

# EUGENE as LYNDON

by Johnny Appleseed

Immediately after the New Hampshire primary, the New York Times ran a long editorial (later substantially repeated in Chicago's two "liberal" dailies, and in numerous other commercial papers throughout the country) to the effect that the real significance of McCarthy's showing was not so much that he was offering a growing challenge to Johnson, but that it would revive and continue the illusion among rebellious young people

that the electoral path was still of value, and it would keep these young people away from the "more extreme" measures of defiance and resistance to the Establishment.

The Times knows whereof it speaks; McCarthy himself has declared that to be the major purpose of his "campaign". And when a few weeks ago the conservative Republican Army General Gavin announced that he was withdrawing himself from any consideration for the Republican nomination, he was asked by a reporter if he would then throw his support to

McCarthy. His reply was: "Of course not; McCarthy's policies are basically the same as Johnson's vis-a-vis Vietnam."

Any politically aware person knows that McCarthy offers no real alternative to Johnson's imperialist policies. McCarthy stands exactly where Johnson stood during the campaign of '64. Sad to relate, some of the calcified bourbons of the Old Left, who never forget and never learn, are again singing the praises of "the lesser evil". After the Establishment plays this swindle for all it's worth, watch for an effort by Pied

Piper McCarthy or Kennedy to head toward a "third party" (of the Establishment). That "third party" bit was the name of the game that the NCNP was intended to offer, but fortunately the combined forces of the New Left and Black Power sank that bankrupt and discredited brainchild of the Old Left.

What is needed by the people of the US committed to basic change in the social order is not a "third party" of the Establishment, but a revolutionary "first party" of socialism, based on the style and the ideology of the New Left.

# ELECTIONS AND THE ELECT

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

by Greg Calvert

## New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 11

Let the People Decide

March 25th, 1968

Major shifts in the political scene in recent weeks have produced confusion and disarray in the radical movement. Disagreements on strategy regarding both the War and the ghetto had already produced divisions in the ranks of the Left. But, as long as Nixon or Johnson appeared to be the future executor of an increasingly aggressive American imperialist policy, radicals could unite around a determined resistance to aggression abroad and repression at home. Now a shift in attitudes on the part of the power structure has brought differences among radicals to the fore.

For the past three years, the New Left has been suffering from a kind of schizophrenic double-vision regarding the future and its priorities. This set of conflicting impressions and analyses had its basis in the political reality which we faced. A question had been posed which was not ours to answer: Was the American imperialist investment in Vietnam worth a major land war in Asia and the necessary repression at home? Only the American ruling class could answer that question.

The roots of the contradiction in our perceptions have now become clear in the contradiction—the split—which has emerged openly within the ruling class itself. A series of events in the last three weeks have revealed the basic conflicts which have been developing through the sixties. The Eastern financial interests have decided that things have gone far enough in Southeast Asia and that the drift toward war with China is not in the interests of corporate capitalism—that a bad, risky investment must be liquidated before it is too late. The Texas oilmen and the armaments manufacturers, through their favorite hustler in the White House, have gotten out of hand and must be stopped. What's good business for Brown and Root is not necessarily good business for the Chase Manhattan Bank—at least not in the long run.

In brief, the liberal wing of the ruling class is scrambling to regain control of the Government in order to save American imperialism from its right-wing adventurists—proving once again that, even if the American people are thoroughly brainwashed, the bourgeoisie remains clear-eyed, class-conscious, and historically perspicacious.

The scramble for control of the reins of empire will not be easy, nor will it be pretty. The ambitions of the younger Kennedy clash with the solid wisdom of the Rockefeller fortune—but, in the short run, the same interests and a similar perspective will be served by having liberal candidates in both their parties. No sense hedging their bets when the chips are down.

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from 'connections', march 12, '68

CRIME IN THE STREETS

### Some Gems on Gold

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### A History Lesson

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# LETTERS TO THE LEFT

## YIPPIE...

March 8th, 1968

Dear Sir:

The yippies of the Youth International Party (YIP) are planning a "festival of life" or international youth festival from August 25th through 30th in Chicago, the same time the National Death Party meets to crown LBJ. It will be a contrast in life styles. Ours will affirm life and man; theirs is d-e-a-t-h.

The YIP festival is unique in the following respects: In addition to the protest of the Death Party and its policies, the festival will dramatize a living, cultural, spiritual alternative; the festival will be an artistic event and involves artists in its conception and execution; the festival will last six days and will differ from one- or two-day demonstrations by becoming a living experience for the people who come; and the festival will be a participatory event, a "do-in". And everything will be free—it will be the nation's first major free music festival.

The yippie festival will also include daily publication of an underground paper; draft-card burners spelling out "Beat Army" with their fires; guerrilla theater—lots of it; a mock convention; hundreds of continuing small-discussion groups; and magic! And anything you want to do! Performers already coming include Country Joe and the Fish; the Fugs; the Blues Project; Blood, Sweat and Tears; Phil Ochs; Arlo Guthrie; Janis Ian; United States of America Electric Band; Len Chandler; Dick Gregory; Larry Hankin; Judy Collins; Pete Seeger; The Nitty Gritty Dirt Band; Barbara Dane; and the Steve Miller Blues Band.

YIPPIE has opened up an office to co-ordinate information at YIP, Room 607, 32 Union Square East, New York, New York 10003 (phone 212-982-5090). We are looking for organizers to help build in their local area yippie energy centers in preparation for the YIP gathering. If interested, please write or call us.

"Rise up and abandon the creeping meatball!"  
"YIIIPPPPPPEEEEEEEEEEE!"

Abbie Hoffman  
Paul Krassner  
Jerry Rubin  
Ed Sanders



## YIPPIE YAY

633 East 11th Street  
New York, New York 10009  
March 9th, 1968

Dear friends:

It seems presumptuous of brothers Spiegel and Jones to put down the Yippie Convention as an attempt by a bunch of manipulators to radicalize innocent young people against the points of military bayonets this summer in Chicago. Such an analysis presupposes a lack of understanding of what the entire hippie-provo-digger/yippie thing is about.

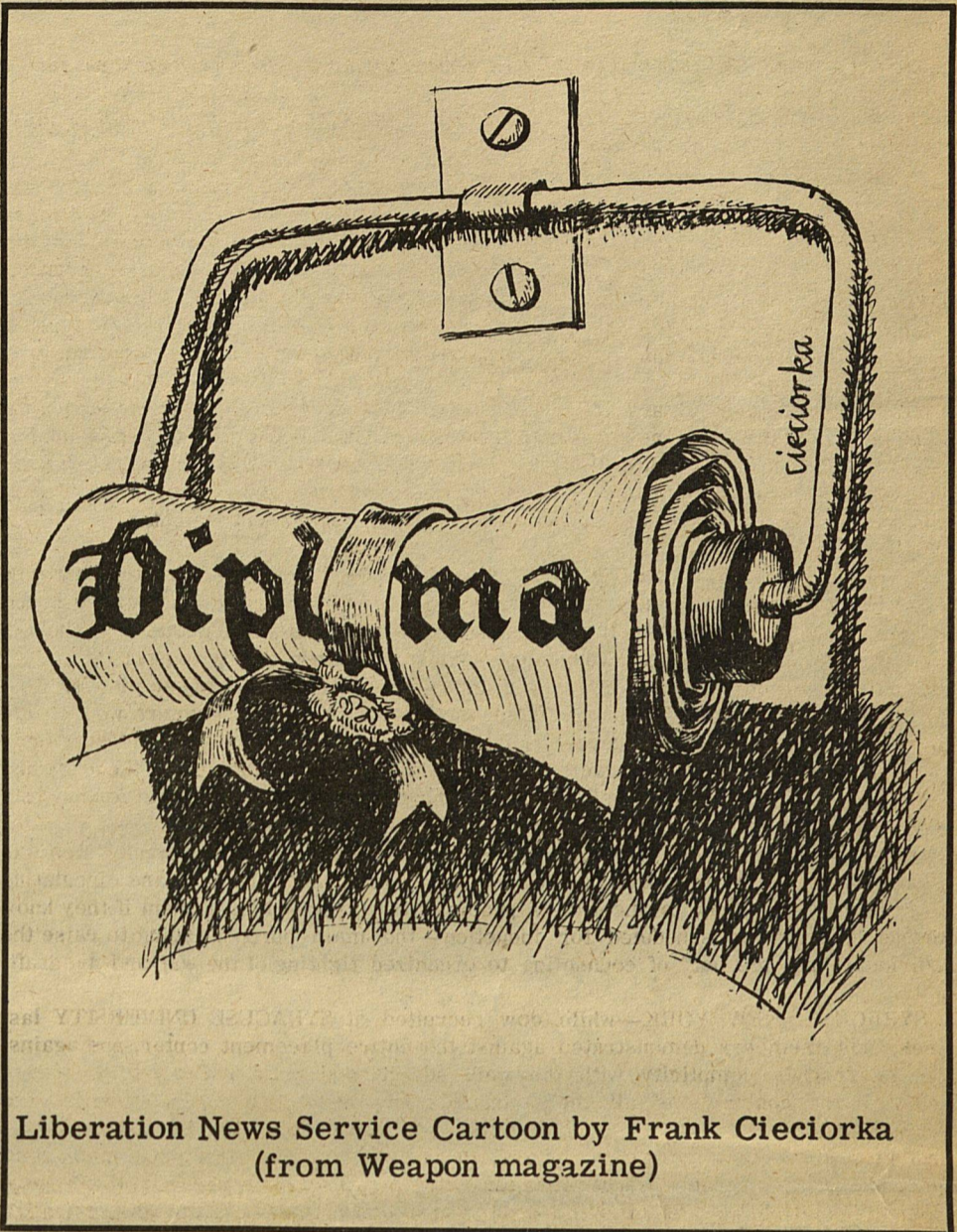
Sure Chicago will have free rock music and lots of grass. But let this not mask a serious attempt to organize alienated white middle-class youth around the issues that concern them most—the quality of life and the possibility of an alternative life-style. As I see it, the major thrust of YIP is to provide an organizing framework for the kids who last year tripped to Haight-Ashbury and the Lower East Side and who this year will be coming to Chicago. Local organizing is impossible because so many of these kids are on the road. At Chicago, YIP will explore the means of strengthening local underground communities. There'll be workshops on the problems facing these communities and an attempt to create a feeling of oneness and strength with Yippie-hippie-type people from around the country. If it succeeds, thousands of young people will return to their communities sharing new values, a sense of purpose, and some knowledge of what can be done and how to do it.

