

SDS BULLETIN

Vol. 2 No. 7

April 1964

ENTHUSIASM FOR ORGANIZING MARKS

THE PALACE SIEGE: EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING IN THE SAN FRAN. BAY AREA

by Becky Adams Mills

The biggest action in the Bay Area since the now-famous 1960 anti-HUAC demonstrations has been demonstrations against employment discrimination at the Sheraton Palace Hotel in San Francisco, Feb. 28-29 and March 6-7. Somewhat over 2000 people picketed, "slept in", and blocked doorways of the old, famous hotel. 300 were arrested.

And 1500 new jobs were opened to minority group members.

The demonstrations were organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination, which at that time included seven youth and student groups: W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of San Francisco and Berkeley, Youth for Jobs of San Francisco and Oakland, SLATE from Berkeley, Direct Action Group from San Francisco State, and Citizens Against Discrimination. Lawyers for the group included the present and former

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HAZARD CONFERENCE

by Lee Webb, National Secretary

250 people -- both students and miners -- attended the National Student Conference held in Hazard, Ken. on March 26-29. Co-sponsored by SDS and the Comm. for Miners (CFM), the conference drew 175 students from 24 campuses as far as Atlanta, Texas, and Boston, with strong representation from SDS chapters. The attendance of local unemployed miners and their families, usually numbering 30 or so at each session, was significant and important both

See "Hazard", a prose poem by George Goss pp. 22-23

different -- some away as Oklahoma, Minnesota

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Get the U.S. Out of Vietnam!

This demand -- for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and military aid from Vietnam -- will be the main thrust of a demonstration to be held in at least three places across the country on May 2. The demonstration, for which an Ad Hoc Committee containing many political viewpoints on the Left was formed at a recent Symposium on Socialism in America held at Yale, is being chaired by SDS member Russ Stetler of Haverford College. It is expected that rally speakers will offer a number of alternative policies following removal of the American "presence" in Vietnam.

The main demonstration is being held in New York City at Cathedral Square (110th St. & 8th Ave.); others will occur in the Midwest (probably Minneapolis or Madison, maybe Chicago) and on the West Coast (probably San Francisco). Groups should bring their own signs, whose slogans should be submitted in advance. Russ writes that "we suggest that signs bear slogans couched in everyday language and identifying groups (college or political faction)." Those interested in more information -- or having suggestions for speakers -- should contact Russ at H.C., Haverford, Pa.; phone 215 MI93428.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

by Todd Gitlin

In the February Bulletin I referred too hastily to the tension between on-campus and off-campus work, but without sketching the substance of the conflict. That I omitted the substance was unfortunate, and that the December National Council did likewise at least equally so. Let me use this space to lay out the bones of the tension a bit more specifically, preliminary to a discussion at the next National Council meeting.

There are two major dimensions involved in my report on the December N.C., in Al Haber's response, and in SDS priorities; they cross each other and have not been clearly distinguished:

1. Historical specificity. Neither SDS nor radicalism in general operates in a societal vacuum. Radical goals in a given period, radical student goals and SDS goals in particular, must bear resemblance to the particular urgencies of the time. We can measure time in one of two ways. Broadly, the times are characterized by industrial abundance maldistributed; middle-class values perverted by the pecuniary ethos; the existence of private and irresponsible corporate power centers; the entrenchment of a largely unchallenged military machine; the decay of cities; and so on. (I do not intend to catalogue completely, only to indicate by example one way in which the times may be perceived.) More narrowly, more specifically, we can describe the times in this way:

- the labor force in the U.S. is increasingly white collar;
- automation is eroding the traditional work niches, starting in manufacturing sectors but rapidly encroaching on the white collar zones; and the steady erosion is becoming a rush;
- detente, domestic needs, and the clamor of the Negro movement are combining to convince the Establishment that cuts in the defense budget are not only possible but necessary if domestic order is to be preserved (according to former Ass't Sec. of Defense Gilpatric, a 25% defense cut is likely by 1970);
- Keynesian liberalism is seeking the completion of the managerial, paternalistic welfare state; and while it is not

war it is not to be pooh-poohed; -- the racial militance of the Negro movement is, on some issues, dividing the traditional Negro-labor-white-liberal coalition, particularly in Northern cities; and so on.

In this more specific sense, we can say that the notions and forces of managerial modernization have finally achieved a semblance of dominance over 19th century agrarian notions and forces. Needless to say, the material byproducts of the process will be important to large numbers of people; also needless to say, the new largesse will be pitifully inadequate. To the extent that this completion-of-liberalism process stabilizes, to that extent will democracy be prohibited, leisure corrupted into shopping, white-collar values into mindless decadence. The moral is that liberalism must not be allowed to stabilize; it must be kept continually on the defensive. As history abundantly allows, liberalism is kept off balance and the best material reforms are made when demands are sharply insisted on by mass movements; this is one rationale for SDS participation in such movements. But in themselves, incremental concessions by the Administration do not add up to a "revolutionary trajectory". Neither are "gutsy" actions necessarily radical. In large measure, I agree with Al Haber that action "is radical because of the goals and perspectives that are shared by the participants."

The Administration itself does not look unkindly on that sector of domestic unrest which contributes to the modernization process; it will soon have its own "community action" projects, its own "year-round work projects". Establishment-financed youth and retraining programs are rampant. Many of these will fail but some will succeed, and their success will be made much of by status-quo media. The "war on poverty" is also a "war on us"; the glove has been cast and the battlefield chosen -- and we cannot fail to join the issue. Radicals cannot. For if radicals are not participants in mass movements, then assuredly the movements will be co-opted, or only chaos will result -- without radical organization capable of molding the new from the breakdown of the old.

This is not to deny that there is a pressing need to define the role of radicals in various contexts -- Chicago, Baltimore, Hazard, and so on. Precisely the opposite: this is why there was a Hazard conference; this is why there will be an Ann Arbor conference with several hundred pages of working papers; this is why there will be a training institute in June for summer ERAP field workers. Much more thought is required -- on program, on strategy, on many other aspects of community change. Much more involvement is also required. From intended educational functions we will learn; from experiences we will learn. But without the involvement of radicals in community organizing -- beginning now, beginning yesterday -- then surely the organizational-managerial society will triumph, and radicals will be too late with their programs. This is what is meant about being historically specific in our priorities.

2. But true, there are other claims competing for the attention of the radical student, as opposed to the radical in general. Generally, he is a pre-professional (although in a large number of cases I'm sure he is confused about his future). He will graduate at some point into a future demarcated by occupational boundaries, in a society increasingly dominated by white-collar jobs, air-conditioned offices, consumer needs and "needs", and a tortured and torturous morality. All the anger and frustration and militance of the lower classes will amount to little if the only life-alterative is the air-conditioned mechanical life of the American middle classes; then, why not nihilism? Mobilized people's movements, in their self-assured, self-responsible stages, are some guarantee against the swamping of democracy in the closing vice of the "Modern" Society; but again, even a radical presence within these movements may not suffice to lift them over the hump of co-optive concessions from on high.

What is needed at the same time are movements in the middle classes, expressive of decent values, fraternal if not formally combined with lower-class movements, equipped with both radical goals and strategies for assembled radicals within the professions. Such movements would be more than tolerant of lower-class demands -- they would also press their own, supplementary demands. The problem is that we know precious little about what it means to be a radical lawyer, or teacher, or city planner, or journalist, or ar-

tist, or administrator; probably less than we know about radical groups in lower-class communities. We need to find this out; to organize chapters or other linkages in the pre-professional schools; to generate debate on the roles of radicals in professions where there is leeway for radical programs. We need also to experiment in the organizing of across-class coalitions on issues brought to the forefront by the specifics of these times -- for the dropping of the defense budget for one thing. Probably the first step on our part should be the eliciting of views on this subject from members engaged in the uncrystallized struggle with their own futures.

Saying this, I still do not go all the way with Al. In probably the majority of instances (it would be interesting to check this), SDS members have not defined their professional futures. Some of us deny what we are, as Al says; some don't know what we are, because in a corrupt society it is often hard to know, and for other reasons. Truly we do have the responsibility to develop programs responsive to the needs of those members, and potential members, whose "occupations" are already chosen, however uneasily. At the same time, we must continue to illuminate the need for radical placement in communities in the near future, for those of us to whom such work is congenial. We must maintain a radical on-campus education program capable of installing us with the "double vision" of which I spoke in December. And we must also have answers, however tentative, to those who ask if they consign themselves to our eternal disapproval if they go to law school.

Since December we have made a beginning in constructing program in community organizing. I sense, though, that as an organization we have done little, if anything, to fulfill other N.C. mandates in the realm of radical education; there is really no national educational program. And certainly we have done nothing for those members who know at least their middle-run futures and find them not in the midst of poverty. Our response should not be the whittling down of the ERAP off-campus program, but the elevation of the rest. I propose, then, that we begin to restore a balance. We can take up a good deal of slack before resources begin seriously to conflict: new people, new money, new staff. Restoring the balance is no dissolution of the tension, but it is prerequisite.

CHAPTER REPORTS

U OF MARYLAND

by Richard Ochs

A 50-member SDS group applied for a national charter after being recognized as an official campus organization at U. of Maryland last month. The group formed officially after successfully waging a protest campaign against restrictions on speakers, campus groups, and freedom of speech last February. Immediate projects include community development in local slums, off-campus housing discrimination, and "education" of the student body.

U OF WISCONSIN

from reports by Clark Kissinger

In mid-March, Madison CORE started action against Sears department store, which is owned by far-right segregationist H. L. Hunt and has refused to hire a single Negro despite the availability of competent applicants. In fact, hiring personnel have been quite rude and co-operative toward those Negroes who have applied. Although SDS has not participated as SDS, many of our members have been active, and my basement still is used as CORE headquarters, for mimeoing, sign-making and -storing, etc. As is national CORE policy, careful investigation was carried out followed by attempts to negotiate the dispute with the store's manager (also a segregationist) -- but to no avail. So the picketing and boycotting started. The boycott received rapid endorsement from the Retail Clerks Union and Teamsters Local 695. A brief sit-in occurred following the arrest and very rough handling of one of the picketers who had refused to give his name to a police officer. CORE has also called attention to the fact that Sears is a non-union store.

