "black power" by immediately acting to intimidate and suppress America's black community and threatens still further repressive actions.

# SYMBOL



of  
AMERICA

## REP Launches Internal Education Project Experiment

Ann Arbor, Mich. October 10, 1966

At Ann Arbor this weekend, the Temporary Directorate of the Radical Education Project (REP) voted to initiate an experimental program of internal education for SDS chapters. REP study guides, pilot study groups in chapters, and an evaluation of results will constitute the three phases of the operation which will be launched by the November 1 deadline set by the Directorate.

Three study guides will be printed and made available to chapters no later than November 1: "The New Left", by Hal Benenson; "Power Structure and American Politics," by Jim Jacobs; "Marxism," by Mike Goldfield.

Chapters interested in establishing pilot study groups based on any of these three guides should write to:

SDS, Internal Education Program  
1608 W. Madison  
Chicago, Illinois 60612

The December National Council meeting in California will provide time for a workshop-evaluation session for those involved in the pilot study groups. The purpose of these sessions will be to determine the effectiveness of the programs and to suggest alterations, revisions, or substitutions in the materials and approaches used.

The "experimental" nature of the program was emphasized by the REP Directorate. The study guides are not to be considered "authoritative", and "feed-back" on their effectiveness or ineffectiveness is an essential part of the entire effort. Furthermore additional study guides dealing with a variety of new areas will be made available in the near future: announcements will be published in New Left Notes.

Internal Education Secretaries in individual chapters are urged to submit their names to the National Office and maintain contact regarding new materials and programs. Campus activists are also encouraged to approach professors in their courses with the study guides as proposed material for classroom use.

## Draft Exams

Our dear friends at the Selective Service Administration have scheduled new student deferment examinations for November 18th & 19th. The national office has about 4,000 counter-exams available, left over from last spring, and chapters and regions have several thousand more. Far fewer students will be involved in this exam than in the last ones, so printing a new run is probably not justified, but the n.o. can furnish negatives for plates and chapters should feel free to reprint by mimeographing.

Chapters should notify regional offices and/or the n.o. of exams on hand & needed. Response to last spring's program was very good nationally, with a large number of new members and contacts gained as well as chapters in previously unorganized areas. Stress in this smaller program should therefore be laid if possible upon hitting new areas and schools.

### NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 666-3874. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the Editor, Greg Calvert.

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# American Public Opinion on the VIETNAM WAR

by George Brosi,  
Dayton, Ohio,

The following observations and generalizations are based on the individual experience of one person who participated in an AFSC Peace Caravan this summer. Thus they reflect the experience of talking with ordinary people door to door; with small gatherings at service clubs, religious groups, and colleges; with community leaders, and with the press in six communities (Terre Haute, Cincinnati, Athens, Durham, Asheville, and Winston-Salem). Hundreds of people were thus contacted over a six week period. However, it should be made abundantly clear that no scientific sampling of public opinion was taken.

It is very difficult to describe and analyze American attitudes towards United policy in Vietnam. This task, however, must be undertaken. Only with a clear understanding of present attitudes can one hope to participate effectively in working to change the climate of opinion in this country. The following very tentative analysis will hopefully be the beginning of a continued search for understanding of American attitudes on this vital subject.

One and only one generalization can be made about Americans' attitudes towards War in Vietnam. The situation does confuse Americans. Few people are willing to say that they understand either what is going on in Vietnam or their government policy toward Vietnam. Thus it is not surprising that many citizens can not make up their minds about their own opinions or that many more hold contradictory views.

One of the reasons that Americans find it difficult to make up their minds about American policy in Vietnam is that this policy can be looked at from several different perspectives. One can see this policy from the perspective of the American soldier stationed in Vietnam, from the perspective of a citizen of a country (the United States) which is prosecuting the war, from the perspective of a Vietnamese whose country is torn by war, or, finally, from the perspective of a citizen of a changing world community. This analysis will attempt to suggest what opinions these various perspectives lead Americans to hold. In this analysis it must be born in mind that many people base their opinion on consideration of more than one of these perspectives. It is hoped that by breaking down these more complex opinions we can better understand them.

Because American soldiers are being buried in their home communities and because the draft calls are increasing, a large proportion of Americans view the war from the perspective of an American fighting man. It is this perspective that most often leads to the popular sentiment that we should either get out of Vietnam or win the war by engaging in more vigorous offensive action. A large number of Americans hold this opinion without specifying which alternative they prefer. Some, however, are willing to commit themselves on the basis of seeing the situation from the perspective of the American soldier. Those who abhor the deaths and mutilations favor speedy withdrawal. Others feel that since there are "American boys" over there, they must be supported by citizen support for the prevailing military policy. Many people, especially from lower economic and educational levels make no distinction between the various wars Americans have been involved in. Often they feel that there always have been wars, there always will be, and that the citizen thus must support the military efforts of the soldiers. The Bible is often used to support this position.

