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New Left Notes

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"Let the People Decide!"

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERSHIP ON COLUMBIA'S STUDENT MOVEMENT

Brothers:

At the December NC in Bloomington, the PL members in SDS came out with a line calling for "base-building" on campuses so we could create a "majority student movement". No Student Power issue was too reformist for our PL brothers—curriculum committees in departments, even organizing around dorm hours. Build a base, any old base. The response from SDS leadership was a call for a national program during the Ten Days in April. The resolution that called for that program—written by the so-called "new working class" people in New York—rejected that idea of submerging our politics in order to build a movement, and called instead for organizing on campus around the prime contradictions of imperialism.

The events at Columbia grew out of two years of educational work around clear-cut radical issues. Attacks on recruiting last year led naturally into an attack on IDA, and the implicit racism of Columbia's relation to its neighborhood made the gym an obvious issue this year. The work of the chapter during the year was carried on by committees on these problems—less than a hundred people. In short, a cadre was operating on issues they believe in—a pseudo-base was not being built around Student Power demands.

Militant action was then taken by several hundred people, and a movement began that involved thousands of students in a strike against racism and imperialism. For all intents and purposes the events at Columbia demolished the PL position, and found the people connected with "new working class" analysis and those sympathetic to the Calvert-Davidson "resistance" strategy leading a mass movement.

But PL would not accept the fact that their Old Left "Popular Front" tactics for the student movement had been discredited. They put out a special issue of Challenge—sent to all SDS members—claiming that it was the "new working class" people that had supported the Student Power demands, and stated outright that the Columbia struggle had been a product of building a base in their sense. In reality, the only people who held the PL position in the strike were the "moderates" who led the Strike Co-ordinating Committee to muddle around about curriculum and departmental "democracy".

PL's record for mistakes was perfect in the course of the strike. After the first bust, a decision was made to expand the strike and re-open the University under our auspices through the Liberation School. PL thought we should just close the place down, as if our strike was a simple protest for change at the University. They failed to realize that as revolutionaries we have an alternative conception of the university and society, and we must work in every situation

to build institutions on a new foundation. Re-opening the University was like making a start on that new society; simply closing it down was like workers accepting Capitalism and asking for better wages. Again PL could not get beyond a Student Power position.

PL's record is not pure chance. It is a result of their adherence to an Old Left notion of how to reach people and what can lead to real change. They have all the right slogans, but very bad politics. Revolutionary parties do not come about by forming a party and calling yourself revolutionary. If your goals are reformist and your tactics manipulative, you are more of a hindrance to revolution than a help.

Steve Halliwell

ART IN CUBA: ROUND ONE AND A HALF

Dear Editor:

Six months ago I didn't know what a "bureaucratic elite" was; now an article of mine has been attacked by one, in a style exemplary of the charge.

Not long ago I wrote an article on official art in Cuba entitled "Li'l Rock Candy Island Revisited", and mailed the manuscript to NLN. A reply to my statements was drawn up by Carl Davidson, a National Officer, and published along with my article. My article presented my observations on art in Cuba; his was authored to cast doubt on them.

Debate should always be welcomed, but Officer Davidson was allowed to rebut my arguments before I even knew there was to be a debate. Davidson was allowed to swing at my arguments in a regular article of NLN, in fact, on the same page on which my article was printed. Yet I must reply to his rebuttal in a separate edition, and in the "Letters" column.

In the future, I suggest that Officer Davidson's rebuttals be confined to the "Letters" column, just like anybody else's. Furthermore, ordinary NLN readers were not given Davidson's chance to answer me immediately, because they did not know my article had been written until it appeared. Davidson, as a National Officer, has access to NLN copy before it goes to press. I suggest that if he differs with opinions expressed in NLN, he wait, as everyone else must, until the articles in question are published before he prints his replies. Otherwise, he is using the privileges of office in an elitist fashion.

This complaint is a small one, however, since Davidson's rebuttal was weak and does little if anything to contest the points I made. To begin with, he assures us that Cuban art is "good" and "among the best we have seen", but never tells us what criteria he uses in evaluating art. Or, in rebuttal to the suggestions I made for judging the effectiveness of art, he says nothing. Even if, as Davidson

asserts, the concept of art is always changing in Cuba (And it is not.), we still must have some precepts for evaluating such changes, and he offers us none. We are expected to accept his evaluation, without knowing what notions stand behind it.

Secondly, I said that Cuban workers and peasants are not represented by the official art; Davidson denies this, but proposes as a safeguard that "in military camps, in factories, men that just happen to get in touch with a book question themselves about the role of art." Here he asks us to believe that cultural advancement is best when people "just happen"—merely by chance—to come upon the right books.

Davidson also observes that "there is much diversity and dispute, no 'correct line'" on art and literature in Cuba. But that's not true; for while the Party may not have formalized its stance, the Cuban population is subjected to a line on art and literature in the schools. The texts used are of one mind, and in line with the pronouncements of Cuban art officials: art for art's sake. Chance cannot be depended upon because the Cuban worker, peasant, or student is never exposed to ideas contrary to the de facto Party line. One way in which a Cuban might chance upon contrary ideas would be to purchase a copy of Mao's essay entitled "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Art and Literature", which is out of print, scarce, not scheduled for re-publication, and nowhere used as a text.

On the other hand, Davidson says that "students have internalized Fidel's guidelines (Note: There is no 'correct line', there are only correct 'guidelines'.) on intellectual and artistic freedom: 'Inside the Revolution, everything; outside the Revolution, nothing.'...Being apolitical is considered 'inside the Revolution'." So it is. But among the works considered apolitical and "inside" are Marilyn Monroe films, still widely shown in Cuba. I propose that exploitation of the female body is neither apolitical nor properly "inside the Revolution". Worse, we heard "Old Black Joe" on the radio, broadcast without any commentary, like any pop song.

I am not suggesting bureaucratic censorship of any sort. But the Revolution can discourage this sort of "culture", should oppose male chauvinism and white chauvinism wherever these tendencies emerge. Such discouragement is possible by inserting a statement after such films, songs, et cetera: "The newspaper vendors and the printshop workers (or museum, broadcasting, or film workers) declare that the preceding article (or painting, film, et cetera) is not in accord with the truth, nor with the most elementary ethics of journalism." This statement was used by newspaper workers in criticizing reactionary news sources printed during the course of the Revolution. In addition, the Party and schools can propagate a more critical line in their mass work. Most important,

workers, not "critics" only, can be asked to take the initiative in literary and art evaluation.

Davidson claims that much Cuban art is of revolutionary content. Yet during the trip, I saw only two post-revolutionary works which took the working class as a subject. In the museum at the National School of Art, which Davidson lauds, there are about two hundred works on display, of which fifty have an expressed political content. All of these are about the USA and guerrilla warfare. Foreign struggle, however, is no substitute for the attention that should be drawn to the role of the domestic working class.

The most serious of my particular charges was ignored by Carl Davidson. The Cuban cultural elite, I said, has kept intact the pre-Revolutionary norms of beauty. With only one exception on record with anybody I met, Cuban models are white and middle-class. A leading novelist we spoke to was duly upset about the matter, but his criticisms, like mine, are answered not with facts, nor action for change, but with Romanticism and appeals to trust.

Dick J. Reavis
Austin SDS

PS: The staff of NLN has put out a call for photos to illustrate articles. With my "Li'l Rock Candy Island..." manuscript, I mailed in two samples of Cuban art, pictures of "abstract expressions" of something looking like an inside-the-Revolution strawberry. Neither one was printed. In response to the appeal for illustrations, I'm mailing others, also from a brochure published by the museum at Casa de Las Americas. Somewhere along the line, one of these "artworks" should be reproduced in NLN, so that readers can see what we're talking about.

Note:

Just a few words about this exchange — I felt, though I was apparently wrong, that the addition to "Li'l Rock Candy Island" was clearly not a specially-written piece. It was written in December, in Cuba. It was, therefore, only loosely a "rebuttal." I considered it to be a balancing view. It was a matter of editorial opinion that some (not by any means all) of your statements needed some balancing, since relatively few of the 5,000 or so readers would have much first-hand knowledge on which to base their judgement of the claims. Precisely because it was not a rebuttal, it could not deal point-by-point with your statements.

A centralized national structure does contribute to some degree of elitism, true, and that functioned in the particular choice of material. I do not feel, however, that to print two opposing views together is especially elitist.

Editor

new left notes

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Report of the Ass't National Secretary for Offense:

(being in the form of a letter
from a newly-disinterested observer)

Dear friend,

You may have heard there exists in Chicago a hole in the wall on Madison Street—a place known by its initiates as "THE NATIONAL OFFICE". It is described by those who have visited it as being staffed by a strange race of people with blank faces and even blanker minds who, due to the fact that the light and sound of reason cannot penetrate the darkness that exist on Madison Street, have lost all facility to see and hear what goes on in the rest of the world, especially what goes on in that sector of the world known as the Movement, and have therefore lost all contact with reality. It has been said that due to the darkness the written word is illegible, and all things like literature orders and membership requests are therefore thrown into the furnace unopened.

Well, friend, I am about to relate to you the workings of this "National Office". I feel capable of this task only after spending eleven months in said "office". During this time I took copious notes on all that I observed there, and made a concerted effort to gain the confidence of the natives, so as to more fully understand the events that I observed.

There are now fourteen members of the band or tribe which I will describe. An informal hierarchy exists, more in the minds of those who consider themselves at the top than really accepted by the band as a whole, for each member considers himself to be the most important functionary, and feels certain that the "Office" could not function without him; but the three whose egomania runs strongest are the "National Secretaries". Next in line comes a creature called the "Office Manager", a particularly odious being whose main function seems to be to run around the "Office" and create confusion so as to slow down the work that is done by the rest of the band. There is an extension of the hole, or "office", that is called the REC. This "REC" has a "Director" and an assistant, known more for her red hair than for her common sense. In another extension of the hole, there is a rather terrifying place quaintly named by the band as "The Print Shop". It is a place of terrifying noises and frightening movements. It is staffed by three creatures, two called "Printers" and one called a "Photographer".

The rest of the band is composed of a "Chapter Correspondent", a "Rayte Clerk", a "Financial Secretary", a "Literature Secretary", and an "Editor". A noticeable sentiment that exists throughout the band is that they have been very successful during the past year. In fact this sentiment is so strong that many visitors to the "Office" have stated that they cannot understand its justification, as the band seems to spend most of its time patting itself on the back. Your observer noticed this also, but was never able to decipher the meaning of this strange rite. But, as I have spent considerable time with the band, I will try to relate to you the reasons that the band feels successful. I will do this by trying to describe some of the "accomplishments" as depicted by individuals of the tribe.

The "Rayte Clerk" says that he is only two weeks behind in his work. He takes a great deal of pride in what

seems to me, an observer, a rather dubious accomplishment, but he justifies it by saying that no other Rayte Clerk has been so successful, and pleads as a mitigating circumstance that members of the outside world go through psychological changes in the spring of the year which cause in them a condition known as "itchy feet", and thus start to wander all over the world. This causes him a great deal of work in keeping up with these people so that they might continue to receive that publication known as "New Left Notes". He says that he has dealt with over a thousand such cases in the last two weeks alone.

The "Chapter Correspondent", better known to her initiates as "Miss Lovely", says that she has made copious files on the activities of the outside world. These files are concerned with strange groupings known to her as "chapters". She says she has a file for each chapter that exists, and that for some of them she even has something to put in the file. She also has a file of addresses for people known as "contacts" by everyone in the tribe, and they all seemed to take pride in the fact that they had regularly sent mailings to these people.

The "Financial Secretary" is a very strange creature who seems to embody a curious sort of schizophrenia. She is continuously complaining of over-work, but much of her work seems to be composed of efforts to bring in more "money". This "money", she says, is the basis for her over-work. It seems that one cannot just receive "money", but rather must make innumerable calculations as to how much of it one receives, why one received it, and what one did with it. This "Financial Secretary" says that she has now, after several months of hard work, devised a method of accounting for this "money" that is much superior to anything that came before it, and that now she can account for all "money" she receives with strict accuracy. Also she says that she made great efforts in setting up systems that will give her a continuous flow of "money" to account for.

The "Literature Secretary" says that he is "caught up". He says that it used to be the common practice that all literature secretaries were months behind in their "orders", but that now he has processed all these "orders" and is able to fill each day's "orders" as they arrive.

The three who inhabit "The Print Shop" seem especially pleased with what they consider their "accomplishments" during the year. They say that not only have they gotten their terrifying machines running, but they also have managed to run paper through these machines to print more than a hundred and fifty thousand pamphlets last year. They also say that they have gotten more machinery than ever before. They point to a new "Folder", a "Headliner", a "Paper-cutter", and say that there is money to buy a new "Press" and that it will be delivered within a month. They say that with this "Press" they will be able to print even greater quantities of literature.

The people in the REC say that their accomplishments lie in the area of propaganda and research. They say that in this year there have been sixteen new pamphlets written, and that the red-haired creature has made large files of newspaper clippings and other items of interest relating to the outside world. These clippings, they say, also lessen greatly the trash that has to be taken out of the "Office", and are useful for this

if nothing else.

The "Editor" contends that his is a most difficult job to fill, since the perfect editor, as he considers himself to be, must not only have a keen political mind and great artistic sense, but must also set the fashion styles for the rest of the band. He points with pride to the larger size of issues this year, to their greatly improved artistic content, and to his new shoes; yet he is never satisfied and continues to use a portion of the newspaper to harangue the membership for falling down in their duties, such as sending in pictures.

Lastly comes that wretch the "Office Manager". He contends that all the accomplishments of the whole band rightly belong to him. His justification for this seems only to be that he doesn't do anything else. This pretentious oaf takes credit not only for all the accomplishments listed previously in this journal, but also for such things as: twenty-five thousand copies of New Left Notes printed, addressed, and mailed; fifty thousand individual letters sent out; advertisements placed in various outside magazines which he says brought in much "money"; and a hundred and fifty pounds of string that was used to tie literature orders

and "New Left Notes". He says that this has all been done with a staff that has grown smaller and tighter since he's been in the "Office". One gets the feeling from talking to him that this reduction of staff is a good thing, and that it would be better if the staff were reduced even further, as he himself is really the only important person in the "Office". This, though, should probably be discounted, as each of the band has this feeling in a greater or lesser degree.

As a summation of this report on my visit to the "National Office", I would like to say that I hope that my efforts at enlightenment were somewhat successful in bringing a greater understanding of the creatures that inhabit the place. I would like to say that the accomplishments claimed by the band have been verified by myself. If you, the reader, still feel somewhat mystified by this concept known as the "National Office", let me say that I understand your feelings; but I think that by systematic studies such as mine, the "nature of the beast", as they say, will be more fully understood.

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

TPM

FRATERNAL
& GREETINGS
BEST WISHES
From

John Rossen

SPIEGEL: --- --- The Growing

How does SDS expand its political analysis and thrust to confront the broadest realities of America? What is an anti-capitalist thrust, and how far have we come in developing one? These seem to be the crucial political questions at this time. The particular tensions of America are changing, and our job is to focus on those tensions and use them to build a mass movement for change.

Our rhetoric has jumped from protest to resistance, and that has had a profound effect on our conception of ourselves. We have moved from a politics of alienation to one of anti-imperialism. However, that jump was made within the unique context of the Vietnam War and our need to address ourselves to that primary focus of tension in America. Anti-imperialism became our analytic thrust because it was an imperialist crisis which held our attention and that of the American people. Thus, it is now necessary to direct our analysis back into the society to confront the historical connection between imperialism and capitalism. In order to build a movement for change, we must address ourselves to the deeper capitalist values which result in imperialism—but which also dictate the direction of the social, political, and cultural institutions of the society here at home.

We have used Vietnam as our main example of imperialist exploitation and its results. Our critique has centered on the exploitation of the developing countries and the black ghettos as internal colonies. But we (and our potential base) reside within the mainstream of the imperialist country. Thus, our anti-imperialist analysis is only as good as it is able to make clear to people their own oppression here in America. We must reach beyond the anti-imperialist position which only makes clearer the oppression of others to a critique of the values—and their operational structures—which are oppressing our lives.

If imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, by capitalist values, it is still not the only stage of capitalism

which can exist at any given time. That is, there existed and still do exist manifestations of capitalism which pre-date the stage of full-fledged imperialism. All of capitalism's evils today are not encompassed within our anti-imperialist analysis, although presumably the values are. In order to reach into America with a viable critique, we must begin to strike at the evils of capitalism, for it is there, not through imperialism, that most people in America experience their oppression. Not just in economic terms—maybe least of all there—but in terms of how the values of capitalism dictate the operation of all institutions. Marx once said that history takes place in the superstructural phenomena of a society—and only rarely at the economic level. It is in the superstructure that we experience history. For us, that means that an anti-capitalist class analysis need not, and perhaps should not, focus on the economic levels of American life as the thrust of a critique. The values of capitalism strike home deeper in America in the social, cultural, and political life of this country—although their basis is undoubtedly economic. To be truly multi-issue is to understand the ways in which a class analysis and its implicit values apply to all of the phenomena of life in the society, not merely the economic ones.

Our perception of ourselves within a class analysis, or of students as a whole within a class analysis, has presented us with some difficulty. We are faced with the definition which the ruling class has provided for us—we are supposed to be members of the elite in this society, being educated to take over the "positions of leadership". A consciousness which defines students as members of the elite is obviously destructive not only to the establishment of our own identity as radicals, but also to our ability to become a vehicle for the challenging of ruling-class values. We cannot see ourselves building a totally "declassé" movement of people who stand outside of the classes of society as pure revolutionaries. One may be able to build

a cadre who perceive themselves in that way, but not a mass movement. A mass movement must grow out of the experience and oppression of people's lives. An organization must see itself as being able to speak for a group of people out of a set of values, but to accept the false definition of the role of students in this society denies us the ability to build anything more than a small organization of guilty, alienated youth who see themselves as "denying class privilege" (an unheard-of basis for building a mass movement).

