FOR A
REVELATIONAL IDEOLOGY
by Allen Greene
Seward, N.Y.

1. Some Attempts at a Definition of Terms
In recent years there has been a great deal of talk around in a rather facile manner with little or no attempt being made by the debaters to state and explain the assumptions on which this is based. Such terms as "revolutionary socialism," "social-democratic," "third camp," as well as "participatory democracy" are examples. Members of SDS seem to lack any basic introduction to the meanings of those terms [See Dave Cunningham's article, Ant/Imperialism and the American Left: A Reply to Tom Condit, Sept. 2, 1966 NNN], largely because SDS organizationally has avoided real political discussion.

SDS in the Political Statement and in its later activities and educational work, defined participatory democracy as essentially the control from below of social and economic institutions. It went on from there to criticize American society because the ruling elites of that society's main institutions by virtue of their power and influence control colossal events to happen. In doing so the ruling elites are considered by SDS to be generally divorced from having to face [if these consequences are undesirable] their influence.[7] Such events and consequences as these elites are generally divorced from having to face (if these consequences are undesirable) are a broad, face such consequences. The implications of these things are, of course, the simplest, at the same time also the most ultra-revolutionary, implications.

Socialists have traditionally attacked the institutions of corporate capitalism from the standpoint of intrinsically socially irrespons-

ible nature of the control such institutions exercise over the destinies of millions of people. When Stokely Carmichael, at a press con-ference in Washington on July 1, denounced the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 as a mere centralization and control of economic institutions, and to open up to leadership coalitions, as Tom Kahn, for ex-

ample.

Revolu-tionary socialists advocate and work for the self-initiated activity of masses of people to seize and control modern socio-economic institutions, and to fight against those who oppressed the right to exercise direct say in making the decisions of those institutions - decisions which affect them. Workers' councils in Hungary in '56, in certain parts of Europe where abjective revolts occurred were examples of the highest aspirations of radicals for participatory democracy. Social-democrats, on the other hand, have traditionally been oriented toward the radical side of the capitalist organization (unless it benefitted them polit-

ically), and have concentrated on influencing labor institutions, and on parlia-

mental methods of attaining small-scale reforms that do not threaten the structures of power. They especially do not take into consideration the very criticism revolutionaries voice. The SDS view, whether parliamentary, monarchical or total-

itarian - that it represents, in reality, the centralized military force which acts to pre-

serve class rule of a power elite over the rest of society, and today, capitalism is the particular form of class society which exists. The State works to preserve these relations both at the level of the economic and at the level of the political. Its responsibility to such anti-democratic forces as the corporations and its complicity with the military, it can never truly respond to the legally exercised wishes of the people, save in a token fashion that will never be able to 'decide' within the confines of the political-economic military has that is the reason for the operation of the function of "recognized" public within the State in a representative and representative function. Through either cold-war ideology, coercion, red-baiting, etc., the capitalist State regulates a class of industries and status of the people. When LBJ lies about the War, it’s easy for him to do so, because he has the whole State complex, through mass communications media, working to justify the war in range into the function of the State system, which are presented as the public or national interests, and which include, not very strangely, being in Vietnam.

Thus, there is a real strategic difference between what Tom Kahn and his crowd propose - working for more Congress reform bills and for 14-B's repeal - and what radicals in SDS are doing - the Mary-land Freedom Union, the Boston Labor Pro-
ject, the JOIN projects. Kahn is oriented towards a basically elitist social structure, whether "capitalist," "welfare-capitalist," or whatever the formality and lack of substance of democracy are unchaged (i.e., a bureau-
ocratic State, as opposed to the workers' control of factories, the student-teacher control of universities, the control by poor people of the welfare departments which revol-

ュ革新) propose. SDS people, on the other hand, are anti-elitist, and this anti-elitism, it seems to me, leads to a basically libertarian kind of socialism, and to a radical demo-

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

New left notes
by Bill Higgs

When Stokely Carmichael, at a press con-
ference in Washington on July 1, denounced
the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 as
"totally useless and totally unnecessary," many of the so-called proponents of civil
rights in the country felt that this was the un-
reasoned cry of a black power dema-
pagogue. Certainly the American press exer-
cised all resources toward creating this impres-

sion.

However, the actual facts were that the SNCC chairman had carefully and quickly
reported out of the House Judiciary Com-
mittee on June 30, only two days earlier. That
analysis of the Civil Rights Bill that had been
reported out of the House Judiciary Com-
mits on June 30, only two days earlier. That
candidates for office, and the shuffling of'
reforms that do nothing to affect fundamental

insight, the JOIN projects. Kahn is oriented
inside that

I.S. 201
The other
Grape Growers by Ken Blum
page 4

REP re:n
Huelg!

page 7
The comments I made above basically seek to arrive at the radical antistrike movement, a revolutionary socialist direction. They also attempt to define terms which, up to now, are still,much more or less than basic. To deal with the issues of consciousness of the workers in itself, I can only answer such a charge with the response that we are in the process of defining the consciousness of the SDs we the party, the process which has been consistent to the present day.

