

NCUP Organizer Suspended

SCHOOL BOARD SAYS NO TO FREEDOM AND CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

by Paul Goodberg

Eric Mann, NCUP organizer and eighth grade teacher at Newark's Peshine Ave. School, was suspended from his job on Jan. 20.

The Newark Board of Education conducted two lengthy and well-publicized hearings to discuss the charges against Mann. The second hearing, attended by well over 400 people, had a large contingent of parents and teachers. Mann made an impressive appeal for a progressive approach to ghetto school education.

The Peshine Ave. School is in the poor Negro area being organized by NCUP. Throughout the hearings Mann addressed his rebutt to the parents and neighborhood people in attendance. The school board response to Mann's community support was to allow wide latitude in attacking the Peshine Ave. School and the Newark School System. The actions of the board also indicated that a minority of the board wanted to use the Mann case to produce reforms in the school system.

The Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) is a community union of poor people. Mann, 24 year old graduate of Cornell University, has been an NCUP organizer since Oct., 1965.

Mann started teaching at the Peshine Ave. School last September. His defense was an attempt to develop a critique of the educational policy of the school and present the alternative being implemented in his classroom. He had been charged with refusing to follow the rules and regulations of the school system, injecting his personal opinions into the classroom, and insubordination. Mann told his students that personally he would not fight in Vietnam. Prior to the hearings School Superintendent Titus had offered Mann a transfer to another school in an apparent attempt to squelch demand for changes in the school.

Mann repeated over and over at the hearings that the school's approach was a failure. Students did poorly on standard national examinations and were unconcerned with the education being given them. Mann asserted that the students had no incentive in the present situation because there was no possibility of material success resulting from their education. In a recent discussion Mann said that the school's "policy of take it or leave it," was accepted by middle-class students as a necessity for college while his students knew they would not be going to college and therefore had no reason to play the game.

Mann stressed that discipline, authority, and brutality had been substituted for relevance and interest in the curriculum. The school was serving the interests of the principal and teachers as evidenced by the school's policy of protecting teacher brutality. Students had to be given freedom in the classroom to develop interest in the school. Classrooms should be run democratically with full participation by students in all decisions.

"The kids have rights," Mann told a startled school board. Board attorney Fox replied that Mann's approach created anarchy. Fox wanted the kids to be taught discipline and order and continually made comments like "You can't let a kid look out the window whenever he wants to."

The hearings were given extensive coverage in the local press and picked up by N.Y. newspapers and radio. The N.Y. Daily News of Feb. 20 ran a page-2 headline which read "Newark Suspends Teacher After Sex and Viet Lecture." Mann had responded

to a question on pregnancy by discussing various birth control methods.

The Mann case has given NCUP impetus to organize around the school issue. In the planning stage is a "challenge school" to be set up in the neighborhood next Fall. The school would function for a year as a parallel institution to demonstrate that a progressive approach to ghetto education is more effective than the present method. Class size of 25 students would be equivalent to Peshine. The school would have one or two classes for fifth, sixth or seventh grades. It is hoped that the success of the non-authoritarian approach would create demands by parents for a transformation of the Peshine Ave. School. The parents of the 2,000 Peshine students would then be demanding that the school serve the interests of the parents and students with control of the school held by the parents.

Contributions can be sent to the Eric Mann Defense Committee, 214 Chadwick, Newark, N. J.

DEAN RUSK

MUST FACE UP TO SKULLS

John Heckman
Cornell SDS

When Dean Rusk came to Cornell, we were waiting for him. Because Cornell SDS was so actively involved in soliciting pledges to burn draft cards on April 15 in New York, SDS did not formally participate in the protests. Instead, people who gravitate around the IUC (Inter-University Committee) Office at 107 Dryden Road organized things.

We decided that walk-outs, vigils, and so forth had proved their ineffectiveness and that something else was necessary. We therefore prepared a statement to that effect, adding to the statement some ultra-polite but very pointed questions (see statement). We also rounded up several hundred death-head masks and tried to get as many people as possible to wear them. About 125-150 people showed up in masks.

One concrete fact came out in the question period: asked question no. 2 about the bombing of the Red River dikes, Rusk said that the U. S. had "no intention of bombing the dikes."

Our first reaction was one of angry frustration: Rusk made his speech with almost no vocal opposition, and as soon as he was unable to give satisfactory answers to questions, he was hustled off the stage by the President of Cornell, James Perkins, on the pretext of "pressing engagements."

The tactic was not, however, a total loss. People seemed to be impressed by the masks: no one laughed at any of Rusk's jokes at our expense. The questions also seemed to be taken seriously. Also, Perkins later admitted to the faculty that he had been quite shaken by the masks. Mrs. Rusk is supposed to have cried all the way home, and even Rusk admitted to feeling "uncomfortable." When considered as a tactical contrast to the highly emotional atmosphere that had been created at Cornell by SDS solicitation for draft-card pledges during the preceding week, it would seem that the tactic of "orderliness" was at least mildly successful.

In terms of external propaganda, it should be noted that TV crews (CBS, ABC) were barred from the auditorium by Cornell officials (presumably because of the masks). There was no mention of the masks, only the usual references to "heckling" in the wire-service stories. Neither was there any mention of the only substantial point to come out of the evening: Rusk's denial that the U. S. intended to bomb the Red River dikes. The news media merely cast everything into the mold of stereotyped "demonstrations." One must therefore conclude that in terms of national publicity, it would have been best to simply block him from speaking. In terms of Cornell's activities, however, it would also seem clear that in this case, a "peaceful" demonstration was a preferable tactic.

new left notes

1608 w. madison, rm. 206

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VOLUME 2, NO. 18 let the people decide APRIL 13, 1967

HUMAN BE-IN

COVERS MEADOWS, Baffles Cops

nln news service

New York - It started at about ten o'clock in the morning on Easter Sunday and it grew and grew and grew. The NEW YORK TIMES reporter said he saw ten thousand people, but by one o'clock in the afternoon there actually appeared to be nearly twice that many on the vast, moist and fragrant Sheep Meadow in Central Park.

It was New York's first BE-IN - an unstructured affirmation of life by the City's hippy, arty, radical, and exuberant people. According to newspaper reports, not more than \$250 dollars was spent for the buttons, flyers and underground newspaper ads that was the only formal publicity for the happening. Nobody in particular could take the

credit for being the organizers or the sponsors. Word of the BE-IN was mostly spread by word of mouth from friend to friend.

As an expression of Easter sentiment, the most prominent fixture of the BE-IN was a large crucifix made out of logs and decorated with colored balloons. It stood on top of a mound of rocks surrounded by chanting, smiling, and smoking apostles of love. Nearby, two soldiers accepted flowers from a young man with a purple umbrella and a Special Forces trooper puffed on a red balloon.

Farther out in the meadow people danced in circles, flew kites, kissed and embraced, took bites out of a cake, roasted marshmallows, gave away bread, read poetry and exercised their airedales, collies, poodles, schnauzers, dachshunds and afghan hounds. Others snapped away with Nikons, Leicas, Hasselblads, and Rolleis or panned about with Bolexes and Arriflexes. Sexy-looking teen-age girls with long hair, soulful faces and braces on their teeth-presented bouquets to old ladies, exhorted young executives out for the Easter Parade to "LOVE," and carressed the mounts of New York's Finest who, to the last horse and man, were politely declining all jelly beans.

It was a long day of ambivalence for the forces of law and order, as the vast crowd broke laws in a peaceful and orderly way by not keeping off the grass, lighting neat little picnic fires, climbing trees and smoking pot. Two officers had a tense moment as they were surrounded and "charged" by about a thousand people chanting "LOVE, LOVE, LOVE . . ." They released the safety catches on their guns, but amiably held their fire. At about the same time, but at another corner of the Sheep Meadow a police emergency car began to trundle over the grass and was quickly hailed, surrounded, and brought to a halt by joyous New Yorkers who danced around it, offered fruit to its impassive occupants, and then sent it on its way.

Television news crews with their cameras, batteries, cables and Clean Cut Young Men in the lead, appeared to be especially turned on by the Banana Deity and its parading followers. The latter explained that Banana peel can make a good high when heated in a 200 degree oven for half an hour. They waved Chiquita emblems, gave the Banana Pledge ("one nation, under Banana, with liberty and justice for all . . .") and

(Continued on page 2)

DOW

DOW CAN'T EVEN RECRUIT IN NATO'S SHADOW ANYMORE

Kurt Gayle

Old Dominion College (student body 8000) is located not far from one of the largest - if not the largest - naval bases in the world. An amazingly large number of fathers of students are career naval officers stationed here in Norfolk, other parents work at civilian jobs on-base, and a large percentage of the administration is made up of retired service personnel.

Needless to say, the Feb. 28 SDS-organized (unofficial of course, since at the time SDS was not a recognized campus group) demonstration against the Dow Chemical Company sent a deep shock through this military community. Not only was our demonstration the first such anti-war activity in the Norfolk, it turned out to be one of the most publicized happenings of the year as well. Although puny by standards elsewhere (we had only 27 picketeers) radio, TV, and newspaper coverage reached saturation proportions; editorials in the *Virginian-Pilot* and in the *Ledger-Star* continued to appear up to a week after our egg-riddled six-hour protest had ended. The *Washington Post* even gave us space and extensive TV coverage reached as far as Richmond.

On campus we won no little admiration for our pacifist determination in the face of raw eggs (or raw eggs in the face) and other low-level verbal abuse. As you might expect on a campus less than three miles from Norfolk Naval Base (Headquarters Atlantic Fleet, NATO, etc.) we received very

(Continued on page 8)

DOW PROFITS UP

by Frank Goldsmith

"The Dow Chemical Co. achieved record sales and earnings in 1966, with the 4th quarter results ahead of those in the final three months of 1965.

"Net earnings last year increased 13% to \$329.7 million, up from \$310.2 million in 1965 . . ."

What the above article (New York Times 2/9/67) fails to show is where these vast profits come from. The daily defoliation raids in both South Vietnam and in the Demilitarized zones, the napalm attacks on the Vietnamese people and sometimes on our own boys, and other varied uses have made this Company into the great profitmaker.