A class is defined by its relationship to the means of production; by whether or not it controls those means and has the power to direct their course. As students, it would be difficult to say that we are the oppressed—but our class situation is certainly not one of control over the means of production (or of eventual control over them)—at least this is true for the vast majority of students. Thus our interests lie with others who have the same relationship to the means of production (for most of them, their material condition is also much worse than students'—they are more clearly "oppressed"). The values of a student struggle must be seen as part of a broader class struggle against the ruling class. (Even though the other elements of the struggle may not have emerged yet, the values must show implicit support of other potential struggles.)

A correct understanding of our own consciousness in these terms makes it possible for us to not only "fight our own battles", but also link up with other groups of oppressed people (in determining values, conscious strategy, and direction, if not in tactical or strategic coalition). If we are to direct our struggle against the oppression of all people, we must first be clear about our own relationship to the class structure of America. No organization ever succeeded in building a strong movement for social change out of guilt—by building the consciousness of a movement on the motivation that one is in fact a member

of the class of the oppressors and must salve that guilt. If we are to go beyond the politics of alienation, we must be able to present students with an analysis which does not motivate them to move out of guilt produced by false consciousness. In this respect, the widespread use of the concept of manpower channeling when working with Draft-resistance has been very important. There is some form of manpower channeling in all ordered societies. It can be democratic or autocratic. Manpower channeling is no replacement for a class analysis, but it can open the way for a legitimate class analysis by destroying the self-concept in middle-class students that they are members of the ruling class and that their interests are thus tied to that class. In fact, manpower channeling shows how students are manipulated like everyone else.

But the question of "self-interest", or our class interest, has always been a red herring dragged across our path. Somehow, we always felt that that was a necessary byword of motivating people to act. But we always remained ambivalent about what it meant—there was narrow and broad self-interest, and often the two were used interchangeably. Self-interest became tied to security by the ruling class. Insecurity has always been one of the most important factors in forcing people in a capitalist system to produce, and thus achieve materialist gains. By constantly emphasizing insecurity, and providing material gains as a method of alleviating the problem (say, through advertising) the capitalist economy could maintain consumption at a high level. So, in the narrow definition, self-interest dictated to students that they finish school and thus be able to acquire more material possessions. For whites who could not achieve an adequate identity through the purchase of material goods, there was a racism which said: "At least I am not black." That has provided another method of reducing insecurity and establishing identity within capitalism—and thus racism was also useful to the



STUDENTS FLY RED FLAG OVER SORBONNE

"Groupons-

translated and adapted by Robert and Sylvie Sayre

The following article was written by a French student just before the student uprising in Paris. It gives a brief history of the student movement since the end of the Algerian War in 1962, and describes the Nanterre movement which began in the fall of 1967 and led to the closing of Nanterre in April, just before the Paris revolt.

The novelty of the Nanterre movement may not be as great as it seems at first sight, at least as far as structure goes. During the Algerian War, the FUA (the University Anti-fascist Front) had already succeeded in organizing the students of the Far Left above sectarian conflicts, and in leading direct actions against the fascist movements. These actions broke with the traditional marches of the Leftist parties, including the Communist Party. However, the FUA goal had never been to block the French university system; nor had it ever stated that its members should refuse to hold positions as professional "cadres" in the present society. During the same period, the UNEF (National Union of French Students) criticized the university because of its inability to give professional training and because it recruited mainly among the bourgeoisie.

The point of view of the Nanterre movement, on the other hand, is that the sons of workers should not seek to become the cops of the bourgeoisie, and the university should not be criticized for its recruitment, which is only

a symptom, but rather for its social function. It is the social and economic system of capitalism which is thus contested. The Nanterre movement breaks with the traditional "union activity" as defined by the old French Left, which adopted the distinction between party and union set forth, under radically different historical conditions, by Lenin and later by Stalin. UNEF, as a student union, was supposed (according to the old schema) to organize students around demands which corresponded to the interests of students as a whole, while the party was to give political significance to the struggle by integrating it into the larger struggle waged by the working class and articulated in a revolutionary program. Unfortunately, this revolutionary party does not exist in France. Therefore the objective of the militant Left was, by means of actions of the FUA type, to influence the Communist Party, and secondarily all of the democratic forces, in order to bring the working-class organizations to take back the leadership of revolutionary action. The political action of the militant Left was thus, up to then, entirely subjected to the conditions that the Communist Party's political action (or lack of political action) created for it.

At the end of the Algerian War, the vanguard elements which had acquired experience in the FUA tried to use UNEF in the same way, since it also offered a unified, well-structured framework which had often served as a cover for the actions of the FUA and which organized

(continued on Page 5)

Development of a Class Politics

*Not analysis
alienation - anti
anti cap*

ruling class as a "self-interest" issue of their own.

But somehow, by self-interest we wanted to address ourselves to values. We wanted to say: "It is not in your self-interest to participate in authoritarian institutions, whether as dominated or as dominator, because they are essentially destructive of one's human potential and creativity."

Thus, we find that we must come back to addressing ourselves to the values of capitalism as they are expressed on all levels of social life, not just at the economic level which leads us to the dead-end of narrow self-interest.

How our understanding manifests itself in our tactics and strategy for struggle with the enemy becomes very important. We came into the Movement when we thought that basic values society stood for were being distorted. Upon closer examination, we concluded that in fact the values were not being distorted, but were merely displaying their logical extensions. We then began to challenge those values we had originally accepted (values which were defined by the ruling class) with socialist alternatives and an anti-imperialist analysis. Many people in the "anti-war movement" have never passed the point of their original alienation from the way their values were being handled tactically by the ruling class. Our job was to give them a deeper understanding of the nature of the crisis. For instance, our real ability to mobilize people in opposition to the Vietnam War did not begin with an anti-imperialist understanding of that war, but grew out of people seeing values which they thought the System represented being distorted. These were the values of "a free-world democracy", of "honesty" (anti-corruption), "anti-totalitarianism", and even "free enterprise". It was only after people began to see that those values as previously defined by the ruling class were being corrupted that they were open to an analysis which strongly questioned the legitimacy of such

concepts as a "free world" dominated by the United States (a "democracy").

In the same way, our future ability to remain relevant to the tensions of the society, while putting forward an anti-capitalist analysis, will be our ability to re-define the illegitimate ruling-class values as they appear "distorted". Thus, an anti-capitalist struggle must begin to thrust at the values which are leading America toward fascism. (We used to say "corporate liberal capitalism", but no one could ever distinguish between its logical extension and what could legitimately be called a form of sophisticated fascism.) How does that fascism begin to show itself? We see a growing militarism, racism, potential for genocide, and imperialist foreign policy—all of these being built upon an ever-richer society so that these trends can be viewed in the interests of all classes. However, we see contradictions arise. The Military is requiring a Draft, something difficult to see as being in one's interest. The racism is producing insecurity in white America and the consequent further growth of the military for a potentially genocidal response. The wealth has produced as its mirror-image an international monetary crisis.

Fascism as a historical outgrowth of capitalism requires a broad response, for it is more than a method of economic organization of a society, it is an entire social system. Like no other form of organization, its corrupt values reach into all institutions of the society. Thus, our response must be prepared to meet it on all levels with alternate values—not merely with an economic analysis. Because the tensions of these contradictions reach into all levels of the society very clearly, the issue of self-interest can be clearly seen as broad rather than narrow.

Just as imperialism is the real enemy in Vietnam, not the distortion of basically good values and intentions, so here on

the multitude of levels on which "capitalism operates, the growing repressive nature of the society is not a distortion of basically sound values, but is the extension of basically corrupt ones. However, people will begin to question America's course out of the understanding (or misunderstanding) they formerly held—and our job will be to develop the critique and strategy which can make the latter clear.

Thus, as a growing capitalist understanding manifested itself in an anti-imperialist analysis because the Vietnam War was the primary tension in the society, so we must be able to develop an anti-fascist (or anti-corporate liberal capitalist) understanding to meet other tensions as they arise in America. Self-interest, then, must be defined in terms of all the institutions of the society and open itself up to all of the values which we present as alternatives. It cannot remain constricted within the ruling-class definition, which is an economic definition as a response to insecurity. For us, it may even be a bad term altogether, since the ethic of materialism is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of America.

Tactically, this raises the question of how we see ourselves in relation to our potential base in this struggle. A problem exists which at its root is due to our inability to establish a radical identity in America (and thus an inability to define our own values and reject a ruling-class definition of ourselves). It is the self-righteousness of our radical stance. Our own lack of confidence in our politics has often caused us to maintain a self-righteous attitude toward those who are not our enemy and in fact are our potential base and allies. We must be more open to understanding the stance from which people begin to question the course and values of the society. It will rarely be our stance to begin with, but the elements in a stance of dis-satisfaction are the potential seeds of class understanding.

We must know ourselves and be confident of our relationship to the society and a struggle; our job is to build a movement, not merely defend the one we've got.

Finally, an example which illustrates both the good and the dangerous potential of this course: To build a movement which operates outside the bounds of narrow self-interest, confronting the society at the social, cultural, political, and economic levels, is difficult. One always runs the risk of a politics of alienation, a politics which exists only at the superstructural level and is not responsive to the underlying relations, which are determined by class. Youth culture is in that way important as a place where America is now living out her history. However, it is absolutely necessary, while working within that context, to express the values which can truly define the enemy. This may allow a cultural phenomenon to be an ally in what is primarily a class struggle. Last night I saw the movie "Wild in the Streets". In it there are articulated, occasionally, a set of values which do reflect much of the healthy aspect of America's youth culture (freedom, anti-authoritarianism, self-determination)—but they are obviously not tied to a broader understanding of how those values are related to the deeper history and structure of the society.

Just as George Wallace addresses himself to many of the same dis-satisfactions in the society as we do (centralization, bureaucracy, race tension, the freedom of the "little man"), his response is dictated by an acceptance of the values of order and property rights over freedom and human rights in order to resolve the class tensions. In the same way, the values of youth culture can be easily distorted from their basic reflection of an alienation from ruling-class values to a conception that those values are the expression of youth rather than class.

STOP THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND BRING THE ANALYSIS HOME NOW!

nous, et Demain..."

(continued from Page 4)

more or less the same people. They developed inter-union actions and tried to co-ordinate the issues with those of the main labor union, the CGT (General Workers' Federation, while limiting themselves to the only area in which representatives of student interests could work, the area of professional training. This attempt turned out to be a failure because it resulted only in the swallowing up of union action into the electoral strategy of the Communist Party, something which the radical element could not accept. Another attempt was aimed at mobilizing students by affirming that they were struggling side by side with the working class in demanding a "student salary". But the campaign failed for several reasons: bourgeois students did not really feel the need for such a salary; the political meaning of the demand was not made clear because of the officially apolitical stand of UNEF in its role as union; and finally, the workers' organizations refused to support such a demand.

The most radical students then resigned from the leadership of UNEF, feeling, at least theoretically, that there was no place for them in union activity, in the absence of a revolutionary party. They took refuge in a wait-and-see attitude, while continuing to participate in the Movement with a certain aloofness (for example by taking part in the international commission of UNEF).

After this, UNEF was torn between various factions: the "revolutionary students' liaison committee" attempted to use it as a podium from which to denounce worker bureaucracies, the JCR (the Revolutionary Communist Party, a Trotskyite group) as a hunting ground for new members, and the PSU (Unified Socialist Party) as a pawn in negotiations within the "democratic forces".

As for the Communist Party, which desired, as is well known, to participate in a democratic union government, and which was hostile to any action against the bourgeois state, it only attempted to keep the other groups from leading UNEF. It also developed a line which was very unpopular among the students, consisting

in supporting only the demands of "the most under-privileged of the students"—in short, asking that workers' sons become bourgeois.

Only a revolutionary party could have integrated student-union action into the ensemble of struggles with revolutionary political significance. But in isolation, the student demands for transformation of the methods and content of teaching in the direction of better professional training became "corporatist" and technocratic. The demands were absorbed by the bourgeois State, and the vanguard radicals could no longer accept the organization of students around such objectives. This explains UNEF's total lack of activity since the failure of the "student salary" campaign in 1964. Doubtlessly, from Easter 1964 to the present UNEF has appeared quite differently abroad, where its international commission co-ordinated anti-imperialist activities. Unfortunately, this activity was not backed up by mass actions.

It seems that this period of inactivity through which the French student movement has gone since the height of

the Algerian War derives from the fact that the moral and political crisis of the French bourgeoisie, which had developed during the War (tortures, OAS, increased awareness by young people of the ambiguity and even harmfulness of liberalism), had been re-absorbed by Gaullism. The battles which the radicals wished to wage against the bourgeois university, therefore, were backed by correct political analyses, but did not correspond to the reality experienced by the students, including themselves. It was not until last fall that the harmful effects and the technocratic character of the government reform of the educational system were felt, although UNEF had been asking students to fight this reform since 1964! Since that time many students had been wondering, without formulating their thoughts politically until the birth of the Nanterre movement, why one should fight against a university system which is nothing but a mechanism for adaptation to a society against which battle is not being waged. At the same time, they were too critical of this society to accept the idea of fighting for the amelioration of the mechanism of adaptation (for example by opposing the university reform). This again explains the inaction.

The Nanterre movement finally came out of this dilemma, moving people from criticism of the university to criticism of society, and refusing the division between party and union which is inoperative when the party doesn't exist. The members of the "March 22nd Movement" at Nanterre refuse to be students any longer in the bourgeois university. They refuse to support an



A barricade of overturned autos erected by students against the police chokes Rue Gay-Lussac.

(continued on Page 14)

PARDUN / DAVIDSON

Inter-organizational:

Since the Columbia Rebellion, SDS has been thrust onto a new plateau as a national political force. The importance of that event in our history should not be underestimated. More than any other event in our recent political past, Columbia has successfully summed up and expressed the best aspects of the main thrust of our national political efforts in the last two years.

However, there are reasons other than our immediate successes for viewing Columbia with the utmost seriousness. First, the action is a proto-type, a model for our campus organizing efforts for at least the next year. Even with little conscious effort on the part of our national organizers, dozens of student activists responded to the call "Create two, three, many Columbias!" by initiating similar, though less dramatic, struggles on their own campuses.

Also, Columbia has many implications and revelations about the weaknesses of SDS as a national political force. From that perspective, I will outline some of our inter-organizational and national political problems.

It is crystal clear that students cannot make the Revolution alone. We need allies—radical allies—in the heartland of America, primarily among the young, white, black, and Spanish-speaking working people. If the recent events in France indicate nothing else, they should demonstrate the necessity of an alliance between workers and students. That concept should become a political "given" within SDS. On the other hand, it is just as important that there be a great deal of diversity, debate, and experimentation as to how that strategy is carried out, the political relationship between the two constituencies, and the nature of the alliance. Toward that end, it is increasingly important for SDS organizers to reach out and make links with non-student insurgent constituencies. While we should not underplay our primary role as a mass radical student

organization, engaging students in struggles around their own unfreedom, we must make every effort to integrate those battles with off-campus issues and constituencies.

Another factor in the Columbia Revolt considered important by many organizers was its concurrence with the French and German student uprisings, supposedly giving many Columbia rebels the audacity and inspiration to go beyond what seemed possible. There is some truth to this, although it is difficult to evaluate its extent.

Hopefully, the recent dramatic struggles of the European New Left students will change some of our isolationist attitudes.

There are several important political arguments for extending and developing our relationships with these groups, as well as deepening a knowledgeable sense of radical internationalism within the ranks of SDS. To begin most simply, US Imperialism is an international system. Too often, American radicals plan for "our" revolution as if the basic unit for our political and economic analysis were the territorial body of the United States. Rather than the nation, the limits of the American Empire should define and determine the strategic character of our struggle. The giant multi-national corporations, along with a world-wide military force, make up the objective parameters of the system we are fighting against. All the oppressed peoples falling within its perimeter are our potential allies. The New Left in the United States should cease viewing themselves as an isolated minority, a lone voice in the wilderness. We are not alone in the world, by any means.

In recent years, the major battles being fought within the Empire have been between the dominant advanced capitalist countries, mainly the United States, and the super-exploited colonies and neo-colonies of the Third World. The growing ascendancy of these movements for national liberation marks the beginning

of the end for the Empire. However, they can only initiate, and not complete, the revolutionary process within the Empire. The final task remains for the working class within the heart of the advanced capitalist domain.

What are the dynamics of that process? Previously, as long as the colonized peoples could mount no effective resistance to their super-exploitation, there was a portion of the super-profits available for the multi-national capitalists to bribe, in a variety of ways, certain strata of the advanced working class. Thus, the availability of a short-run material incentive enabled the Empire to divide, rule, and expand. However, given the growing resistance of liberation movements in the subordinate sector of the Empire, the multi-national ruling class becomes engaged in protracted counter-revolutionary wars, Vietnam being the paradigm case. As a result of these exacerbated demands on the manpower and resources within the Empire's advanced sector, the ephemeral benefits of the "bought-off" portion of the working class disappear, and their oppression intensifies. The second, but primary phase of the revolutionary process can then commence within the advanced capitalist sector of the Empire. Our struggles, however isolated they may seem, are part of this single revolutionary process within a multi-national imperialism.

But the implications of this situation make it most incumbent on us to examine other questions raised by struggles like Columbia or Detroit in this country and the French Revolt in Europe. Having the will and courage to fight by no means implies that a movement has the organization, knowledge, and values needed to win. Confronted with the deadly brutality of state power, the Columbia rebels recognized the need for off-campus allies in a yet-to-be-organized radical

(continued on Page 11)

Educational:

As this is my last report as a national secretary I feel that it should concern political problems within SDS rather than technical details about how the office has functioned. SDS has changed considerably in the past year. The slogan "From Protest to Resistance" has in fact had a strong impact on how we conceive of ourselves. The transition from being simply anti-Vietnam War to being anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist has greatly increased our understanding of the enemy and the levels of struggle necessary to defeat it.