Of course there will be bayonets. But this is a problem anyone coming to Chicago will have to face. And it seems to me that the Yippies are more likely to survive the bayonets than those taking part in the confrontations envisioned by Hayden and Davis. The Yippies will have a program to keep them busy among themselves. The political demonstrators will be face to face with the police with nothing to do but chant political slogans. It is unlikely that a mass coalition demonstration of that kind can remain peaceful. Not only will there be the "crazies" and agents provocateur to contend with, but our own frustrations, fears, and tensions will work against a non-violent confrontation.

Yet, it seems that the one thing Johnson has going for him is the hope that we will lose our cool and leave ourselves open to a violent confrontation. With the Empire crumbling abroad and his support eroding at home, he needs an issue such as this for his own salvation. From now until August, the Government will be striving to goad us into battle. Our job is to organize: youth in Chicago, the more sedentary elements of the population in their own communities.

Love,

Martin Jezer  
member-at-large, SDS  
Yippie



Liberation News Service Cartoon by Frank Cieciorka  
(from Weapon magazine)

## THE TROUBLE WITH HARI

Dear Sir:

Hari Dillon's article "The Fight Against Racism at San Francisco State" (New Left Notes, March 11th, 1968) correctly described Liberalism as the "prevalent ideology in this country" and, at least in an ideological sense, "the main obstacle to social change". But he incorrectly labeled American liberalism "a deceptive diversionary strategy used to co-opt many honest individuals and groups into supporting the status quo".

Liberalism in America is not simply the false face of the ruling groups (as some SDSers, particularly PLers, are wont to think), and it does not simply protect the status quo. It is the dominant ideology (that is to say, the ideology of the dominant groups) of neo-capitalism, and because it has unfolded with the development of the system it is an integral part of the social and cultural institutions of our time. By its very nature, Liberalism describes the gradual improvement of the masses of people (whether it is able to carry this out is another question) and the prevention of social revolution. To ask whether it brings reforms to prevent revolution or prevents revolution in hopes of sustaining reforms is a naive and misleading question.

To carry the point a bit further, I suspect there is no "dual character" of Liberalism, except in the most superficial sense. The classic paradigm is the American Christian missionary to Africa. Obviously he goes there not as a conscious agent of imperialism—probably he sincerely does want to provide some form (which is to say: the form provided him by his Western intellectual tradition) of "help" to the "natives". He may educate a small elite of Africans in a particular nation or area, providing some skills and a European language. Thereby, he has fulfilled his mission. But he has also created (or extended) the breach between the elite and the people, and probably helped form the conditions for intensified imperialist penetration and exploitation. Domestic parallels are obvious.

In sum, American liberalism is not a mere mask for greed or the similar thought-patterns of a few million well-meaning Americans. It is an objective phenomenon (and thus is separate from any group of liberals as such) with real historical roots, a social whole composed of various inter-related (perhaps even temporarily contradictory, though not mutually exclusive) parts. One of the worst aspects of the Old Left was that it considered an occasional polemic in the Daily Worker (or the Militant, or the Socialist Call) sufficient explanation of Liberalism—and it paid the price when its militants returned to liberalism or political apathy, unconvinced by the analysis of reality of the mechanistic Marxists. We must go further than diatribes into the inner character of American liberalism; for our self-protection alone we must be able to deal with (not only "answer", but also dissect) the most sophisticated liberals' sniping at the New Left.

In the long run, only with an understanding that is more perceptive and better explains reality than that of the shrewdest liberals will we be able to confront Liberalism as an ideological force and finally destroy it.

Paul Buhle  
Madison, Wisconsin

## AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION?

Tomorrow I will go to work for the first time in over a year. I don't think I'll enjoy it very much. The job I have to do is very monotonous and boring. I think I'll try to get a job more suitable to me. One where you can work at your own pace. The job I want will give me eight hours' pay for only one hour of work, with an hour off for lunch. I think a job of this sort will more than likely be pretty hard to find. But I'll keep on trying. Some day I'll find this job, and when I do I'll devote all my efforts to keeping it.

If you know of any such job please contact me at the following address:  
Thomas Lee Malear (JOIN)  
4502 North Racine Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois  
(561-3649)

## new left notes

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# We Made the News

## Today, Oh Boy! by Karen Gellen

compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service

MADISON, WISCONSIN—a group of students placed nearly four hundred white crosses in rows on the slopes of bascom hill near the administration building on the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN campus this week. the tiny crosses were arranged in rows similar to those in military cemeteries. a sign nearby said "bascom memorial cemetery class of 1968". the "cemetery" was erected to symbolize the futures likely to await graduating seniors and other young men this year: vietnam, jail, or flight to canada.

on march 21st, secretary of agriculture orville freeman, johnson's "innocuous stand-in" for the wisconsin primary campaign, was booed off the stage at the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN. his speech was "what's right with america". each time he mentioned johnson's name he was drowned out by shouts of "murderer!". the scheduled one-hour speech was halted by booing after about twenty minutes.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK—BROOKLYN COLLEGE SDS picketed and leafleted a brooklyn democratic party conference on "crime prevention and crime in the streets" which was held on their campus. robert kennedy and aaron koota, the brooklyn district attorney who vowed vengeance against sds after the successful strike last term, were billed as speakers. rfk didn't show (disruption had been planned if he had come), but spoke via phone from washington. the demonstrators went inside the room where the conference (for "civic leaders") was being held with signs condemning kennedy, koota, racism, and the war. typical signs read "kennedy and mc carthy are NO alternatives" and "fight the draft", and one that said forthrightly "kennedy go home" was changed quickly to "kennedy stay home".

BROOKLYN COLLEGE SDS also sponsored a draft meeting last week which was attended by over three hundred people. sds has started draft counseling and circulating a petition as a way to meet new people, talk to them, and ask them if they know anyone eligible or scheduled for induction—the main purpose being to raise the individual "get me out" of counseling to organized fighting of the war and the draft.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK—while dow recruited at SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY last week, sds members demonstrated against the entire placement center, and against the university's complicity with the war. sds handed out a leaflet with the names and military contracts of all the companies recruiting that week. the leaflet also showed that the university gets money for each student recruited by eastman kodak and general motors, and gets general contributions from dow, chase manhattan, bristol, hughes aircraft, and others. with this information (gathered from the "annual report of gifts" and "tie-line") the students were able to counter administration statements about the university's neutrality on the war and the placement center as a service to students.

the next day, as dow again recruited, a hundred students went to the administration building to demand that dow and all other military recruiting be ended. they barricaded the doors first with furniture and then with chains, declared the building to be a student union, and set up a provisional administration. the two main doors were sealed—secretaries returning from lunch were told that the building was closed for the day and that they should go out and talk to people about the war. the dean of admissions was not admitted, and another dean had to leave the building by an interior basement exit. the group held the building until after closing time—they then decided to leave together, in strength, rather than have some leave and others stay all night, increasing the chances of both arrest and demoralization.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK—two weeks ago twelve persons were arrested by the police tactical patrol force in harlem's morningside park as they demonstrated against construction of a COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY gym on public park land. those arrested were mostly COLUMBIA students, but included some community people. about two hundred marched from the campus to the construction site. most of the arrests were for shaking the temporary fence around the site, but four of the demonstrators arrested had succeeded in entering the area. an earlier demonstration called by COLUMBIA SDS and community groups led to a dozen arrests. this week, three hundred marchers chanting "gym crow must go" held a torchlight parade through morningside park to again protest COLUMBIA's construction of a gym there. the marchers were halted at the park entrance by two cops, who said that they could not enter without "authorization". the marchers replied that the park was public, brushed past the cops, and held an hour-and-a-half parade. opponents of the project charge that the university is gobbling up land that should be used for the enjoyment of the harlem community, and that the original lease of city land was the result of a secret political deal perpetrated without public hearings.

also this week, twenty-five COLUMBIA students and faculty members went to the headquarters of dow chemical, at rockefeller plaza, in order to recruit dow employees to come and work in the movement. the "recruiters" gave out a leaflet that said: "until that time when the dow recruiters agree to remove themselves from our midst, we intend to recruit on the premises of dow. to this end, we demand that the dow chemical company provide us with facilities for holding individual and group discussions among its employees. the sdsers also demanded a dow personnel roster, and the right to set up an anti-war recruiting table on the company's premises. all demands were refused. dow then called the police, made a formal complaint, and had nineteen people arrested.

the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SDS desanctification of the week: colonel paul akst, new york city director of selective service, was struck in the face by a lemon meringue pie as he was speaking wednesday before two hundred students in the auditorium of earl hall at COLUMBIA. the tosser got away, and the university sent a telegram to the colonel expressing regret for the incident.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS—one of boston's largest slumlords revoked a \$500,000 gift he had made to boston university last tuesday when students and faculty members picketed his reception with dead rats hanging from their picket signs. maurice gordon, owner of thousands of apartments in the ghetto areas of roxbury, had given the money to name the university's new school of nursing after him and his wife. but a hundred demonstrators with rat-bearing placards saying "gordon gives bu \$50,000; this is what he gives his tenants" convinced the entrepreneur that the situation was "embarrassing and potentially violent". other signs said "blood money!" and "who will build the next building, the cosa nostra?". the five-inch tall gilt silver letters spelling "dorothy and maurice gordon" have been removed from the side of the building.