The Dow Chemical Company is the subject of a nation-wide boycott of its chief consumer product, SARAN WRAP.

from Pittsburgh Peace and Freedom News

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Economics of International
Capitalism
Theory of Class Structure

— COMING NEXT WEEK —
A FULL REPORT
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE N. C.

Cornell letter to Rusk

Sir:

It is only natural that we should cry out in anguish at the sufferings caused by our country's war in Vietnam and that we should protest against the presence of one of the principal architects of that war.

However, administration supporters have frequently misinterpreted and distorted our cry of anguish to be an assault on the right of free speech.

We therefore feel that we would gain little by forcibly disrupting your address. Instead, we propose that our sorrow be manifested in a peaceful manner. We hope that people in sympathy with this position join us in our peaceful opposition to Mr. Rusk.

Mr. Rusk, we hope that you will entertain questions in accordance with the well-established Cornell tradition. We recommend that questions relate not to matters of past fact, but to our immediate concerns and our fears for the future. Honest answers to these questions would help bridge the increasingly perceptible gap between our sorrow and the inhumanity of our present position in Vietnam.

THE OFFICE
107 Dryden Rd.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

- 1) Mr. Secretary, our President and other officials, including yourself, have consistently told us that we are bombing only military targets - roads, bridges, supply and oil depots - and that the destruction of civilian lives in North Vietnam is only accidental. I would like to believe my Government, and I have even tried to believe that the third largest city in North Vietnam, Nam Dinh, may have been only accidentally destroyed. But Mr. Salisbury has recently written that he has been shown evidence that anti-personnel bombs of American make have been dropped on North Vietnam. Mrs. Griffith even showed us an element of these bombs which do absolutely no damage to military targets and can destroy only the living. If we do not wish to wantonly destroy human beings then why do we use weapons which do nothing else?
2. We would like to know whether or not you consider the Red River dikes a possible military target. We know that the bombing of the dikes will result in the destruction of 2 to 5 million civilian lives. Given this knowledge, the bombings of the dikes will be an act of genocide. Assuming that irrigation dikes cannot be converted into munitions factories, we should like to hear your categorical assurance that the United States will continue to exclude the dikes from our definition of military targets. If you do not choose to commit yourself, we can only conclude, Mr. Secretary, that the United States wishes to reserve the right to commit genocide in Vietnam.
3. Mr. Secretary, you have frequently stated that we are defending the South Vietnamese, who are victims of aggression from the North. At the same time, you and the President have also stated that our greatest problem is the pacification of rural areas. But if the South Vietnamese are with us and under attack from the North, then why do we have to pacify a friendly population? If you believe that the Vietnamese peasants are terrorized into supporting the Vietcong, the problem should then be one of driving the Vietcong out militarily and establishing law and order. But why then do we have to "win the hearts and minds" of people who are presumably our friends?
4. We often hear of the accidental destruction of "friendly" villages in South Vietnam. We also know from official testimonies that at least 25% of South Vietnamese villages are under Vietcong control. Does this mean, Mr. Secretary, that we bomb the unfriendly villagers un-accidentally?
5. According to official American figures, the Vietcong killed 8,882 civilians and kidnapped 39,982 between 1961 and the beginning of 1966. Could you give us an estimate of how many civilians have been killed by our napalm, artillery and bombing raids? If you do not have any estimate, we would like to know why we have not tried to estimate the damage we have done to the Vietnamese people in our effort to defend their freedom? In the most computerized war in history, we must surely have the means to count not only Vietcong atrocities, but also the casualties of our own good intentions.
6. Our news media have given us ample proof that the South Vietnamese government mistreats their prisoners of war. We have seen photographs and television shots of prisoners being tortured and often killed in the presence of American military advisors. Yet we continue the practice of transferring prisoners taken by U. S. ground forces to the South Vietnamese government. Mr. Secretary, is this practice of transferring prisoners to an ally who tortures them in accord with our responsibilities under the Geneva Convention (Article 21) on the treatment of prisoners of war?
7. We are told that large parts of South Vietnam are included in Free Strike Zones. Could you explain what this term means and whether or not some of these Free Strike Zones are populated? If there are some populated areas among the Free Strike Zones, are we not conducting indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population in these areas?
8. In August of 1965, the United States refused to rule out the possibility of a future use of nuclear weapons against North Vietnam. Could you please explain to us whether the United States still wishes to keep open the possibility of dropping nuclear weapons on North Vietnam?
9. Mr. Secretary, in underdeveloped countries which were under colonial rule, traditional institutions have eroded and modern institutions such as constitutions and parliaments have not yet taken deep roots. As a result, the legitimacy of a regime comes from its nationalist heroes and martyrs. So it is a Gandhi, a Nehru, a George Washington who commands the love and loyalty of the population. The Vietnamese fought a long war of independence against French Colonialism. I would expect that the leaders of this nationalist struggle would command the loyalty of the people, while those who sided with the French would be definitely regarded as traitors and mercenaries. I would like you to tell us: who are the Washingtons, Jeffersons, Gandhis and Nehrus of Vietnam's struggle for independence? I would also like to know what our current allies, President Thieu and Premier Ky were doing at the time? Which side were they on?
10. Mr. Secretary, until our decision to bomb North Vietnam, nations fighting against guerrillas had desisted from attacking the guerrilla's foreign sanctuary. Albania and Yugoslavia were not bombed during the guerilla war in Greece. The British did not bomb the Chinese for aiding the Malayan Communists, and so on. When the French bombed the Tunisian village of Salvet Sidi Youssef where the Algerian rebel army was openly in training, everyone, including President Kennedy, criticized the French for breaking the accepted norm of respecting a guerrilla sanctuary. France desisted, and Salvet Sidi became an isolated incident. We are the first country to have broken this international practice. The United States is a great power whose example is likely to set a precedent in international practice. If we acknowledge the rights of other nations to observe the same practice which we have followed in bombing North Vietnam, then do we recognize the right of Portugal to attack those countries of Africa which are aiding the guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique? Or that of Nasser to invade Saudi Arabia for aiding the rebels in Yemen? Or - if and when a guerrilla war breaks out in South Africa, that of the white South African regime to bomb Algeria, Tanzania and other African countries which are training South African guerrillas?

MINERS ON TRIAL

GUERRILLA WARFARE IN U. S.

CINCINNATI, Ohio - The U. S. Court of Appeals has upheld the sentencing of four destitute coal miners accused of trying to blow up a railroad bridge in Eastern Kentucky in June, 1963. An appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court is planned.

Bigge Hensley, Herbert Stacy, Clayton Turner, and Charles Engle were arrested and convicted during the "roving picket" movement which swept the mountain region in the early 1960's.

Several others, including Berman Gibson, a spokesman for the movement, were freed at the trial which took place in Lexington, Ky., in 1964.

The appeals judges seemed uneasy about upholding the punishment of Hensley and the others. They said in a remarkable 20-page opinion:

"From the beginning this court has been aware that this was no ordinary criminal trial and that these men are no ordinary criminals . . . They were pictured as driven to desperation by the harsh facts of the declining coal industry and by abandonment of their own union.

"The cases arise out of the now generation-old warfare which has raged in the Harlan-Hazard area of Kentucky between the United Mine Workers and its adherents and the non-union mine operators.

"These four defendants (and four others not convicted) were charged specifically with conspiring to place and placing a massive charge of nitroglycerin on the tracks above the center pier of a railroad bridge.

"This bridge is located in a remote area called Glomawr Hollow where the Louisville & Nashville tracks cross Leatherwood Creek en route to a mine known as Leatherwood Mine No. 2. At the time the mine was non-union."

The judges declared that the record in the case "reads a good deal more like the story of an incident in a guerrilla war than the normal appellate record before the court."

The appeal turned on the question of confessions allegedly given to F.B.I. agents after the men were arrested. Their attorneys charge that the confessions were obtained by "improper inducement and psychological coercion." The miners had no attorneys present at the time.

Hensley charged that he was tricked into signing a confession by being told that it was a release to permit the F.B.I. to search the car in which Hensley was arrested. The car belonged to Berman Gibson.

The Kentucky case began about the same

time as the famous Miranda case in Arizona, in which the U. S. Supreme Court held that confessions obtained in the absence of attorneys were inherently coercive. However, the Supreme Court later ruled that the Miranda doctrine did not apply to other cases in which the trial began before June 13, 1966.

The miners are thus barred from application of the Miranda ruling unless the Supreme Court decides that they are entitled to benefit under it.

Leonard B. Boudin, Paul O'Dwyer, and I. Phillip Sipser, all of New York, have been volunteer attorneys for the miners. They are preparing a petition to the Supreme Court, which will be filed within the next month.

Meantime, the miners are jobless and destitute - unable to pay the many other costs involved in carrying a case of this kind to the Supreme Court. Funds to help them do this may be sent to the Committee for Miners, 60 W. 12 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Pamphlets and other publicity material are being prepared by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

BE-IN

(Continued from page 1)

the Banana salute (middle finger up and bent). They also pointed out that the supply of Banana grass is assured by the Banana pushers in Mexico and Argentina.

Now and then a passer-by would ask: "What is this for?" "What do they want?" "Who organized it?" They were usually urged to invent their own reasons for being . . .

Another thing like this will probably happen on April 15. THE ORIGINAL GREAT SPRINGOUT (A Megalopolitan Peacepipe Pow-Wow) has been called "in community" with Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam and will feature a walk to the UN. The GREAT SPRINGOUT is blessed by the Brotherhood of the Love of Christ, Community of Poets, Easter Coast Spring Ball, THE EAST VILLAGE OTHER, Innerspace, Jade Companions, League for Spiritual Discovery, Liberty House, Neo-American Church, Peace Eye, Psychedelic Peace Fellowship, and USCO.

to the editor

To the editor:

There is mention of possibilities for summer projects in the January 27 NLN. Let me suggest another one, which I think was debated a year or two ago. The idea is to do something directly to effect the war and its consequences. Specifically, a large number of people should go to North Vietnam for part or all of the summer to work on the bridges, roads, factories, schools, etc., damaged by our bombs.

I realize there are huge problems involved, probably the biggest ones being in how to get the money to get people over there, and the possible penalties once we return. But I think there may be enough feeling among some religious groups and

peace groups that funds could be raised and people mobilized. And I think this is the kind of effort people who are seriously concerned with ending the inhumane thing must consider.