However, the organization does not move as a unit. Consciousness changes through struggle, and we have not all gone through the same struggles. Those whose experience is entirely local see things in a different way from those with a more national perspective. Those in the urban North have different experience from those in the rural Midwest. People involved for several years have developed in different ways from those involved a longer or shorter time.

It is these differences in perspective which have given rise to one of the contradictions in SDS which I wish to address—the mass organization versus the cadre. SDS as a mass organization is characterized by being undisciplined, decentralized, and very loose in its ideology. This means that SDS's analysis has not developed rapidly, but that in practice on the local level that analysis is seldom presented in a detailed way. The reasons for this are obvious, given our history. SDS was built and is still being built to a large extent out of the rebellion of certain segments of American youth against the ideology of Capitalism and against the authority which represents that ideology—that is, parents, schools, cops, the Draft, et al. The fact that that rebellion takes the form of rebellion against all authority, against discipline, and against ideology is one of the objective conditions which we have had to deal with. It is small

wonder that SDS is like it is, given that this alienated youth was its primary constituency. The fact that consciousness within the organization has risen very quickly speaks well for us. SDS is in fact a viable organization.

However, the last several years have seen the beginnings of the development of more disciplined cadre both locally and nationally. By this I don't want to imply that within SDS a single group of people are pulling together into a cadre. Rather what is happening is that within chapters all over the country, and to some extent nationally, people with common experiences and analyses are beginning to talk about "collective decision-making" and a tighter analysis of America.

At this point in our history I think it is common knowledge that our previous hang-ups about leadership are out-dated. As we have gone beyond a simple rebellion against all leadership to a more refined understanding of the nature of the leadership we opposed, we have found that in fact SDS has always had leadership. We have also found out that there are groups of people both locally and nationally who are responsible for seeing that activity takes place, that the organization holds together, and that work goes on. If these people can be called in very loose terms a cadre, then I think it is a fact that all mass organizations have always embodied within them a cadre, and that that is a good thing. These people self-consciously see themselves as organizers, and as such feel the need to be tied in with other organizers so that they can try to set priorities and determine strategy.

This begins to bring up problems which are going to have to be faced by SDS both in its mass form and in its cadre form. How does a cadre function in a mass organization? How do we make the mass SDS democratic when it is so easy to fall into letting the cadre make the decisions because they are more

disciplined and do the work? I want to give two examples of what I mean. During the past year I've complained at every NC that the Office doesn't get enough feedback from the membership. Most often the people who give us the information we need are not typical members, but people who are in many ways responsible for seeing that local activity goes on. When decisions are to be made in the Office which we want to get a feeling from the chapters about, we call those people. The result has been that what started off as our response to being cut off by most of the chapter members has become a very informal but potentially powerful cadre in SDS. This cadre is tied together not so much by common ideology as by a common ability to make things happen. This cadre is important to the organization because it has been responsible for some national decisions and because it is in close contact with the SDS base. It is potentially bad because there is no way for the organization as a whole to make it responsible. It is a problem when the organization must rely solely on the good will of these people not to misrepresent them. It is clear that both the membership and the members of such cadres must be very self-conscious about their activities if they don't want to become elitist. Potentially these cadres could solidify into factions and destroy us. They could also become separate organizations whose members owe their primary responsibility to them and not to SDS, in much the way that PLP-SDS, YSA-SDS, and CP-SDS members now operate.

It is important for us to realize that SDS in itself is a viable organization and not a place to be recruited from. If that is to continue, then the cadre which is developing within SDS must be seen as legitimate. That doesn't mean that this cadre should have a free hand to do what it pleases in the name of SDS.

(continued on Page 7)

ON THE CADRE IN MASS ORGANIZATION

(continued from Page 6)

It simply means that the people who are doing full-time organizing, who are responsible for seeing that SDS goes on, should be seen as a very important part of SDS. It is their job to expand the organization, to recruit new organizers, and to build viable regional structures which can better involve and better develop our constituencies. That work is vital to our growth. SDS has the potential of becoming a revolutionary organization with an independent politics geared to the needs of the American people. But to do that it must take itself seriously and adapt its structure to its internal development.

The second example is local and is an example of how a cadre should not function. Within one of the chapters a committee was set up to put out a petition and fact sheets on imperialism and racism for the Ten Days. This committee became a self-conscious cadre, exercised internal discipline, and required certain ideological prerequisites for joining. They decided that those who did the work would make the decisions about content, direction, et cetera of the material produced.

While in many ways this sounds reasonable, the effect was that the chapter split into two factions—the committee and those opposed to it. Basically the problem came from what I think is a misunderstanding of how a cadre should function within a mass organization. It should not attempt to take control of the organization or a part of it by means of the power it has in being disciplined. Rather it should function in such a way that it continues to raise people's

consciousness by engaging them in struggle, discussion, and self-criticism. When the committee closed itself to non-committee-members, it ceased to function as an effective way of getting new people involved. The people in the committee ended up talking to each other and handing out leaflets when they could have had their members spread out in an effort to get many new people involved in struggles which would have made other people trust them. In short they lost their legitimacy as a cadre when they isolated themselves from their base and assumed that SDS could be something which it cannot be—a disciplined organization. A cadre within a mass organization must in the end either be responsible to it or lose its legitimacy within it.

Locally the model set out by Neil Buckley in the May issue of The Movement seems to be the best way to deal with the problem. Basically he advocates a series of work-study groups which will allow the membership to reach out to new people while making each group small enough to allow new people to participate. (For more details, see The Movement, May 1968, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California, \$2 per year.) This not only allows the chapter to become more effective, but makes the chapter leadership responsible to the membership. The debate about the function of leadership and cadre should be opened up on the local level. This understanding is essential both for the membership and for the cadre. Questions not confronted when they present themselves usually reappear in a nastier form.

Nationally the problem is not going to be quickly solved. This is because national cadre is as yet very loosely defined and spread out. There are steps which we can begin to take, however. There has been talk for a long time in SDS about making regional structures the key structures in the organization. It is necessary that that begin to happen more than ever now. National councils no longer represent the base. Most chapters are never represented. The rest are represented either by anyone who can come or by the disciplined members who feel a responsibility to attend. The last NC was strange if for no other reason than that there were four hundred and fifty people there.

We need to begin to develop regional structures which are closely in touch with their bases so that national politics can be generated by and be responsible to local constituencies. However I think we should realize that regional structures are difficult to pull together, and will in fact be pulled together by people whose orientation is more natural than that of the majority of the membership. The people who do that work will have to do it full-time. For that reason they will probably not be students, but people who have come out of student backgrounds. Because of their work they should be more involved in national decision-making and therefore responsible to the national organization. Basically the problem is that we are faced with the necessity of making people responsible for the specific work of organizing regions. This group of people will be a national kind of cadre which makes decisions based on the needs of regional bases. This is of course going to be a difficult process. Giving chapters a regional perspective, organizing new campus chapters, building community support groups, developing financial resources, et cetera are not easy things to do and require someone full-time. Of course regional people will be doing lot of it.

If SDS is going to develop into a really viable organization it is going to have to come to grips with the cadre which is developing internally. The contradiction between mass organization and cadre will not be made to disappear by ignoring it. Rather it must be resolved in a way which will further the struggle.

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Proposed Amendment to the Constitution

submitted by Jeff Segal, NIC

ARTICLE III, SECTION 2 TO READ:

A chapter may be chartered by the regional council of the area in which it is organized or by the National Council. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification of election of officers and national or regional council representatives. Chapters may be provisionally recognized by one of the four special secretaries or an appropriate regional officer pending the meeting of the NC or regional council respectively.

ARTICLE IV, SECTION 1 TO READ:

All or some of the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a region of SDS. New regions shall submit their constitutions and shall be recognized by one of the four special secretaries pending the next regular meeting of the NC. All disputes over regional boundaries shall be resolved by the NC.

ARTICLES VII AND VIII TO READ:

Article VII:

National Organizing Committee

Section 1. The National Organizing

Committee (NOC) shall be a body of nineteen members who shall serve as the national officers of SDS. It is to be made up of four special secretaries—a general secretary, an education secretary, an inter-organizational secretary, and a staff secretary—and fifteen field secretaries. They shall be ex-officio members of the National Council.

Section 2. In order to be elected to the NOC an individual must have been a member of SDS for at least six months prior to the election. Election to the NOC shall be by a plurality vote, and individuals shall be elected on an at-large basis.

Section 3. The NOC shall be responsible for seeing that organizational and political policies are carried out, co-ordinating and implementing national programs, and sending formal delegations to other organizations; have emergency decision making responsibilities between meetings of the NC; and be the national spokesman for SDS. All duties and responsibilities that are assigned to specific secretaries shall be seen generally as collective responsibilities of the NOC.

Section 4. The NOC shall meet at least four times a year, once prior to each meeting of the NC. Meetings may be called by the four special secretaries or by petition of any of the five NOC

members. A quorum for a duly constituted meeting shall be nine.

Article VIII:

Duties of the Secretaries

Section 1. The General Secretary shall be responsible for the functioning of the National Office and such housekeeping functions as are necessary for the co-ordination and implementation of national programs; national fund-raising and the development and co-ordination of a national financial structure; and relations with the press. He shall be a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions, with the approval of the NOC.

Section 2. The Education Secretary shall be responsible for the operation of the SDS literature program and production; national printing operations and the co-ordination of regional printing operations; the development of both an internal and an external educational program; and the publication of New Left Notes. He shall be a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions, with the approval of the NOC.

Section 3. The inter-organizational Secretary shall be responsible for maintaining liaison with other

organizations—national, foreign, and international—and informing membership about them; and dispatching delegations to these organizations. He shall be a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions, with the approval of the NOC.

(This section was omitted by typographical error from the May 13 publication of the amendment in New Left Notes.)

Section 4. The Staff Secretary shall be responsible for: co-ordination of the work of the field secretaries and all other field staff; co-ordination of national travelers; development of central facilities for servicing of the national field staff; and liaison with the staff of fraternal and affiliated organizations. He shall be a full-time paid staff member; work out of the National Office; and have the power to hire assistants to help carry out his functions with the approval of the N.O.C.

Section 5. Field secretaries shall be responsible for organizing and agitating work designed to co-ordinate and implement SDS programs and help build chapters and regions; and liaison between chapters, regions, and the National Office. They shall be paid full-time staff members and work out of various locations throughout the country.

A Letter from Cook County Jail

Jeffrey is in jail, in Chicago, in connection with his 1964 draft case. We'll print more when the lawyers are readier - until then write:

Tier G3 - 43033
2600 S. California
Chicago, Illinois

Comrades!

You have all, by now, seen the text of a Constitutional Amendment I am proposing be passed at the National Convention. I realize that both the language and the form of such things as Constitutional Amendments provide little adequate reasoning for such organizational changes, and I would like to briefly present to you some of the reasons for the proposal and what I hope it will accomplish.

I'll start out by saying that my aim is not to solve SDS's political problems through bureaucratic solutions. This we know is either ineffective because it tends to be mechanistic, or harmful because it tends to foster conservative politics. However, there seems to me to be a difference between applying bureaucratic answers to programmatic problems and attempting to understand the need for organization and the development of better organizational structures (which are the means we use for binding ourselves together to best achieve our goals and best utilize all of our individual and group talents) through political debate.

SDS has now been in existence for approximately eight years. At first it was a small, tight-knit group of friends rooted in a couple of universities and mainly interested in student and academic pursuits. It is now a "group" of about thirty thousand loosely-connected people. What we have is a large number of youths (mostly students) who have been profoundly alienated by the society they are living in and who are seeking to change that society through radical action. Within this base is a small number of people (a couple of hundred, mostly former students either in fact or in life style) who have been around for awhile and are committed to a long-term movement for revolutionary change as well as radical action.

This history has produced a number

of things: (1) a group that purports to be a national one but that is nothing more than a confederation of localized conglomerations of people held together by one name and a spider-web network of comrades with informal connections who act as a roughly-constructed cadre group: It has meant not national programs planned and carried out together, but series of local actions tied together either spontaneously or thanks to the bourgeois press. (2) constant friction between the "cadre" and the "mass" because there has been no development of functional means for either communication between the two groups or the proper ways of training and selecting that cadre that would insure a constant growth in both mass and cadre by utilizing the strengths of both and a democratic relationship between the two: This has resulted in a great deal of frustration on the part of the cadre caused by the pace and sporadic nature of our activity, and in the mass's seeing conspiracies and plots of undemocratic manipulation being carried out by "national leadership". (3) no utilization of our strength in terms of activist drive and ideological experience to either expand or deepen our base: This results in chaotic development and feelings of organizational stagnation outside of periods (such as we have just seen) of intense struggle.

This says, I think, two things. First, that we must begin to understand the motive forces that have produced our movement; instead of remaining passive toward the social forces that act on us we must seek to control and channel them—and if we are to become a serious movement, this is imperative. Second, it becomes clear, following from the first point, that qualities we have seen as most adventitious in SDS need not be absolutes to be followed eternally, but are means through which one taps constructive social forces and leads them from one historical period to another. We should begin to examine both our organizational form and our political program in this light, and see that when one means or form of struggle is no longer appropriate to objective conditions it is no sell-out to change.

This, I think, is the situation in regard to our present organizational structure. I also think that we should deal with some of the broader political problems in the same way, but for the present I will limit myself to the narrow scope

of structural change.

What is the guts of the proposed change? The National Interim Committee would be eliminated and replaced by the National Organizing Committee (NOC), a body of nineteen members. These people would be elected at-large on the basis of their politics at the Convention. (Election would be by plurality, with the top vote-getters winning.) Their responsibility for leadership and service as spokesmen would be held collectively. The NOC would consist of four special secretaries and fifteen Field Secretaries. The four special secretaries would be: a General Secretary, roughly analogous to the present National Secretary, who would be responsible for nationally co-ordinated fund-raising, maintenance of the National Office, relations with the press, provision of facilities and staff for co-ordinating national programs, et cetera; an Education Secretary, who would be responsible for all aspects of our literature program (both internal and external) from printing and writing through distribution, and for publication of New Left Notes; an Inter-organizational Secretary, who would be responsible for the development of relations with other organizations—national, foreign, and international—for formal delegations to other groups as authorized by the NC and selected by the NOC, and for the development of an international affairs program; and a Staff Secretary, who would be responsible for co-ordinating the work of the Field Secretaries and all travelers and regional workers, and for the building up of a centralized servicing bureau which would be able to provide information, co-ordinate communication, and perform other services for all these people. The fifteen Field Secretaries would be considered full-time organizers for SDS and would be responsible for working in local areas all across the country. This would provide the link between the "base" and the "leadership", the link between the local areas, and a co-ordinated structure for implementing national programs.

What do I think this change is designed to accomplish?

First, we are reaching the point in time where I think we need not just a loose confederation of chapters, but something that is a powerful entity as a national organization. We need something to confirm the idea that we have a national movement that can counter

regional isolationism.

Second (and related to the above), we could accomplish the provision of means through development of a staff structure for carrying out national programs in a co-ordinated and continuous manner.

Third, since that basic element of the organizing and leadership section (the cadre) would be selected through a democratic process, and at least fifteen-nineteenths of the national leadership would be working directly with local SDS organizations, there would be development of a constant, democratic, open, and recognized process for communication with and control of the cadre of the organization.

Fourth, this election process for the NOC and these assignments of duties are designed to build and instill as strong and forceful a sense of collective leadership as can be built at this time.

Fifth, the building and co-ordinating of staff structure would help us break down the sense of isolation and futility that is gripping many of our best people across the country.

Sixth, we would have a way of moving systematically into new geographic areas (through the Field Secretaries) and both broadening and deepening our base in areas where we already have strength.

What I am arguing for are a number of basic ideas: development of meaningful structural forms that meet the needs of a serious, growing, independent radical movement; development of a general consciousness of ourselves as a national movement with national as well as local responsibilities; development of (and understanding of the necessity of) a staff structure serving us as a backbone to which we can attach the flesh and muscle of our movement; development of real collective and democratic leadership that can both reflect our needs and desires and provide the incentives for us to continue moving ahead; and development of an understanding of who we are and what we have gained, and the ability thus to build rationally from our present to greater strength.

All of this, I realize, is only the beginning of a single way to deal with our many problems, and should be seen as just that. Here, then, is my small contribution toward the building of a movement that will one day become part of an American Liberation Movement.

Radio Free People

(Proposal for a New Left Media Project)

by Peter Sutheim
New York

The boom in political anti-Establishment newspapers and other visual and graphic media has so far been unmatched by anything in the field of audio or radio. Yet sound recordings and broadcasts can be extremely effective ways of reaching people.

Recognizing that fact, we announce the formation of Radio Free People. In its conception, RFP is probably just like an audio counterpart of the Newsreel Project, the enormously successful New Left film production and distribution operation founded only a few months ago. Among the immediate purposes of RFP:

(1) to produce and distribute sound recordings in tape (and possibly disc) form: The content of the recordings would be news, analyses, discussions, forums, readings, dramatic material, songs, stories, poems, sound mixes, or collages—all with a New Left orientation, in the broadest and most open sense of the term. For example, many hours of edited tape (interviews, live sound pick-ups, and so forth) are already available about the Columbia strike and bust. This material is of tremendous importance and should be distributed as widely as possible. Tapes or discs will go to any interested persons or groups, but we will make a special effort to get as much air time as possible on student-run campus radio stations. The tapes could also be used as a focus for discussion, as accompaniment to photo exhibits and slide shows, as sound tracks for locally made films, or for playing in parks or on street corners in a kind of "guerrilla audio" function.