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# elections

(continued from Page 1)

One can easily imagine the conversation between Rocky and brother David in the inner offices of the Chase Manhattan:

Rocky: You mean Romney can't do the job and I have to run?

David: For Christ's sake, Nelson, will you shut up for a minute and stop sniveling? George is a fine man, but he looks like a graying university president—besides, that mess in Detroit last summer didn't help matters.

Rocky: Well, if you're sure the Empire's at stake, I guess I can make the sacrifice. Telling George is going to be tough—though he always takes this sort of thing well. I wish we could expect as much from crazy Dick Nixon.

David: Don't worry about George; I've already talked to him. There's a little meeting over at your place tomorrow night to patch things up.

Rocky: Happy's going to be very upset, you know. She was so damned pleased when we botched things in '64 and didn't have to move to Washington.

David: I don't give a good goddamn what Happy feels—just keep her out of sight and don't leer so much in public.

Rocky: Now don't start harping on that again....

Listen, David....Isn't there some other way we could take care of this mess? I mean like, couldn't we just forget about the Presidency and run things out of your office like grandpa used to do? Running for President is such a pain in the ass.

Maybe?...Maybe, David? I mean, if the crazies did it to Kennedy, couldn't we arrange something like that for Johnson? Don't we have any pull left with the CIA?

David: Nelson, if you don't shut your big goddamn mouth, I'll arrange to have you taken care of.

As for discussions among the Kennedy clan, it is rumored that there was an evening of panic recently when Ethel ran across the following passage in her old college text on The History of the Roman Republic.

"The problem of the displaced peasantry

which had flocked to Rome from the countryside posed an ever-increasing threat to the stability of the capital city of the expanding empire. The government was unable to find a solution to the problem of this new urban sub-proletariat. In 133 BC, Tiberius Gracchus, the elder son of one of the new commercial families which had made their fortunes during the last Punic War, was elected Tribune on a platform of liberal reform measures aimed at resettling this surplus population on redistributed land in the countryside. Conservative opposition to the reforms was strong, however, and Tiberius Gracchus was assassinated in a plot financed by reactionary members of the Senatorial aristocracy. His abortive reforms are sometimes referred to humorously by historians as 'the New Deal in Old Rome'.

"A decade later, in 121 BC, Tiberius's younger brother, Gaius, got himself elected Tribune on a platform even more liberal than that of his elder brother, offering among other things the free distribution of grain to the restive unemployed of the capital. Unfortunately for the younger Gracchus, the conservatives in the Senate reacted with the same blind hostility of the prior period, and Gaius was also assassinated in circumstances similar to those leading to his brother's death."

"No, Bobby, No!" shrieked Ethel as she threw down her book and ran for the telephone.

The problems of the Empire are not all in Southeast Asia, and the liberal bourgeoisie must meet the growing economic crisis (the balance of payments deficit and the twin threats of inflation and devaluation) plus the threat of revolt on the part of ghettoized black populations.

In the second instance, the liberals have already shown evidence of an urgent desire to ward off the collision course being run between expanded urban police forces and black ghetto communities. The appearance, four months ahead of schedule, of an ultra-liberal report by the National Advisory Commission on

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# Dow All Over

by Bob Schwartz

Too often in campus struggles against Dow Chemical Company recruiting we have opportunistically let the campaigns base themselves on the fact that napalm is a horrible weapon. This is not a political objection to Dow, but an emotional one. The campaigns can be educational only if they bring out revealing points about how the capitalist system works. We must concentrate not on the weapons that Dow makes, but on the reasons why Dow makes these weapons.

It is important that we show 1) that Dow is an imperialist company and thus has clear reasons for supporting the War, and 2) that the principles on which Dow operates are capitalist principles—that is, cold profits, not people's lives, are primary. The following information should be helpful in making these points.

Dow Chemical Company has repeatedly tried to justify its production of napalm by claiming that "We cannot let our boys down." Bullshit. Dow cares nothing about the lives of the American workers and students who are being killed in Vietnam. Dow produces napalm because it knows

that imperialism means fat profits off the cheap labor Dow is willing to exploit in the underdeveloped nations.

As Chemical and Engineering News, October 30, 1967, put it in an article about investments in Latin America: "Dow Chemical is also well represented south of the border." Currently Dow has investments in Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil (Angel, J. L.: Directory of American Firms Operating in Foreign Countries) She is one of the largest investors in the growing surge of U.S. chemical company investments in Latin America, which totaled \$338 million from 1962 to 1966. (Chemical and Engineering News, October 30, 1967)

Dow also has a growing investment in Asia with subsidiaries so far in Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Japan. (Angel, J. L.: Directory of American Firms Operating in Foreign Countries)

Dow is a shareholder in ADELA (Atlantic Community Development for Latin America)—a front for over 150 companies which invest together in Latin America. ADELA has invested \$40 million in Latin America since 1965. Its director

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Among many radicals who have begun to tackle seriously the task of organizing working class whites there is an approach which shows that we - the movement as a whole - have failed to learn the lessons of U.S. history, and specifically the lessons of past experiences in large movements of downtrodden whites.

The approach I am criticizing I would summarize as follows: find the issues which immediately affect the people we are trying to reach, and which they feel most keenly. Organize around these issues and, as the people are drawn more into struggle in their own interest, they will come to see, with our help, who are their friends and enemies. Specifically, coalitions between poor white and black will develop from each fighting for his own "self-interest" and coming to see that there is a common enemy, the rich white man.

I don't think it can succeed.

What is the greatest barrier to the development of working class consciousness and solidarity in the U.S.? White supremacist thinking, both now and in the past.

White supremacist thinking, while it is part of a mind-set, is not a pure question of ideology. It has real roots in the practice of white supremacy, the general oppression of blacks by whites.

The Al Capones who run this country have made a deal with the labor officials and, through them, with the totality of white working people. The terms of the deal, which was a long time in the working out, are simply these: you white workers support us in our enslavement of the non-white majority of the earth's population, and we will reward you with a monopoly of skilled jobs, education and health facilities superior to those of the non-whites, the opportunity to occasionally promote one of your number out of the laboring class, social privileges and a whole series of privileges befitting your white skin.

### Exploited But Privileged

Thus, while the ordinary white workers are severely exploited, they are also privileged. White supremacy is a deal between the exploiters and a part of the exploited, at the expense of the rest of the exploited - in fact, the original sweet-heart agreement!

Some may argue that it can't be called a deal, since most of those participating on either side are not conscious of where they fit in, that it is more accurate to consider white supremacy as the simple and determined result of the operation of certain blind laws, as something institutionalized, beyond the control, right now, of any sector of the people involved in its workings.

Those who argue thus should consider the following question: if the bosses are always screaming about high labor costs, why don't they simply hire the cheapest labor there is, namely black and brown labor? The reason is that, for the bosses, the few cents an hour they would save in wages would be far outweighed by the growth in working class solidarity that would follow if all workers were on exactly the same footing. (For information on how the color line was erected in a single industry, in this case the cotton mill industry in the South, for the purpose of buying off the poor whites, see W. J. Cash's classic "The Mind of the South" or Broadus Mitchell's "The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South".)

Certainly, national oppression goes hand-in-hand with imperialism, but that is not to say that it is an institution, or that it should in any sense be considered too deeply entrenched to be challenged. White supremacy exists simply because sufficient numbers of white people, including white workers, have not been rallied to fight it - black people have never stopped fighting it. And the reason why white workers have not fought white supremacy, have in fact acquiesced in and cooperated with it, is that they enjoy their privileged status.

### No Self-Interest Coalitions

Now, my point of disagreement with the approach I summarized earlier is this: I don't believe it is possible to build coalitions of black and white on the basis of the self-interest of each, if the self-interest of the whites means the main-

tainance of white supremacy and the white-skin privilege.

I would state, from my own experience as a worker and my travels among workers, that there are very few white workers who would object to having the Negroes "brought up to our level." Most white workers would be pleased if all the black people had a decent job and a place to live, as good as the whites' anyhow.

But if there are not enough jobs to go around, then the great majority of white workers are quite willing to invoke their privilege and say "me first", thus making them active partners in the exclusion and oppression of the black people.

Under the system of private profit, all workers compete in the sale of their labor power; yet their general tendency is to unite. However, because the competition between black and white workers is not an equal one, but is weighted by the white-skin privilege, white workers have generally preferred to unite with the boss to maintain their privileges rather than unite with the black people to destroy all privilege.

### Why Others Failed

The defeat of the great struggles of the labor movement, which began after the depression of 1873 and reached their climax in the railroad strike of 1877, can be traced to the failure of American labor, as a whole, to join with black labor in the South to preserve the democratic advances of the Reconstruction Era. In his great work, "Black Reconstruction", Du Bois put forward ideas which should make us all think long and hard. On page 353 he wrote, "The South, after the war, presented the greatest opportunity for a real national labor movement which the nation ever saw or is likely to see for many decades. Yet the labor movement, with but few exceptions, never realized the situation. It never had the intelligence or knowledge, as a whole, to see in black slavery and Reconstruction the kernel and meaning of the labor movement in the United States."

The defeat of Populism was due to its tendency to compromise with, and ultimately capitulate to white supremacist pressure to "abandon the Negro" (See Woodward biography of Tom Watson on this subject.)