It is sometimes difficult to make a distinction between opinions based on the American soldiers' perspective and those based on the perspective of the citizen of a country at war. The latter is possibly even more often used as a basis for evaluating the situation.

Many lower income people say, "If they (the government) cannot tell us what we're fighting for in Vietnam, why should we bear the burden of the war?" Others in this economic bracket, but from other strata as well, feel that domestic concerns are more important than foreign policy. There are two different perspectives based on this vantage point. Some say that we can use our energies more constructively at home — building houses, highways, etc. Others feel that since we cannot cope with conflicts at home — such as the race issue — we are not qualified to straighten out the affairs of others. These two viewpoints can be thought of as isolationist sentiments. However, others who share this orientation come to their viewpoints from considering the entire world situation. Thus we will be referring to isolationism again. Probably the single most popular view in this country is that the citizen must support the Vietnam War because our leaders in Washington know more about international affairs than we do and must be trusted to make the proper judgments. It is important to note that those who fall in this category would also support the President if he were to withdraw American troops tomorrow. One view which is often found among those with medium educational and income levels is the view that now that we are in Vietnam we have a responsibility to stay there and prosecute the war. Most who hold this opinion wish we hadn't become involved in the first place, but are afraid that if we "backed down" our allies would no longer trust us. Others who hold this view do so merely because they think American power should be the strongest power on the earth. One final view based on the perspective of United States citizenship is the idea that we should fight in Vietnam now because if we don't we'll soon be fighting the same enemy here. Some with this view say that our enemy is the Vietnamese people, others say we are fighting international communism.

The perspective from which the least number of American citizens view the War in Vietnam is that of the Vietnamese as a nation. Pacifist often view the situation fundamentally in this way, though many of them take into consideration international factors as well. They feel that war violates more values than it protects. Sharply contrasted to this view is that of people who feel the War in Vietnam to be a "just war." Some argue that America is fighting to make it possible for the Vietnamese to live under a more democratic and humanistic regime. Others feel that the National Liberation Front has justice on its side and thus oppose American military efforts.

Those who view the War in Vietnam as an aspect of a changing world do not necessarily reflect higher than average educational backgrounds. Many poor people characterize the war as a "politicians' war" which the "little people" have no stake in. They place blame not only on American officials, but on officials from other countries as well, but they do feel that the United States should withdraw. There are two sharply contradictory "isolationist" views which take into consideration international factors. The most common of these is the view that the Vietnamese people (often described in racist terms) can not be affected by Americans so it is useless for us to be there. The other basic "isolationist" view holds that all peoples are equally capable of governing themselves and thus the United States has no right to intervene in other countries. The two contrasting views which are most often heard from speaker's platforms and from highly educated persons also are based on a worldwide perspective. Many hold that the United States is justified to intervene in Vietnam to stop communist aggression. The containment philosophy and the domino theory are often used to back up this point of view. Sometimes the Vietnamese people, according to this view, are seen merely as pawns in an international confrontation. The contrasting view is that a non-military alternative to communism, one which would get to the cause of the turmoil, should be sought by the United States as an alternative to its present military posture.

It should be clear that the diversity of opinions and perspectives outlined above indicate both the challenge and the necessity of grass-roots peace education.

# REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

(continued from page 2)

mined the course of the various Communist parties.

If, after all this, one accepts the basic responsibility of the C.P. to one side of the world political coin, with the consequent repression of internal democracy, and the banalization of traditional communist values that was reflected by the fantastic shifts in party policy which, in turn, stemmed from Comintern control of the party; if one accepts these aspects of C.P. history as valid, then one might, from the, judge the character of the Communist bloc countries generally. C. Wright Mills talked about the evolution in Washington and Moscow of men of a new social type; William White called them "Organization men." They are basically products of the kind of anti-human, anti-life system which modern capitalism, private or state-controlled, has become. And the men of the American C.P. reflect Mills' definitions well. The internal life of the C.P. in which petty bickering took the place of a reasoned political discussion was a mere caricature of the internal life of the Russian C.P., in which struggles among elites for power came to replace class struggle.

Yet, if Dave still asserts that, concretely at least, the Soviet bloc is "anti-imperialist," I'll leave that for him to judge. At the risk of seeming "irrelevant" (a term used far too often in SDS which, by its very character, prevents political discussion) I'd like to mention a few words about Russian trade relations here.