CORE harassment tactics have been creative and quite successful. By sending pseudo-shoppers into Sears at rush periods, they have often been able to tie up the dressing rooms, cash registers, shoe department, etc. Sears now has a lot of private detectives on the job. (A recent Madison CORE newsletter noted that "on

Monday night there were very few customers and very many detectives in Sears.") Known CORE operatives are not waited on in Sears now. To counter this, CORE operatives frequently walk up to stray customers and whisper a few words to them. The store dicks then think this customer is a CORE person, and he doesn't get waited on.

One interesting sidelight -- a local TV station has an "editorial comment" after their news program. They blasted the CORE action, and CORE demanded and got equal time to reply! This was done without invoking the FCC ruling requiring "equal time" for replies to such attacks.

As to specific SDS activity:

Indian project: We have been visiting upstate Menominee County, which consists of Indian reservations; in early March, we had an interesting conversation with the local Roman Catholic priest, who is very anxious to have us come and work there. We spent the afternoon in a local bar shooting pool and talking with people. As far as we are able to determine the situation, this is it: The Bureau of Indian Affairs ultimately wants to do away with all reservations, and the Menominees were picked to be the pilot project. They were chosen because they have an industry (lumber mill), as opposed to most reservations, which have nothing. The reservation became a new Wisconsin county after the Indians were talked into voting for termination of reservation status by offer of a cash grant. The county now has no doctor, no hospital, no high school. There are about 550 men able to work, but the mill employs only 200. There is no other source of employment. The mill is owned by Menominee Enterprises, Inc., which is owned by the Indians but is set up in such a way that the governor appoints the board of trustees, a majority of whom are white. Also, some corporation in Milwaukee holds the proxies of all minors who are stockholders, a bloc of about 800 votes! (Each Indian gets a share regardless of age.) The chief official of the county is white. The average family in Menominee County has 5.7 children. (Pam

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Yarish is chairman of this project.)

Poverty project: We are projecting a series of programs during the month of April which will culminate in going to the Illinois conference on poverty. The first program was the showing of "Harvest of Shame", the film about the plight of migrants, with a speech by an economics prof interested in migrant workers. Other programs will focus on Menominee County conditions, Johnson's War on Poverty, etc. (Sue Hook is chairman.)

Chapter organization: We have created (by by-law) an executive committee consisting of the three officers, chairmen of all standing projects, and two at-large (Jackie Greenberg and Woody Wells). We had been holding weekly chapter meetings on Tues. afternoons, but we decided to switch to bi-weekly evening meetings. In between are the meetings of the executive and other committees. We are beginning a new experiment whereby the executive committee and all other interested members come to dinner at my place every Sunday evening (dorms don't serve Sunday evening meals). This "Sunday evening set" will be the people who are really active. After dinner, committees meet and work (mimeoing, etc.) gets done.

REED

by Jeremy Brecher

Reed SDS now has a local membership of 24 and an on-campus mailing list of just under 50. Officers include Chairman Jim Berland and Exec. Board members Jeremy Brecher, Michael Corn, Phil Wykelund, and Tom Rossen.

SDS members collected a large proportion of the petitions needed to put Tore Dacklin and Jimmy Walker, two candidates for the state legislature from Portland's East Central District, on the ballot. Walker, Editor of the Northwest Defender, Portland's only Negro paper, is now out of the running; but Dacklin, an old Farmer-laboriet from Wisconsin and Shop Steward for the UAW local here, is still very much in the race.

I am sitting on the campaign committee of

Don S. Willner, liberal incumbent candidate for the State Senate. We are hoping to place someone on the campaign committee of three liberal candidates running as a ticket for the Democratic Party State Senate nomination. Charles O. Porter is running in the primary against a New Frontier incumbent; Porter, currently co-chairman of the Committee for a Review of Our China Policy, was a Congressional Representative from 1958 to 1960 and a member of the Congressional Liberal Study Group then, and is one of the most liberal men to serve in Congress in recent years. Unfortunately, we are too far away from his district to help his campaign, and his chances are not terribly good.

The degree of our involvement in local politics is largely due to the unusual nature of politics here. The Democratic Party in Oregon is very liberal by national standards; men with the politics of Wayne Morse (see p. 15) and Charles Porter are the rule, not the exception. However, the party structure itself, as designed by Populist-written laws at the turn of the century, is very weak. Even party officials -- State Central Comm, and Democratic National Comm. members, precinct chairmen, etc. -- are elected by the party rank-and-file. This has two effects: no machine has gained a foothold, so that a campaign consists merely of the candidate, his wife, and a handful of friends and supporters; and there is no party discipline, so that candidates who do not support the party platform can run and be elected on that party's ticket. The first means that a small group of students can have a major impact on a few races. The second has resulted in a conservative wing of the Democratic Party who vote with the Republicans in the legislature. Two of the leaders of this group, State Senators Pearson and Mahoney, come from Portland, and it is against them that much of our political activity is really directed.

About eight SDS members are studying various aspects of poverty in Portland -- housing, income unemployment, education. -- and the attempts to deal with them by state, city, and private groups. We have come up with some interesting information (cont. next page)

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-- such as the fact that from 1955 to 1960, private employment in the state of Oregon actually decreased by 2000 jobs, and only an increase of 23,000 jobs in federal, state, and local payrolls prevented a much higher unemployment rate.

The Portland Friends of SNCC group has just started a door-to-door housing "gripe" survey in the Negro ghetto, Albina, in which a number of SDS people are participating. Right now it is discovering the areas of concern in the ghetto, and may in the future move into the stage of organizing community-based organizations around those issues -- schools, housing, employment, and the like.

Reed Students for Racial Equality (SRE), in which SDS members are very active, has a tutoring program involving between 50 and 100 students. The program itself has been excellent, but no attempts have been made to use it to build a more militant base within the Portland Negro community. SRE also encouraged a large number of students to write their Senators in support of the civil rights bill by supplying information and typewriters in the cafeteria before and after dinners.

Mark Lane spoke here in late March and made a very good impression on the student body. A "Reed Students Committee of Inquiry" may be developing, organized by the school paper, the Quest, and Students for Civil Liberties (SCL), who co-sponsored the Lane talk. Additional political speakers on campus recently have included Ammon Hennessy of the Catholic Worker Movement, on Catholic anarchism; and Monroe Sweetland, an LID staff member many years ago and one of the most important figures in the building of the Oregon D.P., on a year spent in Indonesia.

SCL, in which some SDS people are active, is planning to picket the Security Activities Control Board when it holds spring hearings in Portland. SCL is apparently getting a good deal of faculty support in this attack on the McCarren Act.

About 250 students, mainly from Reed and Portland State College, demonstrated a few weeks ago in support of the Portland Reporter, a paper which grew out of the

big newspaper strike here several years ago. It is owned by hundreds of people who bought \$10 shares in it, and is the only competitor of the town's two New-house papers. When it was on the verge of bankruptcy, hundreds of people contributed small sums to keep it going, including many students, and \$50,000 was raised in small contributions in just a few days.

The American Friends Service Committee in Portland is organizing and sponsoring a conference for students on the economics of disarmament, using PREP material among other things as working papers. Its initial flyer on the conference reads, "Arms expenditures are such a vital ingredient in American prosperity that any prospect of significant disarmament is greeted by fear for the economy. At the same time, rising unemployment and chronically depressed areas make that prosperity itself questionable. The Civil Rights Movement, in its efforts to break the social patterns which hold the Negro people in ghetto poverty, struggle for 'jobs and freedom'. Responsibility to its membership demands that the labor movement work for economic abundance. The threat of nuclear war, with its grave dangers to humanity, demands that we seriously discuss the social and economic obstacles to disarmament -- that we make every effort to break down the barriers to peace and freedom."

WILSON C

by Alison Raphael

Wilson SDS spent much of the last few months preparing for the Poverty Conference held here 13-15 March.

Several members of the chapter have been involved with the local struggle for fair employment for Negroes. We accompanied the leaders of the protest to the Mayor's Office and to a meeting at a large Defense Depot where many Negroes are employed.

Much time has also been spent on the campus problem of required Chapel. Members have been working behind the scenes to arrange meetings with the Trustees and to encourage student protest. As progress

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has not been satisfactory, a Boycott (Wilson Style) is expected to go into effect Wednesday, April 2. We will hold meetings at 8:13 a.m. (the same time as Chapel) to discuss such topics as "The Morality of Required Religion".

The chapter held a small Bake Sale to help pay the costs of Comment, our newsletter. The next issue will come out on "College Day", when prospective students en masse visit the school with their parents. The issue centers around the chapel problem, the censorship by the College's President of a Sex Survey written by girls on campus to be administered to the student body, and a meeting of the President of the College and 4 SDS members to discuss the role of SDS on campus.

One of our members, Vivian Appel, is the co-author of a play, "They That Live by the Sword," which will be presented before a convention of Christian educators. The play's theme is criticism of War and the civil defense programs which help to promote it.

Along the same lines, we recently drafted a resolution, presented to a S.G. meeting calling for an end to the college's civil defense program.