The halting of the labor movement's advances at the end of the 1930's, and its reversal and defeat in the years after World War II, was due to the same failure to challenge white supremacy. If anyone doubts this, let him consider why the CIO, after having organized U.S. Steel, GM and GE by 1940, paused on the brink of the South and turned back, permitting itself to be co-opted by the Roosevelt Administration.

In the three great eras of struggle I have cited, probably the three greatest

Many white radicals have begun to talk about the need to organize working class whites. As one active movement figure put it, "We now see that the people we used to refer to as 'working class fascists' are the very ones we have to reach."

As we all know a large share of the credit for this new attention on the part of white radicals belongs to SNCC. Of course, even before SNCC took its stand on black power, there were some people, such as SCEF and JOIN, who felt that the main task for white

## LEARN THE LESSON

By Noe

in post-Civil War history, in the final analysis the matter came down to this: the power structure was able to solve its problems with the white workers "within the family", by offering them privileges. By accepting these privileges, the white workers turned their back not merely on their black brothers, but on the class struggle, and renounced their right to a say in their destiny.

Of course the acceptance of privilege and the maintenance of white supremacy was not in the interest of either white or black workers! The result of the overturning of Reconstruction and the defeat of Populism is the impoverished South of today. The result of the CIO's wrong turn in 1940 is the deteriorating conditions of labor and the oleomargarine unions which dominate in every industry.

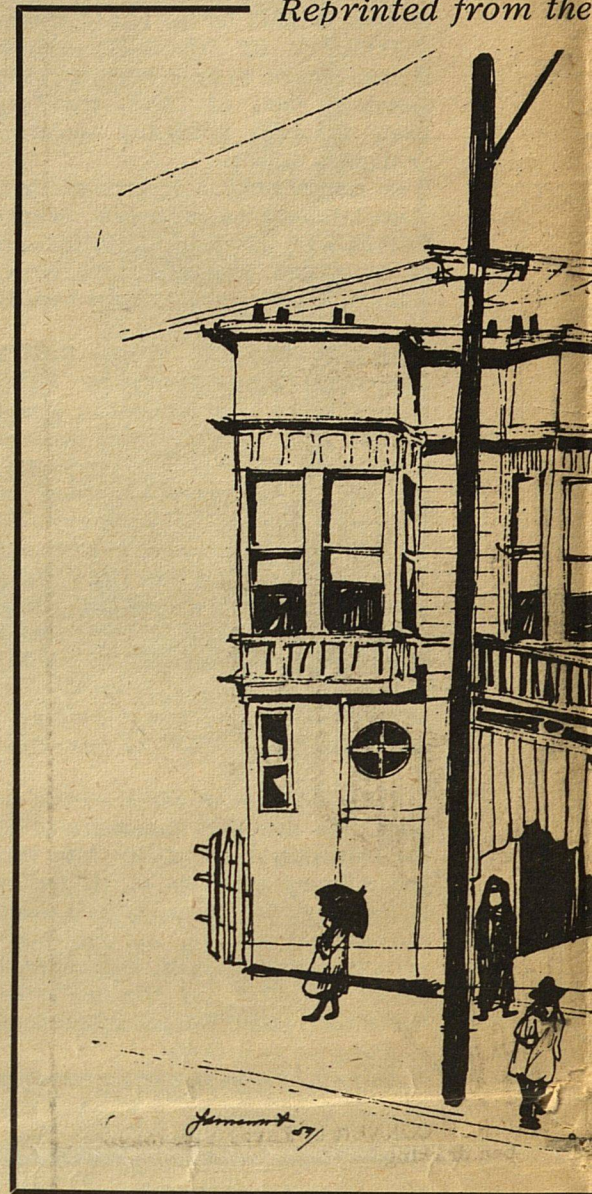
The ending of white supremacy does not pose the slightest peril to the real interests of the white workers, but to their fancied interests, their counterfeit interests, their white-skin privileges.

### Renouncing Privilege

Once again the signs point to an upturn in the militancy of the American workers, including the whites. And once again the white workers will be faced with a choice: unite with the black people for our common interests, including the defeat of white supremacy and the repudiation of the white-skin privilege; or unite with the boss to maintain them.

Solidarity between black and white requires more from the white than a willingness to "help the Negroes up if it doesn't lower us any." It requires a willingness to renounce our privileges, precisely to "lower ourselves" in order that we can all rise up together. If anyone says that it will be difficult to get the whites to renounce their privileges, I readily concede the difficulty - whoever said it would be east to make a revolution? But is anyone thinks it is possible to skip this renunciation and to build coalitions between blacks and whites who want to maintain their privileges, I will point to 1877, 1904 and 1940, and say that if this task is not tackled and achieved, we will see the same thing over again.

Reprinted from the



### Tactics

Now, what does all this mean for our tactics? I have some suggestions:

- (1) in all our work we should bring the question of white supremacy to the fore. Thus in opposing the Viet Nam war, we should especially expose it as a racist, white supremacist war, an extension of U.S. genocidal policies toward Indians and Afro-

## ELECTIONS AND THE ELECT:

(continued from Page 3)

Civil Disorders signals a serious intent on the part of liberals to prevent the confrontation toward which we are rushing headlong. Whether or not that confrontation can be avoided this summer, the report cuts the ground from under one of Johnson's major campaign issues—so-called "crime in the streets". Even if liberals can have no effect on the events of the summer, they will always be able to point to the report as an example of "what should have been done".

The roots of the current division run deep in the history of America's economic development since the beginning of the Cold War. There is the emergence of the Texas-California axis of corporate power growing out of the tax privileges accorded to oil interests and the vastly expanded importance of military contracts and armament production. This has produced a new focus of economic power which challenges the control of the traditional center of gravity of American capitalism, Wall Street and the Eastern financial establishment.

Both groups, to be sure, have as their primary principle of survival the maintenance and expansion of American investment. However, the oil and armaments group of nouveaux riches depend directly on the continued expansion of aggressive imperialism and militari-

zation, while the Eastern establishment relies on a long-range investment perspective and the domestic and international stability which guarantees the survival of those interests. It is the threat to this stability and those interests which have brought the Rockefellers and the Kennedys back into the public political arena.

The present policies of the Johnson Administration jeopardize those interests in several ways. First, war with China would mean the total mobilization of the domestic society and economy, a tremendous increase in the power and prestige of the military and their friends, and the very real possibility of outright fascism at home. Secondly, the War has placed an enormous burden on the already over-strained dollar and provoked the most important international monetary crisis since the crash of 1929. As a result of this crisis, inflation and higher taxes at home could produce a slump in demand for non-military goods, a recession affecting most directly those interests involved primarily in consumer production, and trouble with organized labor. Finally, a head-on confrontation with the ghettos, which Johnson has been preparing through his propaganda campaign against "crime in the streets", threatens not only many local business interests but also the long-range stability of internal governing institutions.

If the New Left has its problems with Left-Wing adventurists who think that sabotage and terrorism will bring the socialist revolution tomorrow, the ruling class also recognizes that right-wing adventurists who think they can smash China and wipe out the black rebellion through genocide are a danger to long-term capitalist domination.

The attitude of the liberal establishment can best be understood by analyzing Robert Kennedy's stand on Vietnam. Originally one of the staunchest supporters of military intervention against the NLF and one of the prime architects of the style of counter-insurgency associated with the Green Berets, RFK did an about-face on the question of the War in February 1966. His change in position was dictated by the higher rationality of a long-range liberal imperialist viewpoint. As William Shannon aptly describes it in his book *The Heir Apparent*:

"His cold shrewdness and his passion enabled Kennedy to abandon his previous commitment to the Vietnam War. Like his father, he has a speculator's ability to size up a proposition and decide whether it looks like a winner. No emotion, no ideological fixation, no wishful romanticism clouds or confuses this analytic process. Self-interest is the controlling criterion. If General Motors' shares are dropping on the market, what does sentiment have to do with the decision

radicals was organizing other whites. But SNCC, by telling its white supporters that their role should be organizing whites for the black people to form coalitions with, pushed thousands of people into a new awareness.

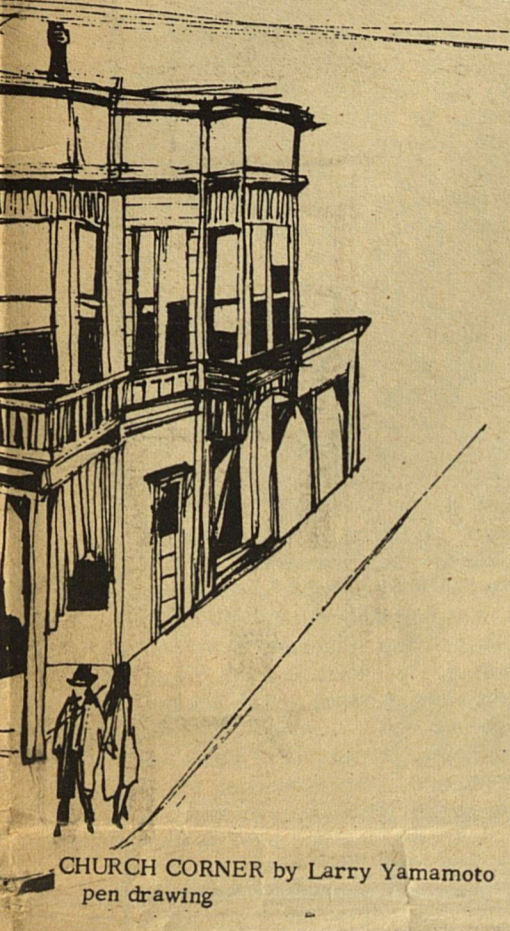
In my opinion, this new awareness is healthy.