I gave hardly resemble the concepts most American migrants organized this summer among the workers in the shop, could lead to anything. The general term of a hopelessly sectarian group that talks about the American Communist party of September 2. Dave Cunningham's paper on anti-imperialism from the AFL-CIO. Moral support from the AFL-CIO. The issue of the subordination of the former to the ideological myths in existence, and it might be possible to look at those who perpetrate such myths.

Dave and those like him in SDs justifiably consistent in both means and ends in what we do, and is consistent in their commitment to the project, which you won't get until it's too late. The ideological myths in existence, and it might be possible to look at those who perpetrate such myths.

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Huelga!
by Marilyn Salzman

The Obreros Unidos, a union of Mexican American migrants organized this summer by Jessis Salas, in Waucoma, Wisconsin, organized their union on these terms as of Friday, October 7. Seventy-five workers employed in the meat packing plant, where at least two breaks a day, depending on the temperature. The union's grievances.

The Obreros Unidos need $250.00 per day and overtime compensation; the work day ranges from four to ten hours and a half an hour per day and is scheduled to rise by 20%.

3) better working conditions; workers are allowed two hours breaks a day, depending on how long they work, and there are no other rest periods or breaks.

4) housing: where it is available, and is especially necessary in the winter when cold weather is setting in, there is little insulation and no heat.

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Some Comments on

A Student Syndicalist Movement

Martin Oppenheimer, sociology, Vassar College

SDS at its Clear Lake Convention apparently decided to turn once again to one of its earlier strategies — one that Paul Booth, in the August issue of Liberation termed “counter-valence or to containment. Clear Lake mandated that we grapple more with the campus problem than has recently been the case, so I want to try to put a few things into perspective, as we proceed to grapple.

What should be our chief tactic on the campus? For containment purposes it has to be to build student movements on specific issues of immediate concern for counter-valence purposes, something much more is needed to create cadres of professionals who will be able to act in a revolutionary way in the milieu in which they find themselves after graduation. Building a student movement, and building cadres, are different, and they are complementary. They have to be tackled together, but they also have to be distinguished. In the long run the second tactic should be primary, but the first is necessary to accomplish the second, for cadres get recruited only on the basis of immediate issues that make sense to them.

Let us look at the size of the job for a moment. In 1963 some 4,400,000 students (full and part-time) were enrolled in courses of “higher learning,” served by some 363,000,000 students (n.b. nearly one administrator per 100 students). By 1966, according to the N.Y.Times, there were 6 million students (including one thousand suicides!), and at this rate by 1970 there will be 6,25,000 or so. (That is, if SDS membership remains stable, there will be twice as many SDS members as there are attempted suicides on campuses.) Given the size of the task it should be obvious that we are probably not going to build a mass student movement — population growth is too rapid for recruitment to make much of an impact.

What do we have to do to permeate American social institutions with organizations, using the campus as a recruiting and training ground. The institutions to which I refer will be the following: (1) Graduate schools which in turn supply faculty who in turn help create new cadres on the one hand, and play roles in their communities (ACLU, unions, anti-poverty, religious groups, professional organizations, independent politics, etc.) on the other. Further, as activists in professional groups (e.g. the Society for the Study of Social Problems; the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, etc.) they help to strengthen the graduate student movement.

Abbott Small

October 14, 1966

NEW LEFT NOTES

REHEARSAL

for Johnson's Prayer Breakfast

Film & Filmstrips

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

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

Canadian Film Board’s Black & White in South Africa (16mm, 30 minutes, sound) is a good documentary. Available for $18 by showing from Contemporary Films, Inc. (287 W. 22nd St., NYC 10011; 604 Davis St. Evanston, Ill. 60211 Polk St. San Francisco, Calif. 94109).

Lionel Rogan’s full-length feature Come Back Africa (16mm, sound) is the most powerful film on South Africa yet made. It features Miriam Makeba, and Mr. Rogan agreed last spring (at the time of our abortive Sharpeville program) to make it available to SDS chapters at a flat rate of 95 cents for audiences of any size. Inquiries should be sent to: Lionel Rogan, Bleeker St. Cinema, 144 Bleeker St., NYC 10012.

Those of you who were at the December Conference may remember Emmie Schrader’s long filmstrip on the war in Vietnam, which combined war photos and comic book panels. It’s available from her for 30 minute sequences. Write them for rates.