KANSAS U

by Lee Byrd

On March 21, KULAC (K.U. Liberal Action Committee), in co-operation with local civil rights forces, held a non-violent demonstration protesting a local fraternity's (Sigma Nu) adherence to a specific discriminatory clause in that organization's national constitution, which bars Negroes from membership. Approximately 130 participated, all carrying picket signs. The marchers wore suits and ties and sang freedom songs through most of the demonstration, save for a short period in which everyone faced the fraternity house in conspicuous silence. All personnel in the demonstration were extremely well-disciplined, exercising continual respect for passers-by and fraternity agitators. There were no serious incidents, although members of Sigma Nu and one or two neighboring houses (which are

de facto segregated) managed to indict themselves through the rude and insulting behavior of some of their number. This was exemplified by a number of cars which drove by at high speeds displaying confederate flags, and a group which organized to serenade the picketers with repeated choruses of "Dixie". The Kappa Sigma fraternity, particularly obnoxious, went to the trouble of setting up a mock machine gun which was fired at the demonstrators. It was from this house also that a number of highly insulting remarks were projected upon the picketers. The demonstration was very well received by the press in the Kansas-Missouri region, and everyone felt the effort was a tremendous success. A couple of interesting sidelights to this demonstration include the fact that it was participated in by several well-known Negro athletes, including All-American football player Gale Sayers, All Big-Eight Conference man Mike Shinn, and All-Conference basketball player George Unseld. Approximately 47% of the demonstrators were Negroes; 37% were women.

On March 28, a similar demonstration took place aimed at the entire de facto segregated fraternity system. The format was the same as a week earlier, with essentially the same participants. The location of the picket line was at the scene of the annual "Greek Week Chariot Races", an event that attracted roughly 2000 people. Again there were no serious incidents. Earlier in the day, a group of 90 people travelled 20 miles to Topeka, where a picket line was set up at the State Capitol. This action caused a great deal of consternation for a Republican candidate for the Kansas governorship. The demonstration in Topeka was to protest KU fraternity segregation, as was the demonstration later that afternoon at KU. The picketers had gone to Topeka because the State's Attorney-General, William Ferguson, was lighting a "Greek Week Torch", which was to be relayed to KU for the afternoon activities. It was something of a wonder to watch Ferguson's behavior before the press. As an ex-KU fraternity man, he still supported the system, while simultaneously he nodded approval of the picket line, not wishing to alienate any civil rights forces. Asked

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if KU fraternities, for reason of their segregation, could be legally recognized by a state institution (which they currently are), Ferguson said that he was unable to answer. KULAC members are currently investigating the possibilities of a legal case to be directed against University recognition of the segregated fraternities.

Current activities under consideration include the possibility of organizing a rent strike in a large Negro neighborhood of Lawrence (KU's seat), where a monopoly of landowners have set ridiculous rent prices for some of the city's shabbiest homes. Also under way are plans for a voter registration drive in Lawrence.

KULAC has just recently begun a speaker's series on controversial issues. Our first forum featured KULACer grad student Steve Heeren, who spoke "On a Rational Sex Code". It was attended by about 100.

One of the hottest projects of KULAC at this point is the investigation of a select organization which controls the fraternity system, and subsequently campus politics as well as campus honorary organizations. Unfortunately, most of our evidence at this point is technically hearsay, so we may endure a long period of frustration before much tangible progress can be made. Suffice it to say that we are certain that the group in question has top administration and political ties, and to break it on this campus would strike a real blow indeed for academic and social freedom at KU.

VASSAR C

by Peggy Dauber

Our chapter has been concentrating on campus reform for a number of practical reasons. For one thing, such reform is badly needed: not many colleges have student governments which hold closed meetings at which the Warden (official title of one of the administrators) is present. Because of limited time and forces, we have not been able to work in the local community (Poughkeepsie, NY) at the same time as we attempt campus reform.

Some of the local housing is terribly inadequate; there are dilapidated apartments near the waterfront (Hudson R.) which have no central heating. However, the V.C. Civil Rights Comm. (in which some SDS members are active) and a new intercollegiate group (Dutchess, Marist, New Paltz, V.C.) have begun inspecting buildings and are making further plans. The first urban renewal project in the area has been contracted to go up next fall, with several more to follow.

SDS's drive for open CGA (College Gov't Ass'n) meetings began last semester with petitions demanding that meetings be made public so that interested students could attend. The petitions were circulated in five dormitories and signed by 2/3 of the girls in each. In addition, the Vassar Miscellany News (the student paper) requested permission to send a reporter to cover meetings. The CGA Executive Comm. replied that neither the open meetings nor news coverage would be possible, but that it would print minutes of CGA meetings in the paper. However, these minutes merely list the conclusions reached and, according to certain student members, sometimes omit some of the topics discussed. SDS members planned a sit-in, but received an invitation to present grievances at the one annual open meeting (in Feb.) SDS drafted and presented a list of reforms which included:

- changing from a College Gov't Ass'n to a Student Gov't Ass'n, with open meetings;
- revising the judicial and social panels and substituting a court system in which it would be possible to appeal decisions;
- reforming the election procedures to legalize campaigning, including speeches (at present, voting is based on a name and a snapshot);
- codification (or abolition) of college rules to make possible a court system and to clarify transgressions (at present there are many "unwritten rules" handed down by the administration).

However, the CGA showed no intention of acting on these proposals -- or even seriously considering them.

Campus reform has also included attempts

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U OF LOUISVILLE

by Jim Williams

After the March on Frankfurt (see March Bulletin and p. 16), the state legislature continued to stall any passage of even watered-down bills for public accommodations. So, the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights called a hunger strike which was set in the state House Gallery. 32 persons fasted for 104 hours in the gallery, drinking only water and having only chewing gum to quiet the hunger pangs. 4 of the fasters were SSAers--Joe Danz, Ellis Harvey, James Van Cleave, and Jim Williams. At first, we were afraid that the police would remove us from the building; the strikers were prepared to go limp and refuse to co-operate. But the Governor affirmed our right to be there. Capitol guards, however, did their part to make our stay uncomfortable at night -- they would alternately turn the heat up full blast and then turn on the air conditioner, and squads of them would stomp through the gallery -- where we were sleeping on the floor -- making lots of noise and shining lights in our faces, every 30 minutes. At the end of 104 hours the fast was called off when the Governor promised to call a special session when the Federal bill had passed. All attempts to get a civil rights bill on the floor had failed, when the strikers took up their positions. All Kentucky responded in one way or another to the fast -- but the Negro community and the liberal whites backed us wholeheartedly and without reservations.

SSA is largely recuperating from these problems and activities and thus has been fairly inactive for a little while. We do plan to resume the regular literature table when school resumes during the first week of April.

SSA will sponsor State Representative Norbert L. Blume on April 8. Blume introduced strong civil rights bills this session and fought valiantly to pass them -- making many fine speeches in the effort. He was also the only representative to vote the right way on labor bills: he fought fiercely a bill to lower waitres-

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to educate students to a more leftist view and to encourage action. Thus, during the signing of petitions, conceptions of the role of student government were discussed. And in early March a few hundred SDS leaflets were handed out -- which startled a number of students. In mid-February, several girls initiated a student-faculty forum. The Vassar SNCC coordinator (SDSer Adraenne Bernstein) is tentatively planning to sponsor John Lewis to speak here on April 29.

OKLAHOMA U

Though a report on U.O. SDSers' activity was not available by press time, a brief summary of the contents of their newsletter, "SDS Voice", should prove revealing of the conditions under which they must operate. The newsletter, a brief (2-page) item, carries two stories.

One deals with the "citizenship" courses which the U.O. Air Force ROTC has set up for its freshman cadets: the instructors are "Air Force personnel who have so special qualifications to teach in this field... They merely present prepared material, now and then letting biases based on unsubstantiated knowledge slip into the course. For example, several students reported being told in class that most of the civil rights groups, although they were not actually Communist fronts, served the same purpose." A chart showing the political lineup on a liberalism/conservatism scale, drawn up by a U of Alabama prof, indicating that the "middle" in American politics is occupied by Southern Democrats, is used in the course.

The second article describes a panel of Shawnee Freedom Fund functionaries, who discussed the "radical left" before the Student Religious Liberals in order to counter a previous program on the "radical right". One protagonist indicated that some members of the "radical left" were leading the government to liberalism and thence to Communism. Those doing this included Senators Humphrey, Morse, and Neuberger; Walter Lippman, Ralph Bunche; the NAACP, ADA, and the L.I.D. A relatively unresponsive audience was their fortune, however, although the Young Republicans showed up in force.

ERAP REPORT

by ERAP Staffer Ken McEldowney

The Ann Arbor conference on community movements and economic issues, co-sponsored by NSM and SDS, is shaping up to be the most significant gathering of radicals and activists in the '60's. Some 200 to 300 young people from SNCC; rent strikes in Harlem, Cleveland, and Washington; school boycotts in Chester, Boston, and Chicago; and from peace, labor, and campus groups from around the country will be attending the conference, to be held 10-12 April. The conference's purposes are: (1) the development of economic programs both local and national in

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ses' minimum wages (the bill passed but was vetoed by the Governor). Blume is also business agent of Teamsters Local 938, Dairy Workers.

Other activities in the coming weeks include the showing of the SNCC voter registration film, "We'll Never Turn Back", a talk by a local Black Muslim leader, and a speech by Anne Braden on HUAC following publication of her new pamphlet.

Community activities are focussing on the West End Community Council, which is fighting to preserve an integrated neighborhood. It is hoped that this will become an ERAP summer project. SSA members recently helped make a survey of a large section of the West End.

Obviously, SSAers will try to maintain activity in Louisville in support of the Hazard summer project.

We have also been active in statewide organizing, helping students at Western St. T.C. in Bowling Green and Bellarmine C. in Louisville, to organize. Many of these people will attend the Nashville conference of the Southern Student Organizing Fund (see p. 12).

Norman Thomas spoke at UL on March 16, to over 550 students. The speech was sponsored by the Student Council, which had invited him at our request.

scope around which community organization can effectively take place; (2) the exchange of experiences and ideas about the methodology of community organizing; (3) the initiation of collective discussion among those engaged in the real war on poverty about national economic policy.

Much of the scope of the conference can be seen through a rapid examination of the outline for the working papers which are expected to be several hundred pages in length.