(2) to encourage the development of similar operations locally in other parts of the country. It is unrealistic, and very much against our notions of decentralism, to have all material produced and processed in New York for national distribution. In particular, the emphasis will be on audio materials produced on individual initiative or as local group projects. This approach has worked well

with films for the Newsreel project. A nationwide network of distribution will be established to aid makers of finished tape programs in circulating their works.

(3) to train New Left people in the use of audio media: tape and film sound, radio.

(4) to provide technical advice on the construction and operation of low-power anti-Establishment community-run radio stations as a radical alternative to electronic mass media—not just on the campuses, but in civic communities, in ghettos, et cetera.

The broad, overall objective of Radio Free People is, of course, to spread the Word. To quote from the initial statement of the Newsreel project, these materials are aimed at "organizers in different areas of work, university students, ghetto groups, anti-war groups, hippie organizations, all those who can use these films as tools in their work to increase the scope of activity and discussion. These (tapes) will be available to anyone. We hope that their relevance will attract audiences who are not usually reached. But they will reach such audiences only if they are brought to them by people who understand what it is to organize, and how to use such (tapes) to increase social and political awareness....We are initially directing our work toward those in the society who have already begun their re-definition."

Our first production will most likely be based on the Columbia strikes, demands, liberation courses, et cetera. Some of the material illustrates magnificently some real political decision-making under the stress of moment-to-moment crises.

Not all the material will be narrowly political. We expect to discuss, for example, life style and goals for people who want to remain committed to effective radicalism even after college, when they are open to sweet seduction by the many rewards of middle-class Establishment life. We will touch on our consumer culture, on the role of women in society, on experimental communities, to name just a few of many, many possibilities. (People in the New York City area who

have heard the weekly SDS radio programs on WBAI will have some notion of the variety of subjects that can be covered.)

We are also thinking of some further objectives, although their achievement may be several years away:

(1) to establish a viable non-profit business that would provide the New Left with electronic services and possibly apparatus in return for a living for a number of people. This and other enterprises would mark the start of some economic independence for the Movement. As with some of the Movement printshops and publications, the goal would be to make the project an economically self-sustaining operation.

(2) to serve as a nucleus for research into the unique electronic needs of a radical movement, and to gather a cadre of engineers and technicians who would in turn train others in the communication arts. Examples of such needs are low-power radio stations, low-cost recording facilities, a nationwide net of ham radio or other short-wave communications and news-distributing facilities, and low-cost hi-fi and sound reinforcing systems for Movement people and organizations.

(3) to provide a radical alternative outlet for the skills and talents of people trained in broadcasting and related fields, and thus to act as an aid in organizing such people.

The structure and funding of this operation have still to be worked out. At the outset, the organization and decision-making structure will follow the elegantly simple democratic one adopted by the Newsreel project (a rotating committee of five members all of whom must be actively involved in the project in any capacity whatever). There will be a co-ordinator, who will probably sit on the committee with no vote.

Money will come in part from the sale or rental of taped programs to radio

stations that can afford to pay. Quite a number of closed-circuit AM college campus stations, for example, sell air time and have handsome operating budgets.

Dissemination of programs will probably be done through campus activists who are more likely to be in a position to feel out the mood and political position of a campus station than are we here in New York. This is a Movement operation, and it seems reasonable to expect to enlist the aid of Movement people as "pushers" on each campus. We are by no means ruling out the possibility of feeding these programs to non-campus radio stations, such as the Pacifica FM stations and other non-commercial FM operations, and perhaps also to local commercial AM stations.

Hopefully some solid ideas will come out of workshops to be held on this proposal at the SDS National Convention in East Lansing and at the University Christian Movement conference in Saint Louis the same week. We need to hear from people who are interested in using tapes like the ones described here. We must respond to your needs. We want to hear from campus activists with a foot in the college radio station's door. We want response also from campus travelers, regional organizers, people involved with local church groups or Boy Scout troops—in a word, from anyone who can widen the audience for the materials. We also want people who are interested in setting up related projects using local resources and facilities, and perhaps exchanging raw audio material with us. People who know of programs already prepared should contact us. We hope to assist people in learning how to make tapes that are technically of broadcast quality.

Write to Radio Free People, 160 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, New York 11238.

SHOTGUNS... and Other Tools for Organizers

John Dunn, NO Print Shop
Alan Camplejohn, NO Print Shop
Wayne Heimbach, Regional Traveler

GOALS: SDS has come to the point where literature production can no longer be a hap-hazard and half-planned operation. It is necessary to set forth rational criteria for an on-going and coherent literature program. A literature program can be a valuable tool in moving the anti-war movement to an anti-racist, anti-capitalist stance.

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM: We envision two general categories of pamphlets:

(1) Shotgun pamphlets: LOTS of them on LOTS of different aspects of the Shitty Society, geared toward the potential base hasn't yet reached. One pamphlet alone will have the effect of a BB; a number of them used in concert should have the effect of a twelve-gauge shotgun. Pellets must have the same range and pamphlets must have mutually reinforcing themes, such as the oppressive nature of domestic racist capitalism; foreign imperialism; and the nature of American government of, by, and for the ruling class.

(2) Pamphlets aimed at organizers and chapters. There are two pamphlet types in this category:

(a) practical: a series of how-to-do-it pamphlets on the techniques of organizing (for example how to form a book co-op, how to start a newspaper, and examples of past movement organizing experiences);

(b) theoretical: political discussion to stimulate political development and understanding within SDS (for example concerning imperialism).

IMPLEMENTATION: To make mass production possible, pamphlets should not be more than twelve hundred words long because of the capability of presses and binding equipment.

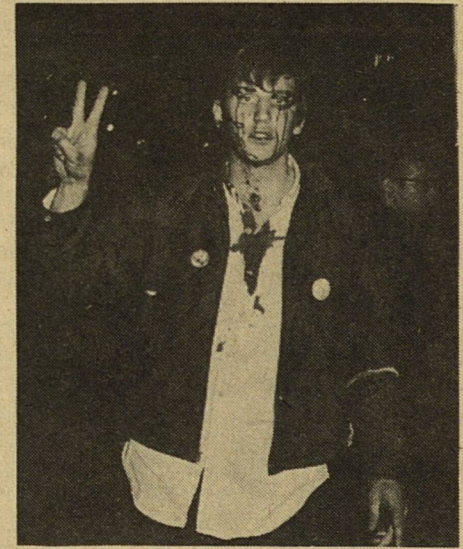
(1) The first production run of a pamphlet should be approximately ten thousand, and further runs should depend on feedback and demands. Pamphlets should be 2 1/2 cents each for chapters and organizers in quantity. This cost includes better-quality paper as well as different-colored inks for different pamphlets.

(2) A systematic program for the evaluation of pamphlets is necessary. Quantities of each pamphlet should be mailed to regional offices, chapter contacts, field organizers, and the REP. These mailings should include an evaluation form. The success of the evaluation program and any resultant upgrading of literature will obviously depend on the degree of co-operation of the people in the field.

(3) The success of this program depends upon the membership's submitting pamphlets and research material—specifically pamphlets and papers already produced by chapters and found useful in organizing.

(4) The Internal Education Secretary and the REC Director are responsible for implementing the program in concert with the REAC and REP.

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Just A Few Subwa

Central to SDS dogma is the dictum that you organize people around "the issues that affect their lives". We found this to be true, but not as it is usually interpreted. Control over dorm rules, curriculum, faculty tenure, et cetera are all issues that affect people's lives, but they don't motivate them to go out to liberate buildings, get busted, fight cops, and disrupt the university. Rather, students are concerned with broader, more important issues that affect their lives, such as the University's racist expansion policies and its support for the war against Vietnam. Given four years of an extremely active Left, the campus grew to accept our arguments about racism and imperialism, began to discard much of its traditional middle-class apathy, and began to be upset when exposed to the facts of the University's policies. En masse, students chose Harlem and Vietnam over the ivied halls of Columbia. More to the point, they decided they did not want to be students in a school that perpetuated itself by stealing land and developing anti-guerrilla weapons systems.

Thus the clarity of the issues was one important factor for success. Second, our demands related to much more than immediate "student power" issues. They led directly to broader, societal issues, thereby carrying further demands within them. Ending gym crow in Morningside Park will lead to the demand to end all Columbia's racist, exploitative expansion. Further, it will lead back through the Trustees to the sources of racism and expansion in America—corporate and finance capital.

Third was the vulnerability of the Administration and the Trustees on the issues we raised. Perhaps nowhere in the United States is there such an intersection of corporate capital, finance capital, the Military, the Government, the CIA, and the mass media as among those who run Columbia. Columbia is the paradigm of the ruling class's multiversity. Combine this with plantation-mentality administrators like Jacques Barzun, with CIA anti-communist types like Grayson Kirk and Andrew Cordier, and you have a case study in institutional racism and support for imperialism. Add David Truman's combination of slick co-optation and hard-line repression to the previous elements and you have an explosion. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TACTICS (UP AGAINST THE WALL, MOTHER...)

Before the blacks decided to barricade Hamilton Hall on the first day, we had been somewhat tactically conservative, tending toward the base-building side of the base-building versus vanguard-action debate in SDS. By the end of the second day we learned that the debate was a false one and that the two methods should go hand in hand. We had spent years preparing the campus; the revolutionary movement in Vietnam, ghetto uprisings, the assassination of Martin Luther King did the rest. Students were opposed to racism and imperialism and sought meaningful action. Many had reluctantly drifted to McCarthy and Kennedy. The strike, with its clear issues and decisive tactics, provided a way for students to act in their own institution on the broader issues.

The slogan of the strike, "Up Against the Wall, Motherfucker", characterized our tactics, at least in the phase prior to the April 30th bust. By taking the buildings (especially Kirk's office), we were putting our enemies up against the wall, forcing them to take sides. Confronted with militancy for the first time in their lives, many middle-class kids lost their liberal bearings, and when they recovered, found themselves in liberated territory. The Administration and faculty became so confused that it took almost a week for them to understand our seriousness. When the Administration realized our threat, they reacted in the only way they could—the cops.

Truman, Kirk, and the Trustees quite rightly believe in the domino theory—

and on two levels, to boot. Truman argues that if we had won our demands there would be no stopping us—true enough. For if we had kicked IDA out of Columbia it would have been only logical to eliminate ROTC and the many other military activities that go on there.

We would have achieved policy-making power, something the Trustees could never permit. A Left-wing student body, for example, would never tear down apartment houses to build a branch office of the CIA, the School for International Affairs. The financial-political power of the Trustees, including their base in real estate, would have been ruined.

The second form of the domino theory came to light when Kirk revealed that he had received hundreds of telegrams from administrators at other schools telling him to hold the line. The thinking was that if Columbia falls, all universities will fall.

Given the threat to the ruling class represented by our tactics and our politics, immediate military repression, as in Vietnam and the ghettos, was the only answer. Pacification had been tried for many years, with no success. But criminal charges, expulsion, discipline will prove as effective as the US Army in Vietnam now that the students have

IDA. The first split—the widest one—came the next morning over tactics—to barricade or to allow classes in the building. The blacks saw themselves as representatives of the Harlem community at Columbia, and as such considered their primary goal to stop the gym from being constructed. We, the white radicals, were still on the base-building trail, believing in the chimera of alienating the campus by confronting fellow students, et cetera. In addition, we were tremendously disorganized and undisciplined.

Relations with the Afro-American Students' Society reached a low point after the bust, but have revived since it became obvious that both we and the blacks are facing the same repression from the University and the police—beatings, intimidation, trumped-up charges, suspension. Still, we continue to have separate political identities as defined by our separate situations in society, a fact that bourgeois reporters find impossible to understand. Our experience could serve as a model for the near future: separate political identities, but the possibility of allied struggle against a common enemy for common goals.

One of the largest bust-deterrents is the existence of a ghetto slum a few

Summer Liberation School

by the Columbia Strike Committee

The last week in April, over seven hundred Columbia students and community people occupied five campus buildings in response to the political, economic, social, cultural, and sexual crisis which grips the country. What made Columbia happen and made it important was that hundreds of people saw that the needs of our generation and the goals of the world revolutionary struggle are one. We, the youth, have no place but a revolutionary one in the present-day decaying America. We must discover how to live human lives: this is a social problem, not an individual one. We cannot solve it separately from the problems and struggles of other dispossessed, alienated, and exploited groups within the crumbling American empire. We must understand the overall world struggle because we must learn how to be an effective part of it.

We have organized a liberation school this summer, growing out of the needs we feel for greater development of analysis and program. We wish to include others, students or not, who will be active for all or part of the summer with us in New York City. The school will include high-school and college students who want to become organizers in their schools, people from the surrounding community, and workers to continue the co-operation developed out of our common fight against Columbia.

We are organizing our classes, workshops, and seminars with the knowledge that political education does not take place within the confines of the traditional sterile classrooms we have

attained their present political level. This was proven the night of the third bust, May 23rd, when a hundred and seventy-nine people were arrested and five thousand tried to fight off the cops. According to Truman, the first two busts should have intimidated the rebels into submission.

ALLIANCES

The occupation of Hamilton Hall on April 23rd brought black militants and white radicals into a working alliance for the first time at Columbia. The basis of the alliance was the struggle for common goals—an end to the gym and

faced all our lives. Action and organization will be a major part of our programs. Since we are beginning with people committed to revolutionary social change, the core of the educational classes will be designed to further our knowledge of our current historical situation. For example, there will be research-action projects in such areas as housing in New York City, public schools, economic functions of the university, the Draft, and the mass media; classes in such areas as the radical view of American economic history and European radical movements. There are many other aspects of the school, including street theater, newspaper and film workshops, literature courses, and electronics (tape work for radio). A high-school program will bring together high-school students, campus radicals, and radical public-school teachers to analyze the present system, pose alternatives and programs, and develop strategy for change.

Our liberation school rejects the hypocritical pseudo-objectivity of the university system. Our values are specifically those of revolutionary change—that men and women should be free to live their lives in accordance with their just needs and desires. We know that this will never be the case in America for young people, workers, blacks, and poor whites until we have developed enough political power to create that change ourselves. The liberation school is a tool toward this end. We will work and organize as we learn.

For information contact the Strike Education Committee at 222-6923 or 865-3620 until June 4th, and 663-4010 after that date. Classes will begin during the third and fourth weeks of June.

blocks from school. During the occupations of the buildings and after, we began establishing contacts with CORE and other groups in the Harlem community (again on the basis of working for common goals). At one point about three hundred white students were welcomed into a march of about two thousand from 7th Avenue and 125th Street to Columbia. There is potential for more alliances between Harlem and the Columbia strikers.

The best alliance we have built thus far is our link to the Morningside Community. We invited delegates from community groups to join the Strike Committee, and opened our liberation

The six-week liberation struggle at Columbia continues. During that period over a thousand students and community members have been busted; hundreds have been beaten up; thousands have barricaded the campus to hold off the invading cops; and, most important, a great mass of students has been "radicalized". It is inevitable that even those most committed to SDS rhetoric would have learned a thing or two—indeed we have.

We have won much—a whole student body polarized in our direction, exposure of the liberal facade in its true totalitarian form, an opening among previously liberal students to our class analysis of society, increased militancy among the radicals, and possible future working alliances between militant white and black students, community people, Harlem groups, and oppressed university employees. No longer are the decorous, dapper men of the Administration and faculty seen as the guardians of order, right, and rationality—quite the contrary. David Truman, the liberal's liberal, is the object of hatred and contempt, while the calm, "neutral" faculty is now viewed as politically irrelevant. More important, people understand the necessity of the battle between students committed to human liberation and Columbia's ruling-class trustees: Lockheed and IDA's William Burden, real-estate magnates Percy Uris and Lawrence Wien, Irving Trust Company's William E. Petersen, First National City Bank's Alan Temple, AT&T's Frederick R. Kappel, the New York Times's Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, CBS's William S. Paley, et al. Out of all this we are creating a movement of self-conscious students who fight the ruling class as being their own oppressors as well as the oppressors of the people of Vietnam and Harlem.

THE HIGH LEVEL OF THE ISSUES

We believe that the Columbia strike was a step forward for the American "New Left" because of the political content of the issues, and the mass militant action which developed from it. Before April 23rd we had not expected hundreds of students to liberate University buildings on the issues of Columbia's expansion into the community and its involvement in counter-insurgency weapons research; nor had we foreseen the thousands more who followed them out on strike. The demands themselves, as well as their implications, bear some analysis.

y-Stops from Wall St.

by Grayson Kirk
and David Truman

school and all our demonstrations and activities to the community. When a group of neighborhood people liberated a Columbia-owned tenement by sitting in, a thousand students gathered outside to protect the people inside. At the end, a hundred students were busted outside.

The University must be open and responsible to the community as opposed to its present role of exploitation and maintenance of the class system. For ideological as well as tactical reasons, then, we have striven to create links with the community. These will certainly increase through our liberation school over the summer.

High-school students have been active in the strike from the very beginning and were present in almost every commune (liberated building). Two delegates were sent from black high schools to the strike committee, and a large portion of our liberation school is being devoted to high-school students' needs.

From the very beginning we sent numerous speakers and organizers to other schools around the country, believing that the watchword is "Create two, three, many Columbias." We see the Columbia strike as an impetus for political development at other schools, although actions may take different form. Ultimately, simultaneous uprisings will be an important political weapon—one which we should work for.

The rash of sit-ins, fire bombings, et cetera that followed Columbia threw quite a scare into the whole spectrum, from Dick Nixon to Gene McCarthy.

Employees at Columbia have been

fighting for many years for unionization against one of the toughest union-busters this side of Harlan County. At this moment it appears that Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers' Union, a radical local, will be successful in organizing the cafeteria employees, largely because of the student strike. If the workers win, the basis for a real worker-student alliance will have been laid.