I don't think this proposal ought to be brought up yet for a formal vote or referendum, until people have had a chance to talk about it and decide whether they would go. There should be no illusions about the dangers involved. But I would like to know what people think about the idea in general, our chances of going through with it, its potential effectiveness, etc. Write to me at 335 Packard, Ann Arbor, or send responses to NLN.

For Peace
Russ Linden

NEW LEFT NOTES

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REP CHINA CONF.

RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT (REP) MID-ATLANTIC AND NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE ON CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The continuing and pressing questions posed by events in China call for a fresh and thorough appraisal of the Chinese revolution, in its domestic development and as it relates to the United States and the rest of the world. Thus far, the response of the United States to a new and powerfully dynamic China ranges from outright threatening hostility on the one hand to proposals for softening policy on the other. It is imperative for Americans to examine both the underlying assumptions and probable implications of the "containment without isolation" doctrine posed by members of the liberal establishment in their criticisms of the present U. S. position. It is also necessary to analyze the relationship between the reality of a modernizing China, present U. S. policy, and the "liberal critique" of that policy.

In order to make a beginning in what is an extremely important and difficult process of education, a conference of all those who are opposed to American attitudes and policy towards China is being called on April 21-23, 1967, in New York City. It is the goal of this conference to present critical analyses of the internal situation in China and of China's position in international politics. It is hoped that the scholars, teachers, journalists, students, and other people concerned with U. S. foreign policy and China who participate in the conference will come away better equipped intellectually and with a commitment to offer intelligent alternatives to the present impasse.

A Schedule of events will be printed in a future issue of NLN.

Submitted by Mark Scher
N. Y. - R.E.P.

For further inquiries and donations please write to:

REP CHINA & U.S. CONFERENCE
P.O. Box 326, Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y. 10025

A LETTER FROM SOUTH VIETNAM

The following letter is a response from leading students and professors at the universities of South Vietnam to the 100 American student leaders who in January, 1967, addressed a letter of concern about the war in that country to President Johnson. It has been signed by 70 of the leaders in university life, though for reasons indicated in the letter, their names are being kept confidential. It was brought to the United States by Alfred Hassler, executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and is made public by the Fellowship. Note: Many more signatures are expected to this letter, but have not yet been received in the United States.

Dear Fellow Students,

We are students and professors from all the universities of South Vietnam (Saigon, Hue, Dalat, Can Tho and Van Hanh), who write to thank you for your action in trying to stop this terrible war in our country. We cannot act officially, as you did, because the universities here are not permitted by the Government to express themselves freely. We have made petitions and appeals, but we cannot let our names be made public, because we would be arrested and imprisoned. That is the kind of society we live in here today.

Nevertheless, we write to thank you for your actions and to plead with you to continue. We ask you to consider these facts:

1. In South Vietnam cities the American power has become so great in support of the Ky government that no one can speak against the war without risking his life or his liberty.
2. If it were not so, millions would speak out. The people of South Vietnam desperately want the war to end, but they are losing hope. They are not Communists, but if the war does not end soon, they will join the National Liberation Front because they see no other way out.
3. Americans should not believe that they are protecting the South Vietnamese against communism. Most of us believe that the United States only wants to control our country in order to prepare for war with China.
4. The present government of South Vietnam is not our government and is not representing our people. It was imposed on us by the United States, and is controlled by military men who fought for the French against the Vietnamese before 1954. If we were free to vote freely, that government would not last one day. We want a government of our own, not controlled by either side, so that we may be able to settle the problems of Vietnam by ourselves on the basis of national brotherhood: to negotiate peace with the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam, and negotiate the withdrawal of American troops with the United States.
5. Do not believe that the danger of a Communist takeover justifies continuation of the war. We believe we are strong enough to form an independent government. The decision, however, should be ours, not yours, when it is our lives and country that are being destroyed.
6. We endorse the proposals outlined in the book written by our friend THICH NHAT HANH, *Vietnam: Lotus In A Sea Of Fire*, and ask your help in realizing them.

Finally, we send you the best wishes of ours and also of the Vietnamese people.

Done in Saigon, the 20th of February, 1967

Signed by:

Cao Ngoc phuong
giang vien
Dai Hoc Khoa Hoc
Vien Dai Hoc Saigon
Vien Dai Hoc Hue

Pham hieu Tai
sinh vien chinh tri
Vien Dai Hoc Dalat

for seventy students and professors.

M-CUP HOUSING VICTORY

For more than a year, everybody in Joe Valesco's house complained about the cockroaches, with no action. Valesco is caretaker at 418 Park Ave., and always gave people the run-around when they complained about the bugs. Cliff Smith, one of the tenants, bought bug spray, but it didn't work. The roaches just kept growing and spreading.

Finally, Mr. Smith came down to M-CUP and asked for help to get action. An M-CUP housing inspector looked at the place and found roaches everywhere. Right away a letter was sent to the owner of the place and to Joe Valesco. Many of the tenants in the house signed the letter and lots of other people around the M-CUP office signed too. The letter said that unless an exterminator was called out to get rid of the cockroaches right away, that M-CUP and the tenants would picket the house or picket the owner's place - he lives in a fancy part of St. Paul - with signs like "Joe Valesco likes bugs, he makes us live with them".

Joe Valesco called an exterminator the day after he got the letter. M-CUP and the tenants won! The tenants were organized to stand together and fight, and they were backed up by M-CUP. They couldn't lose.

Whenever poor people stand together, they are strong. You can get results just like the tenants at 1418 Park Ave. did, with the help of M-CUP. M-CUP is people who stand up for each other and fight for better housing and a say in how things are run around here.

Reprinted from M-CUP Newsletter

LONDON Conference

INSTITUTE OF PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDIES

Congress

DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION

London July 15 - July 30, 1967

Participants include:

Gregory Bateson, David Cooper, Mircea Eliade, John Gerassi, Allen Ginsberg, Erving Goffman, Lucien Goldmann, Paul Goodman, Jules Henry, Ronald Laing, Jacov Lind, Ernest Mandel, Herbert Marcuse, Paul Sweezy.

Further details on request - Programme furnished on enrollment - Ten Plenary Sessions: Daily Seminars - Registration Fee: \$45. Cheques or money orders, before 1st March 1967 (late registration accepted if openings remain.) to INSTITUTE OF PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDIES, 65a Belsize Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.

The Boycott Attack

Reprinted from Delano Newsletter

(Background information on the Delano Strike appears in back issues of NLN; or write to Farm Workers Information, Box 130, Delano, Cal.)

The Boycott attack in recent months has been spearheaded by Fred Ross in the cities of Los Angeles, Stockton, San Jose, and San Francisco. Fred has had the dedicated, efficient support of Delano farmworkers as well as loyal boycott supporters in each of the cities.

Retail liquor stores and wholesale distributors which deal in the scab products of Perelli-Minetti are the major targets of this all-out drive. Each city is divided into sectors which are thoroughly canvassed for dealers who are carrying the scab products (A. R. Morrow, Aristocrat Brandy, Tribuno Vermouth, Eleven Cellars Wines). Each store owner who carries P-M products is approached by a UFWOC team of farmworkers and local boycott supporters (accompanied by a local union official when possible) and asked to support the grape strikers by (1) taking P-M stock off the shelves; (2) refusing to re-order until the labor dispute is settled; (3) notifying Perelli-Minetti of the decision and urging him to negotiate with the union for a legitimate contract with the striking workers. If the stores refuse to cooperate, informational picketing is done during its best business hours until it does comply.

DISTRIBUTORS A MAJOR TARGET. Distributors are more difficult to deal with and victory more important. Stopping a distributor from purchasing the product is the most efficient way to keep the product from the consumer market. Stopping a train load or truck load of scab liquor from reaching de-

stined distributors is the most effective way to stop the product - send it back to its home base, Perelli-Minetti.

VICTORY WITH YOUNG'S MARKET DISTRIBUTING CO. In Los Angeles on December 16, Young's Market Distributing Company capitulated in face of a synchronized picket attack. A truck loaded with 1100 cases of Tribuno Vermouth left the Perelli-Minetti winery in McFarland on a Friday evening. Twenty-four hour pickets notified huelgistas in a radio car. As the car followed the truck south on 99 toward Los Angeles, they knew they could figure which distributor outlet it was headed for by watching which turn off it took. Of course when the truck driver realized he was being followed, he attempted to throw them off. Pickets were waiting in L. A. and kept the driver from unloading at Young's Market. The truck went to the outskirts of Los Angeles at Castaic waig outskirts of Los Angeles at Castaic waiting for a chance to return to L. A. and unload. Meanwhile it was under 24 hour surveillance by our radio car. We had set up a radio station in the hills of L. A. which was in constant contact with the car and with our L. A. office. As soon as the truck began to move on Monday morning, the office was notified which then contacted the three divi-

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

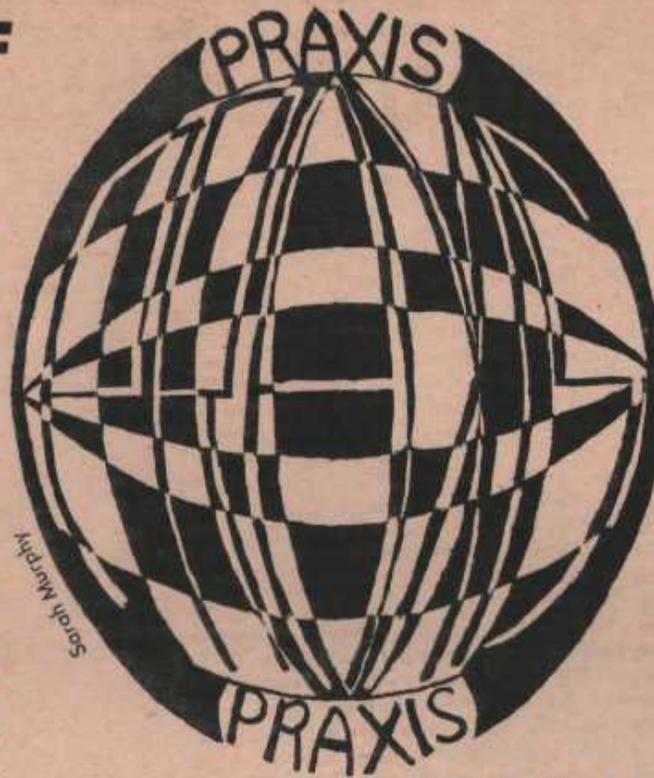
Praxis has been established in an attempt to build a revolutionary theory of social change for America. If a theory of social change is to be revolutionary, i.e. if it will serve to bring about a fundamental restructuring of society, it must be a theory which continually responds to social change that it in part has helped bring about. It may develop out of every practical activity and comprehend the class relations that shape that activity. It must suggest strategies that confront actual dilemmas (not imagined ones or outdated ones) and then adapt to the new situation that that confrontation creates; from the constant interplay of action and theoretical response, the cause of democratic radicalism grows and is strengthened.