I. Strategic analysis: to include a historical perspective of the movement; to analyze critically the issues facing northern organizing efforts; to suggest a working conception of what a radical, multi-issue, community-based organization means; to suggest a strategic research-action "model" for community organizers; and to examine the possibilities of organizing along low-income class lines, Negroes and whites.

II. Community structure: to examine the role of indigenous institutions and informal patterns of living in the ghetto and of society's larger agencies and institutions that are represented in the ghetto; to discuss whether it is better to stress direct political involvement through electoral politics to gain power or to stress a radical re-organization of people's lives at the grass-roots and thereby build the organization outside the established institutions that can change society.

III. National issues and problems: to discuss the limitations of Johnson's War on Poverty and to examine the makeup of the economy and political order as they impinge on the goals and strategies of local movements.

IV. Case studies: to discuss the experiences of different local movements, drawing general observations about organizing where possible.

The conference will devote a major section of time to a discussion of NSM & ERAP summer projects. (cont. next page)

erap (cont)

TRAVEL

Most of the Ann Arbor ERAP staff spent the last ten days of March in a hurried trip through the eastern part of the country, fund-raising for the summer projects and visiting local projects. We received much encouragement and support from labor leaders and expressions of "keen interest" from Gov't officials.

PROJECTS

While in Washington, ERAP Director Rennie Davis et al talked with leaders of local SNCC about summer organizing plans in D.C. Washington SNCC would like SDS to work jointly on rent strikes, leading toward a community movement for home rule. The feasibility of undertaking such a joint project will be discussed at the Ann Arbor conference and the upcoming SDS National Council meeting.

The most recent project prospectus to be completed is for Newark, N.J. In Newark, the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council, the National Committee for Full Employment, and SDS will work together in a project aimed toward developing a union of the unemployed capable of putting forward in a dramatic way a program for full employment in Newark. Information about the Newark project, as well as materials on projects in Chester, Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Hazard, and Louisville can be obtained from the ERAP office at this time. Order in quantity.

PUBLICATIONS

In the last few weeks ERAP has published a number of small pamphlets and working papers which can be obtained from ERAP (1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich.):

1. Working papers on poverty in eastern Kentucky (prepared for the Hazard conference), price 50¢ for all, 10¢ each:
 - Our Crisis Economy; Ray Brown
 - This is War?: Robb Burlage
 - Problems Relating to Unemployment in the Vicinity of Hazard: Richard Greenberg
 - Proposal for an Economic Development Program in East. Ky.: ERAP Staff
 - Eastern Kentucky in Perspective: Mike Zweig

Sedition Indictment Quashed

A year under indictment for "advocacy of violent overthrow of the government" ended in March for three members of the Young Socialist Alliance (formerly students at Indiana U.). Judge Nat Hill declared unconstitutional, after pre-trial arguments, the 1951 Indiana Communism Act under which the three had been indicted. The case grew out of YSA participation in an anti-Cuba-blockade demonstration in Bloomington, Ind. in Oct. 1962 and a YSA Field Secretary's speech in Bloomington asserting the right of Negroes to defend themselves if attacked. It was this speech which prompted the indictment; however, there had already been -- and continued to be -- prosecution by newspaper by County Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley, who apparently saw in the case a political football with which to appeal to anti-Communist sentiments of conservative Indianians.

The three had received considerable support from academia, most recently when 1/3 of Carleton C's 1500 students gave up their March 6 dinner and donated the money instead to the costs of the students' defense. Those interested in more information should contact the Comm. to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213, NYC 3.

- Appalachina Summer Project, Preliminary Prospectus: ERAP Staff
 - Bibliographical Suggestions for the Hazard Conference: ERAP Staff
 - Readings on Poverty, Part II: Ken McEldowney
2. Economic Research and Action Project -- An Introduction, free
 3. The Survey and Community Organization. (on surveying in Chester, Pa.): Nick Egleson, 10¢
 4. Working Papers on Community Movements and Economic Issues (prepared for the Ann Arbor conference), \$1.00

"French traders report that North Vietnam is encountering considerable economic difficulties but that the government is stable and not corrupt, and that at least economic misery no longer exists there."

from The New Republic, 14 March 1964

CHAPTER REPORTS: U. OF TEXAS...

by Jeffrey Shero

Fourteen members of SDS travelled to the Conference on Poverty at Hazard, Ken. We were greeted with exclamations like: "My God! I thought everybody in Texas was a conservative" or "What's going on way down there?" The only bolstering comment was a frequent "That Lynda Bird picket was great."

Without rambling through the rest of the episodes that continually jarred our be-draggled bodies (they'll assuredly be reported elsewhere in length detail as experienced by others), I would like to make some observations:

A group of Texans who didn't have the money for additional food, slept in a cabin and talked with many miners while the rest of us attended the conference. They found a large amount of antipathy for Berman Gibson. The summer project should have a more comprehensive view of the situation to hope to be successful.

We thought the attitude on civil rights was objectionable -- "We came to Hazard to help miners, not to fight for civil rights." Fine, but we were asked to practice discrimination towards one of our members because his skin was brown. Our feelings about civil rights are primarily instilled by friendships rather than exercises in logic. A friend is much more important to me than harm resulting from not deferring to some miner's prejudice.

We were interested and at times amused by the dogmatic positions towards politics taken by many eastern college delegates. To tell the unsophisticated that truth is "what Marx really meant..." didn't always seem to have the greatest bearing on the miners' plight.

We thought it was surprising that nary a word about non-violence was spoken, particularly when many members of the conference had pledged themselves to non-violence in integration demonstrations. Though Appalachia is known for its bloody

strikes, I doubt if the miners are more urged to violence than, say, the Negroes of Birmingham. Pickets that end up with men being beaten and killed are not a necessary condition for the resistance to the entrenched system.

Our University of Texas chapter featured folksinger Carolyn Hester in a Hoot for Hazard on April 4. Carolyn sang at the conference in Hazard, where we talked with her. She is very concerned about the poverty in Appalachia and so agreed to do the show for free. We raised over a hundred dollars for the miners' committee.

In Austin, the NAACP is holding a read-in filibuster at the city council meeting. The plan is to tie up city business until the council is pressured into passing a public accommodations ordinance. Members of the SDS chapter have been manning the picket line in front of cityhall.

On April 2, Joan Baez came to the picket line. She attracted about sixty of the campus folksinger types -- those who love to drink beer and sing songs of Protest and Freedom but who also limit their progressive battle against the forces of status quo to growing beards and wearing smelly T-shirts.

We asked Joan to give these instant militants a speech about the need for activity other than song-singing. It was a ticklish situation for her, which she handled well. She told of personal picketing experiences and asked them to stay and work after she had left. She then led the crowd of over 100 in "We Shall Overcome", asking, "If you really don't believe in, please don't sing."

During the month of April we are bringing Mark Lane to Austin to speak about his investigation of the Oswald case. Also, a leader of the Texas AFL-CIO is speaking about the problems of organizing in Texas.

....SWARTHMORE

by Evan Metcalf

The Swarthmore Political Action Club's activities in the last month have centered on work with the Chester Committee for Freedom Now (CCFN). The only major non-Chester action was a decision, following an education campaign initiated by Russ Statler of Haverford, Chairman of the May 2 Committee, to support the May 2 demonstration in New York for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam (see p. 1). This decision, altering SPAC's policy of concentrating solely on domestic issues, was made to prevent pre-occupation with Chester from becoming an isolating influence.

In Chester, four new block organizations were formed in late February, following the school boycott, including one in a Puerto Rican section and one in an integrated area; they have thus far been relatively successful in getting people to attend meetings; and, especially in the Puerto Rican organization, previously uninvolved students have been active in setting the organizations up.

Recently, CCFN and the Chester NAACP (cooperating for the first time since November, when CCFN split from the NAACP) have conducted a series of demonstrations protesting de facto school segregation, the refusal of the school board to meet with CCFN, and -- after six demonstrators were hospitalized -- police brutality. The demonstrations began during Swarthmore's spring vacation, with only two students present, and have continued for a week without student organizational work. While students did participate in the demonstrations (at least seven were jailed, along with 170 Chester people), their technical skills and mass partici-

pation are now unnecessary for a successful demonstration.

A prime factor in the successful mobilization of the community (300-600 people every night) in the week's demonstrations was the older block organizations. They provided some communication channels although the structure of the communications to the grass roots level is still too informal to be of decisive importance. More important, the block organizations provided a situation in which the grass roots could be reached, and in which interested people could participate, gain leadership experience, and assume responsibility in the movement. It is through this broader, second-echelon leadership that communication with less involved people takes place, and it is this leadership that is responsible for many of the smaller jobs that a demonstration entails. In view of the initial success of the new block organizations in reaching new areas of the community and the grass roots leadership that has emerged from the older organizations, together with CCFN's ability to organize a demonstration without extensive student work, our greatest contribution to the movement can be in extending the block organizations and making them effective. The biggest problem facing block organization, one which the ERAP summer project may deal with, is that of finding continuing projects in which there is (1) sufficient interest in the neighborhood to attract many timid and apathetic people into greater involvement, and (2) the possibility of effective action being initiated and carried through on the neighborhood level, so that the marginal members don't drop out after a few weeks of mere discussion.

(Editor's note: The chapter reports from U. of Texas and Swarthmore arrived just as the Bulletin was about to be mimeoed, which accounts for the slight change in format. I thought they should get in, though, so i just stuck them in.)

THE NASHVILLE MOVEMENT: A BRIEF BACKGROUND

by Sue Thrasher, Peabody C. grad. student

The Nashville "movement" has a unique history. It was the pioneer of major sit-in demonstrations in 1960, but since that time only sporadic action has taken place. In 1961, the theatres were desegregated; in 1963, most of the motels, hotels, and restaurants in the downtown area were opened and a Mayor's Commission on Human Relations was appointed. The pattern has been that direct action will be planned and small accomplishments made. The city then retreats back into its segregated shell until pressure is again brought upon it by the threat of violence from Negroes marching in the streets. Yet, despite its slowness in full public school integration, public accommodations and job opportunities, Nashville is known as the "Southern city with the most tokens."