In 1956, China's exports exceeded her imports from Russia by 31 million dollars, and in 1957, by 94 million.

This while Russia gave \$1,227 million in loans to underdeveloped non-Communist countries, probably pained, since China was and is lacking in either substantial capital goods or significant industrial development. Dave may not know what to call a situation like this in which a highly productive economy in its trade relations with a weaker economy exploits the latter, but radicals know the word for it. It's called imperialism. The result for China, or course, was the tightening of her belt, with consequent political repression and entrenchment of the ruling group there. The "peoples' communes" were set up from above by the ruling class hopefully to guarantee at least a basic agrarian economy, and the people were forced to suffer. Of course, such is not only true of Russia's relations with China.

Russia charged her satellites 307 rubles per ton of wheat sold in 1958, while countries outside the Soviet bloc were charged only 273 rubles, a difference of 12 per cent. The comparable figures for barley were 259 and 214 rubles, a difference of 21 per cent. Russian tractors were sold to the satellites for 21,500 rubles each, while outside the bloc they fetched 13,600, a difference of 51 per cent. Cotton goods sold at 1,800 and 600 rubles per square meter, respectively, i.e., the satellites had to pay three times the price charged by Russia in the world market. Interestingly, the more agricultural and backward the individual satellite country, the higher the prices charged by Russia. Albania and Bulgaria did considerably worse than Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

On the other hand, for 17 commodities for which information is available, Russia paid 20 per cent less than she would have paid if charged the same prices by the satellites as they charged outside the Soviet bloc. ("The Russian Communist Party," by Tony Cliff, *New Politics*, 1962)

Dave ought to define what he means by both socialism, and imperialism, for the method of exploitation involved here is essentially the same as the exploitation by American capitalism of our own underdeveloped "spheres of interest."

Of what relevance to the American peace movement are the facts just cited? There was a time, and perhaps it is still with us, when SDS people would have answered, "None." But if we want to internationalize the demand for the withdrawal of American troops not only from Vietnam, but from other countries where they serve to bolster reactionary dictatorships, and if we want to internationalize the demand for peace among peoples so it transcends national boundaries, by the very act of de-isolating ourselves, we will confront another imperialist power system beside the American capitalist goliath we've confronted at home. Our responses may well influence

the extend of growth of a potentially new radical international movement that could have devastating effects in the countries under the heel of both American and Soviet-Chinese imperialism. Thus, when an SDS member asks me of what relevance it is to state positions with regard to political affairs not immediately within American shores, I would cite, in such cases as the jailing of the Yugoslav social-democrat, Mihailov Mihailjov, or the Polish and Cuban Trotskyists, that to these men it would be relevant, for it might lend itself to support in a general world left-wing community — support which might generate public pressure to free these men, besides giving confidence to radicals in both blocs who are trying to organize their own revolutionary movements.

After all, as revolutionaries who are trying to build a better world, although we start in America, we ought to recognize the basic community of interests existing among all men exploited by today's two systems of reaction, a community of interests denied by both the capitalist and so-called Communist states, but which, at the same time, is affirmed by the humanist bases of all radical movements — and most especially the revolutionary communist movements of the past. Such community of interests does not lead a revolutionary state to "spread peoples wars" or "revolution" by military means, but rather to undermine the lying rhetoric of the ruling elites of other nations by itself acting to aid the peoples of these very nations in a non-exploitative, economic fashion.

### 3.

#### FOR AN IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION IN SDS

Yet these questions of "socialism" and "communism" or of ideological strategies for effecting revolutionary social change in America have been approached by SDS in almost a vacuum of self-consciously expressed ideology. I say "self-consciously expressed" because I think it is clearly a myth that SDS possesses "no ideology." In one sense, we've become hung up ourselves in the homage we've paid to what some sectors of the sympathetic liberal press has said about us

— that we're a basically non-ideological organization turned off entirely by the kinds of sectarian political battles that used to go on in the 1930's.