Politically, we are at a deadlock with the Administration. We are working to build alliances with the community, other universities, high-school students, and workers, both to bring more force on our side and to expand the perimeters of radicalization. The work of the liberation school will be crucial in developing cadre to organize these most important constituencies.

MISTAKES AND WEAKNESSES

The greatest error we made was our loss of organization and of political direction after the first bust. Tied to this was our attempt to work within a coalition of delegates representing everyone who said he supported the strike. For two weeks we hassled constantly with the "moderates" who didn't understand the importance of our original six demands to the success of the strike. During that time our political organization completely disintegrated.

We had a basis for cohesive political groups in the eight hundred people who had been in the buildings. The communards had met constantly for days while in the buildings, discussing each political step in minute detail, their understanding growing all the time. We should have

poured all our attention and resources into the organization and political education of these people, many of whom were new to radical politics, and should have provided them with political work to do. With their disorganization, we lost our organized base and are forced to rely now on pick-ups for demonstrations. Worse, we lost the opportunity to solidify the political development of people whose first step, an important one, had been to enter the buildings, but who had done so primarily out of gut feeling. Had we been capable of giving a full, coherent exposition of our politics, we could have won over many of the open but confused moderates, in or out of coalition.

The faculty presented a problem in class analysis—it took us too long to realize that the faculty as a body could not be moved to the Left. The faculty—given their social role as transmitters of ruling-class ideology—showed that their commitment to "law, order, and return to normalcy" prevailed over their professed political principles. Politics didn't count for the men of reason. No matter how hard the faculty attempted to convince us that they were only mediating between us and the Administration, they consistently played a reactionary role, especially by taking the Administration's side on the question of amnesty. This is not to deny credit to those who wished a non-violent solution and placed themselves between us and the cops. Rather, it is to point out their political naivete. Time and again we tried to tell the faculty that they had to choose sides, not try to stand in the middle—but with little success. Basically, we have not yet discovered how to deal politically with

the faculty, except possibly to use them as a buffer. This must be the subject of more analysis and discussion.

THE FUTURE

We see coming out of the Columbia struggle a wealth of experience and lessons which can be used throughout the Movement. More, we see a new direction for the Movement, one on a much higher level than before, of tactics and issues.

Working alliances between students and other groups on the basis of parallel tactics toward common goals is a growing possibility because of Columbia. We should try to develop, on a nationwide level, such alliances around institutional attacks on racism and imperialism. Also, people should learn the lesson of Chairman Mao, learned accidentally on Morningside Heights: "Dare to struggle, dare to win."

Most importantly, students can become a radical constituency. If students take their own oppression seriously, they can become an important part of the wider struggle, and only by understanding and acting upon their own oppression in those terms can they begin to take themselves seriously.

At Columbia, the great avalanche for McCarthy and Kennedy was overwhelmed by a truly relevant politics, one which seems to students to have viability and relevance to their own lives and to the international fight for liberation. We have to continue, on a national scale, to build this movement along lines of real, relevant politics, such as were begun at Columbia.

Carl's Report

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

insurgency of working people. In France, the students established that alliance and demonstrated to the entire world the revolutionary potential of its power. However, France pointed out another lesson—the need for revolutionary organization and leadership within mass insurgencies (given the treachery of a revisionist and trade-union leadership).

While the achievements of such revolutionary movements as those of Cuba and Vietnam are of great value, their occurrence in the subordinate neo-colonial sector of the Empire places limits on the number of political lessons we can creatively apply to our situation. On the other hand, the current and historical struggles of the European radical movements can offer us much more, even if most of those lessons will be gleaned from their mistakes and set-backs.

For instance, in most European countries, mass Left-wing parties with strong roots in trade unions are accepted by most people, with the ideology of anti-communism having little of the acceptance gained among most of the American public. What should be examined is the reformist and impotent position of those parties, from which we could learn what not to do in developing a mass radical politics.

Moreover, from the Swedish and British New Leftists, we can learn from the apparent successes but actual failures of parliamentary Social Democracy operating within a capitalist economy. An understanding of the growing revolt against bourgeois welfare-state capitalism in Europe could serve as a counter to those who would otherwise advocate it here.

There are more critical reasons for developing fraternal relations with European and Japanese New Left groups than political education or moral solidarity; namely, we have a solidarity based in struggle around a community of interests. Consider the US Military's occupation of Japan and Europe, their threatened intervention in West Germany against rebelling New Left students and

workers, and our programs against military operations in Vietnam and the ghettos. A variety of programs joining American, Japanese, and European New Left students could be developed, co-ordinating international actions around Draft-resistance, desertion, or attacks on the CIA, NATO, and other military alliances.

Significantly, the University of Nanterre was the initial attempt by the French ruling class to create an equivalent of the American "multiversity" in the French educational system. The obsolete French system was grossly inadequate for meeting the needs of an expanding technological capitalism. The French student Left, UNEF, dominated by a revisionist Communist Party, had for years limited its demands to economic issues (a student wage) and increased enrollments of working-class youth. Meanwhile, demands around the content and purpose of the schools (against the training of faithful corporate servants) were submerged. The New Left coalition (March 22nd Movement) finally erupted on the Left of UNEF, seizing classrooms and struggling around demands based on an analysis of the university remarkably similar to our own.

Of all the advanced capitalist countries, the New Left in West Germany (SDS) faces conditions most similar to our own: a dominant ideology of anti-communism, basic unity between supposedly opposing parties in parliament, a neo-Nazi upsurge similar to Wallace, manipulative mass media, and an apathetic public submissive to authority. German SDS began much like us, as a breakaway student group like us, as a student break-away from the Social Democrats. They organized around university reform and Vietnam, soon incurring the repression of the Government. One of their numbers was killed by the police while demonstrating against the Shah of Iran. The ensuing protests swelled the ranks of SDS, bringing on more Government and ruling-class opposition.

A few years ago, the presence of some American New Left radicals in Berlin influenced the German radicals into adopting "new" forms of opposition, quite

familiar to us: sit-ins, mass rallies, and counter-institutions. However, their version of the "free university" is an improvement on ours. The "critical university", as it is called, exists as a counter-institution firmly planted within the existing university and in constant opposition to all of its aspects. Another more unique program of SDS is their campaign to "expropriate Springer", a Right-wing publishing empire, advocating its decentralization and control by autonomous and democratically-chosen committees of workers and students. Since the recent assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke, an SDS leader, there also has been the organizing of mass protests involving workers and students united in an "extra-parliamentary opposition" protesting the "Emergency Laws", their equivalent of our McCarran and Smith Acts.

In Japan, another advanced capitalist country subordinate to US interests, the major New Left coalition is the Zengakuren (All-Japanese Federation of Student Governments). They are older than most New Left groups, founded in 1948 but breaking away from the Communist Party in 1950 over its support of the occupying US Military as a "liberating" force. Since then, Zengakuren has engaged in continuous, direct-action struggles against all aspects of the US Military, and against imperialist wars in Korea, Egypt, Algeria, and Vietnam. They have also fought for democratic university reforms and many trade-union struggles. Again, many joint programs are possible in joining SDS with Zengakuren in common actions against the US Military.

In Quebec, the French-Canadian Union of Students (UGEQ) might be called a New Left group, although its structure and leadership remind one more of NASA than of a radical union of students. Although UGEQ takes Left positions (support for Cuba and the NLF and opposition to US Imperialism), they participate in the structure of the bourgeois government of Quebec, "co-managing" educational affairs. "co-managing" educational affairs. Some common actions may be possible, perhaps

around the Vietnam War.

Among all the New Left groups in the advanced capitalist countries, certain things are clear. From a basic Marxist perspective, there is a common understanding of the need for a new strategy, for a new party to implement that strategy along with a new vision of socialism, and for a New Left internationalism to unite workers and students in a common fight on all fronts within the Empire. Another point the student New Left groups have in common is their lack of a coherent and consistent ideology. Within and among the various groups, there is much diversity and flux in political thinking. Those who might object to forming fraternal relations with any or all of these groups because of some unclarity concerning their position on this or that subject might ask themselves how any of the other groups could determine the same sort of thing about SDS with any degree of certainty. I think not. At any rate, I would think, in considering fraternal ties and/or common programs, that our primary concern about any group would be its commitment to an honest radical practice, subject to on-going criticism and change, rather than its ability to take the proper positions and postures.

Finally, there is one style of "internationalism" that should be avoided at all cost. I am speaking of those sentiments in all of us which tend to express a romantic over-identification with "hip" Third World heroes, while, all along, really expressing an intellectual elitist hatred of America, of one's own people. At the same time we seek to understand the broader limits of the American Empire, we need to examine its inner core, to discover the other America in all its multiplicity of poor and working peoples, their cultures, their histories, and their struggles. Without going through that discovery and understanding and following through with criticism and self-criticism, we can never begin to effect the radical political work of changing people's lives. Rather than victory, we will face only failure, a failure born of not believing ourselves because we could not believe in them.



"Why is the art so good?"
 "It is not good. We are only students...."
 "Much of the work is explicitly political, some apolitical....(Fidel:) 'Inside the Revolution, everything; outside the Revolution, nothing.'
 "Art is made ordinary, becomes 'people's art', not by being rendered mundane, but by being moved into the streets....The museums are truly public, with heated debates among ordinary people examining various pieces. Art is not merely to be consumed, but to be presented problematically, a matter of broad public debate. The result—an interchange, a dialectic between the intellectuals and the people."
 The intellectuals become more understandable, the understanding of the people grows.

THE FULL SLOGAN READ:
 "WHEN THE EXTRAOR —
 DINARY BECOMES THE
 EVERYDAY, THEN A
 REVOLUTION EXISTS."

The text below is composed of excerpts from a notebook kept by Davidson on a trip to Cuba this past December. He attended, with a number of other Movement people including Todd Gitlin, various parts of Cuba's Ninth Anniversary celebrations. Todd took the pictures that are shown with Carl's text, though they do not necessarily relate directly to each other. Dig it.

"...(our guide, Marylou) tells a story about the anti-Batista underground in Havana. It seems an ominous-looking black leather case was set in the center of a public park...supposedly containing a bomb. Large numbers of people slowly and cautiously gathered around it. A policeman finally gently opened it. It was stuffed full of human hair and one note. The note said: 'The Barbudos (Bearded Ones) have cut their hair and are now among the people in the city.' Revolutionaries do have a sense of humor.

On the liberation of women: "The women of Cuba feel a vast and radical transition from the past.... The change has been dramatic as well as gradual.... There are women as cops, militia, and army. I have even seen, several times, the beautiful and tough militia girls standing guard near public buildings with their sub-machine-guns.

"There are still many jobs classified as 'men's work' or 'women's work', often unnecessarily so. On the Isle of Pines I ask my translator, Georgina, if men ever work in the nurseries, caring for babies and children. 'No,' she laughs; 'of course not.' Later I raise the question again, in the presence of C—, Georgina, and a guy and a girl from the Young Communists. I assert that the regular care of children is the job and responsibility of both parents—or both male and female nurses—and is not 'women's work'. Georgina agrees, C— stubbornly disagrees. A spirited but friendly hassle among all four ensues, in Spanish. I can make out Georgina accusing C— of 'macho'. Finally, it's four against one, C— stubbornly huffing up. Georgina pokes me and says, teasing: 'These old men, they'll never learn.' C— is in his thirties. He mutters at me: 'The worst mistake we ever made was liberating the women.' Finally, Georgina sneers at him and he cracks a small grin. The final social liberation of women, as opposed to political and economic liberation, will proceed slowly against the Latin culture of 'machismo', perhaps spanning two or three generations. But Cuba is already ages ahead of any other Latin country. I tell Georgina: 'Be sure to keep your guns. Don't let them dis-arm you.' 'Don't worry,' she smiles; 'we will.'"



"Voluntary manual work in agriculture is commonplace among Cubans generally, but even more so among intellectuals, students, and government office bureaucrats. The work is not faced grimly or grudgingly, either, but as a rewarding responsibility, mostly as combat, a battle for the Revolution. Material gain? It is said: 'The new man will see himself primarily as a producer, a creator, and not as a consumer.'"

"Today the entire conference board busses and are taken to the countryside surrounding Havana. We see thousands of volunteers working in the fields filling small black plastic bags with rich red soil and a single coffee seed. Cubans love coffee, which is now

rationed. All kinds of people, ten or twenty thousand, students, doctors, campesinos, workers have joined the coffee brigades.

"We learn about voluntary collective labor. It is Sunday, before the year's biggest holiday, the only day of rest for these people who have worked hard for six previous days. There is no pay, no individualistic, materialistic reward. Yet faces are smiling; people are singing, laughing, joking, cheering each other on. The sun is hot, about ninety degrees.

"Marylou asks if we want to work too. We agree. Now twelve coffee trees will grow, somewhere in Cuba, that Todd and I had something to do with. Todd agrees when I say that it must be much different from buying trees for Israel."

Movement Building

Something about the proposed amendment

by Alan Spector
New England Regional Organizer

The May 13th issue of New Left Notes carried Jeff Segal's proposed constitutional amendment calling for the National Interim Council to be abolished in favor of a fifteen-man "National Organizing Committee" and four national secretaries to serve as the national officers of SDS. All nineteen would be full-time staff members.

Such a structure would be harmful to the organization and the Movement. It would, by logical necessity, exclude chapter people—those most deeply immersed in a day-to-day struggle to build a radical student movement on a campus—from serving in any of those important decision-making positions. The main political decision-making body (between National Council quarterly meetings) would therefore be made up exclusively of full-time staff members.

Such a situation would reflect and further perpetuate and reinforce a general problem within the Movement.

"MOVEMENT PERSON" OR ORGANIZER

"Movement people" or "professional radicals" (as I shall refer to them) are full-time radicals who have ceased being responsible to a specific constituency. The tendency toward "professional radicalism" is a tendency within the Movement (and often within ourselves as individuals) which we as serious radicals should struggle against. "Professional radicalism" is characterized in part by an "organizer" either having no base at all, or being removed from his constituency because his life-style and general day-to-day experience is different from theirs. He doesn't encounter the same kinds of problems and ultimately tends to become insensitive to them. In my own case,

I know that I can effectively do campus traveling for only one (or perhaps, though unlikely, two) more years; being removed from the daily experience and problems of campus organizing cannot help but distort my conceptions of it. And an organizer who does not understand the problems of his constituency is in a poor condition to serve them.

This last point is important because an organizer who is removed from his constituency and who does not have a conception of serving them is making more than a tactical error. A tactical error usually flows from a political analysis. And a political analysis which does not see service to one's base as the primary and most important job of an organizer is an analysis which is contrary to the type of society which our movement should be trying to build.

If we envision a society without "operators"; manipulation; outside "experts" and abstract intellectualism

and/or "pure" technicians; elitism; and the general selfishness which characterizes our present society, then we have to struggle against these tendencies within the Movement and within ourselves. Such struggle cannot take place in the abstract, but rather must take place within the context of our work. The purest revolutionary with the most thorough-going "serve the people" ethic means nothing if he is not immersed in the concrete struggles of the people he is organizing.

ORGANIZING SHOULD RELATE TO A BASE

The problem with being a full-time Movement person, and particularly a traveling organizer or other "titled" participant, is that the work lends itself to the individual's being removed from the people he is trying to serve. Often,

(continued on Page 17)

a little thing on printing

by Tim Morearty

A problem many campuses have is that of getting people to read the literature they put out. People just throw away a mimeographed sheet, usually without looking at it. We need a way to get our message across to people through a medium familiar to people...a medium that requires little effort...and that medium just isn't a page of typed, mimeographed copy. The medium that will fill the need is graphic design (as in that mysterious leaflet, the Daley "wanted" poster), which requires little reading, but gets the argument across more easily and more effectively than ten type-copy leaflets.

The method to use is the offset printing process. I choose offset rather than letter-press because offset is completely adequate for our needs, and because it is the fastest, cheapest, least technical, and least complicated process that can, if necessary, be run by only one person. The possibilities of offset printing are unlimited (or limited only by your imagination)—anything from leaflets, envelopes, cards, and stationery to books, pamphlets, and posters. (The Where It's At book by Jill Hamburg was printed on the forty-year-old offset press we have here at the National Office.

What does it cost? About \$400 for the offset machine, \$50 for a plate burner,

and \$75 for supplies including ten to twenty reams of paper. The most reliable machine to get is the 1250 Multilith. This Addressograph-Multigraph model has been out for at least twenty years and is time-tested for reliability. It can do up to six thousand sheets an hour when properly adjusted. It can print pictures, drawings, typing, anything (as can all offset machines). It can print anything from three-by-five-inch index cards to the ten-by-fourteen-inch size of Caw, the SDS radical arts magazine. It can also do regular paper, fancy paper, card stock, and even newsprint. (The first issue of Caw was printed on a 1250 Multilith using newsprint.) Ink changes

are simply a matter of buying a different color ink.

How to buy one: If there is a radical printer in your town, or someone that does printing for Left organizations, contact him and ask him if he knows of a "1250 Multi" that is up for sale or if he could go looking for one. Ask him to examine it to see if it is sufficient for "line copy with a few half-tones, not too much color work", and don't pay more than \$400. If necessary, pay him to do this. The usual rate is \$12 per hour; when you are forking over \$400, don't skimp on knowing what condition the machine is in.

Unless you have 220-volt wiring, make sure the machine is wired for 110 volts. If you have any contact in one of the trade schools in town, see if you can get someone studying printing to look at the machine; it would be cheaper.

The last method would be to contact just any printer who runs a 1250 Multi and have him look at it. (Some of the more established peace groups have such contacts.)