The movement in Nashville has focussed on "symbols" of an unjust social system. Although gains have been made in public accommodations, there has been no concerted effort on the part of local students at programs directed toward voter registration, improved housing, or employment opportunities.

Last fall a new element entered into the picture. A group of students from the Joint University Center (JUC -- Vanderbilt, Peabody, and Scarritt) planned and effectively carried out a boycott against a small segregated eating establishment in the University community. This campaign sparked the beginning of a predominantly white JUC social action group "across town" from the local SNCC group. Until this time, all student action had been carried out by the Student Central Committee, students from predominantly Negro A & I State U., Fisk U., and American Baptist Theological Seminary, with a few students from the JUC committing across town to participate in demonstrations and attend meetings.

Although it would appear that there are two distinct groups in Nashville, there is actually an overlapping core group of persons dedicated to social change. Both groups are beginning to ask questions

concerning their role in creating a better society and are beginning to look at new kinds of problems. Lack of popular support by students for demonstrations or a clear sense of "targets" has resulted in changing the focus from public accommodations to asking new questions and directing research in other areas, such as jobs, housing, and educational facilities. However, more direct action against restaurant "stragglers" is expected by both groups this spring.

The Student Central Committee (a SNCC affiliate) is beginning to explore the possibilities of an organized boycott against one particular company for better employment opportunities and the possibility of protesting poor educational facilities on the predominantly Negro campuses. The University Center group, due to recognition of the fact that most Southern liberal and radical groups experience a sense of isolation and ostracism, felt that more communication was needed among civil rights-active white students, in particular. On this basis, the Nashville group is inviting representatives from other Southern college groups to an April 3-5 meeting in Nashville to discuss the need for forming a campus-based organization directed toward predominantly white campuses in the South. This organizational scheme is currently being called "Southern Student Organizing Fund".

The JUC social action group is also planning more direct action against university area restaurants this spring, recruitment of Negro students for the three colleges and demands for better Negro employment practices, and a full three-campus educational campaign. Some individuals are also involved in a Negro student tutorial program.

SDS Appalachian field secretary George Gods spoke recently to both the JUC and SNCC groups, and pointed out specific problems of the Appalachian region. He helped both groups to see that the problem of the Negro is only part of a national problem that is rooted in a conventional economic system that must be questioned seriously. Some of the JUC and SNCC leaders are members of SDS.

n.s.a. congress caucuses form on civil rights, reform

by Bruce Rappaport, U. of Chicago

Plans are being laid now for the establishment of two "pressure groups" at this summer's National Student Association Congress. One is meant to insure that extensive and informed discussion occurs on civil rights issues; the other is directed toward emphasizing the need for full discussion within colleges and universities on many issues, and toward directing NSA's energies toward creating such discussion.

The Civil Rights Caucus will be an informal caucus of all those interested in civil rights. It was started because of disappointment with last year's Congress discussion of, and this year's NSA action on, civil rights. Members will do research on civil rights issues, keep themselves up on developments, get together to plan flccr strategy, etc.

The Reform Caucus is directed toward "enlarging the horizon of the college student", "increasing and encouraging the student dialogue", bringing public issues to college campuses (particularly small college campuses), bringing campus reform issues to the fore, even bringing "cultural" ideas to campus (such as National Film Festivals, bringing modern art exhibits to campus, etc.). A de-emphasis is suggested of the need of NSA to take radical stands -- better to have widely supported, kind-of-liberal stands than unsupported-by-most-students, radical stands (especially since the student movement is no longer so desperate for radical NSA stands as it once was).

More specifically: What is proposed is the following procedure. Congress committees decide what are the most important issues, and then formulate the issues and write a version of all the possible positions that can be taken on the issue. The Plenary then perfects the formulations and establishes a priority list for issues. The issues are then programmed at every campus through the work of the National Staff, Regional Directors (the old Student Gov't V-P's), and local NSA delegations and committees -- these

programs would emphasize speakers who will take definite positions and if possible fairly extreme positions representing all the various viewpoints outlined at the Congress. Speakers would be obtained through national and local groups which are interested in having forums for their opinions.

At the end of the school year, elections are held for NSA delegates on the basis of these issues. Campus elections of delegates is required and is an absolute prerequisite if the whole idea of increasing meaningful discussion is to be realized. The elected delegates come to the next year's Congress and reformulate stands on issues, vote on them, and plan programs for the following year; resolutions would stand only for one or two years, with a possible provision for a Basic Policy Declaration, which might stand for 3 or 4 years with a 2/3 vote.

The result of this scheme would be full discussion of issues and final resolutions which would carry tremendous weight because they are known and backed by hundreds of thousands of students. Liberals could be appealed to on the basis that there would be a fuller discussion of issues, conservatives on the basis that the Congress would be more representative and therefore more conservative stands would come from it. Both sides should appreciate the opportunity to articulate their stands on issues more fully. (It should be noted that there would be no major resolutions at the upcoming Congress, inasmuch as there had not been a year of programming preceding it.)

Members of the Reform Caucus will work on program, formulate plans, and -- most important -- line up support and candidates to run on the basis of these proposed reforms or to seek appointment as NSA delegates.

Those interested in further information about, or participation in, these efforts should write to NSA Caucus, c/o U of Chi. Student Gov't, 1212 E. 59th St, Chicago 37.

CRACKS IN THE MONOLITH: A

by Paul Booth

Several recent trends in Washington may give us the opportunity to predict the fate of President Kennedy's initiatives for peace. It appears that the 1964 Presidential campaign will have a heavy dose of foreign policy debate in it, and to a certain extent the fate of the trend toward a peaceful foreign policy lies in the possibility that President Johnson will not be forced into a rigid and militaristic position in the coming campaign.

Two real debates are emerging: one on the level of defense spending, and the other on the style of interventionism which characterizes current State Dept. behavior. Neither debate is likely to be resolved in this session of Congress, or in this round of disarmament negotiations. These debates are tangible rewards of the late President's sympathy to world peace, and are the opportunity to extend the partial detente into a considerably improved international situation.

The first debate seems to have originated between the civilian echelons in the Pentagon and the proponents of the Damage Limiting Strategy (who may be found in the Air Force, the Congress, the civil defense office, and elsewhere). Roswell Gilpatric's article in the current issue of Foreign Affairs represents one legitimate pole of the debate. Gilpatric is willing to scrap the strategy of options in view of the reduced level of international tension, the mutually deterred situation of the two major powers, and the reduced danger of accidental war. The proponents of the Damage Limiting Strategy (which is the current monicker for the package of strategic ideas also described as "counter-force", "limited strategic warfare", "no-cities", or "the strategy of options") want to extend the efforts toward civil defense, perhaps to include blast shelters, and to develop an anti-missile missile (Nike-X AICBM), and to expand our manned delivery capabilities. Current doctrine can be seen to straddle the two positions -- holding out, as LBJ has, the imminent possibility of defense budget cuts, but continuing to request money for CD, anti-missile re-

search, etc.

The issue can be reduced without much distortion to a problem of appropriations. Gilpatric thinks that a \$15 billion reduction by 1970 is warranted. The damage-limiting strategists would undoubtedly want to continue at at least present levels of armaments outlay.

This debate has considerable international implications. It should be expected that an indefinite continuation of \$50 billion budgets would force the Soviets into a renewed arms race. Each year we spend \$50 billion, we are adding a great deal to our delivery capabilities, and, incidentally, satisfying Soviet tendencies to suspect us of preparing to wage preventive war. Note here Melman's liberal estimate of \$30 billion as a "maintenance of forces" budget.

The damage limiting strategy is, of course, a prevalence strategy. One important objective of such a strategy may be to run the adversary's economy into the ground. The timing and the unusual publication of the new CIA studies on the strength of the Soviet economy fit neatly into this view of the current debate. The CIA is certainly going to great lengths to propagate the view that Soviet growth has been slow; it is easy to conclude that a renewed arms race would at the very least place Russia in a weakened bargaining position.

Pentagon civilians have at least one powerful ally in the person of the President. All of his public statements indicate a personal desire to find a way to extend the atmosphere of peace that has developed between us and Russia. An intensification of the arms race would counter all the peaceful initiatives taken thus far.

nuclear strategy & the economy

The damage limiting strategy offers a way out of the impending economic crisis in the U.S. If unemployment persists, the President will be forced to choose between the tried and true pump-primer of defense spending, and some more radical course.

It is evidence of the decrepitness of do-

LETTER ON THE WASHINGTON SCENE

mestic politics that the Defense Dept. is the only agency of society capable of keeping economic crisis at arm's length. At the same time, unemployed machinists on Long Island are intimately aware of its inadequacies in this regard. Sen. George McGovern's proposal for a federal program to implement conversion from defense production is currently being given a sympathetic hearing by Representatives of the districts with defense installations recently shut down.

Still, who has the skills in retraining and adult education, in giving discipline to youth, and in providing gainful employment to millions? The defense establishment, of course. When Studebaker left South Bend, it was the Defense Dept. which saved the day with a new contract for Jeeps. The war on poverty was almost handed over the Defense, lock, stock, and barrel. Army men will still be counted on to bring discipline to the Youths in Job Corps camps.

To an overwhelming majority of Congressmen, defense spending seems to be the answer to the problems of their depressed areas. If automation gains speed, and the effect of the tax cut should be to speed the process of automation, then the temptation to scuttle the detente in order to provide jobs will be very strong. We may get a damage limiting strategy, in spite of ourselves.

A large civil defense appropriations bill will be taken up by the next Congress. Similarly, requests for bomber and Nike-X appropriations, and for other new weaponry, should increase in the Fiscal Year 1966 and 1967 budgets. At the same time, the GOP nominee should be expected to exploit any sign of LBJ pacifism as an opportunity to scream "appeasement". The right wing is usually able to submerge its sympathy for budget-cutting when the issue of patriotism can be put to use.