During the Convention, however, during the workshops, a few people started saying things that reflected a more realistic picture of the organization, i.e., that the general way in which SDS people had been analyzing the interconnections of corporate, social and political complexities in America — between say the university and the war machine and; in turn, between the war machine and the corporate capitalist economy — gives us at least a quasi-Marxist perspective on how we look as existing society. A valid criticism of the analytical methodology of some SDSer's is that it explicitly fails to deal with that question I mentioned earlier — the question of concrete power in the society, how it is determined what constitutes such power, and where that power lies. The socialists, or those with the socialist outlook on capitalism, don't have this problem. Those decentralists who are so concerned with the issue of bureaucracy that they fail to ask where the bureaucracy comes from, what social forces produce it, and what constitutes the substantive power of which the bureaucracy is a surface manifestation — these decentralists most assuredly do have this problem. They make the error, I believe, of supposing that a libertarian vision of what society should be like necessarily precludes them from dealing in a realistic way with how society is. The factors of personal and psychological alienation, of psychopathic drives among elements of the populace, of crime waves in the "better" neighborhoods, of senseless violence, and of *l'anomie*, of the lack of genuine community among people, of neuroses and sexual hang-ups — all these factors that seem entirely divorced from the surface from the system's functioning, these problems which "non-politicals" are seemingly most concerned about have, as Mills wrote, a *political* basis.

Conservatives have often explained political radicalism in terms of personal frustration, but the point, I think, might

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# NAC MINUTES

NAC minutes (sept. 28)

Submitted by Steve Kindred  
Members present: Adams, Calvert, Kindred, Tepperman.

Alternate present: Berkowitz.

Members not present: Condit, Lauter, Silbar, Kramer, JOIN.

(These minutes are being written two weeks late and I hope that my most abject apologies will be accepted. Steve Kindred.)

## Finances.

Greg was authorized to borrow \$500 to reopen phone service.

A \$2000 contribution arrived and the following allocations were made. \$500 to the Woodlawn Organization, \$1000 toward our NLN debt, \$665 to clear our debt for the convention, and finally, some back salaries.

Further on finances, it was decided to insert a reminder on the IOUs collected at the convention in NLN and various other possibilities for fundraising were discussed. Staff.

Some staff problems which have by now become meaningless were discussed. Jane Adams resignation as Assistant National Secretary was accepted and the news of Nancy Bancroft's unavailability regretfully received.

## December Conference.

Since the committee to plan the convention was the jurisdiction, we decided to table that question till the next week when Nick would be here. Contacts in California were instructed to begin the search for a convention site and report back soon.

## David Susskind show.

This was a major part of our discussion. At that time our understanding was that they wanted a show of groups without connection organizationally to the old left. We decided to poll the NIC about who should appear for us if we had more than one person and which other groups NIC members thought we should suggest to the producers of the show.

Final apology. Sorry about submitting these so late when I've forgotten much of the details of the discussion.

## NAC Minutes, 4 October 1966

Submitted by Tom Condit

Present: Calvert, Condit, Kramer, Tepperman, Diane Fager (JOIN).

Alternate: Berkowitz.

Others: Nick Norris, Jack Bateman, Sasha O'Reilly, Art Rosenblum, Mark Kleiman.

## 1. Finances.

a. Motion (Calvert): To take out a full-page ad in *Ramparts* (cost: \$350). CARRIED. Condit will bring in a draft to the next meeting.

b. \$250 worth of paper is needed to complete the *Port Huron Statement*. Advance orders for 1,000 copies would cover this.

## 2. Staff.

Mary Buscher is unable to come to take on the job of financial secretary. Nancy Bancroft has altered her plans and cannot now take the job of assistant national secretary. This post is now vacant.

## 3. Membership

Berkowitz proposed the following alteration in the dues billing system: That membership be recycled to provide for billing on two dates during the year (November 31st and May 31st). Members who joined in September, October, November, December, January or February will have their dues come up again on November 31st. Those who joined in March, April, May, June, July or August will be billed for May 31st. After the first year of this system, membership will be dated from either December 1st or June 1st and run a full year. On November 1st and May 1st, the membership secretary will send notices to members that their dues are up. 6 weeks later, those who have not yet paid will be sent a second notice, and 30 days after that their addressograph plates will be pulled if they have not yet paid their dues.

The purpose of the proposal is to give some rationality to our dues collection. No bills (or very few bills) for dues have been sent out in over a year. Many members have not paid for two years. We hope to get these people either paid up or dropped, so we'll know what our real membership is. The two dates (May 31st and November 31st) were picked so that when the files are straightened out, the membership secretary can do this job after the fall address-change rush, and before the summer one.

## 4. Insurance.

Berkowitz proposed that we inquire about the possibility of obtaining insurance on the office and equipment. He will check on this.

## NAC Minutes, 11 October 1966.

Submitted by Tom Condit.

Present: Condit, Calvert, Kindred, Tepperman.

Alternate: Berkowitz.

Others: Thane Croston, Jerry & Mary Madison, Mark Kleinman, Jack Bateman, Sasha O'Reilly, Bill Dering, Ann Youngerman, Nick Egleson.