However, along with this new and correct realization has come the baggage of old, unchallenged and incorrect concepts which, if allowed to prevail, will certainly undo any positive work in this field.

# IS OF US HISTORY

Ignatin

## MOVEMENT



CHURCH CORNER by Larry Yamamoto pen drawing

Americans.

(2) we should discover and take advantage of every opportunity to point out to white workers the nature of the white supremacist deal and show them how it operates against them by tying them to their enemy, the bosses.

(3) for my third suggestion, I can do no better than to quote a memo written in June 1966 by Anne Braden

to the Southern Student Organizing Committee:

"Now, the pendulum seems to be swinging the other way, and more and more white people are deciding they must reach the white Southerner . . .

"I am glad they are deciding this.

"What I disagree with is the concept that they will organize these poor white Southerners completely apart from the Negro movement -- and figure that somewhere down the road, maybe several years hence, maybe they'll get together in some sort of coalition.

"I don't think it can work that way. . .

### Blacks Organize Whites

"Again to be specific, if you are going to engage in a project (rural or urban) to organize poor white people, I can see how it might be desirable (and it may happen whether you think it is desirable or not) for Negroes to be organizing the black people in that community into an independent organization. But when you go to and organize the white people I think you have to say to them in front, from the very word go, that if they are going to be effective and solve their problems they are going to have to team up with those black people over there and find terms that are acceptable to the black people to do it on, and I think you should go to these white people with teams of black and white organizers working together.

"White people may not be able to work in organizing Negro communities and maybe should not -- for all the reasons stated recently . . . But I think black organizers are urgently needed to work in white communities.

"In other words, I am saying that I think you have to confront the white Southerner you are trying to reach with this whole question of racism and what it has done to him from the very beginning.

"Some may say this is impossible -- it will frighten him off and you'll never get to him. I am not saying it will be easy. We will fail many times. But I think we must begin trying in the beginning because I think if you wait it will get harder as time goes on and not easier.

"In fact, if you begin to organize groups of white people without tackling this issue in a very concrete way, I think the problem is much greater than that you will just be wasting your time. I think you may be creating a Frankenstein. . .

"As I understand it, Saul Alinsky had this experience in Chicago. He organized Negroes on the Southside -- and he organized the Back-of-the-Yards movement which was all white and poor and very oppressed. The Back-of-the-Yards movement became very strong and effective in fighting its own oppression -- but later it was the backbone of a movement to keep Negroes out of that part of Chicago . . .

"What I am saying is that we must try to avoid such mistakes by beginning in the very beginning to try to convince white people that their interest lies in teaming up with Negroes -- even if the Negroes want and are forming their own organizations. And if we hope to convince them, we must confront them with the issue as we start -- because it will get harder as people get more organized, stronger in their own organization, more solidified, etc."

I think Ann Braden's suggestions for Southern organizing apply with equal force throughout the country.

(4) we should find and put forward slogans and issues which make concrete the repudiation of privilege, and which are tied in as closely as possible with building unity and winning real benefits. For example, in a shop which is not organized, instead of trying to organize a union around the demand of straight seniority (an obvious white-skin privilege, since it was the boss who decided whom to hire first), we should try to rally the workers around a demand like the following: a contract provision that at no time in a layoff could a greater proportion of Negroes be included than their proportion in the plant. Another provision might be that workers in the most dangerous, dirtiest departments (usually Negroes) receive a special seniority bonus. I think these demands would appeal to the sense of fair play of working men and women.

### Like SDS Draft Position

An excellent example of the practical application of my thesis is the SDS position on the draft, of opposing the draft and, at the same time, denouncing the II-S student deferment as a racial (and class) privilege whose only purpose is to divide the anti-war movement, and not merely denouncing it, but calling upon all students

to renounce it. I don't want to attribute the totality of my views to SDS; I merely applaud their stand as the only honest one under the circumstances.

I don't claim to have the best tactical solutions to the problem I raise. But I do say that if all of us in the movement don't find ways to win the white workers to repudiate their white-skin privileges and oppose white supremacy, then we might as well, as one of my friends says, "piss on the fire and summon the hounds," because the hunt is over.

At this point the main thing, in my opinion, is to create a wide-spread awareness among white working people of the nature of the white supremacist deal. I am confident that the American working class, which gave birth to May Day and International Women's Day, which developed and creatively applied the tactics of the sit-in strike, rolling pickets and the slow-down, will be able to come up with plenty of ways to repudiate a deal once they have decided it is in their interest to do so.

### Too Moralistic?

In discussing my thesis with movement people, I have sometimes encountered the objection that my approach is a moralistic rather than a materialistic one, that it relies on idealism rather than "self-interest". To this I answer as follows:

- (1) The "moralistic" John Brown made a far greater contribution to the struggle of labor than all of the sophisticated "Marxists" in the pre-Civil War labor movement (and there were some, even then) who shied away from directly opposing chattel slavery because, they felt, "the workers wouldn't go along."
- (2) As a worker I resent the prejudice, common among student radicals, that the workers can only be moved by narrow economic considerations while they, the students, are radicals for reasons of idealism. I point to the thousands and thousands of white workers who marched off to war for the Union singing, "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free." And I would predict that the next few years will show that the great acts of heroism on the part of the working people will be called forth not by demands for a nickel an hour but by the "idealistic", "moralistic" slogans of the solidarity and humanity of labor.
- (3) the repudiation of the white-skin privilege is in the interests, both short and long range, of the white workers, and the only problem is to help them (and some of our radicals) see it.

### "Working Class" & "Poor"

Just one more point. I notice that I use the terms "working class" and "poor" in a somewhat inter-changeable manner, which might offend some people who seem to regard them as two separate, non-overlapping categories. In this regard, perhaps I might be permitted to cite personal experience. As recently as six years ago, I was running a turret lathe in a sweatshop for \$1.15 per hour. Today, I am more highly skilled and better paid; I make \$3.65 per hour. (According to the government, that is almost enough to maintain a family of four, exactly what I have, at what they call a "minimum adequate" standard of living.) Between the two extremes I have had various spells of unemployment, with and without compensation. Judging by certain developments within the economic sphere, such as the British devaluation of the pound and the U.S. unfavorable balance of payments, I fully expect, within the next few years, to be glad to work again for \$1.15 an hour, if I can get it. While I can clearly see the difference between a bad job and one that's not so bad, and between an unemployed worker and an employed one, I can't see a difference between working class and poor, except, perhaps, that there are other people besides workers who are poor.

# THE T'WAIN SHALL MEET

to sell? And why waste more sentiment on Vietnam than on GM?"

Certainly there is a rough road ahead in the coming months. The political machinery of the two ruling-class parties is staunchly in the hands of the Right Wing. Both Johnson and Nixon are going to raise a lot of embarrassing questions for the liberal contenders. Washing its dirty linen in public is never a pleasant prospect for the rulers of a great empire. Nevertheless, the decision has been made, and the combination of Eastern financial power and widespread public disaffection with the War offer good odds for a liberal victory.

Assuming a liberal victory, what can the radical movement expect in both short- and long-range terms? Further, what should the strategy of the Movement be?

With the liberals back in Washington, we should expect negotiations and a settlement in Vietnam (on the Algerian rather than the Korean model) and a new period of attempts at liberal counter-insurgency methods abroad. Secondly, massive programs to deal with the ghetto aimed in three directions: 1) immediate co-optation of dissent through "cool it" operations; 2) CREATION OF "upward bound" channels to convince bright young black people that they can join the middle class; and 3) population-dispersal programs to move insurgent black populations

out of their strategic inner-city locations.

In response the Movement will have to shift gears and develop new programs and issues. The transition will undoubtedly be difficult—but we've had the NLF building our movement for us for too long anyway. We will be forced to face the fact that the American socialist revolution will be American or it will not be.

In short-range terms, our task is not to panic, and, most important of all, not to get on the liberal bandwagon. Forming a "Marxist-Leninists For Rockefeller" organization might be good political satire—but it is not a radical movement strategy. In particular, it should now be clear that the projected action at the Democratic National Convention in August is an absurd alternative. It was always devoid of radical content and sure to play into the hands of a Left-liberal movement. Now it can only play into the hands of the liberal establishment.

A suggestion has been made by Jeff Jones and Mike Spiegel of SDS that we should make the day of the nomination the occasion for a call for draft-resistance demonstrations on Election Day with the announcement that we will boycott the elections and leaflet the polling places instead. (Leafletting polling places is illegal.) That suggestion has been attacked as "irresponsible" by those who thought the duty of radicals was to work on the McCarthy campaign. It should now be

clear to our erstwhile critics that electoral politics is the province of liberalism—the liberalism of both those inside and those outside the power elite. When the Rockefellers and the Kennedys decide to come back to power, they certainly don't need the energies of the fledgling radical movement to help them.

We need to remember what liberal imperialism is all about, and we need to make the truth clear to as many people as possible. It was the "liberal" Kennedy Administration which created the Peace Corps and the Green Berets. It was Bobby—as much as anyone else—who developed the counter-insurgency programs which have brought a reign of terror to the Vietnamese people. As for the operations of the CIA, Robert Kennedy was chairman of the committee which supervised the operations of the CIA during his brother's Administration. He was familiar with all its operations. At the time of the revelations concerning the CIA's sponsorship of the National Student Association and labor unions, Kennedy thought it was silly to blame the CIA for the subsidies. In the New York Times of February 22nd, 1967, he was quoted as saying:

"Top officials in the executive branch in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations knew about this policy. All the relevant government agencies

(continued on Page 8)

Becoming involved in the day-to-day concerns of the people we hope to organize presents great opportunities for building a radical movement, but also presents the real danger of having that movement co-opted. There are several elements to a strategy that can attempt to maintain a coherent, radical politics.

raising a radical political analysis

The most effective radical analysis should have four elements: critique, causation, immediate alternative, and ideal alternative.