The term "praxis" describes this dynamic process in which a theoretical analysis emerges from and in turn directs the development of a revolutionary movement.

The schematics are fairly simple to describe; the implementation is going to be very difficult. If democratic radicalism is going to continue to win victories, it is essential that this work begin at once. For up to this time, the victories gained — mostly on issues of university control — have been largely the result of spontaneous movements which have fared better or worse depending on the ability of its leaders and the character of the official university response.

What role can theory — and it should be stressed that this is not a discussion of "ideology" or program — play for the movement? First, there are several long-range considerations: American Society is innovating all the time and changing the face of America — the character of that innovation remains undescribed, except in terms of its consequences on direct personal experience. Institutional changes and the consequences of social organization — the effects on cities, demographic changes, further development of consumption patterns — can and must be spelled out by those competent in these fields.

Another long-range consideration is America's effect on the underdeveloped nations. Some recent work has discussed the areas of the American economy most dependent on imperialism and militarism; others



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have shown the changing patterns of American exploitation in foreign internal economies. Innovation is changing the way in which American capital based at home and based abroad affects the exploited nations and consequently the potential within those nations for revolutionary movements. If we on the left are going to be prepared to spell out the consequences of American actions to an ever-growing constituency and the public as well, we must have an accurate picture of what is happening and what its results will be.

The shorter term needs for theory include analysis of such issues as community, poor people, labor and campus organizing. The lessons of one group or one campus are transferrable to another, if the analysis deals at the level of general consequences of these basic factors.

by the
PRAXIS editors

Also, statistical studies within campus movements or ghetto organizing can be used to expand radical political activity if the theoretical interrelations are spelled out.

There are several types of papers that do not fit a journal of theory. The biggest category — biggest because most New Left people seem drawn to this sort of writing — is that of tendentious essays of a superficial nature. By this we mean essays that suggest possible action — electoral politics, campus reform issues, organizing teenyboppers — without doing the underlying analysis to justify the stand (there is usually an escape clause to the effect: "we must get at the fundamental issues"; or "we must confront the power structure on real issues."). Another sort of essay reconceptualizes issues already well discussed and not strategically relevant (whether Stalin was a hack, etc.); a third type attacks established analyses without offering alternative conceptualizations (4 reasons why Daniel Bell is wrong).

From all the foregoing, it would seem that we want only economic analysis and some sociological work. But it should be kept in mind that this discussion cannot be exhaustive since many articles will originate in actual political experience (for example, a discussion of problems relating to the experience of teachers and social workers would be highly relevant but the terms of this type of article are not easily described in advance). Nonetheless, the fact that we are at such an early stage in the development of the movement suggests that the broadest theoretical issues must be attacked. Articles on literature, art, history, etc., are also welcome.

It is good that SDS is as diverse and spontaneous as it is. But there is a growing sense that the political slack has been taken up by past victories and the consolidation of those gains and building upon them will require a systematic understanding of the future and how we will shape it. The war in Vietnam has accelerated the development of radical politics and we invite all members and friends of SDS to join in this urgent endeavour.

The Economics of International Capitalism

Larry S. Carney

This paper is a first step toward developing an update theory of imperialism. As such, it does not reiterate all the economic data contained in the referred to articles of Magdoff and Alavi. Both articles are well worth reading and are available from Monthly Review Press, 116 W. 14th St., n.y., n.y.

The implication of this critique is that the need for market outlets for manufactured goods provides the main impetus for imperialism rather than the need to find investment outlets — i.e., export capital. Such an analysis could have profound implications both about the effects of imperialism on the internal economic and social structure of the oppressed nations and also in undercutting the theory of an economic crisis in imperialism through an over-generation of capital.

THE ECONOMICS OF INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM: A COMMENTARY

The recent publication of Harry Magdoff's "Economic Aspects of U. S. Imperialism,"¹ adds a significant contribution to the current debate on the whys and wherefores of the United States imperialistic stance in the contemporary world.

Magdoff has assembled an impressive group of statistics as a basis for his argument that economic factors are still at the heart of United States international expansion. He approaches his subject along a variety of avenues, however, and demonstrates through a varied and subtle analysis that statistics are empty guides unless they are viewed in the context of a comprehensive structural perspective. Yet, despite the wealth of data and insight which he packs into the limited confines of this short paper, Magdoff is not entirely successful in answering the major questions he raised — although he has certainly helped to advance the formulation of these questions to a point where he and others have a more solid foundation for a new and creative interpretation of contemporary imperialism.

Magdoff raises three issues at the outset of his paper. These issues have to do with the validity status of three interrelated views, which he feels are commonly held today, of the relation of economic imperialism and United States foreign policy:

(1) Economic imperialism is not at the root of United States foreign policy. Instead, political aims and national security are the prime motivators of foreign policy.

(2) Economic imperialism cannot be the main element in foreign policy, since United States foreign trade and foreign investment make such relatively small contributions to the nation's over-

all economic performance.

(3) Since foreign economic involvement is relatively unimportant to the United States economy, it follows that economic imperialism need not be a motivating force in foreign policy. Hence, some liberal and left critics argue that present foreign policy, to the extent that it is influenced by imperialism, is misguided and in conflict with the best economic interests of this country. If we sincerely encouraged social and economic development abroad, the argument goes, even to the extent of financing the nationalization of United States foreign investment, the rising demand for capital imports by underdeveloped countries would create a more substantial and lasting stimulus to prosperity than the current volume of foreign trade and foreign investment. (p. 11)

The structure of Magdoff's analysis is somewhat weakened at the outset by the fact that it is not anchored by any explicit definition of what the author means by imperialism. The formulation of the three suspect interpretations that imperialism is by definition an exclusively economic phenomenon, an interpretation which, if accepted, would beg the question of "aspects" raised in the paper's title. On the other hand, these same formulations allow for an alternate view that economic imperialism is one type of imperialism which can be viewed alongside other types, such as political and military imperialism. Finally, the paper's title, as well as the overall nature of Magdoff's argument, seem to imply a more general concept of national expansion to which economic, political, military, and ideological factors must be related in the course of analysis without *a priori* assumptions as to the explicit relationships between these factors. The point here is not one of quibbling about words but that of sufficiently clarifying the problem which is to be analyzed. The importance of such clarification should become evident in the comments which follow.

Whatever be the precise definition of imperialism involved, it is clear that the only issue of the three cited that is directly taken up in the paper is the second, that having to do with the magnitude and importance of the foreign sector in the U. S. economy. At the same time, other issues besides these three are raised in the body of the paper which are themselves worthy of attention, and to which we will turn in the course of our own comments.

Magdoff's first substantive argument has to do with the evaluation of the quantitative importance of the foreign sector of the United States economy as compared to the domestic sector. Specifically, he wants

to combat the arguments of those who would belittle the importance of the foreign sector by pointing up such statistical relationships as that of total United States exports to gross national product (about 5 percent) and of foreign investment to domestic capital investment (less than 10 percent). Magdoff shows that such statistics are misleading and selects as a more fitting measurement the relation between total sales in the foreign sector, including both exports and those resulting from United States foreign investment, and the total domestic output of farms, factories and mines (eliminating those elements of the GNP which are not directly reflective of the production of moveable goods). On this basis, he finds that the size of the foreign market is equal to about 40 percent of domestic output of moveable goods (as of 1964).²

The next step in the argument is to demonstrate the growing importance of foreign economic activity to the U. S. economy. For instance, he shows that while sales of domestic manufactures³ increased 2.26 times from 1950 to 1965, total foreign sales (exports plus sales from foreign-based United States firms) have increased 3.67 times. Moreover, if we compare expenditures for plant and equipment among foreign based on domestic United States firms) have increased 3.67 times. Moreover, if we compare expenditures for plant and equipment among foreign based and domestic United States firms we find that such expenditures for United States owned interests abroad jumped from 8.1 percent of comparable domestic expenditures in 1957 to 17.3 percent in 1965.⁴

Finally, it is shown that the relative participation of profits gained from foreign investment in total profits earned by all United States nonfinancial corporations is on the increase — from about 10 percent in 1950 to about 22 percent in 1964.⁵

On the basis of these findings, Magdoff draws the following conclusion about the growth in the relative importance of the foreign sector in manufacturing:

... as far as the commodity-producing industries are concerned, foreign markets have become a major sphere of economic interest and have proven to be increasingly important to United States business as an offset to stagnating tendencies of the inner markets. (p. 21)

Although it would appear that he has considerable justification for the first part of this conclusion, Magdoff

Footnotes on page 6. (Continued on page 5)

INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

has not really made a case for the second part. That the foreign sector in manufacturing has expanded faster in percentage terms than the domestic sector during the period considered is undeniable, but this in itself does not justify inferences of "stagnation" on the part of the domestic sector. The percentage figures in themselves, of course, tend to overstate the relationships, since the absolute base of the domestic sector in relation to the foreign sector was so much higher to begin with. Moreover, while it is true that there was a general overall slowdown of the growth rate for the whole economy during the particular period considered by Magdoff, this period itself cannot be considered as a unilinear progression pointing to secular tendencies toward stagnation. A more detailed and extended historical analysis would be needed to establish this point. By the same token, only a thoroughgoing institutional analysis could establish the objective relations between foreign economic expansion and diminishing domestic growth rates in any causal sense. This latter consideration underscores the fact that up to this point in his analysis, Magdoff has not said anything that bears intrinsically on the classical themes of the economic interpretation of imperialism — i.e., the long run inviability of domestic capitalism and/or the forced and systematic exploitation of foreign peoples and resources for the interests of the metropolitan country. What he has established is that the magnitude of the foreign economic sector in our economy is by no means a trivial one.