Peter Gessner’s Time of the Locust (Continued on page 5)
In the struggle of the Delano Grape strike, both Anthony Bianco and Schenley, and rightly so, for they are the largest Delano growers. Both are public corporations, the latter in New York, as they might well do.)

Part of the dispute concerns its prin-
cipal, STANLEY LUSER, whom (again quoting the Times) "the self-appointed spokesman for the community serious doubts that he had declared unacceptable because he is white."

It is imperative that certain sections of the white community, whether student or adult, support Luser's transfer and by publicly analyzing the situation.

Thus with the question of integration out, it is imperative that the parents' inexperience and inability to cope with the administrative machinery and functioning of F.S. 197, considered by many Harlem par-
tions to be the worst school in Harlem. Once again the Board refused the parents request.

Another point of contention was the par-
tions preference for some minimal form of desegregation even if it meant the bussing in of white students to their children. The committee would decide on ques-
tions such as curriculum (introduction of Harlem history), grade techniques (Harlem times put it, "the center of violent contro-
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NEW LEFT NOTES

Vol. 1, No. 39

Let the people decide

October 14, 1966

SYMBOL

Waning of Congress

(continued from page 1)

[11] No provision to arrange for free or easily obtainable bonds for civil rights cases. Congressman concluded that: "The bill is a sham. Any civil rights organization or congressman who works for the passage of this bill, and any legislator who votes for it, is sharing in the hypocrisy of President Johnson and his Administration. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee refuses to do it."

Then the Rabornite Case was decided in an en banc decision on July 20 by the United States Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals (ravaging the deep south states from Georgia to Texas). Rabornite rendered revolutionary the judiciary's provisions of the bill pending before the House of Representatives. The Administration, by making the situation in New York under the court's language in Rabornite (strongly critical of the Justice Department) refused to recognize the existence of Rabornite and apparently encouraged the House to proceed with the Civil Right Bills if Rabornite had not been decided. SNCC, however, pursuing its Casandra-like role, distributed a detailed analytic pointing out the importance of the Rabornite case on the pending legislation. The analysis was ignored in the rush of the House to "write a piece of paper bearing the name of the Civil Right Act" on the national statute book.

The situation deteriorated further on the House floor with the adoption of gutting and then negative amendments. First came the changing of the standard in the jury selection provisions from that of a failure to constitute the "material to a substantial failure to comply." This meant that any jury discrimination less than "substantially" would be permitted. Clearly the Rabornite Case would have been repealed by the statute. Then the House moved most deplorably and totally the "anti-reform amendment." The amendment read:

Rioters and Other Violent Civil Disobedience

Sec. 1

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

(1) assist, promote, encourage, or carry on, or facilitate the incitement, promotion, encouragement, or carrying on of, or otherwise participate in, any riot or other violent civil disobedience; or

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

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

(4) fail to cause or to attempt to perform any act specified in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), or (4) of the antireform amendment, or on any provision thereof;

shall be fined not more than $50,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Nothing contained in Sec. 1 shall be construed to be intended in any manner to affect the state laws of the several states insofar as such provision is inconsistent with any of the purposes of Sec. 1 or provision thereof.

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

Though their handwork was rather well disguised, the isolated liberal majority of the Senate Judiciary committee was so locked into mortal anxiety as to be unable to write a reform out of the House bill.

The so-called passed Civil Rights Act of 1966 as a result of a filibuster in the Senate is now history, yet the irony remains that many members of Congress in both houses thought that they were, at least in part, spilling Cormorant and SNCC when they defeated the Bill.

Three weeks ago, the Congressional civil rights committee chairsmen J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, the committee's ranking Democrat, and Barry Goldwater of Arizona, while the papers indicated, is now being fought into the closing days of the 89th Congress — the "most liberal Congress in thirty years." Already the Senate has added up appropriations bill rider curtailing the already tenuous pace of desegregation of the nation's hospitals, and the Southerners are in hot pursuit of the same objective in regard to school desegregation. Smelling blood, they are eating in their new-found support among moderate Republicans and big city "liberal" Democrats.

It is interesting that the father of school and hospital desegregation through the use of federal funds — Attorney General Thurgood Marshall — was the first to feel the brunt of the change in congressional sentiment. Then by adding the alibi which accomplished the curtailing of Powell's powers was headed by the leader of the "liberals,"

Democrat Study Group chairman Frank Thompson of New Jersey, and by Senator Southern Sam Gobinson of Florida. As soon as the maneuver against Powell was brought to a successful conclusion, Congress was free (1) to add an anti-reform amendment to the poverty bill prohibiting participation of poverty workers in demonstrations; and (2) to permit Sargent Shriver to kill the moon shot bill the same way. In the case of Mississippi, the Child Development Group of the United States itself was brought to a successful conclusion, the Senate Judiciary committee was so lackluster, the so-called liberal majority of the Senate Judiciary committee was so lackluster, and the Southerners were so unafraid, apparent dilution of the purposes of Sec. 1 or provision thereof. The public records of the all but perhaps one subcommittee may serve a constructive purpose.