1) Critique: This is easiest. It involves showing dissatisfied students that dorm hours, the grading system, the psychiatric clinic, course requirements, ROTC, and the "reading and regurgitating" syndrome are not a coincidental set of maladies, but are parts of an institutional pattern. The creation of an awareness that "the whole system is shit" can be facilitated by the work of a radical organizer, but is ultimately dependent on the feelings of the people he is trying to organize. There is little to be gained in trying to convince a satisfied student that the system is rotten. Our job is to give a focus to the unhappiness which many students do feel—an unhappiness which many of them blame on their own inadequacy until they are given an alternative explanation.

2) Causation: This involves showing students that the alienation they feel is not simply a product of a generation gap, or a "communication problem" between students and administration; it is a product of the conflict between the priorities of a university in a corporate capitalist system and the human potentialities of the people who must serve that system. Exposing the manpower-channeling functions of the university and its institutional and inter-personal links with the corporate, military, and governmental elites can be aided by actions such as the recent Dow and CIA protests which give specific focus to our general analysis.

But we must be careful to resist inaccurate and crude formulations of corporate control of university life which can provide students with an excuse to dismiss our analysis. At a recent NC, speaking about giving an anti-imperialist analysis to reform issues, someone said: "When you're working on issues like dormitory hours for women, you should make it clear that the university wants to keep women in the dorms so that they get married early. (I don't remember whether the speaker implied or specifically stated that the dormitory hours prevent college women from satisfying their sexual needs, and due to a resultant hornyness, they get married earlier.) By getting married earlier, they consume more, and in consuming more they serve the needs of corporate capitalism to find markets for its constantly increasing productivity. (According to this analysis, the old cliché "two can live as cheaply as one" is replaced by a radical cliché: "Two together spend more than two alone.") Both clichés have about the same degree of accuracy.)

There is a great need for serious analytical work to better understand the specific inter-relationships between the corporate elite and the university system. This understanding can come through more SDS people applying themselves to power-structure research, and the continued confrontation with the university which, besides winning immediate victories and building our movement, will help expose particular institutional inter-relationships. With regard to the example of corporate concern for the maintenance of restrictive dorm hours,

I think our research and experience will show that while the corporate elite is vitally concerned with the manpower channeling functions of the university, it is often careful not to interfere in the specific details of how the university operates. Many sophisticated corporate types are convinced that Benningtons and San Francisco States are ultimately more compatible with their needs than the "conventional" schools.

3) Immediate alternatives: One of the clichéd criticisms of the Left—one which, unfortunately, is often accurate—is that we don't offer people alternatives. In

some situations this has been a result of unimaginative leadership, but more often it reflects our ambivalence toward improving a society toward which we feel contempt. Many of us fear that rather than fundamentally changing America the Left will serve as the social movement that allows corporate capitalism to rationalize itself, and in doing so will lose most of its members, whose immediate and most pressing grievances will be satisfied. While this certainly is a possibility, the alternative—hoping or even working for things to get worse so they can get better—

initiating an adult organization as well. Nonetheless, although it may not be fair for SDS to be burdened with such a responsibility (one which it presently is totally incapable of handling), the prospects of initiating a national adult radical organization in the next few years will greatly depend upon the role SDS is able to play. This subject will be discussed at greater length in a separate article. But I think that some of the ultra-revolutionary posturing in our movement reflects a widespread fear among radical students that their parents' cynical dismissal of student protest as

in the context of one's day-to-day activities is most effective and easiest to do.)

Developing good programs and clear analysis is essential—but these programs are usually conveyed to others through people. More people can be convinced to turn out for a demonstration by a person they trust than by convincing speeches, leaflets, and posters. Thus, many students will develop an understanding of radical issues by observing how a radical organizer operates. A good organizer will be able to convey his politics to others by his involvement in a wide variety of issues, the way he discusses those issues, his organizational identification with SDS, and the radical way he operates in his personal life. Ultimately, the people we organize will have to develop their own analysis and their own self-perception as a radical—but the beginning of that process can be greatly influenced by their initial contacts with an organizer.

A third element in projecting coherent radical politics is style. SDS and NSA may both criticize CIA recruiters (on NSA's part, an oedipal rebellion), but usually the liberals are less willing to use militant tactics. SDS and liberals may sit on student government committees, but hopefully after the meetings are over the SDS people won't go out for coffee with the representative from the President's office—or the President himself—while the liberals will consider this the high point of the evening and the key to winning their demands. (So will many of our people unless they are held strictly accountable to the membership.) Negotiating sessions are a real test of one's politics. The whole structure is designed to accommodate without actually changing anything. A whole aura of "let's be reasonable" is built in.

When I was negotiating for CORE with the Trailways Bus Company over job discrimination, we went in with three staff people—two of whom were black and quite radical—and a group of five articulate, angry porters who had been denied promotions despite passing tests for higher paying positions. We had the seniority lists showing that over fifteen employees had been hired since the five black and Puerto Rican porters had been denied their jobs. The meetings were held with a mediator from the New York City Commission on Human Rights. The guys from Trailways were all Southerners, not very sophisticated, and clearly a bunch of patronizing racists.

Despite the fact that we had Trailways on a completely factual issue, and we weren't negotiating for the porters because they were there doing a lot of the negotiating themselves, a funny thing happened. The mediator started calling everybody by their first names, everybody was talking in a friendly accommodating way, the Trailways executives kept talking about wanting to make a real effort to change, and before we knew what had happened we had lost our momentum in the negotiations. We quickly called a recess, and one of the porters told us: "Those bastards are starting to sling the bullshit. They're being so nice I almost forgot that they're the ones who are trying to get me fired for bringing the case to CORE."

The point of this digression is that while negotiating with those in power is often a necessary tactic, the style with which we negotiate and the efforts to hold our representatives strictly accountable to a more representative body are essential to maintaining radical politics. Public meetings immediately before each meeting and immediately afterward could accomplish this. On issues on which campus interest isn't sustained, it still makes sense to use such a procedure even if, in practice, the representatives are only accountable to ten chapter people.

Liberals often encourage the formation of study committees, whereas radicals should push for open hearings at which students can participate and should only accept executive-type meetings if they clearly can't win support for opposing such tactics.

Liberals are willing to protest, but usually draw the line at risking their own security. Committed radicals are interested in graduating from college, but many of them see it as a relative value which isn't worth protecting if the political price is too high.

(continued on Page 8)

## eric mann

final in a series of three

## perspectives , III

isn't worth serious consideration. Our best hope is to create a movement of people who know why they're fighting. The problem of "selling out" is in some ways less pressing in a middle-class movement, because most of the people we are organizing have grown up partaking of "the fruits of the system" and have discovered that while a little fruit is a good thing, a constant diet of it can give you a bad case of diarrhea. Our immediate alternatives on campus issues should aim to win victories and put us in a position from which to push for further changes. There is a great need for educational material, produced by regional or national structures, that draws on chapter experience in dealing with the problems of raising immediate demands. For example, what are some specific radical alternatives to large lectures besides seminars which only repeat the same process on a more personal scale? What are our specific alternatives to campus disciplinary bodies, the grading system, hiring and firing procedures for faculty members, corporate financial control of many universities, tuition raises, and required courses?

Despite the need for greater tactical imagination, our major problem in offering alternatives is the lack of an adult radical movement. Despite the necessity of raising a critique of the many debilitating aspects of university life, the worst part of university life is that it is just the beginning of a life without power or integrity. The central issue of university life—the manpower channeling function of the university—is one which the Left is organizationally

a last fling before a lifetime of submission may be accurate. The success of our assault on manpower channeling (and our assault on our parents' critique) is dependent on the development of a political organization that can offer some protection from intimidation, co-optation, and irrelevancy to former student radicals who will be working and organizing in the schools, factories, social agencies, and large corporate and government bureaucracies.

4) Ideals: Projecting ideal solutions without offering students a workable alternative to immediate problems can lead to isolation from our constituency. But stressing "practical" solutions without pointing out the limitations of such solutions can encourage a political consciousness that deals with all questions within the assumptions and institutional limitations of corporate capitalism. For example, while agreeing with many liberals that classified research shouldn't be conducted on campus, we shouldn't limit our analysis to a statement that the university should be protected from the incursion of government priorities. In a society in which the political and economic institutions were under broad popular control the universities should serve the priorities of the government. Thus, our opposition to government interference with the functioning of the university is not based on the ideal of the university as an "ivory tower". Our ideal is a democratically-run society in which the university is one of many useful and liberating institutions—not a haven for an elite that considers itself above the rest of the society.

Besides raising a radical analysis,

## to maintain coherent, radical politics

incapable of dealing with right now. Many students see the campus Left as "utopian" because it can't answer their question: "What am I supposed to do with my life?" We are asking students to take risks when they get out of school, but we don't have a political organization to protect our people and to convert people's courageous acts into effective organizing work. We can't seriously expect to tell engineering students to refuse to make weapons for the Army or to demand that their fellow employees have a say about the projects they work on if we aren't organizing engineers, and if we don't have committed radicals with engineering degrees who are willing to get jobs in selected corporations and take the initiative. Similarly, we have nothing to offer prospective doctors, teachers, social workers, lawyers, management trainees, chemists—in short, anyone who isn't a student. This is hardly the fault of SDS. It's hard enough to build a vital student movement without also having to worry about

a second way we can give radical content to reform issues is through the personal relationship between an organizer and his constituency. A good organizer should be well-known by a group of people, rather than superficially recognized as a campus radical. For example, if an SDS member chooses a few locations for his organizing work—his floor in the dormitory, his seminars and lectures, the cafeteria or restaurant where he usually eats, his acquaintances in the gym or in a campus activity, and so on, he can reach a relatively large number of students in an organizing capacity. His dealings with fellow students involve working with a limited number of people, initiating political discussions with them, and in general developing a constituency. (Although this description may seem mechanistic, the actual process shouldn't be. The great potential of campus organizing is that the process can be relatively natural. Unlike door-to-door canvassing—a sometimes useful, but very difficult job for most people—organizing

# pop goes the gold balloon

by A. Y. Gregoris

There are a number of fundamental strands which can help to unravel the international monetary "puzzle". First, in the historical development of commodity exchange, one commodity assumed the form of a universal equivalent—a unit against which the exchange values of all commodities could be measured. This unit was mainly gold coin or bullion. Without such an equivalent it would be almost impossible to equate the value of commodities in the international market.