## 1. December Conference.

San Francisco region is working on a site in northern California. There was some discussion of conference agenda, and of the timing of Nick Egleson's California tour. (Roy Dahlberg has expressed the view that if Nick spent 6 weeks prior to the conference on the Coast, this would greatly stimulate conference attendance. Nick feels that his trip would be more fruitful if it was immediately preceded by meeting people at the conference and planning an itinerary in conjunction with them.) There was a brief discussion of the possibility of sending out a traveller other than Nick prior to the conference, and of whether money for this could be allocated from the conference budget. No decision.

## 2. Finances

a. Membership response to our fund appeal has eased the strain somewhat, and if it continues at the present rate will probably put us in the clear in the not-too-distant future. We have paid off the phone bill, and hope to eliminate a \$500 debt to John Rossen this week. The office is now back to normal operating, and if the response continues, we will be able to eliminate some of the major debts facing us.

b. Condit presented a draft sketch for the *Ramparts* ad, which was approved in outline. The ad will focus on the problems of building a movement, and appeal for adult membership as well as funds.

c. Berkowitz reported on preliminary talks with a broker about insurance for the office.

## 3. Staff.

a. Nick Norris has left the staff to work for 49th Ward CIPA, and Jack Bateman will replace him as literature agent. Don Twylke has come to work on a temporary basis as financial secretary. Sasha O'Reilly has joined the staff as jack-of-all-trades and relief man (mailing NLN, coordinating volun-

teer help, and generally filling in where needed). We are still short an assistant national secretary.

b. Art Rosenblum has left the staff to work as a freelance printer, but will continue to do printing for us on a volunteer basis.

## 4. Literature.

a. We will run 1,000 copies of the *Port Huron Statement* to fill immediate orders, and return to finish the 20,000 later. This will allow us to meet other printing needs by freeing the presses.

b. REP will have 3 draft study guides ready at the end of the month. We will print a small run of these and send out to chapter study groups for use and evaluation. REP will hold a workshop at the December conference to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the guides, and problems of internal education generally. Large runs of study guides revised on the basis of this workshop will then go out next year, hopefully in January and February.

c. A brief discussion was held of Tom Hayden's new pamphlet on the war on poverty (details next week), and of the problems of handling lit published by other people, etc.

## 5. NLN distribution.

Condit proposed that the NAC adopt the proposals contained in his article on NLN distribution, communications network, etc., and that the article be published in this week's NLN. This was accepted. A discussion was held of two other ideas for speeding up NLN distribution: airfreighting copies to the east and west coasts, and offering a special sub rate for those who wanted NLN sent to them first class. We tabled these suggestions pending a cost report on airfreight.

## 6. New Left Notes.

Thane reported that very little in the way of decent material has been coming in for NLN, and that this has made it necessary to fill space at random and to use articles which should have been sent back for rewriting. Sasha will take over responsibility for mailing NLN, which will hopefully free Thane for more creative editorial work.

It was pointed out during the discussion that members who feel diffident about writing "articles" for NLN should realize that letters to the editor are very welcome, and that the basic material for news stories can be rewritten here.

## 7. Draft referendum.

No articles either pro or con have been received yet on the draft referendum. We have moved the date of the referendum up to October 28th to give Thane time to solicit commentary.

appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages or other securities of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation.

10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, postal manual (Sections 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, United States Code). Average No. copies each issue during past 12 months: A. Total No. copies printed (Net press run), 6,000; B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales; None. 2. Mail subscriptions, 4,404. C. Total paid circulation; 4,404. D. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means; 450. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D), 4,854. F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing; 1,146. G. Total (Sum of E & F - should equal net press run shown in A), 6,000.

Single issue nearest to filing date: A. Total No. copies printed (net press run); 6,000. B. Paid circulation: 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales; None. 2. Mail subscriptions, 5,096. C. Total paid circulation; 5,096. D. Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means; 500. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D); 5,596. F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing; 404. G. Total (Sum of E & F - should equal net press run shown in A); 6,000.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (Signed) Gregory Calvert, National Secretary, SDS.

## STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Date of Filing: October 13, 1966.  
2. Title of Publication: New Left Notes.  
3. Frequency of Issue: Weekly.  
4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 1608 W. Madison St., Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 1608 W. Madison St., Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher, Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Editor: Thane Croston, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Managing Editor: None.

7. Owner (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state) None.

9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not

## REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

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now be better shifted about; personal radicalism ought to be imputed to political frustration . . . But the young men have no political focus within which to express them, so their anger turns inward . . .