Nevertheless, the appeal to the greater patriotism of budget-cutting has found its friends. Sen. Gordon Allott (R-Col) took the floor to denounce the LBJ announcement of the 1100 mph bomber, noting that it was an indication that the Dept.

of Defense has been getting away with murder, concealing budget items from the scrutiny of appropriations committees. Similarly, budget-cutting around the fringes of our defense policy is a popular occupation. We should expect an amendment to the military procurement appropriation to reduce spending by 1/2 of 1% -- Sen. Leverett Saltonstall's (R-Mass) amendment to that effect last year failed by one vote.

The picture painted above is bleak. The forces arrayed for cutting the defense budget are few: a former Dept. of Defense official, the sympathy of the President, perhaps 4 liberal Senators (McGovern, Nelson of Wisconsin, Randolph of West Virginia, and Young of Ohio -- all Democrats). In the next two years, the fate of the detente will be decided by the battle of the budget. So far all the peace forces can muster is hope.

interventionism attacked

The second debate offers a relief from the pessimism above. For the first time in memory, an attack is being levelled at our whole style of involvement and interventionism. It began with the liberal revolt against foreign aid (albeit a vulnerable item). Morse, it should be remembered, fought vigorously against continued aid to NATO, calling obsolete. Ernest Gruening (D-Alaska) attacks the whole program of military aid, noting that it feeds Latin American and other militarism.

Before the fall of Diem, 33 Senators had offered an amendment to withdraw all aid to that government. 5 of them have spoken out against the Khanh regime, and have suggested that the DeGaulle plan of neutralization and withdrawal has merit. Morse, Gruening, Young, Frank Church (D-Idaho), and Len Jordan (R-Ohio) have been the questioners. In addition, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Montana) has implied that he sides with them. The response from the press and from Sec. of State Rusk has been that these gentlemen are "quitters" and isolationists. Already the history of the term "isolationism" is being repeated -- anyone who is in charge

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PREP NEWSLETTER

The next issue of the Newsletter of SDS's Peace Research and Education Project will be out shortly. It will concentrate on problems related to the economics of disarmament and especially of conversion. Local groups are urged to write to PREP immediately to order bulk copies for distribution on campus. (PREP's address is 715 Arch, Ann Arbor, Mich.)

Order now; be the first on your block!

BOOZH (cont)

gets to describe himself as "internationalist".

And now, Senators Fulbright (D-Ark) and Aiken (R-Vermont) have called for normalization of relations with Panama and Cuba. GOP Chairman Miller calls this appeasement, and it should be expected that the Republican candidate will continue that attack on Democratic Party foreign policy.

As for the President, he is being thrust into the position of having to choose between the Cold War way of doing things (both foreign and domestic), or a new style, characterized by detente, stable deterrence, and large domestic programs in the fields of poverty, civil rights, and full employment. His expressions of caution against the interventionist style have all been greeted by the press as allusions to the interventionist proposal of the day. At one press conference, he seemed to be repudiating Dean Rusk's proposal for boycotting goods of countries trading with Cuba. At another, he seemed to be repudiating the Send-the-Marines-to-Panama school. Lately, the N.Y. Times has called it "his anti-war sentiment", and other sources are predicting that this policy of foreign restraint will be the cornerstone of his 1964 campaign.

Acquiring the President as an ally will be a difficult job, for he alone cannot be expected to turn back the military-industrial complex. It does indicate that talk of cutting the defense budget may become legitimate in the Democratic Party -- if peace people bring it in.

Unsigned articles are the responsibility of Bulletin Editor Don McKelvey.

MARCH ON

by Jim Williams, U of Louisville

Early in February of this year, the formation of a new coalition of civil rights groups, the Allied Organization for Civil Rights (AOCR), was announced by Frank L. Stanley, Jr., editor of the Negro weekly, the Louisville Defender, and Dr. Olaf Anderson, Jr., Executive Director of the Louisville Presbytery of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Stanley was to serve as general chairman while Anderson served as co-chairman. A steering committee was formed and an effort to get civil rights and other organizations to join was begun. The announced purpose of the organization was to push for a state public accommodations ordinance. It is important to note at the beginning that the steering committee was composed of more than 50% whites -- largely whites who had previously been inactive, except for an occasional contribution to the NAACP, say. The principle members, including Frank Stanley, had been active campaigners for A.B. "Happy" Chandler in the Democratic primary last spring and this faction is still smarting over the victory of New Frontiersman Ned Breathitt, the present Governor.

Immediately, about 40 groups affiliated with AOCR. Among the first to join was the U of Louisville Students for Social Action (SSA), an SDS/SNCC affiliate. SSA joined despite an objection to an anti-Red clause in the constitution. A staff and an office were formed to begin the committee's work. SSA was allowed 2 members on the Executive Comm. of AOCR. (There were three alleged governing groups: the Steering Committee, the Executive Committee, and the Advisory Committee. While policy, according to the constitution, was decided in the Executive Committee, in reality it was decided in the Steering Comm. -- with the Exec. Comm. serving only to rubberstamp its decisions. The Advisory Committee was merely a list of prestigious names.)

The office staff is also important. Administrative Director is Mrs. Jasper Ward, a prominent Democratic machine functionary and firm Chandler supporter. The wealthy white lady was also a main con-

FRANKFORT - BACKGROUND....

tributor to AOCR, Mrs. Georgia Davis was office co-ordinator and also a Negro Chandlerite. Charles Hammond, Media Secretary, was a prominent ex-President of the County YDs and leader of the Chandler faction. The only other staff person of influence was Bruce Anderson, assistant media secretary, who was on the board of the local NAACP and CORE. He is a good guy.

Note at the beginning that the main policy body and the staff body are controlled by white Chandlerites. This is very important.

A.B. "Happy" Chandler, you will recall, was a leading Dixiecrat in 1948, and served as U.S. Senator and Governor of Kentucky twice. His picked candidate, Harry Lee Waterfield, was defeated in 1960 by Bert Combs, a New Frontiersman. Ned Breathit, against whom Chandler ran in 1963, was Combs's picked candidate and a Kennedy supporter. The Democratic Party underwent the most brutal factional turmoil in its history, many Chandlerites backing, in the end, the Goldwater Republican gubernatorial candidate, Louis Nunn. The Chandler people, by all means of judging, are not friends of the Negro people. Chandler, while not a George Wallace, was most definitely a Huey Long or Pig Jim Fulsome.

FRANKFORT MARCH SET

Early in February, the AOCR steering committee made the decision to stage a March on Frankfort in the manner of the March on Washington. The March was never a matter of serious debate -- except, that is, with SSA and Bruce Anderson. SSA called for a series of smaller marches from local communities which would actually be not marches but lobbies with their representatives. It was felt that a series of these would mount a steady and serious pressure on the legislature without nearly the expense and bother of the Big March. We felt also that the smaller demonstrations would have a wider base and would be much more effective in a real political sense. This proposal was quickly put down by the pro-Chandlerites. From then on, policy was fixed in regards to the March. (See March SDS Bulletin for story on the March on Frankfort.)

With this as the set policy, SSA quickly lent its support and went to work for the March. As an organization, SSA contributed practically all of the state-wide organizers, guys who went out on weekends to work in various communities. Six of our guys did this. SSA also supplied AOCR with its list of statewide college contacts and thus was directly responsible for the organization at Berea College, Western Kentucky St. C., and Bellarmine C. SSA was also responsible for the organization of the U.L. committee.

We decided to hold a campus-wide rally in support of the March. Rev. Syngman Rhee of UCCR and Jim Williams were made responsible for the rally. Speakers were to be Frank Stanley of AOCR, Mrs. Mary Tachau (faculty co-ordinator for the March), and Mitch McConnell (S.G. President). McConnell, though he had decided not to support the March, did agree to speak in support of the public accommodations bill. Williams (who handled all this) also invited Sam Shirah, SNCC field secretary, who was to be in Louisville at the time. Williams arranged for radio time over station WLOU the morning of the rally. (It is important to note that Williams was solely responsible for the speakers and invited Shirah -- as he had invited other speakers -- without the rest of the UL committee's knowledge.) Shirah's appearance wasn't known until the morning of the rally when it was announced over the radio. This was because we weren't able to contact him until two days prior to the rally.

FBI RED-BAITING

Now -- flashback to Sunday, March 1. The segregationist National States Rights Party held its national convention in Louisville. SSA members, CORE, NAACP, Unitarians, etc, picketed this fascist gathering. Present on the line were Shirah, SDS's George Goss, and Carl Braden, Field Organizer for the Southern Conference (SCEF), who spent a year in jail some years ago for citing the First Amendment in refusing to answer HUAC questions about Communist Party membership. FBI men immediately showed up at the picket, took pictures of us, and asked questions (a treatment not accorded the fascists).

(cont. next page)

INSIDE STORY

Apparently, after this, the FBI visited AOCR headquarters and talked with Mrs. Ward -- making sure to mention the presence of Braden, Shirah, and Goss. Mrs. Ward panicked.

At this point, it is relevant to note that SCEF had not been considered for AOCR membership, though the Bradens live in Louisville. All Negro members of the Steering Committee voted for its admission. The whites voted against SCEF, charging that it is on the Attorney-General's list (it isn't). SSA took no official position in this dispute, although this writer registered his opinion with Dr. Anderson, AOCR co-chairman, who is also chairman of the Louisville Peace Council. At the same meeting, it was decided not to invite John Lewis of SNCC to speak at the Frankfort rally, although Martin Luther King, Ralph Abernathy, Wyatt Walker, James Farmer, and Jackie Robinson had been invited. The AOCR also refused to use the Kentucky mailing list of SECF, which was composed of recent local civil rights activists all over the state from every walk of life. (This was a real handicap to the state organizers, who found that their contacts were often lukewarm white ministers and Chandler campaign workers.)