The only other piece of equipment you will need is a plate burner. A second-hand one can be bought for about \$50 or a bit more. Again, get one that runs on 110 volts unless you happen to have 220-volt wiring where you are. Make sure the plate size is larger than ten by fifteen inches, which is the maximum size you will need.

What is the offset process? How does it work? Offset is so-called because the image is transferred from the plate to a rubber blanket (being reversed in the process) and from there to the paper; in other words, it is "offset". The original image is legible; there is no backwards reversed copy to read as in letter-press. The offset plate, a thin, photo-sensitive sheet of aluminum, is what the image is "burned" onto and what enables you to print different images (sheets).

How do you get a "plate"? Offset is a photographic process, like still pictures. You make a copy (an exact duplicate) of what you want to see printed. A picture is then taken of this copy, resulting in a negative the same size as your copy. You then put this negative over the light-sensitive plate, expose the plate in the plate burner, develop it, put it on the press, and print from it.

Tim Morearty has worked for about nine months in the National Office Print Shop learning the offset printing process. He will be at the Convention in East Lansing and can answer any questions about offset printing. After the Convention he plans to help set up small printing presses on campuses and in communities when asked to and when the group has the bread. He is willing to go just about anywhere, but prefers to be west of the Mississippi.



SIERRA MAESTRE-PRESSMAN, FROM CUBAN GRAPHICS MAGAZINE

From wit of the
to crit of society
my cute nap St in Comp
Dante became a part of the system

Nanterre movement . . .

(continued from Page 5)

imperialist society by developing new alienating and oppressive methods, at the moment when the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, following that of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, demonstrates clearly the bankruptcy of this imperialist society.

During the first trimester of the academic year, a strike was staged by sociology students, and soon spread to the ten thousand humanities students. The issue was to prevent the university reform, which for the first time was being applied at all levels, from increasing, for a certain number of students, the length of time spent at the university. At the same time it was an occasion to point out the absurdity of the system of "equivalences" between old and new degrees set up by the reform. (Some degrees previously in existence were eliminated, to be replaced by new degrees, while others were kept but given a new significance and content; thus some students found themselves in possession of degrees which were in fact devaluated, in some cases meaningless.) Being aware of the absurd nature of certain details of the reform, and of the fact that this reform had not touched any of the fundamental problems of the university (content and methods), a few liberal professors accepted the establishment of joint faculty-student committees demanded by the students. But the meaning given to these committees by the professors and the radical students was completely different. The students wanted to use the committees to elaborate demands which would give rise to actions common to teacher and student unions, whereas the professors wanted the committees to take the responsibility for internal organization of the university. They refused to recognize that the failure of the November demands had shown that the goals and even the functioning of this university were entirely determined by the Government. The committees thus appeared as an illusion. The main lesson of the November strike has been that dialogue brings nothing in face of a system which has decided to convert the university to the function of professional training for the "cadres" which the capitalist economy needs. More than the political explanations given by UNEF over the past years, it is the failure of the November demands which brought the students to understand the political meaning of the reform: the desire of the Government to organize the training of manpower for its own purposes was manifested by the unequal treatment accorded to various disciplines.

During the second trimester a vague uneasiness developed around the "black list" and police repression. Many details seemed to indicate that the Administration had a list of the radicals which they wished to use to exercise administrative and police pressure against them. (Last year, among the radicals arrested for occupying the girls' dormitories and demanding freedom of access, there were people who weren't at the University that day!...At the beginning of the school year, the Administration had wanted to send one of the student leaders to another university....Some professors intimated that they had been asked to fail certain students, et cetera.) But it was impossible to get support on this issue from the faculty.

A demonstration organized around the issue on campus, with displays of photos of plainclothesmen on the University grounds, was criticized by almost all the faculty. The Dean called the police inside the campus to repress this demonstration, and, as had never happened

before, the police were pushed back by the students, who were exasperated by this open violation of university liberties. From then on, the role of the Dean was clear, and the Administration appeared to many students, beyond the initiators of the demonstration, as the objective ally of the police. It was not very difficult, at that point, to understand the link between this kind of situation and the content of teaching, and many students became aware that they were being prepared for the role of "watchdog" for the bourgeoisie.

The radicals set themselves to developing such an awareness during the month of March, particularly among students in the social sciences. In these disciplines, the professions for which the University prepares appear most clearly to the student as professions which will integrate them into the system and force them to co-operate. Moreover, the professors of Nanterre, who are modernistic in approach, teach mostly American theories and techniques.

Students in the social sciences were very open to the kind of awareness the radicals wished to develop, since in these disciplines uncertainty and doubt about one's professional career are strongly felt. Some professors had organized lectures at the beginning of the year to explain that students in the social sciences would not be able to find professional openings, and that the Administration consequently would make an effort to discourage them by creating a high rate of failures on the exams a high rate of failures on the exams. But more important, students began to doubt the validity of American management methods, which justify for many: the existence of a certain group of social parasites, commonly called sociologists, psychologists, and philosophers, who live off the labor of the working class while alienating them and putting them to sleep (for example the social psychologist who works for the management of a factory on problems of labor-management relations, factory morale, et cetera).

This awareness was manifested by the distribution of a four-page tract denouncing sociology in its present role, and by the boycott of the "examens partiels" (equivalent of mid-terms) in philosophy, psychology, and sociology. Why, indeed, should you tire yourself out taking exams which only give you the right to be watchdogs for the bourgeoisie? It would be more worthwhile to spend the time you would have spent preparing for them working to awaken the political consciousness of other students, et cetera. One must talk about politics within the university. One must demand this right.

And in fact on March 22nd, 1968 we began to talk about politics within the university, not in the corridors anymore, but in a lecture hall; not any longer while waiting like good little students for the professor to arrive, but while that professor gave his course elsewhere to an almost empty hall. Why the 22nd of March? Members of the CVN (National Vietnam Committee) had been arrested as a result of a demonstration in front of American Express. Among them was a Nanterre student. A new concrete opportunity existed to renounce repression and at the same time demonstrate awareness of the alliance between the University Administration and the police. In order to demand that the arrested radicals be freed, it was decided that the Administration building would be occupied during the night. A hundred and fifty people spent the night discussing ways of organizing and increasing the political awareness in the University, of moving from criticism of

the University to criticism of society, and organizing the anti-imperialist struggle on campus instead of on the traditional locations of Parisian demonstrations, which arouse little interest.

March 29th was chosen as the first day for political discussion in small groups, on all these issues. The classes and lecture halls necessary to this work were to be occupied. Students of the extreme right threatened to attack the anti-imperialist radicals of the March 22nd Movement and to prevent them from holding this day of discussion if the Administration was not able to do it. The Dean decided to close the University on March 29th and 30th. This was of no use. The date was changed to April 2nd, and pressure from both the ministry and liberal professors forced the Dean to give freedom of political expression and to permit the discussions to take place on April 2nd.

On April 2nd, fifteen hundred students participated in political discussion on the anti-imperialist struggle, on links between student struggles, on development of student struggles all over the world, on the lessons that one could draw from them toward an expansion of the movement in France, on the social function of the

university, et cetera. Committees of twenty to eighty students each formed around these issues in order to proceed to the work of political analysis and of propaganda by means of posters and meetings. Eventually direct actions were to be organized.

Thus, fifteen hundred students have adopted as their goal the blocking of French academic institutions in order to provide concrete proof of the alliance between the university and the bourgeois order (the supervision of exams by police for example). In order to belong to the "March 22nd Movement", one need only be anti-imperialist. No Far Left faction can therefore refuse to join, and unified action on the part of committed revolutionaries may finally be possible. Thus a demonstration of support for

German SDS was organized by the Nanterre radicals after the shooting of Rudi Dutschke, and saw for the first time Trotskyite JCRs and Maoists united, whereas these groups had always refused to unite in actions against the War in Vietnam. Again on May 11th, all the Far Left groups agreed to demonstrate in Paris against the German Embassy in support of our comrades' march to Bonn. And now all the Far Left groups are united in the struggle against police and administrative repression which is beginning to hit Nanterre.

Nanterre is doubtlessly to be interpreted as a sign of things to come. The Nanterre movement has shown that in France also the students are ready to constitute the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle. Another movement with similar objectives has already been created at the Sorbonne. It is called the MAU (University Action Movement), and it is attempting to create ramifications all over France.

The reader knows the rest of the story....

What class struggle
confusing - how
raise to a level =

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Students constitute the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle - Imp. Flurry

Women: we have a common enemy

by Marilyn Salzman Webb
(from the Washington Free Press)

The other day some of us were talking about the Democratic Convention to be held in Chicago in August. We were discussing the ideas different people have come up with to protest, disturb, educate, or disrupt during that Convention. Carl Oglesby said something we all feel but do not take as seriously as we should in planning strategy and tactics. He said that it was time the Left stopped allowing its actions and thoughts to be determined by other groups and other people. He said we should not define our radicalism in terms of the plans of the Democratic Party, nor in terms of the programs of Left liberals. We have got to get over the "response" psychology, which is essentially defensive, and develop the offensive by having programs and tactics of our own. We have also got to set our own timetables for action.

The analysis and response of radical women to the Jeannette Rankin Brigade was precisely what Carl argued for in this other context. Rather than developing the most militant stance in a predominantly moderate coalition, radical women decided that we had to have our own program if we were to ever be effective in any coalition. Militance alone would not have any positive organizational effect in building our group, and neither would it have any effect on changing war policy. We decided the most constructive thing we could do in response to that demonstration would be to begin a dialogue among radical women in order to develop a program and a strategy many could identify with on an on-going basis.

At a meeting on Sunday night, the day before the Brigade, fifty young women from fourteen different cities across the US met to discuss their organizational, political, and personal futures. We had not come to Washington just to participate in a demonstration we all knew, and publicly stated, was going to be moderate, ineffectual, and absurd. We traveled long distances to talk with each other; and this is the key to understanding our actions during the demonstration. We came to see if we could build a movement or a political organization of women capable of preventing such a recurrence of fiascos as the Brigade portended, and, more important, of developing a program for radical women. This is the first time in the history of the student movement that women have held such a meeting: a meeting apart from SDS conferences whose specific purpose was to form an organization with which radical women could identify.

We have been criticized by some radicals for not carrying signs and thereby co-operating with the Brigade's compromise with Capitol police, and for not petitioning Congress in a more militant way. But to us it made no sense to petition Congress in either a pacifist or a militant manner; we see Congress as unimportant in policy-making (It has never even had a chance to vote on this war.) and impotent in making any changes in the Johnson Administration planning, even if it so desired. We are of the generation that has not seen the Government as our friend and provider. The women who planned this demonstration still have that New Deal faith in their government. But we are the generation of the mythical "cold war"; we have been taught the contrast between the "bad guy" German aggressors who kill people in concentration camps and the "good guy" aggressors who do it with atomic bombs and napalm; we have experienced MACE on our faces and have seen the streets of our cities filled with Government tanks firing against our black brothers and sisters. We did not see the relevance of petitioning Congress.

We did not carry signs because we saw no real point in getting arrested over so ludicrous an issue. Because we wanted to build our own organization, we made a decision that it was more important for us to meet, and possibly talk other women into joining with us, than to allow

the Government to split our ranks at its discretion and put our organizers in its jails.

Our meeting continued for two days, and a program was developed for the next few months. Most of the participants were women who had been involved in the Movement for several years. We were a specific grouping of Movement women, however. We were white, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight. We had gone to colleges and universities, we had done Draft, community, and/or campus organizing. We were primarily from affluent middle-class homes, and we were speaking of our own freedom as women and as human beings. We were convinced that no people could be free, that social change could not come, until all people were free. We spoke of freedom in the context of a broader social and political analysis that included a denunciation of corporate capitalism and its crutch, imperialist intervention. We saw ourselves colonized in the same way as Fanon has described the Algerians, and our enemy was not men, but rather an oppressive system that pits group against group, denying each self-control and self-confidence. The assumptions from which individuals were operating were obviously shared by most others. We wanted to organize for our own

"...and our enemy was not man,
but an oppressive system that
pits group against group."

equality within this broader struggle.

The specific issues raised in these long discussions included:

(1) Only certain roles are open to women within the Movement. Women do office work and even run offices, but are covertly discouraged from articulating political positions and from taking organizational leadership. Our position vis-a-vis the anti-Draft movement is clearest of all. Men can refuse induction, burn Draft cards, et cetera, but all women can do in opposing the Draft is to aid and abet. This position was seen as exemplifying women's position within the total society, but it is even more degrading in the context of a political and social movement for equality among all. People saw the necessity for identifying those places where women could say "No!" and cause the same disruption as men do in saying "No!" to the Draft. That means we must study what specific roles women play in this society in order to determine where our co-operation is essential. Someone defined Women Power as "the power to destroy a destructive system by refusing to accept its definition of us as passive consumers, for example, and by actively subverting the institutions which create and enforce that definition".

(2) Certain roles are defined for men and women in marriage, family, and social living. Women do the housework and care for children, while men do work socially more respected and interesting. We spoke of the contradictions within our society; that we had been brought up to go to college to use our minds, to work as equals in classes with men. After hours, however, we were to be "submissive", "ladylike", and domestic. At home we clean, cook, and do laundry, even after we have spent equally long hours in school and at work.

(3) Women are treated as a colonized class that is incapable of intellectual thought and analysis. We are made to feel that the traditional view of women as feather-headed, frivolous, and infantile is indeed the case. This view has been cultivated by capitalist society in bolstering the consumer economy; for example, the advertising world shapes women consumers on the basis of their sexuality and home-management roles. In order to appeal to men and be sexy

we now must buy mini-skirts and wear curly hair. A market economy based on personal manipulation has a dehumanizing and desexualizing effect because it forces us to see ourselves as objects to be adorned in the current mode for sexual appreciation and "sale". Our cultivated "femininity" is necessary to keep the consumer market healthy and growing. But we are forced to view ourselves as commodities to be "sold" sexually (that is, dated, taken out, liked, married, if we behave as the magazines tell us we should).

(4) Women are their own worst enemies. We embody the low-status image both men and women are brought up to accept. We join men in not listening to or supporting other women when they speak, and because we have little self-confidence, we have trouble speaking and developing solid political arguments. We identified heavily with the problems and struggles of black people in trying to overcome this in ourselves, and in attempting to build our own leadership and our own troops.

(5) We are not at all anti-men, but see men as much victimized by this social system as we are. Just as Fanon has described the French as equally victimized because they were the colonizers of the oppressed colonized,

women see men as caught in a common oppression. Both men and women have their roles and sexual images shaped by advertisers for economic use in the consumer market. Men and women, in combatting consumer exploitation and unfettered free-enterprise competition, need to join together to fight against a society which profits on pitting one group against another to keep us all colonized and incapable of exerting control over our lives. Domination and control pervade all our institutions. In building a women's movement, we clearly see that we have to be active within other, co-ed (if you will) movement organizations and actions.

(6) The women's movements of the past are irrelevant. Previously, women had fought for equal access to high-status jobs and equal pay in all jobs. They had felt that since we live in a society in which a person is defined by the job he holds, women should have equal access to all jobs, and thus equal chance at the definition of "human", "high-status", or "worthwhile".

Women in the Movement today come from a very different political tradition, however. Both men and women see the traditional status jobs as supporting and staffing an economic system that should be drastically altered at the least. The old jobs that women fought for—corporation executive, lawyer, doctor, banker, et cetera—have low status within our peer group. Not wanting to specialize, as did our predecessors, we want to be organizers, intellectuals, political theorists, writers, et cetera who can move fluidly both geographically and intellectually, but with an eye to building and strengthening a growing social movement. We are seeking new life styles and therefore place great emphasis on not job opportunities, but social relationships in building a new political society, and building group solidarity in disrupting the old. We are trying to work out new models of adulthood and new definitions of work. Of great concern, however, is the instability of Movement marriages, many of which last no more than two years. Very basic questions disturb us: How do we bring up our kids? How is family life and work shared?

How do we live with others? What do we do with our lives? How can we all be human?

(7) We as radical women have begun to develop our own identity both as a group and as individuals. We all fit the young, white, middle-class activist description at the beginning of this paper. We are highly mobile and have spent much time traveling around the country talking to other Movement men and women. We have therefore come to see our concerns as social, public, and national in scope, and not personal and local. We have developed our own kind of femininity and enjoy being women who love men and do not see them as the enemy. We are not the cold, gray-suited women of the Twenties, nor the "masculinized" ones of the present. Staid suits have been replaced by the colorful dress of a turned-on generation of women who are asserting themselves as females as well as intellectual politicians.

(8) Most important, we see ourselves as products of and complicitors in the support of an imperialist, corporate establishment that needs the Military for its very survival (both economically, to develop and use corporate wealth, and for "defense" purposes) unless we fight on all fronts against this growing, repressive monolith. Theorists of the National Liberation Front have said, in a book on Vietnamese women: "The struggle of women for freedom and equality could not but identify itself with the common struggle for national liberation." And: "The three following facts cannot be separated: the woman has won her equality both in law and in fact only because she participates in the social and political struggle and in production work. Any program for the liberation of women would prove illusory if it waved aside, for reasons of 'femininity', their participation in political struggle and production work. The Vietnamese woman has literally won her equality with a weapon in her hand and through the sheer strength of her arms."

And we, as radical political people, have learned from this fact, from the Vietnamese women and from black people. We have learned that the only way we can be fully effective as a political force is by building our own movement that allows us to develop ourselves personally, politically, and as a power base that is to be respected.

The lesson of the Brigade was a good one. Women don't have a base in this country. We don't have clearly defined politics, even though we are an oppressed group. In order for women to begin to develop political consciousness and the power necessary to act on such a consciousness, we must organize. One of the primary reasons the Brigade failed is that it attempted national action based on a coalition without a base. Federations and coalitions only work when each group represents troops and each has clearly defined politics and strategies. When none of the incorporated groups has any of these, the entire coalition lacks significance and power. In order for a coalition of women to ever work in the future, we as radical women have to organize ourselves so we have a clearly defined sense of who we are and what we represent. Black women are organizing and so are white union women. Without politics and organization it really doesn't matter whether we do or don't go to jail over this or that absurdly unpolitical issue. We need power; we need a base; and most of all, we need to develop an analysis of ourselves in a society that is oppressive to everybody.