These are the reasons SDS should seek a middle ground between, on the one hand, going into a factory or community to "educate" people as to the "correctness" of a particular theoretical principle. If SDS totally abstains from formulating and working towards ultimate social goals, and trying to convince others that they would be best served to work toward the same goals, it will go from being a radical organization of primarily students to a liberal organization seeking to integrate people into local power structures. While, on the one hand, the liberal leadership coalitionism of the C.P. and the Socialist party leads those groups to back a perspective which would integrate or absorb people into power structures rather than changing the basic character of those power structures, on the other hand, a community union or labor project which only orients in its perspective toward the immediate issues of rats, roaches and leaky pipes, or higher wages without trying to place such demands in a long-range radical political framework with social goals also pays implicit obeisance to pluralist apologies for modern capitalism.

In some sense, there are those in SDS who, while they have not ideologically become pluralists, in their conceptions of what

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## REGIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT

An informal "regional" conference on "social change" was held on October 8th and 9th in Kansas City. Though the participants came mainly from SDS chapters in Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska (JOIN and the NO. were also represented); it was organized by individuals due to the lack of a regional organization. The subject was selected to provide a broad excuse for discussing general concerns of SDS members. The conference was intended to encourage internal education; facilitate the exchange of ideas, information, and experiences; alleviate some of the isolation which is felt in many chapters; and to stimulate the creation of a regional sds community.

According to well honored movement traditions, most of the participants began showing up late in the morning both on Saturday and Sunday. Saturday was supposed to be devoted to the discussion of the goals of social change; or more explicitly - socioeconomic-political analysis and the description of preferred alternative conditions. Most of Saturday was spent awkwardly breaking the ice. There was a good party on Saturday night (with a very reasonable male-female ratio) which thawed whatever ice still existed. Early Sunday afternoon, the sessions resumed under the title of "the methods of social change." The discussion proved more fruitful and less frustrating than the previous day's. Lively informal small discussion groups followed the main panel. A general meeting concluded the conference; combining an informal business discussion, a soul session, and a conference evaluation.

The conference did not originate any new ideas on either the goals or the methods of social change; The participants did not become much better equipped to evaluate social issues; and too much of the time was wasted due to tardiness. The first day was poorly utilized due to poor program planning and the initial lack of common purpose. Nevertheless, there was a feeling on Sunday night that we have just begun to communicate but had to go our own ways to make Monday morning classes on time. The conference alleviated some of the feelings of isolation, and was a social success. Many people returned to their isolated campuses with another booster to last for a few more months. Similar conferences are presently being considered for the weekend of October 30 in Lincoln Nebraska, and thanksgiving weekend in Columbia Missouri. As of October 10, 1966 they are still tentative.

Itzhak Epstein  
Kansas City, Mo.

# REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

(Continued from page 7)

SDS has become, tend nevertheless to view the end-product of our collective efforts as merely another "pressure-group." People who want to change the name of SDS to "Movement for a Democratic Society" have, it seems to me, little conception of what a real movement is. Five or six thousand student and adult SDS members plus the generally few thousand extra non-member sympathizers does not constitute a movement in a society where just the student population alone is 4 or 5 million. A movement is composed of large masses of people in motion who, by their numbers, have enough power to overthrow a system. Thus, it is more realistic to talk in the here and now of our need to *build that movement* out of the social forces most able to effect significant transformations in power relationships than it is realistic in any sense of the word to superciliously assert that SDS is now a "Movement."

Nor is it necessarily valid to suppose that development of that long-range perspective regarding the ultimate goals of SDS must lead toward a hard-line, quasi-religious belief or set of doctrines as an organizational gospel which is abstracted from common human struggles. Ideologies are ultimately empirical; they come out of the clashes which take place between social forces and economic classes. Thus, they stem from people's interactions and experiences in the real world. The elementary idea of a "white power structure" came out of the experiences of SNCC revolutionaries in the South, and from the confrontations they had with that power structure. Their radicalization and growing consciousness came from the difficulties they encountered in the everyday struggle.