AOCR PULLS THE RUG OUT

On Tuesday, March 3, the morning of the UL rally, the UL committee announced the rally -- including Shirah -- over WLOU. Mrs. Ward immediately phoned UL committee head Geoff Morris and demanded that Shirah be removed from the program or that Frank Stanley would not speak. Shirah was linked with Carl Braden by Mrs. Ward. Morris, McConnell, Wallace (another UL comm. member; a YD officer), and Co. panicked and cancelled Shirah's appearance. This writer called Mrs. Ward and desperately urged her to reconsider. She agreed finally to allow Shirah to be introduced and to give greetings. But under no conditions was he to answer questions of newsmen or to speak more than two minutes. The UL March committee, though, was so panicked by now (especially McConnell) that they absolutely refused to even recognize Shirah's presence. Thus, the rally went on without Shirah. About 250 students attended. SSA called an emergency meeting immediately after the rally

integrated troupe to south

The City Lights Theatre of San Francisco -- an integrated troupe -- will tour the South this summer. They hope to increase the acceptance of integration simply by being an integrated troupe -- and they also hope to challenge the idea that theatre in America belongs only to purported centers of culture. Their material will be in various artistic forms; they will find stages where they can -- and they are seeking 5 more actors (they have 5 now) and all of the physical paraphernalia necessary for a touring repertory company (including money -- donations will be tax exempt). Anyone interested in any aspect of this -- including having them play where you are or will be -- should contact them c/o Griffin, 1667 Grant Ave, S.F. 11.

where Shirah was to speak. About 50 persons attended this meeting.

Thursday, March 5 -- the day of the March: It was learned that the UL buses had been cancelled by the downtown AOCR organization. The 50 bus travellers piled into hurriedly gathered cars and made the trip to Frankfort stacked on top of each other.

CONCLUSIONS

It is now fairly evident that the March was largely a plot of the Chandlerites to embarrass Gov. Breathitt, rather than to fight for civil rights. The AOCR Committee gained a number of white names and bent over backward to get such groups as the White Southern Baptists into AOCR, though they did not participate. Local civil rights groups such as NAACP and CORE were only loosely encouraged and their participation was half-hearted. AOCR also refused a compromise bill which was vaguer, but acceptable. At all times the AOCR was controlled by white Chandlerites. One result was a considerable increase in the prestige of Frank Stanley, Jr.

(NOTE: At all times, the Negroes supported the admission of SCEF and the help of the Bradens.)

(NOTE: At all times, SSA gave its best services to AOCR freely, even when it disagreed with policies. Proportionately, SSA gave more support than any other group.)

BAY AREA (cont): EMPLOYMENT

heads of San Francisco NAACP and politically-known Negro leaders in the area, as well as CORE members.

arrests

The Ad Hoc Committee, which successfully picketed a Chain of drive-ins here last fall against employment which discriminated in job levels, started negotiating with the Sheraton Palace in November. At that time the hotel employed 19 Negroes out of some 550 employees. Negotiations failed to reach agreement, and demonstrations were called Feb. 28. That night, demonstrators complied with a court order given against marching through the lobby and singing. The next night an injunction was issued limiting the number of pickets outside the hotel to nine. On the advice of lawyers, demonstrators refused to comply and were arrested.

The following weekend, the previous week's arrests and the refusal of the Hotel to agree in writing to employ more Negroes and at higher job levels brought more than 2000 protestors -- nearly one-fourth Negroes -- out on the streets to picket, "sleep-in" on the hotel lobby floor, and to block doorways and be arrested. (The last-named action was taken following a 4-2 vote in the Ad Hoc Comm.)

The California Council of Democratic Clubs sent twenty delegates from a current conference to support the demonstration. ILWU Local 10 (Longshoremen) voted to support. 800 warehousemen voted to support. It is rumored that the new threat from the ILWU forced Mayor Shelley finally to use his weight to get an agreement.

The agreement, to last until March 1966, was signed by Tracy Sims, Roy Ballard, and Michael Myerson for the Ad Hoc Comm, and by the entire San Francisco Hotel Association for its 33 hotels. Endorsing were the United Freedom Movement -- a group of civil rights organizations -- CORE, and the Baptist Ministers Union.

The hotels agreed to report in 60 days and then each following 30 days on the employment of minority group members by job category, the total number of employees, and total number of minority group employees. It was "reasonably to be an-

APOLOGIES to Mike Miller, whose "Report on San Francisco and Berkeley" in last month's Bulletin was erroneously attributed to Becky Adams Mills.

icipated" that by 20 July 1964 the level of minority employment would be around 15% to 20%. Tours of non-hotel persons were to be arranged so that they might check the hotel's reports.

rifts & red-baiting

The now-familiar apologizing and backtracking of (usually older generation) civil rights organizations and liberals occurred during and after the demonstrations. The Committee and supporters were accused of being irresponsible, 80% white, and Red. The singular courage of Dr. Thomas Burbridge, present chairman of S.F. NAACP and United Freedom Movement, and of Bill Bradley of CORE -- who held out against newspapers, silent or critical Negro leaders, and strong opposition from Mayor Shelley and Governor Brown -- was enormously important. The Sun-Reporter, San Francisco's Negro weekly, supported the demonstrations. The Regional NAACP later confirmed Dr. Burbridge's stand.

The effect of these and earlier CORE demonstrations against employment discrimination is not completely possible to gauge at present. Certainly it will mean better minority group employment by the Hotels and an increase in total income of the Negro community. Almost certainly it means that the next organizations singled out -- e.g. Cadillac, Bank of America, the Bakery industry and Restaurant Ass'n -- will move quickly to avoid public attention. "Within civil rights organizations and the Negro community, the effect is undoubtedly to raise immediate questions of commitment and to "bring the movement" to San Francisco.

Three unprecedented factors stand out in these demonstrations: this was the first industry-wide agreement of its kind; legal injunctions were disobeyed; and support was maintained despite newspapers' playing up left-wing aspects.

The Committee has now grown to include S.F. St. Young Dems, Oakland City C. Interracial Club, the San Francisco Opposition, and the S.F. Young Socialist Alliance.

(cont. next page)

BAY AREA(cont): HOUSING

California's biggest issue in next year's elections is certain to be Fair Housing. After the city of Berkeley defeated a Fair Housing Law last April which contained a clause making racial discrimination a criminal action, the State Legislature passed a law without the criminal clause. The Act, known here as the Rumford Act (after Negro Assemblyman Rumford) delegates to the Fair Employment Practices Commission powers to mediate and urge correct action and hold public hearings where it finds discrimination.

This law is challenged now by an "Initiative Constitutional Amendment" which would outlaw it and former and future legislation like it. It is no secret to the State that the Amendment is being supported strongly by funds from the Birch Society and other Rightist organizations. The State campaign's Public Relations Director has written for The Citizen, organ of the Citizen's Councils in the South, arguing that Southerners and Northerners need to join in opposition to integration issues. Now a group of clergymen are storming the State getting signatures on an anti-Communist initiative which probably seeks to split the pro-Fair Housing campaigners.

While pros and cons rally over the Rumford Act, slum tenants who haven't the wherewithal to benefit from the Act are organizing to remain in the only low-rent homes they have. One of the first and successful efforts to organize was Hunters Point, discussed in last issue's San Francisco Report by Mike Miller. The area now up for demolition is Western Addition Area Two, in which block organization is beginning and Tenants' organizations have been set up. San Francisco State and Berkeley students are involved.

On the other side of the Bay, in southern Alameda, a group of tenants of World War II housing marched to prevent the announced demolition of their area until relocation could be completed. In Oakland earlier-evicted residents of the "Acorn Project" (federal publications use this completed renewal project as a model) are organizing to protect now-threatened residents of the "Oak Project". Students plan to be involved in the Alameda and Oakland areas, too!

HAZARD(cont)

for the conference's success and for the success of future organizing in the area.

The conference marked the beginning of one of a number of summer projects established by SDS through its Economic Research and Action Project. The conference's success, in the enthusiasm of both the students and the unemployed miners for action, is an excellent beginning for the summer projects. It also marked the first time in years that students have met with unemployed workers to discuss local conditions in an area and to plan an action project. Merely the fact of communication between student radicals and the unemployed, plus the development of common programs of action, was unique at this conference. Another important first was the common recognition by students and miners of the crucial nature of economic issues, particularly full employment. Thus the conference was a trailblazer in breaking down many barriers people had thought insurmountable (e.g. working with the unemployed) and also pointed the way to new analyses of society's problems.

Speeches' Content

The conference formally began on Friday morning with speeches by Berman Gibson, leader of the unemployed miners, and CF CRM's Hamish Sinclair. They presented formal greetings to the students from the Appalachian Comm. for Full Employment (the local miners' group) and began a description and brief history of the area. Friday afternoon was spent in a workshop on the relation of Hazard to the national economy in which Ray Brown of the New School, Robert Engler of Sarah Lawrence, and Robb Burlage of Nashville described in varying ways the crisis of the national economy, the inadequacy of Johnson responses, and its implications for full employment in Hazard. That afternoon was spent in a tour of the area via cars, each of which had a guide, in most cases an unemployed miner. The tour took the conferees past old mines, miners' homes, and the mine owners' magnificent homes.

Stanley Aronowitz of the National Comm. for Full Employment spoke that evening on the labor movement and its role in Hazard in the past and future. He argued that

HAZARD(cont)

the United Mine Workers, though it has failed dismally in its lack of concern for the plight of East Kentucky miners, had made in the past significant contributions to his area and to the national labor movement. He then asserted that the UMW's problem was symptomatic of a crisis of the total American labor movement -- one that would involve its ability to survive the 1960's as a viable political and economic force. To rise above the stagnation of the present labor movement, he said, unions would have to begin to organize the unemployed and the unorganized, as the first step toward building a national movement for full employment. The evening finished with folksinging led by Danny Kalb and Dave Van Ronk.