At this point, however, Magdoff does turn to an institutional analysis, but one which does not have an explicit or clear relationship at all points with what has gone before. The center of attention now shifts to the question of the relation of military spending to the economic aspects of imperialism. Again, Magdoff points up the inadequacy of measuring the importance of the military establishment to the United States economy merely by making comparisons between military spending to the total GNP. He sees the significance — and rightly so, in our opinion — of military spending in relation to certain "lead sectors" of the domestic economy, namely the capital goods industries. He shows how such industries as the metals, electronics, and aircraft are vitally sustained, stabilized and protected by sizeable, constant and predictable military demand. The emphasis on statistics is notably less in this section and is mainly illustrative in import. The burden of analysis is institutional in character, focusing upon the actual structural characteristics of the enterprises engaged in this type of production and the functional business psychology which corresponds to these structures. The result of this analysis, in our estimation, is a highly convincing one.

But the question remains, what is the relation of this strategic military spending to the economic aspects of imperialism? Magdoff couples total output attributable to federal purchases in the capital goods interests to output in these same industries which goes for exports. What is the justification for such a procedure? Theoretical clarity is indeed lacking in this instance. Presumably the argument runs something like this: Our military-political involvement abroad, which is a major aspect of the United States international (imperialist?) role, has the effect of generating a quantitatively significant and decidedly crucial demand factor in relation to the key sectors of the domestic economy; hence, this continued involvement can be looked upon as (in effective if not essential terms) crucial to the overall well-being of the economy. Such a set of relationships certainly exists on *prima facie* grounds as all candid observers — of whatever political persuasion — of the United States economy have admitted (although certainly those of the center and right are not prone to raise the question of "imperialism" in this context).

Yet, the bearing of this set of relationships on the classical themes of the economic interpretation of imperialism — *explicit economic expansion abroad* because of internal inconsistencies of the domestic capitalistic economy — needs to be made explicit. If these classical themes are not to be our point of departure for the analysis of the economic aspects of imperialism, then the outlines of a more comprehensive and adequate theory must be drawn. In the context of the present discussion, Magdoff seems to be pushing strongly toward some "wholistic" interpretation of imperialism (and elsewhere in the paper he does the same), but the truncated structural framework of the paper does not allow this interpretation to progress to fruition.

INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

The final section of Magdoff's study is, to our mind, the best. It deals with the question of monopoly and foreign investment. Again, however, there is a shift of emphasis which does not escape the fault of discontinuity. Now we are confronted by the world of international monopoly capitalism. Here the main concern is not with the relative importance of foreign and domestic sectors, but with the active and synergistic "rationality" of the international corporation, pressing out on all fronts, to maximize its market position (both in terms of sales of final product and of supply of factor inputs), adapting itself to varying situations according to geo-political region and

type of industry. The shift in image is a significant one. Instead of corporations gasping for air in the domestic scene and being "forced" to go abroad to survive, we have the self-assured and non-schizophrenic industrial octopus who has the whole world as his oyster. The institutional apparatus of the new international corporation is seen as breaking down national barriers in order to serve its own needs and consolidate its own interests. The question of control is central here and Magdoff shows how the logic of the centralized institutional control of the structures of the international economy by United States based international corporations (to a large extent, "states" in themselves) has become the theme song of the new imperialism. To the degree that such an analysis holds (and we feel that it holds to a considerable degree), the dichotomy of foreign and domestic — *from the point of view of the structural exigencies of the imperialist power* — will become increasingly irrelevant and an inadequate model for an analysis of the operations of such corporations.

If Magdoff's study had begun with the structural and institutional perspective with which it ends, perhaps the entire context of the study would have been reorganized in a manner in which the "economic aspects" of contemporary United States imperialism could have been fruitfully related to an overall theory of imperialism which does justice to the intricate adaptive patterns of

international monopoly capitalism viewed as an integrated structure of world hegemony and dominance.

Commenting on the fate of the classic Leninist theory of imperialism in our time — in a vivid passage from what must by all odds be considered a pioneering study on the emerging shape of the new imperialism — Hamza Alavi typifies this integrated structure in the following terms:

What then becomes of the drive for imperialist expansion, if we now maintain that export of capital is not a necessary condition for sustaining the process of capitalist development and that its conditions for internal expansion are sufficient to provide an outlet for accumulating capital? The answer to this question must be sought in the drive of monopoly capitalism to expand and to extend its domination over the whole of the capitalist world and in the intensity of oligopolistic competition which demands such expansion for the survival of the giant oligopolies. Even as monopoly capitalism expands within a national economy, destroying and absorbing smaller businesses, so also it expands outwardly repeating the same process on an international scale. The drive for the

The Theory of Class Structure

Raffaella Fortuzzi

There are basically two ways in which social stratification may be looked at: one in terms of class structure; the other in terms of a "status hierarchy", or in other words, in terms of strata. The former is usually related to Marx's dichotomic model of the social structure; the latter to Weber's analysis. These two ways are by no means mutually exclusive: Weber, while retaining the notion of class and of its role in social dynamics, presented an analytical alternative to the Marxian model, introducing the concept of status-group and psychological (or subjective) variables — such as social deference, honor, prestige — which were not taken into account by the Marxian scheme of stratification based on the key dimension of property. However, the traditional contraposition of the Marxian dichotomy vs. a system of gradation needs to be carefully considered.

CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Ossowski has undertaken a very thorough study of the various models that can be found in Marx's own analysis. He has shown the coexistence of a dichotomic model of classes (bourgeois versus proletariat) and of what he calls a "multidivisional scheme" which takes into consideration the intermediate groupings. This coexistence is justified by the different rationale underlying these two approaches and by the different perspectives in which they are used. As Ossowski puts it: "The dichotomy is a basic scheme for the Marxian model of a capitalist society, with its two large classes which appear 'à l'intérieur de l'atelier capitaliste'." The existence of other social groups is not in contradiction with the recognition of a two-class structure "so long as one accepts the view that other forms of relations of production and their corresponding classes have survived from the past within this society." Ossowski therefore concludes that "the dichotomic scheme is intended to characterize capitalist society with regard to its dominant and peculiar form of relations of production while the multidivisional scheme reflects the actual social structure." This conclusion is supported by a quotation from Arturo Labriola (Italian Marxist of the turn of the century):

"Dire que le capitalisme est caractérisé par l'organisation autoritaire de la fabrique et la division en classes — capitalistes et salariés — qui en découle, ce n'est pas hier qu'avec le capitalisme survivent d'autres régimes économiques. (... Si Marx) s'occupait de deux grandes classes qui existent à l'intérieur de l'atelier capitaliste, il ne pouvait pour cela supprimer d'un trait de sa plume autoritaire petite bourgeoisie, groupes professionnels et autres métiers inclassables." (A. Labriola, K. Marx — L'Économiste — Le Socialiste)

More generally it is the notion of conflict conceived as the spring of social development that gives prominence in Marx's view to the model of two opposing classes at the top and at the bottom of the social scale, while the groups in between have necessarily to be considered as marginal and transitory phenomena. And this is the model that by far has become the symbol of Marx's view. After Marx the two notions of class and conflict have become inextricably intertwined. The term "class" therefore has become loaded with a specific meaning and, as such, avoided whenever the integra-

tion or cohesion of the system was meant to be stressed. For this purpose, an image of the social structure, as a hierarchical continuum in which any sharp division is blurred, represents an ideal tool. In Weber, as I said before, class stratification and status structure were two different, but coexisting, ways of analyzing the social structure. Afterwards the tendency has become more and more affirmed, to look at modern social systems exclusively in terms of "status-groups" and to consider social classes as an empirical category proper of past systems, the conceptual relevance of which was lost in modern societies. This tendency has been particularly strong in American sociology. There are specific historical and, I would say "ideological", reasons that account for the direction taken by American studies on the social stratifications. This is a topic that would require a study in itself. What I can emphasize here is the lack of a strong tradition of class organization and of ideological cleavages along economical lines, which has helped to focus the sociologists' interest upon mobility (individual mobility through the educational system) and social status. On the ideological level, on the other hand, the American Creed tends naturally to lay stress on the conception of equality (or better, equality of opportunities) and to oppose carefully any perception of the social structure in terms of a class struggle.

CLASSES

As Botomore puts it, the underlying theme is that "America is a middle-class society in which some people (are) simply more middle-class than others." We may also recall, just in passing, that the dichotomy "conflict versus consensus" is one of the legacy (sic) of the social thought of the last two centuries or so; namely the problem of the foundations of society, whether coercion of some individuals upon others, or whether the foundation of consensus about certain fundamental values among the members, is the constituting element of social systems. Clearly, the choice between these two other motives determines the role assigned to conflict in the analysis of society. As a matter of fact, contemporary American sociology has repudiated the traditional attitude towards the notion of conflict. In this new version, conflict, if and when legitimate, as a positive, functionally necessary element which qualifies the social process and originates institutional and structural modifications in society.

In Lipset's "Political Man" for example, we find the best presentation of this new sociology of conflict, constructed around the concepts of "legitimacy," "peaceful play" of power, the existence of an institutional framework able to incorporate the conflict and prevent it from taking disruptive forms. It is interesting to see how this notion of conflict is related to the concept of class. Can we still speak of class and class conflict when this very conflict is within the system and not against the system? The answer to this question depends largely on our definition of class. Lipset speaks of a "democratic class struggle," points out that a "continued class cleavage does not imply any destructive consequences for the system," and more generally the term "class" is widely used in the sociological literature dealing with the subject of social stratification. The use of the word "class" is unfortunately not only wide, but also extremely loose, so that the concept has lost any analytical impact in most of the contexts. In fact, there is a confusion, conscious or unconscious, between class and status-group; a confusion which has often led to theoretical

(Continued on page 6)

Theory of Class Structure

disputes and criticisms against phantoms, in so far as the target of criticism was missed, or at least, not clearly perceived. This would be the case, for instance, when it is claimed that Warner's studies on social stratification and his discovery of six "classes" have proved Marx's dichotomic model to be wrong.