Note: Two publications, a newsletter and a quarterly, are or will be available. The former should be obtainable now from Joreen Freeman, 1470 West Erie, Chicago; for information on (or material for) the second, write Dee Ann Pappas, 3011 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

STARTING IN '60

or From Slid to Resistance



The SDS National Council, September, 1963. L. to R., Tom Hayden, Don McKelvey, Jon Seldin, Nada Chandler, Nancy Hollander, Steve Max, Danny Millstone, Vernon Grizzard, Paul Booth, Carl Wittman, Mary McGroaty, Steve Johnson, Sarah Murphy, Lee Webb, Todd Gitlin, Dick Flacks, Robb Burlage, and Rennie Davis. Not in photo but also present were Paul Potter, Mary Varela, Joe Chabot, Penny Chalupka, Joe and Shelly Blum, and several others.

by C. Clark Kissinger
with the assistance of Bob Ross

In 1959, the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) changed its name to Students for a Democratic Society. As the youth arm of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), SLID could trace its origins back to the founding of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1905. But except for a brief period (1936 to 1939) when it was merged with the Communist-controlled National Student League to form the American Student Union, SLID comprised a largely moribund amalgam of liberals and social democrats who conducted pro-labor and anti-communist discussion groups on campuses. Throughout much of its history it maintained a close relationship with the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), the youth arm of the Socialist Party. And LID's tax status restricted SLID to solely educational programs.

The person most responsible for the birth of the modern SDS was a University of Michigan student named Robert "Al" Haber. Breaking with the stagnant ideological bags of the Old Left, Al sensed among young Americans a cultural alienation expressed then in the "beatnik" phenomenon of the late Fifties, a quiet rejection of the ideology of the cold war in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, and the possibility of building in America a radical student movement. On February 1st, 1960, the sit-ins in the South began and the Northern campuses responded

with a wave of picketings of Walgreen's and Kresge's.

In the late spring of 1960 Al Haber organized a conference at the University of Michigan on "Human Rights in the North". Attending the conference were representatives of the newly-formed Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, Jim Farmer of CORE (who had been national secretary of SLID in the early Fifties), and the young Catholic-socialist organizer Michael Harrington. This conference began SDS's long association with SNCC and recruited some of the young people who subsequently became the "old guard" SDS leadership. Then in May of 1960 occurred the student demonstrations in San Francisco against HUAC. Black and white students were on the move.

In June 1960 SDS held its first convention, with about thirty students assembled at the Hotel Barbizon in New York. They were, distressingly, mostly old SLID members, and the only two chapters functioning were the Michigan group and (would you believe?) the John Dewey Discussion Club of Yale. Haber stressed at this convention the need to respond to the new student activism, and was elected President and—concurrently—National Secretary. Then in the fall of 1960, Al published (in the SDS magazine *Venture*) a small manifesto entitled "From Protest to Radicalism". In this perceptive article Haber stressed that moral outrage was not enough; what was needed was a new statement of values, an analysis of social

change going beyond direct action (that is an ideology), and an organization. Specifically, he called for broadening single-issue concerns, a continuity of leadership, greater communication between direct-action groups, and national co-ordinated programming.

Another young Michigan student, Tom Hayden, had spent the summer of 1960 in Berkeley rooming and working with the leaders of the HUAC protest and SLATE (the radical campus political party at Berkeley). Following this experience Hayden returned to Michigan to organize VOICE, which eventually replaced the Political Issues Club (PIC) as the SDS chapter on the campus. And around the country, young activists were turning their attention to forming radical political groups to win student governments over to activism. For example at Oberlin, Paul Potter and Rennie Davis founded the Progressive Student League; at Chicago, Clark Kissinger was chairman of POLIT.

Yet for all its interest SDS remained practically non-existent as an organization in the 1960-to-1961 school year. Then, in the summer of 1961, the 14th Congress of the National Student Association (NSA) was held in Madison, Wisconsin. Today's radicals will find incomprehensible the total isolation of various campus radicals in the early Sixties. And strange as it may seem to the post-CIA student generation, it was regional and national meetings of NSA which first brought together Northern white radicals. At the 14th Congress, SDS and campus ADA

jointly sponsored a PR and organizing effort known as the Liberal Study Group (LSG). This tumultuous Congress was covered by TV and was reported daily in the New York Times. The Congress (by a narrow margin) called for the abolition of HUAC, which was a major student issue after the production of "Operation Abolition" (the single most important film in the history of the student movement). Paul Potter was defeated for the presidency of NSA, but was elected National Affairs Vice-President after Tom Hayden withdrew his candidacy for that post. NSA narrowly declined to affiliate with SNCC after an impassioned plea against it by Curt Gans of CADA (Gans is currently a campaign official for Eugene McCarthy).

In the fall of 1961 both Potter and Hayden went South, Paul for NSA and Tom as Field Secretary for SDS. Both were beaten by white mobs and returned to the North to spread the Southern Mystique. Tom wrote a widely-circulated SDS pamphlet, "The Revolution in Mississippi". Then in December 1961, the National Executive Committee of SDS met in Ann Arbor and talked about the need for a new ideological definition for youth movement in the North. In particular it was groping for a new humanist socialism which rejected the Old Left and embraced the new activism. A number of ideological strains were at work. The term "New Left" was

(continued on Page 18)

More on the "NOC" Amendment...

(continued from Page 13)

the tendency (as in any bureaucracy) becomes more and more to organize things rather than to organize people. And what a campus traveler, for example, should do to overcome this is somewhat complex. Besides the obvious jobs of carting around literature and films, putting out newsletters, and setting up conferences, there is the more serious job of trying to politically strengthen the chapters and people he serves.

For this reason, it is important that travelers have experience organizing on a campus and are aware of the types of contradictions which can exist on a campus. The job of "strengthening" a chapter is often very difficult. An outsider cannot stay on one campus for the weeks at a time which would be necessary to really understand the situation and be able to function as a campus organizer would. Nevertheless he can help develop and strengthen leadership on a campus. Discussing other campuses and trying to learn from their experiences, trying to see which good and bad aspects of a previous situation can be useful to the particular campus, bringing analyses of other struggles and learning about the situation on the particular campus; in other words, engaging in a give-and-take process whereby the campus organizer and the traveler both teach and learn from each other so that the work of both is strengthened.

Finally, there is the more strictly ideological work. For example, if the SDS people on a certain campus are unsure about the old "free speech-free recruiting" debate, it would be important for the traveler to have long, serious discussions about the non-neutrality of the university, the university as serving certain interests, the role of the state and its non-neutrality, et cetera. (Clearly this is political work and entails trying to win somebody over to a certain position; however, unless one takes the position that trying to teach anybody anything constitutes manipulation, then any objections that travelers shouldn't "push" politics but should rather remain "neutral" are not really valid. Besides, even literature distribution is political. You choose whether to recommend and sell Debray, Schlesinger, Lenin, I. F. Stone, Williams, Mao, or Fullbright. Such decisions are clearly political.)

The three aspects, then (mechanical, experience and strategy exchange, and ideological) are really closely inter-related. Most of what an organizer does encompasses all three at once. And an organizer too far removed from his constituency and without a conception of really serving them will have little success in his work. We should not underestimate how easy it is to lose this conception of serving our constituency when we are removed from them; it is difficult to sustain in the abstract. After all, none of us are moral supermen. This is why the national officers should be mainly chapter people or people who have just left the campus.

LEADERS SHOULD COME FROM AND RETURN TO THE RANK AND FILE

The national secretaries should, in general, be fresh from some campus, and most of the NIC members should be chapter people. It is they who know what chapter people (and other students) are thinking; there is less danger of their forgetting or misunderstanding where the Movement on campuses is at if they

have been and will be engaged in day-to-day struggle on those campuses. Furthermore, those of us who do become "full-timers" in the sense of travelers, et cetera (Clearly factory, community, and campus organizers are also "full-timers" in another sense.) should not only come out of a specific struggle. We should see ourselves returning again to more concrete struggles.

For example, it would be a good thing if a "full-timer", after a year or two, would pick out a campus which looks like it has a lot of potential, enroll there, and try to build a movement there. The wealth of experience gained from being full-time would be very important to building a Left of some unorganized or disorganized campus. And there really is a desperate need for campus organizers. I can think of ten schools in New England where even one good organizer with radical politics could really have built a significant movement and won over many other students to a radical understanding of American society.

There are other alternatives, of course. But they generally come down to one point—that a radical will have to plant himself at some point and settle down to more long-range projects: become a teacher and try to organize other teachers and try to build alliances with the community against the Administration; become a social worker and organize other social workers; get a job in a factory with the long-range plan of organizing blue-collar workers, et cetera. In other words, become a normal human being who organizes other normal human beings.

As students, our life patterns are often extraordinary. (I'm not necessarily speaking about most college students, but specifically most SDSers.) We don't have rigid schedules, and while we do have certain responsibilities (especially the week before exams), these are generally different from the types of responsibilities most American adults face. The students at a school together have common interests and should be organized to fight together for their just interests. When they graduate, they will still share certain common interests, but (in the short range, at least) their interests will be aligned more closely with those people with whom they work and live than with those students with whom they schooled. Analogously, the organization through which they organize should and probably will be different (structurally, politically, et cetera) from the organization which served them on campus (that is, SDS). The main point of this is to say that to resist this, to try to be a "professional radical" too long, may just create another Movement bureaucrat, rather than an organizer.

STRUCTURE SHOULD FIT CONTENT

Jeff Segal's proposed amendments may look tempting at first, but they contain serious problems. Because of the loose nature of SDS, and particularly the decision-making processes, it is natural to want to tighten them up. But if the decision-making between National Council meetings will be made by the nineteen full-time national officers, none of whom will be chapter people, then many of those problems discussed above may really threaten the organization. Paper organizations on the Left are a dime a dozen.

At some point in the future, of course, SDS will have to tighten up. But for us to do so structurally before we even have any really solid constituency is absurd. The black and white radical leaders who shook hands at the New Politics convention last summer and said "We have an alliance!" had an alliance only between those who shook hands, not of any large constituency. Similarly, to give the top nineteen decision-making posts in SDS to "full-timers" (by definition of the nature of their work) and then to proclaim "We got a movement!" is not to make a movement, and is perhaps to seriously disrupt the more natural grass-roots, bottom-up building of SDS into a really mass radical movement.

MASS MOVEMENT OR CADRE?

But enough on form; now for content. SDS has a split personality. People are unclear as to whether SDS is, can be, or even should be a mass student organization or a "revolutionary" cadre group. SDS should be a mass anti-capitalist student organization—one which will attempt to represent students' interests against the university (agent of the Government) and the Government itself. It should encompass certain non-students and high-school kids also, and should be willing to fight for and defend the interests of other exploited sectors of American (and world) society.

On the other hand, what SDS should be and what it is are two different things, because SDS often has to function as a cadre organization. The reason is simple. When there are only fifteen of you on a campus of three thousand, for example, you are clearly not a mass movement. The job of that fifteen should be to become a mass organization, not by watering down SDS politics, but rather by having a long-range strategy for defending students' just interests and in the process winning many students over to a radical understanding of the way America works.

Talking with students is not enough by itself; neither is watching the cops beat people up. But leading struggles around important issues which touch students' lives may bring our analysis closer to people who are prone to think of radicalism as an abstraction or a game.

Almost all students are getting screwed by imperialism somehow (the Draft,

crappy courses, high tuition, oppressive rituals and requirements, et cetera). Many of these struggles can be won; many cannot. But win or lose, the process of struggling is as valuable for teaching people about how US society is run as any radical books could possibly be. Our role in these struggles should be to stand with the students, while making the point that their exploitation is not accidental, but rather is being committed by an enemy who is consciously exploiting other people and who must be fought, collectively, for the liberation of all. This we know, and that is why we are radicals.

In this country there are millions of people who are thirsting for a radical analysis to satisfy the innumerable questions which so many people have about American society. (So many contradictions.) We have to go to these people, learn about their problems, and take a genuine interest in those problems. (After all, we are building this movement for everybody—except the ruling class—aren't we? Or are we working toward a world where we hip students will have it easy, where our oppression will no longer exist? If only the latter, people will see through us quickly enough and will fight us—rightly—against our attempt to gain privileges for our sub-class.)

Admittedly, building a mass movement with good politics is easier said than done. And, frustratingly, results are often not very visible. At Boston State College, a twelve-week struggle against an anti-communist firing ended with only three students out of four thousand joining national SDS. Yet much more than that was won. Experience was gained by the activists, and the beginnings of a movement have been sown. Many of the non-activists passively supported the activists' efforts, while discussions on a very high level permeated that campus for weeks. And many students who may never be reachable by radical politics while they are students may nevertheless have been exposed or shaken by certain ideas.

Many people may be more reachable in five years than they would have been if that struggle had not taken place. But even on the campus itself, the potentiality for a radical movement to flourish has been shown. And this on the campus of a community college which until this spring was virtually untouched by radical politics. "Small" struggles like this or titanic struggles like the heroism at Columbia—all these show that we do have the potential on the campuses for building a mass radical student movement, a movement which will stand with and defend the interests of all our brothers and sisters who are struggling for their and our liberation.

THE MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Many people in the Movement now see socialism as the goal. Shouldn't we take a look at the countries that have already tried it?

We can learn from their mistakes and from their achievements. That's why the Establishment doesn't want to find out about either.

Have you been suffering from a cold-war blindspot? One way to find out: Read

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In recent issues: Burchett on Vietnam; Kwame Nkrumah on Black Power; Jessica Smith and William J. Pomeroy on Soviet democracy; a college girl on morals, USA and USSR; poems by Yevtushenko, Akhmadulina, Kakazova; Maurice Dobb on the Soviet economy.

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more history

(continued from Page 16)

imported from Britain; people had read Mill's "Letter to the New Left" and subscribed to New Left Review and to Studies on the Left. The "New Left" of America wanted its own manifesto, and Tom Hayden was commissioned to prepare a draft to be considered at the June Convention.

Although two "Youth Marches (on Washington) for Integrated Schools" occurred in the late Fifties, the first radical national student demonstration did not occur until February 1962. This was a picket of the White House organized by the burgeoning Student Peace Union (SPU), which brought about four thousand students to Washington. It was a cold, snowy day, and President Kennedy sent an urn of hot coffee out to the youthful marchers. Through this action a number of campus peace groups (like Toxin at Harvard) gathered a growing sense of a national student movement. Many later affiliated with SDS. And in the spring SDS organized a national "Conference on Race and Politics" at the University of North Carolina.

In June of 1962 SDS held a national convention at the AFL-CIO camp at Port Huron, Michigan. The total attendance was no more than forty-five at its peak, but it represented a good cross-section. There were SNCC staffers, like Bob Zeller; representatives of SPU and YPSL; and delegates from the handful of SDS chapters, principally Cornell, Michigan, New York, and Swarthmore.

The Port Huron Convention was chaired by Gary Weissman of Wisconsin and began with a last gasp of the Old Left: YPSL delegates objected to giving

speaking privileges to an observer from the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC, the youth arm of the then-defunct Communist Party). Then the conference began the consideration of Hayden's draft document. To us today, the Port Huron Statement (PHS) is a quaint and interesting document. It begins with a statement of values and a critique of American society in language now familiar. It then reviews the decline of the democratic process in America, the Cold War and the colonial revolution, and anti-communism as an ideology, and rakes over the failures of liberalism and the Labor movement. It sets forth a program of sweeping reforms (not revolution) and hints that they could be accomplished by a re-alignment of the Democratic Party. And finally it closes with a special appeal to young people in American universities to consciously come together in a New Left to lead the transformation of America.

To an America just emerging from McCarthyism, this was strong stuff. To call for civil liberties was one thing, but to say official anti-communism was a lot of crap was another. And criticize the Labor movement? Zowie! But it was the style, sweep, and language of the document which caught the imagination. In its opening pages the PHS was able to articulate that which hundreds of youth activists were feeling but which they had been unable to express. It is fair to say that the PHS was the single most charismatic document of the early Sixties. From its writing in June 1962 to its first publication in December 1964, twenty thousand mimeographed copies were distributed by SDS.

The PHS also introduced that golden phrase "participatory democracy". It is interesting today to re-read the PHS and discover that participatory democracy had nothing to do with styles of running (or not running) meetings, but rather was an attempt to find an American expression of socialism.

Throughout the 1960-to-1962 period there was a running tension between SDS and its parent League for Industrial Democracy. The LID paid staff salaries (sometimes) and provided office facilities for SDS, but they were clearly unhappy with the direction in which SDS was going. The appearance at Port Huron of a number of young people who had come out of the dissolution of the Communist Party in the late Fifties did nothing to allay their suspicions. But totally unacceptable was the publication of a document which failed to align "the youth" with America internationally and the International Ladies' Garment Workers domestically. The LID immediately called an emergency meeting of its Board and set up a committee to investigate SDS. SDS called an emergency meeting of its own National Executive Committee (NEC). Fearing the worst, SDS spirited its mailing list out of the office in the middle of the night, and sure enough found itself locked out of its office the next morning!

There then began a two-week tortured session of negotiations. SDS published a paper in support of its position, and finally through the intercession of Norman Thomas and several other fairly rational social democrats a truce was reached. SDS would get its office back, the LID would distribute to the SDS membership a statement of its objections,

and the differences would be settled by democratic debate and discussion. But it was clear that an irrevocable parting of the ways had come. Ironically, the attack on SDS by the LID made a significant contribution to social and political cohesion of the young group.