Gov't Program Presented

Saturday morning and afternoon were devoted to a presentation and criticism of the Federal Government's programs in the area. Three government representatives -- from the Area Redevelopment Agency, the Manpower Development and Retraining Program, and a Congressional committee staff -- spoke in the morning. They were strongly attacked by miners and students, mostly because of the poor administration of programs in Hazard. In the afternoon Robb Burlage of SDS and Joel Dressler of the Washington CRM attacked the program on more general grounds, arguing that none of the government programs were intended to go far enough, that ARA and MDTA were cruel jokes, and that only a new political movement could get good programs out of the government.

Later that afternoon, this writer, in discussing the need for a national movement of the unemployed, argued that, although organizing the unemployed was of first priority now, we must remember that, to succeed, a broad new movement beyond the miners, and beyond the unemployed, would have to be erected.

In the early part of the evening the conferees gathered into four workshops for a lively and sometimes heated discussion of possible program for an eastern Kentucky summer project. The evening ended with a long folk concert by the many folksingers who attended the conference. The final, Sunday morning session, again workshops, discussed summer program, fund-raising, and a national unemployed movement.

Participants' Reactions

Many "non-programmatic" facts must be noted. The reaction of the miners and students to each other was fantastic. At all times, miners and their families attended sessions and participated in the discussions. Also, most of the students stayed with miners' families for all 3 nights and had good opportunities to talk extensively.

The enthusiasm of the students for action projects on economic issues of jobs, housing, schools, etc. -- not only in Hazard but in northern cities -- was most obvious. Students were excited and driven to action by the issues, the people, and the place.

However successful the conference, a number of problems were encountered. First, the agenda was not well arranged: there was too much speech-making and too little time for workshops and informal discussions. Further, the speeches were weighted too heavily toward broad strategy without enough microcosmic discussion of eastern Kentucky (unemployment figures, political makeup, etc.); and there was frightfully little discussion of what the summer program would look like.

The consensus was that Eastern Kentucky's crucial problem is unemployment, and that any movement for change must have full employment as a goal. Also marked was the importance of political action: the summer project must take account of elections in August (primaries) and November.

Summer Program

The summer project will begin with a survey of the area in order to (1) obtain basic information about the people's needs and the impact of government programs; and (2) establish initial relations between students and miners on a large scale. The project will also include working with complaints against government programs; and precinct-by-precinct organization to challenge incumbents. Also proposed was a Washington office for lobbying and research.

In all, I think, the conference was extremely successful. Enthusiasm was certainly high and contagious. We gained additional information that the unemployed are interested in doing something and that students are willing to help.

HAZARD A PROSE POEM

East Kentucky is now a land people are speaking of.

There is a War on Poverty by LBJ, articles in every magazine from Life to Progressive Labor, and political bills supposedly limiting mining abuses.

But how many people really know of Eastern Kentucky; know of the people there. How much do most people know in the United States of what the people there suffer; how much their parents and grandparents suffered; suffered just by living in the region.

Who speaks of the rift the Civil War brought to the region.

Who talks of the tenant farming practiced there on worn-out farms. No one says that the feuds that tore Eastern Kentucky and West Virginia during and after the war, the feuds joked about in polite society, were a product of that polite society, that they were a judgment of the violence embedded in U.S. Society unjustly passed on to the hill people by the polite people projecting it.

Who tells of the railroad gangs that built the railroads in Kentucky at the turn of the century, freed slaves back in chains; Of men driven until dead, driven to a one day a week escape through wine and cocaine; Of work slavery that squeezed humanity out of people.

What songs are known which sing of the lives lost in cutting trees and riding logs down the rivers for the lumbering companies; Of the hills stripped of their forest cover then giving up their soil

Who tells of the poor farmer signing a deed to a representative of a holding company, marking an X which gave away his rights to the land and its minerals; Deeds which said (or said later by the courts) that coal tipples, slag heaps, dust clouds, rivers of mud could be poured on the door step of this same farmer because Coal was King.

Who tells of the people from Poland and from Hungary and from Alabama who were shipped, in a closed circuit manner as would be people to a prison camp, into the coal camps and put into the mines:

Mines where they died by the thousands (2,146 in 1919) -- died because they knew little of each other's language, knew little of safety measures, knew less of mine engineering.

They only knew a lot of slate falls and collapse of walls of coal and electrocution and being caught between coal cars and tunnel walls and of lungs half full of sand and coal dust.

They lived in campus where families were put in a society built and run by the coal, rail companies. Societies where they were told where to buy food, electricity, and fuel; how to vote; where to travel and where not to travel; and where to die.

This was the legacy of Coal to Eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, southern Ohio, and Indiana and Illinois, that men were only put on earth to tunnel, blast, and load coal from the earth; and women were only here to make more things to mine coal:

Men are not human, they are only animated shovels, muscles attached to cutter-bars, things which live and breathe only for the purposes of coal.

There were many men, so lives were less precious than time and money spent on training. It takes time to explain about bare electric cables, about roof braces,

BY GEORGE GOSS

about "black-damp", about open cutting tools, about coal dust explosions. It is better and "more efficient" to let experience be the teacher; then explain to the widow that she has to leave the house because her husband was just killed, and dead men can't pay rent or buy food from the company store, and can't pay taxes.

Taxes were an important subject. Since the companies were providing mines for men to work in, dust to breathe, slag heaps to see out their windows, houses they were forced to rent; how could they be expected to pay taxes on the land and timber and coal they "owned" to support schools, hospitals, roads, and houses from their meagre profits ranging from \$2.00 a ton to \$8.00 a ton.

Since companies bought and owned judges and tax commissioners, they made sure that they weren't expect to -- and didn't

You speak of lawlessness in Eastern Kentucky; you speak of violence of the miner's union picket lines: You speak only of the cinders from the violence supported there from outside.

The violence brought to human bodies, minds, and families; the violence of people existing in a society closed by the coal-rail companies; the violence of men beaten to death because they dared to speak of unions; the violence of men hung because they fought for home and family in the way America teaches.

You speak of violence you don't know the half of.

You don't know getting up at 3:30 in the morning to work in a dog-hole truck mine for scab wages, to work stooping over all day; maybe

Not coming out again because you were one of those, a man a week, that were killed in the mines of Kentucky 1963.

You don't know a daylight in which you see hills stripped of dirt, trees, and grass; fields flooded with mud from a washed-out strip mine;

People stripped of life. All stripped for the benefit of people that coal benefits. Stripped with much the same logic as that of a man destroying the walls of a house in order to steal the furniture.

Words on paper can't fully tell what has been done to people in the name of industrial progress and economic growth.

How can I describe a man who blames himself for losing a job taken by a machine, a little kid staying home from school

because she has no shoes, a woman worn out at age 35 because she has had 6 children and tried to keep a house clean of dust you can't escape even in a jug of moonshine?

I can't describe our society which either aids, abets, or overlooks the havoc forced upon, in, and around an area containing coal and people.

How can I speak of the responsibility of the federal government when all I see from the government is a little good will, much talk, and a gross amount of subterfuge. Are children to be fed and jobs provided from hot air?

Eastern Kentucky holds a crime for which there will be no retribution, because the criminals and their money now populate State Capitols and Washington D.C., and the criminals with the least conscience are those called politicians.

How the Left Went to Hell in a Handbasket - a review by jim williams

Once in a while, a remarkable book will slip by reviewers and end up in obscurity. Going Away, by Clancy Sigal (available in hard cover and paperback), is such a book. Sigal has written a political obituary of the Left wing in the US. The 500 pages of this opus are devoted to the tale of How The Left Went To Hell In A Handbasket in the years after WorldWar II and up to the present, and its effect on the whole generation of radicals unfortunate enough to be born into it. I've seen virtually no mention of this book in either the usual channels or the Left-wing, "progressive" journals -- though it is clearly an important and relevant book.

To the Conservatives and the Liberal Establishment, these people and the movements they represented never existed -- save as an occasional nuisance. And, I think, Sigal's portrayal of events would prick too many Left "deadhead" consciences to make it a fit subject for review in say, the National Guardian. Yet, to anyone who was involved in this period or, worse, is involved in salvaging the debris of this period, the book is vital.

The story is largely a chronical of the travels of a youngish ex-radical, who, on a cross-country trip, visits with old radical friends to see what happened to them, how they'd changed, and what their hopes were. The trip takes place in 1956, just after Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin and during the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, obviously a low point for American radicalism.

"Castro and the Alliance for Progress are mutually incompatible. One or the other will have to go. If Castro remains in power, the coming years will inevitably witness the emergence of other Castro regimes in the Americas."

--Sen. Thomas Dodd (D-Conn) in the Senate, 2 April 1964.

Membership (in SDS) is open to students, faculty, and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal.

SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership.

--from the SDS Constitution

As might be expected, most of his old comrades have "settled down" and more-or-less made their peace with 20th Century capitalism, which seemed at that time to have obviated the chances of real social change. Some were still radical and merely waiting underground for McCarthyism's passage. Others had become completely disillusioned by the sight of Soviet tanks being used to crush a genuine Worker's rebellion. Some, and probably the most pathetic, retained virtually the same air-tight outlook that they had in the Thirties and Forties.

The general tone is that the Left is finished, dead, and not worthy of resurrection. Most of the characters lend themselves to the impression that workers no longer "deserve" socialism. Yet Sigal himself doesn't seem to have this conception. There is none of the Daniel Bell crying about the "end of ideology". Sigal presents himself as a person deeply discouraged and disappointed, even cynical -- but in the sense of an honest observer trying to discern exactly what went wrong and when. Though Sigal gives no new answers to prop up old ideals, he doesn't say that there are none, but that he doesn't know what they are -- a great difference!

Going Away is written for radicals or those who have some idea of what American radicalism was all about. Those who have shared the vision of a better society will be deeply affected by this book; it will be meaningful in a way that even the most precise Draper-type history misses.

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