From this point of view, therefore, we need to know exactly what we are talking about when we speak of "class," "status group," "structure," and so forth. Maybe to all of you, the distinction is clear; nevertheless, I think it is important to agree on a set of definitions, because too many sociologists do use these terms interchangeably. And while, in many cases, it is relatively easy to detect from the context a merely terminological confusion, in others the confusion is more properly a conceptual one, in so far, for instance, as it amounts to devoiding the concept of class and class conflict of its specific meaning. In Lipset, as an example, we find that it is the relative deprivation of the individual (measured in terms of the rewards of the status structure of society) which is the origin of the "democratic class struggle."

For STRATUM, I would accept Mills' definition. It is not an analytic category but more a descriptive term which refers to "people who are characterized by an intersection of several dimensions: class, occupation, status, power." STATUS GROUPS, on the other hand, are the outcome of a kind of stratification based on social prestige, style of life, consumption. For CLASS, the question of definition is a more complicated matter. First of all, a relevant definition of class needs to refer not only to merely objective criteria of differentiation of groups existing in society, but also to the important element of these groups' action or striving to pursue their aims (which, in turn, brings up the question of the interests). I assume that classes, which refer to the distribution of economic power in society, are to be taken as the basic conflict groups in a social system. But before going on to examine some of the definitions of class that still bear relevance nowadays, I want to discuss briefly the relationship between class and status. From the viewpoint of social conflict, both classes and status hierarchies represent sources of inequality and of dissonance in society and can, therefore, generate conflict. This is generally assumed for classes, while status is seen more as a source of consensus that cements social cohesion. But if it is true, at least in Weberian terms, that both classes and status-groups are agents of distribution of power in society, both must be submitted to the Weberian law of power which, to be effective, has to be legitimate. It is precisely around the category of "legitimacy" of a prestige hierarchy, namely its recognition or its rejection on the part of those who are supposed to honor given status claims, that conflict may rise. On the other hand, it is important to stress the mutual tight relations between class and status, because the peculiar line of development of an economic class situation is necessarily affected by the kind of status-situation which exists within the social system as a whole, and vice versa. This is true both in a properly economic sense and in a more psychological one: as Mills points out, "claims for prestige are raised on the basis of consumption; but since consumption is limited by income, class position and status-position intersect" (*White Collar*, p. 241); and in Lockwood's words: "class division is never a simple matter of opposition of interests, but is also inextricably bound up with notions of social superiority and inferiority current in society" (*Blackcoated Worker*, pp. 2-10). What makes up a class - this is the question that an appropriate definition should answer. In effect it is not an easy matter at all and - as far myself - I confess that it is one of the most thorny concepts to deal with.

WHAT MAKES UP A CLASS MARX AND WEBER

Anyway, let's start with Marx's and Weber's definition. According to Marx, a social class is an aggregate of individuals linked by economic factors, more precisely by their relations to the means of production. The fact of sharing economic interests is an essential element of a social class, but though it is a necessary condition, it is not a sufficient one. A class in a full sense - according to Marx - emerges only through the participation in a "political struggle" which, in turn is the concrete outcome of the rising of a political class consciousness. In Marx's terms, a "class in itself" becomes through this process a "class for itself." A different but strictly related definition is given by Weber who, first of all, states that "property" and "lack of property" are the basic categories of all class-situations, and subsequently introduces further differentiations summarized in two points: a) according to the kind of property which is usable for returns (for example, ownership of domestic building vs. productive establishments); b) according to the kind of services that can be offered on the market (for example, disposition over products of one's own labor or of others' labor according to their various distances from consumability). All these distinctions are maintained to differentiate the class-situation of the propertied, "just as does the meaning that they can and do give to the utilization of their property, especially to property that has monetary equivalence."

Looking at these two definitions, we find, first, that both of them are formerly rooted in the fact of property and lack of property, although it can be said that

Weber's definition is somewhat wider including not only the case where conflict originates from differential relations to the means of production, but also all those in which there exists a market-situation. Secondly, both definitions introduce a dynamic element: Marx's "class consciousness" and Weber's "meaning given to the utilization of property" refer to the important questions of the way in which potential conflict groups will eventually engage in opposed political actions.

Now, the problem posed by these definitions is summarized in this main question: what can we retain of these definitions as objectively valid and analytically useful vis-a-vis the modifications that the development of capitalism has brought about both as regards the nature of social classes and the relations between them. For one thing, it is immediately clear that if we want to have at hand a set of operational categories in order to analyze the present reality of social stratification, we must keep analytically separated the objective (economic) components of a class position, and the ideological consciousness. At the same time, we must not assume only one of these two elements as the basic defining criterion to the exclusion of the other. What I am trying to say is that, on one hand, we cannot relinquish the economic foundations of a class, lest to denaturalize the ideological elements of consciousness that makes of a class the agent of a revolutionary social change. In the effort of adapting Marx's definition to the changed reality of modern society, either one or the other of the above mentioned partial approaches has been taken up by sociologists - at least by those who in good faith - so to speak - endeavored to retain "something" of the Marxian model.

CLASS AND Consciousness

Let us examine first the element of consciousness. It does not take much to realize that if we assume Marx's definition in its narrowest or most comprehensive sense - that is to say, in the sense of a group in which the perception of individual interests determined by definite economic position is brought about by an individual subjective consciousness and it is there superseded by a collective consciousness of the class as a whole - we shall look in vain for social classes: they will be found nowhere. Marx was not unaware that this point was likely to produce ambiguity, and the distinction he introduces between "class in itself" and "class for itself" is meant partly for purposes of clarification. Although Marx himself did not elaborate much on this distinction, I think that this is the way to disentangle the difficulties created by the notion of consciousness, if taken without any further qualifications. It is not accidental that too many sociologists took for granted that Marx's only valid definition of class was that responding to the characteristics of a "class for itself."

This argument, among others, supported the statements that classes did not exist in America, or did not exist any longer in Europe and so forth. For that matter, Marx himself never came across a "class for itself," in any historically given society, and not even in his own times. We may try to solve the question in this way. Logically a "class for itself" presupposes the existence of a class economically determined. It is precisely the class in itself that must represent the object of analyses - as well as the political and economic conditions that favor the rising of a consciousness in the class as a whole. On one hand, we could say that "class in itself" and "class for itself" are simply two different perspectives: one is concerned with the analysis of existing social realities; the other concerned with the dynamics of social change, more precisely of social changes as brought about by the least form of conflict envisaged by Marx - class struggle.

What I just said, however, could engender the impression of too sharp a division between the two concepts. Therefore, I would prefer to consider "class in itself" and "class for itself" as two "moments" (in the sense of "determining active factors"), the second of which represents the goal towards which the first one tends. And we all know that concretely, for Marx the proletariat is the class that can develop a full consciousness, and therefore bears in itself the potential of a "class for itself" in its function of driving force of history. But this, we should not forget, is a terminal point: before reaching this stage, the existence of classes is not denied (logically, it cannot be), nor is it denied the possibility of conflicts. In *The German Ideology* (p. 74), Marx clearly refers to "subsidiary forms of a revolution" such as "collisions of various classes... battle of ideas... political conflict." It is true that in his overall scheme, Marx is mainly concerned with the final drastic form of conflict and with the classes that will then be in the battlefield. It would be a gross mistake, however, to take the notion of class as Marx sees it at the end of the process of development not only of the class as such but of the whole system, and to equate it to the class actually existing at a given historical time and under definite historical conditions.

On one hand, therefore and to conclude on this part, we have to consider the element of consciousness as an object of analysis. As Mills says (*White Collar*, p. 294): "If psychological feelings and political outlook do not correspond to economic class, we must try to find why, rather than throw out the economic baby with the

psychological bath." As to the materializing of class consciousness in actual political action, Mills follows Weber's suggestion that it has to be understood as the "factual direction of interests following with a certain probability from the class situation for a certain 'average' of those people subjected to the class situation." As I take it, the existence of consciousness and its degree, have to be investigated according to the actual behaviour of the conflict groups. And this leads to the second conclusion, that from a methodological point of view, we cannot get rid of the element of class consciousness which is the very propellant of both Marx's and Weber's class conflict theory. If we do, we may as well put aside the idea of an analysis in terms of class conflict, because we would have deprived it of its specific dynamic feature.

CLASS AND ECONOMICS

Now we get to the objective, economic aspect of class. And the main problem here is to examine the present validity of the paradigm property - lack of property as the economic defining criterion of class. The changes that have intervened in modern capitalist and neo-capitalist societies are enormous. We are actually living through them and this circumstance probably makes them all the more difficult to pin down in an objective analysis. The class structure of advanced industrial societies is much more complicated than the one Marx confronted, and one in which it has become extremely difficult to discern a sharp dichotomic model

(Continued on page 7)

INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

export of capital is but an expression of the expansion of monopoly capitalism itself and its drive to dominate all market outlets and sources of supply of raw materials. The source of the higher rate of profits and the incentive for export of capital lies in the conditions of monopoly exploitation itself; it is not always to be found simply in the differential in wage rates between the advanced capitalist countries and the backward countries - low wage production is not always low cost production. Furthermore, acquisition of overseas investments is by no means the only, or one may add even the main, form of penetration by monopoly capitalism based on the advanced capitalist countries into other market economies. It has developed a variety of instruments which it is able to bring into play, especially through the agency of the machinery of government which it controls. Marxist preoccupation with the export of capital has been responsible for underestimating the new significance of these other methods in the changed situation of today. 6

It is through the elucidation of such insights as these, and those of Magdoff in the final section of his study, that a more adequate theory of contemporary imperialism will evolve.

1. Harry Magdoff, "Economic Aspects of U.S. Imperialism," in *Monthly Review*, Vol. 18, No. 6 (November, 1966), pp. 10-31, 36-43.

2. It should be noted that Magdoff here resorts to a mode of comparison which he uses frequently in this essay. He compares a foreign component of an overall economic measure with a domestic component as a means of establishing the "importance" of the foreign component. A more logical procedure would probably have been to compare component with total - i.e., in the relationship here cited, the participation of the foreign sector in the total sales of moveable goods amounted to 28 percent (still a quite significant figure) of total production of moveable goods by United States owned productive facilities. Magdoff's component to component comparisons have the superficial effect of overrating his case.

3. Magdoff shifts his analysis at this point from a focus on the entire spectrum of economic production to the manufacturing industry alone, a shift which receives no explicit justification in the context of the paper.

4. Again, we have a component to component measurement. The comparable figures for component to total comparison would be 7.5 percent for 1957 and 14.8 percent for 1965.