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

The House Administrative Committee under the Burleson of Texas has set a special seven-man subcommittee to investigate Powell's handling of his Home Education and Labor Committee's finances. The subcommittee is headed by the rather racist Wayne Hayes (D-Ohio) and comprises three other southerners in his six man membership, as well as the "liberal" (not Frank Thompson of New Jersey (Mr. Thompson engineered the Powell defeat in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge against the seating of the Mississippi delegation in September, 1965).

Hayes once took the head waiter in the House cafeteria and had him arrested for turning down a $500 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

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Many lower income people say, "If they didn't have the government to tell us what to fight for in Vietnam, why should we bear the burden of the war?" Others in this organization believe that we have a responsibility to consider what our roles are as citizens of a changing world community. This task, however, must be made about Americans' attitudes towards the War in Vietnam to be a "just war." Some argue that America is fighting to make it a more democratic and humanistic regime. The Bible is often used as a basis for evaluating the situation. Often they feel that there always have been wars, there always will be, and that so it is useless for us to be there. The other views must hold this opinion wish we hadn't become involved in Vietnam we have a responsibility to stop communist aggression. The contain- ment of the kind of anti-human, anti-life system controlled, has become. And the men of the C.P. reflect Mills' definitions well. They are basically products of as isolationist sentiments. However, others who hold this view do so sincerely because they think America: pow- er should not be used in any part of the earth. One final view based on the perspec- tive of Americans who hold this opinion that we should fight in Vietnam now because that we don't 'll soon be fighting the same enemy. Some popularly think that our enemy is the Vietnamese people, others sa: we are fighting international commun- ism. The perspective from which the least num- bers see Vietnam is that of the Vietnamese as a nation. The most common of these is that of the Vietnamese people (often described in rus- tical term) can not be affected by Americans so it is useless for us to be there. The other basic assumptions which hold these views is that our foreign policy and the way in which we deal with our problems are equally capable of governing them- selves and thus the United States should withdraw. There are two sharply controversial "isolationist" views which take into consideration international factors as well. They feel that war violates more values than it protects. Sharply contrasted to this view is that of people who feel the war must go on. They argue that America is fighting to make it possible for the Vietnamese to live in a more democratic and humanistic regime. That National Liberation Front as a securer more socialist and the American military efforts. The War in Vietnam on an im- portant of a changing world do not necessari- ly reflect higher than average educational brackets, nor taken as an on every era with the war as a whole which the people have in it. A large number of Americans hold this opinion without specifying which alter- nation of an organized political activity. The most common of these is that the Vietnam people (often described in rusk- tical term) can not be affected by Americans so it is useless for us to be there. 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NAC minutes (sept. 28)

Submitted by Steve Kindred
Members present: Adams, Calvert, Kindred, Tepperman, Woodlawn
Alternate present: Berkowitz
Members not present: Condit, Lauter, Silberman, Kramer, Tepperman

September, October, November, December
will bring in a draft to the next meeting.

In May 31st and November 31st we should suggest to the producers of the

December Conference
San Francisco region is working on a site in a meeting that question till the

First, second, and for November 31st, the membership secretary,

Dear friends,

Since the committee to plan the convention was decided, we referred that question till when Nick

was the jurisdiction, we decided to table

a. Nick Norris has left the staff to work

b. Art Rosenblum

c. Berkowitz reported on preliminary talks

d. Sasha will take over responsibility for mail-

6. New Group

7. Draft referred

No proposals either pro or con have been

appears upon the books of the company

c. The total of the stock is

Statement of ownership, Management and Circulation

Date of Filing: October 13, 1966
Title of Publication: New Left Notes
Redistribution of Mail
Location of Known Office of Publication: 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612
Location of the Headquarters or General

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4. Literature.
SDS has become, tend nevertheless to view the movement as a somewhat distinctly American phenomenon, and numerous people who were members in the past and present SDS have called the organization a "pressure-group," a "special interest," or badly used, a "power structure." Some of this may be due to SDS's scale and formality, though to a much greater extent it is due to the specific experiences of SDS members. SDS has been a political movement in a society where the public education system has been a significant political force. SDS's history has been shaped by its structure, its membership, and its style. It has been a movement of young people, a movement of students, and a movement of radicals. SDS has been a movement of a generation, and its impacts have been felt throughout American society.