The second point to grasp is the evolution of the United States as the dominant nation in the capitalist world. Until World War I, the pre-eminence of Great Britain allowed London to act as the "Central Bank" of the world, and the British pound was the reserve currency that nations held because it was acceptable throughout the world. In essence, it was as good as gold. But World War I weakened Britain's position. The United States rose to the top of the ladder. In 1931 Britain devalued the pound and established the Empire preference system. The devaluation gave Britain a competitive exchange advantage, making her commodities cheaper on the foreign markets. The preference system closed the Empire to effective competition from the other capitalist nations, particularly the United States. This was

one aspect of the crisis of capitalism in the thirties. The crisis of capitalism also had a military side. German capitalism assumed its most aggressive posture and prepared for war. The US devalued the dollar to compete for world markets and defend its position in Latin America. The whole process culminated in World War II.

World War II left a prostrated Europe and a prosperous United States. The international economic institutions that had been established reflected United States domination of the capitalist world. The World Bank (which McNamara now heads) became an instrument of US policy. Loans were made to underdeveloped nations according to US policy decisions. The International Monetary Fund was established with the United States as the sun and the other capitalist nations as satellites. "The currencies of other nations are pegged to the dollar under an arrangement in which the dollar alone is pegged to gold—a value kept constant through a pledge by the United States that whoever has \$35 may trade it for an ounce of gold." (The New York Times, March 12th, 1968) Britain has special relations with some of its former colonies, as does France; but all capitalist international trade and capital investment revolves about the special position of the United States. This special position was established in recognition that the United States was the dominant nation in the

capitalist world.

Third, in the process of creating a unified capitalist world under the hegemony of the United States, economic fissures have arisen that threaten to disrupt and destroy this unified world economy. Twenty-three years have passed since World War II. Following the geo-political school of thought, the United States has moved into every "power vacuum" left by the retreating British, Dutch, French, and Italian Empires. We have done this in two ways: 1) economic penetration through trade and capital investment, and 2) economic penetration through military bases, aid, and so forth. This policy has met opposition from the peoples of these areas who are struggling for national liberation. The most striking illustration is of course the war of national liberation being fought in Vietnam. The policy of economic penetration has been met by Western Europe and Japan in the formation of the Common Market and their resistance to becoming economic colonies of the United States.

For over fifteen years the United States has been spending abroad more than it has been earning. Fundamentally, the military costs and US capital investments have been greater than we can afford. Both are essential to the United States domination of the world capitalist economy. In a sense, this very excess

spending has created the reserves for the expanding capitalist world. These reserves take the form of excess dollars being held by the central banks of Europe and the European dollar market of approximately thirteen billion dollars held by commercial interests and US branch banks in Europe. As long as the dollar was accepted in lieu of gold—as good as gold—it served to lubricate the growing international trade among the capitalist nations. But after the collapse of the British pound and in the face of a collapsing Canadian dollar, the growing deficit in the United States balance of payments served to attract speculators to the weakening position of the United States dollar.

Should the speculators succeed in defeating the defense of the dollar-gold ratio, the following consequences to the international capitalist economy would follow (The New York Times, March 14th, 1968: "Smart Money Is on Gold Hoarder's Side"):

—The price of gold would rise on the free market.

—There would then be two prices—a free price and an international price (central bank to Central Bank price).

—The dual price system would mean a dollar devaluation.

—Dollars would move to hard currency (gold) areas (favoring Swiss francs).

—The drain on gold in the US would become too strong, and the US would be forced to demonetize gold (no longer giving an ounce of gold for \$35).

—Two blocs would emerge—a gold bloc and a dollar bloc.

—The two blocs would disrupt world trade and lead to a world capitalist depression.

The whole process here outlined can be called the end of US domination of the capitalist world. But all tendencies have counter-tendencies. The United States could capitulate to the international capitalist pressures and carry through deflationary tax and monetary programs at home. The United States could carry through a forced disinvestment process, selling our capital assets for the excess dollars in Europe (as the British did after World War I). The US could even end the War in Vietnam, something our capitalist allies fervently desire. But would this not in itself be an admission of the end of US omnipotence in the world?

The crisis of American capitalism is a sign that even the Jolly Green Giant has limited resources. The United States cannot maintain bases all over the world, engage in a war in Vietnam, maintain five million men in the Armed Forces, fight a war on poverty, and buy up the industries of Europe with paper dollars—all at one time.

The international monetary crisis is a warning from the United States' capitalist allies and competitors. They are warning the United States that its policies endanger its position in the capitalist world, and that they do not want to be dragged down with the United States as Great Britain has been.

## SSOC

## TEN DAYS OF SECESSION

by Lyn Wells and Tom Gardner

The Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) has called for a Southern Days of Secession against the War, racism, exploitation of the poor, and the Draft. The Days of Secession will coincide with the Ten Days in April called by SDS. This article primarily concerns plans for the Days in North Carolina; subsequent articles will report on other activities planned in the South. (SSOC, as a fraternal organization of SDS, will be represented at the Lexington, Kentucky NC.)

First, some background:

The Southern Student Organizing Committee was formed in 1964 by Southern students active in the civil rights, university reform, and peace movements. For two years SSOC functioned as a staff organization providing travelers, supplying educational services, acting as an information center, and developing continuing organizing programs for Southern students. Seeking to enable the constituency that had been developed to determine SSOC's programs, SSOC became a membership organization in June 1966. Now, with an expanded political scope, members in every Southern state, and a full-time staff of thirteen, SSOC is continuing its educational programs, with speakers, films, literature service, and the New South Student, as well as fielding campus travelers who organize around programs developed by the SSOC membership and local campus groups.

## SOME SUMMER WORK THINGS

(Liberation News Service) — The Southern Rural Research Project (SRRP) has called for volunteers to live and work in the South this summer to help with acute problems of providing medical, legal, and social welfare to the poor and the black. For information, write: Don Jelinek, Southern Rural Research Project, 802 First Avenue, Box 956, Selma, Alabama.

The Poverty Rights Action Council wants to place college students all around the country in various social-work capacities. For information, write: Nancy Ramset, PRAC, 1262 Corcoran Street Northwest, Washington, DC.

On February 3rd, 1968, the SSOC Executive Committee met in Nashville to finalize SSOC's spring programs. The 75 people present came from almost every Southern state. Out of that meeting came the call and general plans for the Southern Days of Secession. We understood and others should understand that we are calling for a kind of secession not in its more widely accepted Confederate usage, but in the tradition of the poor and progressive Southerners who seceded from the Confederate States rather than fight in the rich man's war for slavery, and in the tradition of other Southerners and Southern movements that have resisted Yankee imperialism whether directed against South Vietnam or our own South.

The call was issued also with the recognition that an effective movement for change in the South, indeed nationally, can only come out of long-term organizing and educational work. A national or regional call can serve as a valuable focus for local movement-building. The thinking behind the call for a Southern Days of Secession was mostly to provide a handle (and a Southern one) for local organizing. If the Secession or any call is to be that handle, the people who plan the actions locally will have to see themselves as organizers. And these organizers will have to emphasize pre-event and follow-up work.

Plans and preparations for the Ten Days are being made by chapters, other local groups, and state travelers around the South. SSOC is distributing from its main office in Nashville (Box 6403) a packet on organizing before and after a demonstration or event and a packet on university complicity (fifty cents each). Following is a brief description of some of the activities planned in North Carolina.

tentative activity for the Secession: North Carolina

Greensboro: An April 20th press conference will be attended by representatives of all groups and campuses having some type of activity during the Secession. An analysis of the History of Southern Resistance will be given by a local professor. Purpose: to give State-wide impact to the activity and to make our own group of campus radical leaders more cohesive.

Queens College: This all-girls school in Charlotte plans several activities,

including an "unapproved" teach-in on the War; sales and speakers from the Poor People's Corporation in Mississippi; and a draft-counseling booth for their dates during their big May Day weekend. Queens is one of the schools where little activity has gone on.

Davidson College: Students will leaflet the local Wachovia Bank in Charlotte, letting depositors know that their money is going to South African apartheid. They will also picket the local draft board and demonstrate at a trustees' meeting against their school's compulsory ROTC.

St. Andrews College: Plans are afoot to picket the local draft board protesting the Draft in general, but Selective Service discrimination against blacks and the poor specifically. They also plan a large teach-in. Schools have been encouraged to plan both demonstrations and mass educational activity, so that more than the relatively smaller group grow from the Secession. Guerrilla theater also is planned.

Atlantic Christian College: This Wilson, North Carolina College will probably picket the local draft board.