5. Magdoff points out that these figures should be interpreted in the light of the fluid cost-allocation accounting procedures of internationally structured firms, as well as the fact that the relevant foreign earnings do not include all service payments from foreign subsidiaries to home corporations.

6. Hamza Alavi, "Imperialism Old and New," in Miliband, Ralph, and Saville, John, eds., *The Socialist Register, 1964* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964), p. 116.

CLASS STRUCTURES

even as a trend of development. But this fact itself is nothing but the outcome of several new phenomena. Centralization of property, the growth of large-scale corporations more generally, the rising of a monopolistic (or oligopolistic) economy, the increased bureaucratization and rationalization of work — all these factors have certainly led to a change in the relations to the means of production. In this framework we have to consider the separation between ownership of the means of production and control over them, which is probably the most important fact to be singled out in the analysis of modern capitalism in its new oligopolistic form and in its intermingling of private and public (or State) ownership (this last point though, bears more relevance for Europe than for the United States). Again in the same framework, we have to consider the formation of the so-called "new middle class" in all its various layers; and finally, at the bottom of the scale, the changes undergone by the working class. It is Dahrendorf who speaks of a "decomposition" within the traditional classes: ownership vs. control; skilled workers (or technicians) vs. semi-skilled or unskilled workers. In terms of empirical evidence, there is much truth in the analysis of Dahrendorf and others. Still, room is allowed for different interpretations, or at least for questioning the validity of the interpretations we are offered. On one thing we can agree: the allocation of economic power in society is not effected on the basis of the property owned by a class. If we still speak of a propertied class (as against the managers for example), it should be clear that the term refers to the few shareholders who are able to control one or more big corporations. Ownership must be qualified in such a way and "propertied class" understood in this narrower sense. This point is demonstrated by the fact that owners of small firms are not in a position just because of their characteristic in the economic dimension to intervene freely in the market and are continually tied to the big corporations; their place is more exactly in the vast range of the middle class and not on the side of the rich propertied. Actually, more of the difficulties in working out a definition of class are raised by those segments of the large structure of "middle class" which are closed to one pole or another of the social scale.

CLASS AND SOCIAL GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

In a way, the question is probably more easily solved as far as the managers, top executives, higher grade bureaucrats are concerned. Things become more complicated when we examine the lower layers, made up by clerks, lower grade bureaucrats, technicians and so forth, which are "marginal" between the traditional white collars and the proletariat. It is here, moreover, that consideration in terms of class and in terms of status are more strictly intertwined. It may very well be that one single definition of class is not suitable to comprehend the totality of the relations between the various social groups. Even if we insist — as we should — on the control over the means of production as one basic economic criterion that has replaced sheer ownership, this would not help us much to understand the relations between white-collar workers and manual workers, for example. Lockwood and Goldthorpe in their study on "Affluence and the British Class Structure" (*The Sociological Review*, April, 1963) have defined class-position as "the position of an individual or groups in terms of their economic resources and power, and the related constraints upon their conduct insofar as these arise from their role in the social division of labour." One hand, this definition seems to fit better the need for a broader understanding of the basic notion of the economic conditions, not only in terms of property — lack of property, but in terms of "economic resources and power" which in Lockwood's terminology, means *market situation* (income, job security, possibility of upward mobility, working conditions, like cleanliness, comfort, tempo, hours, holidays, etc.) and *worksituation* (separation or contact with management, bureaucratization and rationalization of work processes, physical conditions of isolation or concentration of workers, etc.) On the other hand, their definition is open to criticism for the particular type of "dimension" that it puts forward. We seem to be faced here with a sort of Weberian-functionalist synthesis, Weber offering the element of "economic resources and power and the functionalists (particularly Merton) the element of "constraints, strains," etc., which are to offer an explanation for social change. If this interpretation is correct, what is eliminated from such a synthesis is the element of class-consciousness. In fact, Lockwood limits its scope to: first, "the consciousness of a division of interests between employer and employee"; and secondly "a consciousness of a community of interests among employees" (*Blackcoated Worker*, p. 208).

CLASS AND AUTHORITY

An interesting line of development is offered by some sociologists that have focused their attention upon the categories of *authority* and *legitimacy* variables that can hardly be disregarded when bureaucratic hier-

archies play such a relevant role both in the public and the private sphere. Dahrendorf has developed an organic theory of class and class conflict based on the main assumption that property relations are only one of the possible aspects of the more general category of the authority relations. Accordingly, a class is no longer defined in economic terms but in terms of power, or more precisely, legitimate power — authority. "By social class shall be understood such organized or unorganized collectivities or individuals as share manifest or latent interests arising from and related to the authority structures of imperatively coordinated associations." Now, Dahrendorf's definition and his conflict theory as a whole is open to several criticisms into which I cannot go now. I will say only that he practically destroys the concept of class, though in a very sophisticated way. In the end we are left with a role position which has taken the place of a class position, and with a notion of conflict which is extremely broad and unspecific in that it takes place in any association between those who hold authority positions and those who challenge them.

Obviously, this is no longer a "class conflict." Anyway, the interest of Dahrendorf's approach lays in his shifting the analysis to the bureaucratic organization and to the phenomenon of power. More specifically, I would say

that it is what Dahrendorf does not take into consideration that offers possible insights for a reconsideration of class analysis and class conflict. Namely, the way in which power is structured outside the analytical unit of the "imperatively coordinated association"; and the role played by power as against authority (that is, legitimate power) in determining conflict groups. Somewhat on the same line, John Rex emphasized the element of being part of a bureaucratic hierarchy and therefore of participating — even if in the lowest degree — in the exercise of authority. He goes so far as to say that the nature of social classes is tied up with their degree of acceptance of the legitimacy of the present system of social relations, or their denial of such a legitimacy. This definition may prove to be a useful one, provided that we keep in mind that it is workable only after specifying that the groups we refer to have a definite market situation which differentiates them from other groups. In other words, we have to take into consideration the economic objective component — which neither Dahrendorf nor Rex do. After this, we can test the following hypothesis: whether the acceptance of the legitimacy of the existing social system (and consequently, the actual interests and the actual behavior in case of conflict) is higher the nearer a group is to the control over the means of production.

In conclusion, I have not presented you with a definition of class but only with some threads, hopefully useful to lead us to a better understanding of modern class structure. But a lot of work is still needed.

letter on THE WHITES

Dear Editor:

"The Whites," an unsigned article (by David Fleishaker) in the Feb. 13 NLN, should be taken with a grain of salt. Its author leaves the impression that a typical poor white community in South Philadelphia is saturated with a really virulent racism. This is supported by selected quotations, and by statistics which presumably give it a scientific basis.

But the statistics are inadequate. It is not clear whether the number of whites interviewed was 250 or 125; in either case, this is a very small sample to base important conclusions on. That the author felt this limitation is indicated by the way he keeps lumping together his questionnaire categories — presumably to get larger numbers.

He presents a table which purports to show that poor whites disapprove of civil rights organizations. This table does not give the number of "don't know" or "no opinion" responses, but there must have been many. From the numbers he gives it is obvious that a majority of his sample have never heard of the Deacons for Defense or the Urban League; or, if they have heard of them, they have no opinion.

Ignorance about Negro groups, and lack of interest in them, are undoubtedly common in White neighborhoods. Within this apathetic attitude the author is trying to find concrete opinions about specific groups. I am extremely skeptical of any conclusions he may reach in this way.

One problem is that he has chosen to ask about civil-rights organizations that have not been in the public eye in this city. I am surprised that even 25 out of his 125 (or is it 250?) had heard of the Deacons. Of all the groups on his list, only the NAACP has been in the news very much. And for the purpose of comparing the reaction to Negro "moderation" as opposed to "militancy," the NAACP is a dubious organization. It is widely known as a moderate group; yet the Philadelphia chairman, Cecil Moore, has a reputation as a "radical." So what is the NAACP — moderate or militant? I would call it moderate; our author apparently would call it militant; many a well-informed activist in the movement is uncertain about this — so how much more uncertain is the opinion of the ill-informed poor Whites?

His other tables — comparing opinion of the government and group membership, with age, educational level, etc. — give numbers so small as to be statistically meaningless. Even the author puts the "trends" they are supposed to show in quotation marks.

I live in a neighborhood slightly richer but otherwise no different from the one the author investigated. If he had come to my door and asked me his questions:

1 - I would have been listed as a racist because I

disapprove of most of the organizations on his list, and also of both Cecil Moore and Martin Luther King.

2 - I would have been listed as anti-union because I think that unions are "part good, part bad."

3 - Despite my supposed anti-labor bias, I belong to a number of organizations. I therefore go against his supposed correlation between pro-unionism and organization membership. That my organizational affiliations would include the NAACP, CORE, etc, would perhaps upset the statistics. And if any sociological interviewer told me I was anti-labor I would tell him impolitely where to put his interview form.

His statistics are so shaky that nothing can be proved by them. Once they are disposed of, we are left with his *personal impression* of widespread racism among poor white Philadelphians. My personal impression is just as good as his, and somewhat different.

Anti-Negro sentiment is certainly widespread in the white working-class neighborhoods of Philadelphia. The area I live in is segregated block-by-block, as is the one the author describes; but the segregation is not absolute. Furthermore, since the row houses are rented or sold through real estate agents, the people who live in them are not *directly* responsible for the pattern of segregation. White and black children play together on the street; and while white families may be moving out of the neighborhood to some extent, they are certainly not leaving in a rush. The Census, which was taken 7 years ago, shows this area as being 50% white and 50% black, and the ratio has not changed much — if any — since then. In this heavily Catholic neighborhood, many white children go to Parochial school — which is *integrated*, not with one or two but with a large number of Negro children.

My impression is that much of the racism here is purely *vocal*. They make anti-Negro remarks because this is the socially accepted thing, and this makes them sound more bitterly racist than they actually are. This might well give a passing sociologist, with little direct knowledge of this area and social milieu, a mistaken impression.

No civil-rights or radical organization has ever *tried* to reach my white neighbors with the message that Negroes and whites have common interests. Whether we could get that message across cannot be shown either by statistics or by personal impressions. The very fact that it was being tried would change the attitudes which our "public opinion surveys" are supposed to measure. Until it is *tried*, and not merely debated about, the idea cannot be rejected.