There is, however, one point which should be emphasized here. The SNCC people in the South and generally SDS people in the North went into community-organizing with at least *political unwillingness* to swallow middle-class shibboleths till they saw for themselves "how it is." That is, they were at the beginning "political" whether as liberals or social-democrats. If this hadn't been true, they wouldn't have thought of organizing in the first place. Thus, they were able to move in a *consciously political* direction -- leftward -- whence they sensed the need for a meaningful politics and that such a politics would create radical change. Non-politicized people vent their legitimate frustrations in generally useless ways. So people don't become conscious radicals in the absence of politics *per se*, i.e., in the absence of a catalyst or stimulus that tries to convey to them the essentially political (in terms of a politics dealing with *who controls*) nature of their troubles. They most often have to be exposed to the kind of radical political alternative which SDS has the people to expose them to. Without exposure to that alternative, white people become racists, or else apathetic. A major trouble that people in the traditional Marxist groups got into was that they sometimes conceived of people as objects pushed one way and the other, and that radical consciousness came about in them like manna from heaven from something seemingly mysterious in the workings of the oppressor on them. But consciousness doesn't grow until people act in some way that implicitly threatens the oppressor. The oppressor will respond, and people may then learn something. The taking out of one's frustrations in personal angers or neuroses is far different than taking them out in politically radical action. Murdering someone for petty motives is far different in its implications than helping to throw out a union's rotten leadership. A Free Speech Movement is different than a panty raid. Yet even when an oppressing class acts to protect its interests against the oppressed, even then the oppressed need not learn a lesson from this, unless there are those among the oppressed who seek to create in them that kind of radical consciousness. Whether or not they gain radical education from the immediate consequences of their revolt depends on the extent to which the social system has dulled the sharp edges in society and blanketed the conflicts with conformist rhetoric. In such a case, the organizer is most necessary. In many universities, for instance, where students seem particularly apathetic, the radical is needed to work on conflicts with the administration over smaller, non-political issues to broaden framework of the basic responsibility the administration has to the authoritarian framework of capitalism. Thus, in Japan, the Zen-

gakuren (a militant anti-war student organization with a considerable following) has also organized students around issues of bad living conditions in the university, poor food, and lack of technical facilities, as well as free speech or peace action.

These assumptions relate back to my other point -- that the political radicalization of SNCC-SDS people itself needed a stimulus to begin it; and that if people had never thought in the first place that there were political factors involved in the question of racism, then they probably wouldn't have become radicals without a stimulus.

And again, if these facts are true, it simply bears out the need for SDS people to begin themselves to orient toward some concrete social goals so that in their organizing efforts, they can begin to orient others toward such goals. This, in a sense, was what Eugene Debs talked about when he said that he hoped his campaigns for office served to turn people into Socialists.

I did not mean to spend as much time on the issues Dave brought up as I did spend; however, they are significant, and I'm glad Dave himself was able to initiate what could turn into some fruitful discussion on the nature of the Communist bloc countries, for, in the long run, the peace movement (and hopefully, the radical movement) will have to confront them as an issue in themselves.

## the other GRAPE GROWERS

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Some struck Delano ranchers, like D. M. Steele are primarily in other crops besides grapes. Steele is mainly in potatoes, but also grows oranges which he markets through Sunkist. He ships 1200 carlots. Brune Dispoto is mainly a shipper who handles pears, plums, peaches, potatoes, cantaloupes and other fruit in addition to grapes. UFWOC must deal with shippers who have a base of operations in other areas, but specialize in Delano grapes, like Jim Donovan who ships 300 carlots of plums, cherries and nectarines, and Harry Gilfenbain Co. of Bakersfield who is a buying broker and shipper handling 1200 carlots. 13 The UFWOC has to deal with these middlemen, but can also use them as leverage in the coming struggle.

- 1 Fresno Bee, Sept. 15, 1957
- 2 Packers' Red Book 1958
- 3 Blue Book, Published by the Produce Reporter Co., 1966
- 4 Hearings before a Special Investigating Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, testimony of H. L. Mitchell.
- 5 Location Effect Upon Value of Table Grape Vineyard in the Delano-Ducor Area as a Determining Factor in the Worth of the P. J. Divizich Properties, p. 2.
- 6 Compiled from the Assessors Records of Kern, Tulare, Fresno and Riverside Counties, Agricultural Conservation and Stabilization Service cropland figures and Fresno Bee articles of June 12, 24, 1955, Sept. 15, 1957, and July 15, 1958.
- 7 "Commercial Crops in California," H. M. Butterfield, University of California Extension Service; "California Fruit and Nut Acreage, Bearing & Non-Bearing, As of 1965," California Crop & Livestock Reporting Service, p. 11.
- 8 "Directory of Grape Shippers for Kern District (Arvin-Delano) 1966 Season, Federal State Market News Service, Bakersfield.
- 9 Fresno Bee, Jan 6, 1952, June 12, 1955, Sept. 15, 1957 and July 15, 1958; Packers Red Book 1962.
- 10 Who's Who in California 1965; Who's Who in the West 1965-6.
- 11 Who's Who in the West 1965-6.
- 12 Blue Anchor, published by the California Fruit Exchange, Vol. 43, No. 2 May/June 1966, p. 30.
- 13 Carlot figures from Blue Book 1966, published by the Produce Reporter Co.