SDS entered the 1962-to-1963 school year ready to grow. The Port Huron Convention had elected Tom Hayden president and Paul Booth from the Swarthmore Political Action Club (SPAC) vice-president. Jim Monsonis, a divinity student and civil-rights activist, was appointed National Secretary.

1962-to-1963 began with the NSA Congress at Columbus, Ohio, where the delegates voted for a cessation of nuclear testing. Bob Ross organized the liberal study group for SDS. Following the Freedom Rides of 1961, 1962-to-1963 was a year of intensifying struggle in the South. Bob Moses and SNCC had gone into Mississippi in a big way. Lacking an action program of its own, SDS was instrumental in setting up the "friends of SNCC" complex in the North while SDS members like Betty Garman worked in the SNCC Atlanta office.

The Student Peace Union, which had reached the impressive size of six thousand members and a hundred and twenty chapters, began to recede as its main issues of nuclear testing, civil defense, and European confrontation receded. The trend was definitely domestic. Yet new foreign-policy issues did intrude with the Cuban missile confrontation and the first national call

(continued on Page 20)

NATIONAL

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

(as amended at the 1967 National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan)

PREAMBLE

Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty.

It maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent. It seeks a relevance through the continual focus on realities and on the programs necessary to effect change at the most basic levels of economic, political, and social organization. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision.

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be Students for a Democratic Society.

ARTICLE II: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1: Membership is open to all who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

Section 2: SDS is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social, or political organization.

Section 3: DUES: The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council.

Section 4: ASSOCIATES: Individuals who do not wish to join SDS, but who share the major concerns of the organization, may become associates, with rights and responsibilities as defined by the National Council.

ARTICLE III: CHAPTERS AND AFFILIATES

Section 1: Any group of five or more members may apply to the National Office for charter as a chapter.

Section 2: A chapter may be chartered by the regional council of the area in which it is organized, or by the National Council. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification of officers or regional representatives. Chapters may be provisionally recognized by the Secretaries or appropriate regional officer pending the meeting of the National Council or regional council respectively.

Section 3: Chapters are expected to operate within the broad terms of policy set by the National Convention and the National Council. Points of conflict should be referred to the National Council and a procedure established to make the issue public to the organization. In matters judged to be detrimental to the interests of the organization, the National Council shall have the power to cease whatever activity has been brought into question. The matter shall be finally resolved by the National Council in meeting or referendum.

Section 4: ASSOCIATED GROUPS: Independent groups can affiliate as associates

of SDS by vote of their membership and designation of a liaison representative to sit on the National Council with consultative vote. The representative shall be a member of SDS. Such association is provisional until the approval of the National Council. The form of the relationship shall be worked out in each case between the group and the National Council.

Section 5: FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS: National or regional organizations whose programs and purposes are consistent with the broad aims and principles of SDS can be invited by the National Council to be fraternal with SDS and have a fraternal vote on the National Council. Such organizations shall appoint a liaison representative who shall be a member of SDS.

Section 6: SDS welcomes the opportunity to co-operate with other individuals and organizations in jointly sponsoring specific action programs and joint stands on specific issues. The National Council shall be empowered to determine specific co-operative activity. (Co-operation does not imply endorsement.)

ARTICLE IV: REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

Section 1: All or some of the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a region of SDS. New regions shall submit their constitutions and be recognized provisionally by the Secretaries pending the next regular NC meeting. All disputes over regional boundaries shall be resolved by the NC.

Section 2: Regions of SDS shall hold at least one membership Convention each year, and may establish regional officers as deemed necessary. Regional programs, staff, and offices shall be responsible to decisions arrived at by a democratically constituted regional council.

Section 3: While fundamentally responsible to their regional constituency, regions are expected to operate within the broad terms of policy set by the National Convention and National Council. Any points of conflict shall finally be resolved by the National Council.

Section 4: If one-third of the duly chartered chapters in the geographic area of a region so petition, the National Council shall immediately consider whether to declare the regional organization defunct and to prohibit it from speaking or acting on behalf of SDS.

ARTICLE V: CONVENTION

Section 1: SDS shall meet in convention annually, at a time and a place fixed by the National Council, with at least three months prior notice being given to all members.

Section 2: The Convention shall serve to debate major issues and orientation of the organization, to set program mandates to the national staff, and to elect national officers. The Convention shall not be the policy-making body on specific resolutions.

Section 3: REPRESENTATION: Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five SDS members in the chapter, each delegate to have five votes at the Convention. However, in order to be seated as a delegate with five votes, a written notice of the delegate's election must be received by the National Office prior to the Convention. Members present at the Convention, but not as delegates, have one vote on the floor of the Convention. Delegates from associated and fraternal groups shall be elected by a procedure determined by the National Council. The National Council shall draft Convention rules, accreditation procedures, and other requirements.

Come the Revolution, Movies Will Be Better than Ever

by Peter Kuttner

It is possible that, next to people, film could become the strongest organizing tool we have. Until recently the best we could do was criticize Establishment media for distorting, fabricating, and lying. We really had no films of our own (infrequent but welcome exceptions: "Time of the Locust", "Troublemakers" et cetera). We had painfully few films we could use to show what we think, what we want, what we do. We would point at the television and movie screens and rap—our words against their pictures. The time has come for us to use the contemporary language, the immediate language: film.

Films can document our actions, analyze them, and—often—suggest new directions and new tactics. They can be a powerful extension of the dialogue that has always been so important. We need films about Columbia, about poor and working people, about rent strikes, about university complicity, about the Black Panthers, about the Resistance, about high schools, about police weapons, about every damn thing we think and say and do.

We need them—and now we've got them.

In New York, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles political film co-operatives have been formed. All out of the womb of the Newsreel in New York, these groups of film-makers and photographers are turning out Movement films. They show the events—the Columbia strike, a Chicago police riot, the Pentagon Confrontation, BDRG, Resist, the Intrepid Four, Up Against the Wall Mother Fucker. They show the problems—police, complicity, urban renewal, high-school organizing. They are being shown on campuses, in churches, in neighborhood store fronts and basements.

But the films must be shown even more, and even more of them must be made. The same is true for Movement photographs. (The Chicago Film Co-op, one of the groups stimulated by the Newsreel, is beginning to supply photographs to local and national radical publications.) To produce more—we need more help. Film-makers and photographers, graphic and plastic artists, people who dig what we're doing but don't know how to do it, everybody should join us. Pool resources and abilities. Share editing benches and darkrooms. Shoot your film and record sound for someone else. Use every device you know to beg, borrow, and steal equipment and

film. The films must be made. The photographs must be printed.

The films we are talking about and making are not cinematic newsletters for our brothers and sisters to see themselves in. They are not heavy-handed propaganda films. They are not biased, muck-raking documentaries. We have some hooks in the truth. And that's what these films are all about. This is what makes them valuable organizing tools. Won't the Columbia films help us in organizing our own campuses? Won't a film on a rent strike of Chicago whites be good for people in Cincinnati and Louisville? Won't films on the Panthers and Up Against the Wall help us in finding our own direction?

Through projects like the Newsreel and the Chicago Film Co-op, we can broaden and strengthen our own communications network. We can deal directly and honestly not only with the problems of the Movement itself, but also with the very problems of America to which the Movement is addressed.

More information is available from The Newsreel, Box 302, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, and The Chicago Film Co-op, 407 South Dearborn Street (Room 315), Chicago, Illinois 60605.

MANY PEOPLE HAVE OR WILL LOSE SCHOLARSHIPS, LOANS AND OTHER FINANCIAL AID AS A CONSEQUENCE OF A LITTLE TOO MUCH CAMPUS POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

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CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE VI: NATIONAL COUNCIL

Section 1 (a): The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative from each chapter with from five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter; (2) the eleven national officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups (with consultative vote); (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations (with fraternal vote); and (5) national staff (without vote). In all cases, National Council members and liaison representatives must be members of SDS. No more than three members from one chapter or associated group may serve concurrently as national officers.

Section 1 (b): Five or more members residing in an area where there is no organized chapter may meet together to elect a delegate to the National Council or regional council, provided that (1) a certification of the meeting and election, bearing the signatures of at least five members, be sent to the National Office or regional office prior to the National Council or regional council meeting, and (2) evidence is offered that all SDS members in the area concerned received prior notice of the meeting and election.

Section 2: The National Council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated groups, and fraternal organizations; and be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The National Council shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of the budget, and organization of fund-raising; appointment of committee chairmen and representatives to other organizations; overseeing the functioning of the administrative committee; drafting an annual report; and making arrangements for the Convention.

Section 3: The National Council shall have the power to appoint standing committees to carry on its work between its meetings.

Section 4: The National Council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members of whose election the National Council has been notified. National officers may designate specific alternates. Chapter and liaison representatives may be represented by designated alternates from their groups.

ARTICLE VII: NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

The Secretaries shall have the power to call a meeting of a National Interim Committee, to be composed of all the national officers, on a regular basis and in emergencies. Decisions of this body shall be subject to National Council approval.

ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

Section 1: The national officers shall be: National Secretary, Education Secretary, Inter-Organizational Secretary, and eight other officers, all to be elected at the Convention and to serve as members of the National Council.

Section 2: The national officers must have been members of SDS at least two months prior to election.

Section 3: The eleven national officers are the spokesmen of SDS. They shall be responsible for seeing that organizational and political policies are carried out and shall convene the National Council. Political responsibility lies with the three secretaries in consultation with the other officers. The three secretaries shall work out of the National Office(s). Important decisions in any one area which are made between meetings of the National Interim Council are to be made by the three national

secretaries together. The national officers shall be responsible to the Convention and the National Council.

Section 4: The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the

Section 4: The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for the functioning of the National Office. The National Secretary shall also have primary responsibility for the implementation of national programs approved by the Convention or National Council.

Section 5: The Inter-Organizational Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the membership about these groups. He or she shall not attend congresses, accept money, or establish formal relationships with organizations without the approval of the Convention, the National Council, or in emergency, the National Interim Council.

Section 6: The Education Secretary shall have the primary responsibility for the functioning of the internal education program.

Section 7: The Secretaries shall appoint assistants as necessary, subject to the approval of the National Council.

Section 8: The National Council shall elect administrative bodies to review the administrative decisions of the secretaries. It shall also fill, for the duration of the term, positions vacated by the national officers.

ARTICLE IX: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

In all cases not covered by this constitution, Roberts' Rules of Order, Revised Edition, shall be the authority governing SDS business.

ARTICLE X: POLICY AND DISCIPLINE

Section 1: Any member of the organization, including the officers, may be expelled or relieved of duties by a two-thirds vote of the National Council. Due process shall be followed in all cases.

Section 2: Any two chapters, or one-third of the National Council, can initiate a national referendum on any question.

Section 3: All statements of organizational policy shall have the approval of the National Council.

ARTICLE XI: AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended by one of three procedures:

(1) by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced at the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect at the following Convention;

(2) by a two-thirds vote of the Convention in session on amendments introduced by distribution to the membership at least a month before the Convention, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption;

(3) by a two-thirds vote of the membership on referendum, in which case the amendment will take effect immediately upon adoption.

Originally adopted in Convention June 1962; amended in Convention June 1963, June 1964, June 1965, September 1966, June 1967.

RAP...

PETITION

The evidence in the unpublished report "An Analysis of the Cambridge, Maryland Disturbance" issued by the Assistant Director of Research of the President's National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders completely refutes the charges against H. Rap Brown, Chairman, Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, of inciting to arson and riot. The report concludes by saying:

"In summary, the role of Brown seems to be this: to have induced in city officials a sense of an impending riot, which then became the basis of their subsequent actions and interpretation of events. To the extent that Brown encouraged anybody to engage in precipitous or disorderly acts, the city officials are clearly the ones he influenced most. Indeed the existence of a riot existed for the most part in the minds of city officials, and to the extent that the Negro disorder occurred, it can best be interpreted as a response to actions of the city officials....Brown was more a catalyst of white fears than of Negro antagonism, the disturbance more a product of white expectations than of Negro initiative."

Despite the evidence, the racist authorities of Maryland and the US District Courts still have charges pending against H. Rap Brown and plan to soon bring him to trial.

We the undersigned consider the charges against H. Rap Brown a racist attempt to prevent him from expressing his views. We demand the dropping of all charges pending in the Maryland and US District Courts.

(PLEASE PRINT:) NAME ADDRESS CONTRIBUTION

PLEASE MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE H. RAP BROWN DEFENSE. PLEASE RETURN THIS PETITION TO WHITE AMERICAN TO SUPPORT BLACK LIBERATION, 857 BROADWAY, ROOM 408, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003.

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THE MAN WHO PICKED UP HITCHHIKERS

It wasn't that he wanted a funnel for his feelings. He kept from talking because he must have thought we didn't want to talk. He was headed for home in Schenectady, improbably, the Greyhound terminal in Albany was on his way, he's glad to help us out, these curious strangers. It's taken for granted. He deigns to perform.

He drives a truck by day and each day runs his Mercury these forty miles each way to work.

--Why?
--I like the outfit.
--What's to like in an outfit?
--The fellas stick together, they

don't stick a knife in the other fella's back. There's any trouble with rules, it's between the boys. Anyone tells the boss, we get him out, one way or the other. You see, it's a good outfit.

He used to commute all the way to Springfield just to work for them. The only thing wrong, he'd like to take his boy with him in the cab on his daily run, but company on the job is against the rules. The radio now says the man is lonely. He apologizes. --You gotta have something on to break the monotony.

Sunglasses shield the man's expression. I imagine it tranquil, controlled by years of stolid habit. He has some secret. My shades conceal my foreignness too. I would like to be an angel in the pay of his underground anger. Meantime I'm only a spy for another age, a time unanticipated. And what is the code to make contact? He reminds me, even down to the big tattoo on a physical arm, of my uncle who fixes washing machines by day and listens to Wagner at night. My uncle's code has always eluded me too.

We slice through the hills in his earth bound Mercury. He nods at the car, not at the hills and the fields, and smiles slightly. His assurance seems honest, not to the point of arrogance. --I've had this up to a hundred and twenty-five on the Thruway.

So quietly he shares his mystery.
--Ever had an accident?
He smiles a little broader.

--Eleven years ago. My buddy and I were racing. I had my Chevy up to eighty when the front left wheel came off. That's right, came off. The last thing I saw was the wheel rolling off. My buddy pulled me out. I don't see how he did it. There wasn't that much space, my head was under the dash and my body was twisted around the wheel. Woke up in the hospital, spent six months there, with six busted ribs and a lotta bruises, and this scar, and this, and this one.

--How did it happen?
--Oh, one of those things. A cotter pin fell out. That was it.
--But you still drive fast?
--Oh yeah. Whenever I get a chance.

We drove through cardboard towns into Albany, passing nowhere near Ithaca, and I wondered, what is the program for this man, besides speed? To own his work, for sure, to save his son, but politics is not a billboard. Talk his language, yeah, but we've been around too long to trust in words. We need to be a gear in his Mercury.

--Todd Gitlin
October 1967

more history

this article will continue in the next exciting issue of N.L.N.

(continued from Page 18)

for anti-Vietnam War demonstrations on the occasion of Madame Nhu's visit to the United States.

This was also the peak period of the "tutorial project", as white college students streamed into adjoining ghettos to assist Negro students. Growing out of such projects came the Northern Student Movement (NSM), led by individuals like Bill Strickland, Danny Schecter, and Frank Joyce.

In June of 1963 SDS held another national convention at Camp Gulliver near Pine Hill in Upstate New York. An enormous success, the convention assembled well over two hundred young activists attracted by the writings of C. Wright Mills and particularly by the Port Huron Statement. The convention opened with speeches by out-going President Tom Hayden, A. J. Muste, and Noel Day. It soon became obvious that

people there wanted to re-create the Port Huron experience and construct a new document ("Son of PHS"). Working from a draft largely due to Dick Flacks, he convention hammered out a new analytical essay, "America and the New Era" (ANE).

Although ANE has never been read by most SDS members today, and certainly never attained the acclaim of PHS, it marked an important step in the development of SDS's ideology and program. For the first time it clearly spelled out our critique of "liberal corporatism" and of the newly martyred John F. Kennedy. But most important it isolated and named the political phenomenon and program of "local insurgency", and said clearly that America was about to bust out all over. It was in many senses the first hint of SDS's action program of "boring from below".

The convention closed with a

tremendous feeling of solidarity and comradeship. \$1700 was donated to SDS by the delegates on the last evening, and notable personalities were ceremoniously tossed into the lake. Todd Gitlin from Toxin at Harvard was elected president, Paul Booth was re-elected vice-president, and at the NC which followed Lee Webb from Boston University was chosen National Secretary.

During the summer of 1963 the officers of SDS succeeded in obtaining a grant of \$5,000 from the UAW through the assistance of the Left wing of the Bureaucracy. SDS sought this money to institute a program which would acquaint students isolated in the middle class with the economic facts of life of working and unemployed people. (America was running an unemployment rate of over 5% at this time.) The UAW for its part wanted to interest student activists in the "progressive social demands" championed by the Labor movement. The fall National

Council meeting, which followed the 16th NSA Congress, was held in Bloomington, Indiana. Here it was decided to allocate half the money to establish in America the Economic Research and Action Project. Al Haber was persuaded to take charge of ERAP, and its purpose was seen principally as educational (a kind of economic REP). The rest of the money was allocated to field SDS's first community organizer, Joe Chabot, a Michigan student who was to go to Chicago to attempt to organize unemployed youth. The project which Joe began in the fall of 1963 was destined to become the JOIN Community Union. Subsequently SDS also created a Peace Research and Education Project (PREP), with offices in Ann Arbor and Dick Flacks as director. PREP was responsible for the preparation of SDS's foreign-policy literature.