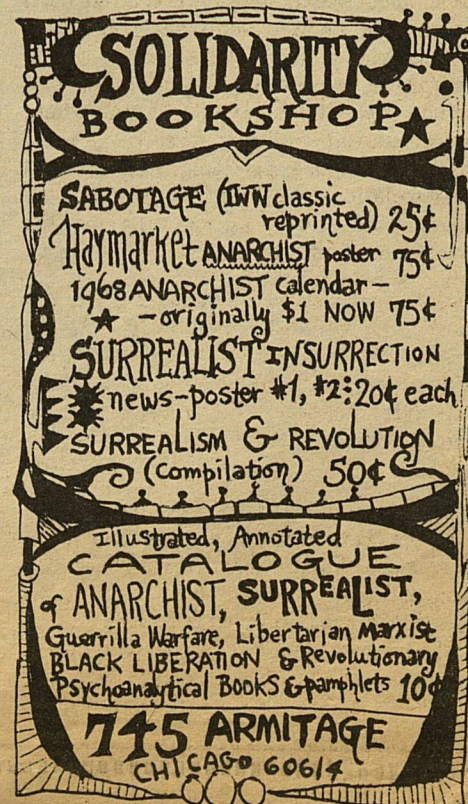
North Carolina Wesleyan College: Students will hold a (hopefully) large rally on campus, using guerrilla theater, and will then send students to participate in the demonstration at the Wilson draft board. It's important to get small groups in the same areas working together, to cut isolation.

Belmont Abbey College: A Black Power symposium will be held, and plans have been made to train draft counselors and attend the Charlotte draft board demonstration.

Appalachian State: This university, where the SSOC peace tour was ousted by a crowd of 300 students last November, will have a Vietnam symposium during the Days.

Chapel Hill: Guerrilla theater, a war crimes tribunal trying the University of North Carolina for complicity, a student and faculty moratorium on classes in co-operation with the International Student Strike, and participation in the Durham March are planned.

Duke: A war crimes tribunal will try Duke for its ownership of stock in the Dow Chemical Corporation and other defense-related industries. Also, students from both Duke and Chapel Hill will march through downtown Durham, leaving members of the march on street corners with literature as they go.



# perspectives

(continued from Page 6)

In general, many dissatisfied students are attracted to SDS because of important elements of our political style: rationality (for many who have attended NCs and chapter meetings this attribute is only relative to other Left groups), democracy, and militancy.

The final element in a coherent radical perspective is our choice of issues. At this point in history, however, there are very few issues which clearly are the property of the radicals. Two of the most controversial issues—draft resistance and drugs—are defined as "radical" by most of the people in the country, but within the definitions of the Movement have been raised by both liberals and radicals. The fact that most people confuse liberals and radicals today is sometimes a reflection of the inability of radicals to clearly communicate their politics to the public, but also reflects the fact that at times the differences just aren't that significant. An important distinction should be made between liberals who disagree with our actions and liberals who disagree with our analysis. The first group are often tactical allies in certain situations, but should also be the object of political criticism. It makes sense to use the term "liberal" in a derogatory way when we are talking about Humphrey, Reuther, Rustin, and their ilk working behind the scenes to stifle the MFDP challenge at Atlantic City; it makes sense when we criticize McCarthy for his

terrible positions on domestic issues and his refusal to support a program of immediate withdrawal; it makes sense when we criticize campus liberals for secretly meeting with administration people while claiming they speak for a constituency they don't represent; and it makes sense when a campus group consistently opposes our tactics and program. But if a student on campus gives up his 2-S, is in the front lines of militant demonstrations, is liberated from the "pleasing the professor" bag, but also believes that if President Kennedy were alive the War would be ended—that person may be correctly defined as a liberal, but he's also a pretty groovy person.

Our dealings with humanitarian liberals should reflect an awareness that people's politics are subject to great change, especially during college. Many dedicated liberals will be future radicals, and many of our scholarly brethren who agree with our analysis of corporate capitalism but oppose every specific action as "inopportune, impolitic, and precipitous" may someday be drafting faculty resolutions condemning student demonstrators. If our analysis of the country is correct it will be borne out by events. Students whose involvement in the Movement is based on a hatred of oppression will more often than not abandon their liberal perspective because it just doesn't explain how this country works. That process, however,

will hardly be facilitated by a sectarianism that places a greater value on anti-imperialist rhetoric than on commitment and action. It can be facilitated by radicals taking the programmatic initiative on a wide variety of issues that concern our student constituency.

a few last comments

There are still two major topics that I originally planned to discuss here, but which will have to be treated in separate articles. The first is implementation—which would include the development of regional structures and a much larger financial base for SDS. The second is the development of an adult radical organization closely allied with SDS. Mike James has already started such a discussion with his article "Putting White Radicals to Work". A subsequent, longer article will attempt to develop some of the points Mike raised and incorporate the ideas of several other people who have been organizing in urban ghettos, in schools, among poor and working-class whites, and in middle-class communities.

## Calvert

(continued from Page 5)

were approached for approval. If the policy was wrong, it was not the product of the CIA but of each Administration."

We must remember that we will be dealing with one of the shrewdest adversaries of social revolution, whose anti-communism is fervent and profound. We must know and expose the nature of our enemy as well as he knows us. For as he added at the time of the CIA revelations:

"We must not forget that we are dealing not with a dream world, but with a very tough adversary."

## Signers Resist Attack on Rap

by Keith Lampe

New York, New York, March 14th (Liberation News Service)—A wide assortment of well-known figures in the peace and black liberation movements urged Americans today to resist the courts' "attack on freedom" which the treatment of H. Rap Brown so baldly represents. Brown's bail (\$80,000 in two states) has kept him confined for weeks in Parish Prison, New Orleans.

According to a statement read today: "If there is anything that history teaches us, it is that those who sit silent while another's rights are violated inevitably come to one of two sad ends: either they ultimately compromise their own principles to survive in a police state, or they are eventually crushed themselves when it is too late to resist.

"Today the brunt of the attack is Rap Brown.... We are convinced that at this moment our own future hangs on his fate." Signers of the appeal include Doctor Martin Luther King, Floyd McKissick, Bobby Seale, and John Wilson, all of black groups; and Tom Hayden, Dave Dellinger, Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Tom Gardner of SSOC, Carl Braden of SCEF, Mike Spiegel of SDS, Dagmar Wilson of Women Strike for Peace, Professor Douglas Dowd of Cornell, attorney Victor Rabinowitz, and others.

SNCC's Cleveland Sellers suggested today that what the Government really has in mind is a subtle slow-motion murder of Brown. Florynce Kennedy, one of Brown's lawyers, told the press: "Bear in mind that everything Hitler did was legal." She said plans were being made for inter-racial resistance aimed at keeping all representatives of the major political parties out of the ghettos during the '68 campaigns, and suggested economic boycotts as a future resistance strategy.

It was obvious from the generally cautious phrasing of the statement today that the "resistance" to Brown's incarceration will probably be defense funds, counsels, and protest demonstrations, at least for most of the signers.

### watch for:

picture page on the print shop

story on the anti-convention meeting

## Lowdown on Dow

(continued from Page 3)

estimates that this investment is worth \$400 million now—less than two years later. (Chemical and Engineering News, October 30, 1967) The only community ADELA is developing is Wall Street.

Other partners in ADELA include Farbwerke Hoechst, A.G. of West Germany—successor to part of the Nazi I.G. Farben complex.

Dow's kinship with the Nazis goes back a long time and shows the utter hypocrisy of its supposed concern for the lives of American boys.

Back in 1932 Dow joined in a patent pool with I.G. Farben industries, the huge Nazi chemical firm, and the Aluminum Corporation of America (ALCOA). (U.S. Senate, 77th Congress, Second Session, Committee on Patents, Hearings on Section 2303, Part 2, April 20th through 25th, 1942, Pages 934 to 1140) The trust was known as the Magnesium Development Corporation. There was something for everyone. Dow got German patent information from I.G. Farben. Dow and I.G. Farben agreed to keep the price of magnesium to around 14% of the world production so as not to compete with I.G. Farben.

Dow agreed, further, not to export magnesium to any European country except Germany (except for a maximum of 150 tons a year to a subsidiary of I.G. Farben in England).

Dow's restriction of magnesium production was a sharp blow to American capitalists in the war with their aggressive competitor, Nazi Germany. It meant probably thousands of deaths of American workers who had to fight that war.

Magnesium is one of the most abundant U.S. minerals and a crucial war material due to its lightness and workability. Yet Dow held to its deal with the Nazis and held production down to 2,059 tons

in 1937 and 5,680 tons in 1940. At the same time I.G. Farben was turning out magnesium for the Nazi war machine to the tune of 12,080 tons in 1937 and 19,000 tons in 1940.

It wasn't till 1942 that the Government was successful in prying Dow's lid off. The Department of Justice was able to get an order which made Dow open up its patents for production. But even then Dow had enough power to prevent the order from forcing her to turn over vital industrial know-how along with the patent information. As a Department of Justice agent testified:

"We had drawn up a decree which gave us the know-how, and the representative of the Dow Company said that that was nothing other than servitude. That they would be made to give their know-how for the development of magnesium principally for the Government by being forced to do so, and that was, in effect, industrial servitude. They became very excited. (U.S. Senate, 77th Congress, Second Session, Committee on Patents, Hearings on Section 2303, Part 2, April 20th through 25th, 1942, Page 1121) This incident occurred three months after Pearl Harbor."

Dow has not forgotten its friendship with the Nazis. Recently in a new subsidiary in Freeport, Texas, the Dow Badische Chemical Corporation, it has reportedly hired as Chairman of the Board Carl Wurster—former director of I.G. Farben's affiliate which was the distributor of the hydrogen cyanide used in the gas chambers in the German concentration camps. (Jack Minnis in the National Guardian, December 2nd, 1967)

The slogan "making money burning babies" has a long history for Dow Chemical.

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