# STUDENT MOVEMENT

(Continued from page 3)

milieu, and play into the creation of cadres on that level. (2) the professions into which graduates will go to make a living -- business, engineering, medicine, law, science, the arts, etc.; and the middle-class neighborhood institutions in which the professional will live -- the same institutions in which his college faculty professional brother will hopefully be active. (3) the institutions into which non-professional and non-graduate school-going women will go: The "home-making" complex (child-rearing, PTA's, school boards, neighborhood groups, local politics, and influencing their husbands & friends.)

The SDS tactic in these respects is clear, though it must be refined. It is to prepare politically-oriented students for their roles in these areas so that they will be maximally effective for a radical perspective. The role of the student movement then falls into place: it is primarily to act as a school for the organizers of middle-class America, just as the role of the University is clear today in terms of the status quo -- as the University trains organizers for the status quo, we must train organizers against it. The job of refining this is the job of knowing each profession intimately, and knowing how to act within it, and of enabling organizers to get training in radical activity in the student movement prior to "graduation" when they can think about "commencement" of the activity for which they have been trained. (e.g.: I am preparing a short presentation for Vassar SDS now, on the limitations and possibilities of the Social Work profession. Perhaps a third of "elite" women's college social science majors go into social work for at least a short while and we have got to deal with that and similar facts.)

Assuming a need to train cadres, then, what kinds of activities are important? Again, several levels occur: (1) action around issues that make sense to the campus community, as such: e.g. educational reform along a variety of lines, hopefully lines that can be made to coincide to present an overall image of a better educational community. Not dorm hours alone, but perhaps dorm hours as part of a general approach which emphasizes practicing democracy as part of education for "living in a democracy." I think it is silly to suggest a formula of issues, since campuses vary so much, but one useful approach which can serve to unify local educational reforms is for an SDS chapter to run a series of seminars and discussions (including both inside and outside speakers) on "The Role of Higher Learning in America." (2) action around wider issues, e.g. the draft, Viet-Nam, civil rights, poverty (hopefully as related to the local community, thus bringing in the university's responsibility/hypocrisy, etc.). Both of these approaches are good only if they serve three purposes: (a) the issue must be valid in itself, otherwise it is fraudulent and people will eventually see it that way, as merely a tool. (b) the issue must make sense to

some number of people so that new people can be brought into political life and into touch with radical ideas. (c) the issue must be one in which we can all learn something that is transferable to other issues, to life outside of the college, to the wider community, to the future of the students concerned.

(3) Finally, action specifically oriented to the training of cadres. This would fall into three general headings: (a) organizational skills (everything from public speaking to cutting a stencil); (b) theory (what some people call internal education, which is not necessarily opposed to "public" education, but is on a higher level than "The Role of Higher Learning in America.") It may be seminars on social change, discussions of Marx, the history of radicalism in America, etc. (c) job training, that is, preparation for specific jobs that students will hold after graduation -- what one can and can't do, how to work, what the issues are, what the structure of the profession is, the internal organizational life of the profession, perspectives for change in the profession, radical views about it, etc. Hopefully, SDS people in particular fields would be brought in to share experiences, and a kind of vocational guidance could go on.

These suggestions perhaps do not sound as romantic as some of Carl Davidson's -- I was particularly intrigued by his advocating that students request of profs that the class shape the format of the course -- . There are probably thousands of professors whose idealism first hit the skids when they were forced to give up waiting for that to happen! After all, most students by the time they hit college have been as indoctrinated as to what is "proper" as the next man or woman, and the one thing that frightens students more than anything else -- other people too, I think -- is to be told that they are to decide their own destinies. It's like working with the poor -- the atmosphere has to be just right, one might almost say therapeutic, before people have the confidence to try freedom. Most colleges aren't that, and most students are scared most of the time. But that's a whole different issue, deserving of a lot more space. I do like Davidson's idea of using the abolition of the grade system as a central issue. But again, that kind of freedom will scare off as many supporters as it will gain, and in a lot of places that may not be the best issue on which to start. It's true that "it is the cause of the alienation of most faculty members from their work," but that's not the same as saying they know it, any more than to say that the wage system is the cause of workers' alienation means that workers will advocate the abolition of wages!

What I am trying to say is that we have to see how these issues fit into an overall set of tactics and strategies, and only then, assuming they have local validity, will they make radical sense.

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