Fraternally,
Ed John

NAC MINUTES

NAC MINUTES of MARCH 21, 1967

NAC members present: Rich Berkowitz, Jane Adams, Dee Jacobsen, Cathy Wilkerson, Earl Silbar.
Absent: Jean Tepperman and Steve Goldsmith.
Others present: Jeff Segal, John Venezia, Jack Smith, Elly Brecker, Toni Williams and Jean Venezia.

AGENDA

- 1) N. C. meeting
- 2) Draft-Resistance
- 3) Mailing Lists
- 4) Staff Hiring

1) Since the dates of the N.C. do not coincide with most people's vacations, the NAC decided to make all possible efforts to encourage people to make a real effort to get to Cambridge. The NAC also decided to urge people at the N.C. to see the need for workshops on organizational matters. There was also discussion on the need to make sure that issues get out into the open, right from the start of the N.C.

2) The fundraiser reported that we would be receiving the CNVA mailing list for national fundraising. Jeff Segal reported that ties between SDS and the Draft Resisters in Madison, Wisconsin, have been strengthened. More discussion stressed the need to contact and work with High School groups. Jeff suggested that if the people who are willing to drop out of school could be placed in draft-resistance organizations in capacities such as field staff, we could reach a lot more people. As of now, however, there are not positions available.

3) REP has requested our mailing list for the purpose of sending a pamphlet to the membership. The NAC decided that they could have the list with the provision that nothing else is to be enclosed in the mailing except the pamphlet. The Catalyst, a new magazine, has offered to buy our mailing list. The NAC feels that we have a greater responsibility to our membership, and that selling their addresses is not the way to fund our organization. But we will send them the names of chapter contacts in their area and also our ad rates for NLN. We have arranged to exchange mailing lists with U. S. Farm News. The NAC feels that this is a good thing, as they have never let their mailing lists out before to anyone else for any purpose.

4) New Staff hired are Tony Williams, Elly Brecker (new literature secretary), and Ross Peterson.

FILM TIPS

Because of its physical accessibility and the photogenic nature of many of its tactics, the American civil rights movement is probably the most photographed social movement in history. There have been good and bad network "specials" and good and bad documentaries made by other people and organizations. A few representative films are listed below. If you have suggestions about more, please write.

A CITY DECIDES

27 minutes Distributor: Contemporary Films

One of the best documentaries in the "responsible-citizens-face-up-to-the-challenge-of-integration" variety. Setting: The St. Louis Public School System.

INTERVIEW WITH BRUCE GORDON

17 minutes Distributor: Contemporary Films

Bruce Gordon, a young SNCC organizer, discusses the experiences which motivated him to become active in the civil rights movement in Alabama.

FREEDOM RIDE

18 minutes Available from the UAW Film Library

An account of the integrated bus rides into the deep south after the Supreme Court issued its decision banning segregation in interstate travel. The conduct of the non-violent Freedom Riders is contrasted with the mob violence encountered all along the way.

RADICAL AMERICA

RADICAL AMERICA

Informal journal of the American Radical History & Political Thought program (REP), announces issue #1. Editors: Paul Buhle, Tom Cleaver, Henry Haslach, Joe Mewshaw, Don Slaughter. FIRST ISSUE FREE. PUBLICATION, April 10? c/o Paul Buhle, #2c Knollwood Acres, Storrs, Conn. 06268 (Contributions fervently desired!!!)

THOUGHTS ON '68

Clayton C. Ruby
SUPA, Toronto

Perhaps my brothers in the United States will forgive a criticism, and permit a few, tentative comments from one who admittedly, is quite removed from the American political scene. But perhaps life in the colonies lends perspective.

I have seen damned little intelligible comment on Robert Kennedy. NLN of late has been chock full of militant preparation for the day of judgement and revolution, but what there has been on Kennedy has, I think, been written by those seduced with his style. It is so transparent to us, and so effective at large, that we seem compelled to repeat again and again the old truths. Unfortunately, such "discussion" does little to prepare us to deal with him.

Some left/liberals seem to think they can use Kennedy. Others think they can deal with him. I think both are quite wrong. Kennedy will be elected in 1968. The question is "why"? Partly because of style. He is very good. But mostly I think because he will stand in a position to assert that he (and only he) can understand, make intelligible, and solve the problems people will be concerned about.

Project a little. What will those problems be? More Negro riots. Urban housing problems. Drugs. Teenage gang warfare and violence. Hippies. Campus political confrontations. Foreign wars. In a word—mostly problems of or associated with young people. (I assume that those who will be the focus for problems of poverty and housing and

racism will be young people — as Mr. Carmichael is now.) It is the young who get nasty about foreign wars, who take part in riots, who organize rent strikes, Kennedy's strength will be that he understands all this. That is what he is settling up. He can deal with it. Young people trust him.

The important point in all this is that in order to win with this approach he need never deal with us; nor for that matter talk with us, let alone deal with the problems on our terms. It is only necessary that the American electorate believe that he understands us. And who is to contradict him? Us? We know nobody listens to us. I think this strategy will work.

Some pessimistic conclusions can be drawn here. We do not presently, nor in the foreseeable future, have the power to force Kennedy to face the problems as we see them. We should put out of our mind that he will listen to us because we are right; even should he himself believe we are right. We should rather be thinking in terms of building that kind of power fifteen years from now. We should be thinking seriously whether or not that model of politics is the one we want to build towards, i.e., us — with political strength — talking to them? What other models are more likely to keep us honest over the next fifteen years? Given that "The Revolution" is not around the corner, nor hiding beneath the capitalist quilt, we are going to be working and having careers and wives and families during that time. How to tie that in with the kind of world that needs building? In the short run, can we build enough strength to utilize effectively the kind of political and social climate that Kennedy will create in the kind of world I've sketched? Is that a realistic short-term goal?

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
Return Requested

Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois. Entered at Chicago and other points.

DOW

(Continued from page 1)

little active non-SDS support, although students did write letters to the campus paper condemning the egg-throwing. The biggest shock of the day, however, was the failure of a pro-war (?) demonstration to materialize. Seven anti-ants marched for ten minutes at which time the number sank to five and remained at that level. Meanwhile, our ranks swelled and we continued to pass out literature from Citizens' Campaign Against Napalm — in addition to our own home-printed leaflet explaining the purpose of the demonstration and emphasizing individual responsibility for the war in Vietnam. Following our march we drafted a letter to the *Virginian-Pilot* explaining our motives for picketing Dow; signed by 13 of us, the letter got considerable attention in the V.P.

Exactly one week after the Dow march (SDS in the meantime having become a recognized campus organization) the administration used our reprinting of "I sing of Ola" as a pretext for banning all SDS publications and literature for the remainder of the semester. Thus, we now have a free speech issue on our hands, the outcome of which will be reported following the faculty's meeting (next week) to consider a resolution asking the administration to lift the ban.

Our month-old chapter is thus very much alive planning a number of activities centering around campus issues before the "big push" during Vietnam Week. The SDS NC resolution aside, we hope to be seeing some of you in NYC on April 15.

Boycott

(Continued from page 3)

sions of picket lines which were ready at every possible point of delivery. As the truck approached the Central Produce Market in L.A., followed by the radio car, the waiting pickets with walkie talkies knew exactly which gate to move in on at the last, strategic moment. When the truck reached the gate, he was greeted by 25 pickets who were soon joined by the other two divisions of pickets. More than 50 pickets surrounded the truck carrying signs and singing songs, looking tired but elated after their weekend of work. Television coverage was complete, with Young's Market officials and police holding conferences. No arrests were made. The truck was sent back to Delano unloaded, amid the cheers of the pickets. Young's Market set up negotiations and made an agreement not to buy any more P-M until a settlement is made.

THRIFTY DRUGS FELL WITH YOUNG'S. At the same time — the pickets who waited all weekend for the truck to make its move were busy picketing Thrifty Drugs during their busiest hours, passing out leaflets, singing songs and explaining the strike to passersby. Thrifty Drugs finally negotiated an agreement not to purchase scab products from P-M. During the same period of time, Joseph George, a distributor in San Jose turned back a truck load of P-M to Delano.

VICTORIES AND MORE TO COME. Over 300 retail liquor stores in Los Angeles, between 70 & 80 in San Jose have fallen before the onslaught of farm worker pickets and their local boycott supporters.

Helen Garvey
710 Willow
Apt. 12
Hoboken, N.J. 07030

NATIONWIDE PICKETING OF MACY'S

While trucks were being stopped and negotiations with distributors and retailers were being held in Los Angeles and San Jose, the whole nation was the scene of one of the most colorful demonstrations in the history of picket lines. Macy's which carries Red Starr, a Perelli-Minetti brand bottled especially for Macy's, was being picketed nationwide.

SAN FRANCISCO—SANTA CLAUSE PICKETED MACY'S. In San Francisco, picket lines formed by the Agricultural Labor Support Committee began December 3rd and continued nightly until Christmas Eve, Saturday, December 17 and Christmas Eve, 30 Santa Clauses gathered toys and clothes for Delano at the picket line. Trouble came when on December 16, Macy, feeling the pressure, obtained a temporary restraining order limiting the line to one leafleter per entrance and prohibiting the use of electric sound equipment and the singing of Huelgo Carols and the use of the word "Huelga". They failed to serve the restraining order — who wants to have their picture taken serving an injunction to Santa Claus? On December 22, Superior Court Judge Joseph

Karest refused to issue a permanent injunction. On Christmas Eve, shoppers filled a truck with gifts for Delano and donated over \$400.

CONTINUE PRESSURE ON MACY'S. Pressure is still being put on Macy's and we are asking the consumer to help: (1) cancel charge accounts at Macy's telling the management your reason; (2) those who don't have charge accounts, write letters of phone, protesting the selling of scab products and ask friends to do the same; (3) every Saturday in San Francisco representatives will be at Macy's asking customers to sign petitions demanding that the store honor the boycott.

ATTENTION RE WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTORS: A list of distributors and wholesalers of these products may be obtained by writing Farm Workers Information. Usually there are only one or two in a city. Strike supporters should go to them and urge them to avoid ill will voluntarily by not including struck labels on their lists. If they refuse to cooperate picketing is in order, but check with Delano before you act. (Area Code 805-725-8661 - or above address.)