WAR CRIMES TRIAL

Cleveland

STEADY POWER

SARBIE DISCUSSING LEGAL FORMATION (private sessions) [L to r.]: Mahmud Ali Kasuri (Supreme Court, Pakistan); Lello Basso; Mehmet Ali Aybar (M.P., Turkey); Jean-Paul Sartre; Kaiji Markawa (Japan); and Seihurie Tsutsumi (Japan).

by Allan J. Anderson

In the face of the U.S. government's insistence not to listen to reason in Vietnam, several of the world's most eminent men have declared to judge the US officially. On November 13th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, began what was destined to be one of the most individually significant, yet tragic events of our time: the first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal was called to order. Lord Russell gave an opening address stating his reasons for initiating the Tribunal.

Gentlemen, Allow me to express my appreciation to you for your willingness to participate in this work... The Tribunal has no clear historical precedent. The Nurem-
burg Tribunal, although concerned with des-

gnated war criminals, was possible because the victorious allied powers competed to "reckoned" as a means to present their leaders for trial.

He was addressing 9 of the 16 (1) members of the Tribunal which would later be formed, and the 10 observers or representatives of members who could not attend. Neverthe-

less the real work had begun that rainy afternoon in London, N.W.

The following three days, these elderly men, six of whom had been im-
prisoned sometime during their lifetime, struggled to find a way to get the feelings of the population of the war victims before the tribunal, the U.S. and radio. Seldom has a human lived among us for so long, that in small snippets, has not been influenced by the thought of Russell or Sartre. Yet again the frightened bureaucrats threatened by their own ignorance of truth, raced to plug the gap between Reession and Stupidity, armed further by their own fear of conscience they raced to plug their ears and turn their eyes away from the New York Times put it: "It is the racketed hypocrisy to pretend that a 'tribune' so chosen by such men could deliver an 'impartial judgment.' [1]

If, not, then who perhaps? A General, Time magazine's man of the year perhaps; or C.O. Gann, Westmoreland deliver an impartial judgment on U.S. war crimes? Well, what? The editor of the New York Times perhaps. For on October 14th, 1965, he announced that in an effort to clarify the "war crimes" situation, the American Army started to destroy the Vietnamese hospital about 3/4 of the medical supply.

A month ago when James Reston quoted President Johnson in an article saying, 'Come home with the Coon skin on the wall.' ‘Coon skin' is the term for Vietnamese. It is also the term by some for the American's America. Interesting! Interestingly and para-

doxically enough, the New York Times itself, which Grand Russell has called "the least esteemed paper in the Western world," gave most of the impetus to convene a tribunal by its own reporting of the Vietnamese war in the first place. One of the sure signs of a 'tribune' is that he doesn't "prove a point of view" freedom, and freedom of the press is in-
cluded. (Freedom from the press) It is also rapidly apparent that he doesn't "prove a point" from his knowledge either. Anyway some men do prove their knowledge. Hence Great men. Hence tribunals composed of such men.

By Tuesday morning, November the 15th, the Court had been officially formed, and legally constituted. With "no-clear precedent," the precedent can be one with historic im-

lications, began what was sure to be one of those special events of our time. Then comes the press conference. By 11 o'clock, Wednesday morning, in a small room on the southwest of side of London, most of the 200 reporters assembled to hear the good news.

Seven I.V. news cameras, French, Japanese, and Middle Eastern news men were in the crowd. Russell began. (4).

To this I reflect on the work, I cannot help thinking of the events of my life, because of the crimes I have seen and the hopes I have nurtured. I have lived through the Dreyfus case and been party to the in-

vestigation of the crimes committed by King Leopold in the Congo. I can recall many wars. Much injustice has been recorded quickly during these decades. In my own experience I cannot discover a situation quite comparable... I do not know any con-

flict in which the disparity in physical power has been so vast.

Actually, I have rejected the view that only indifferent men are impartial men. The concept of 'individual' intelligence which con-

fers upon him an immorality, and, therefore, a mystique, and, degener-

ate and must be repudiated.

A wonderfully sincere speech which could only be given by few men today. Yet how was it that this little speech and few words could create such a quote from the same New York Times ed-
itorial that I referred to earlier (the only reference made to the conference), "At the London press conference about the trial, the 94 year old philosopher was led to read a prepared statement, accusing the U.S. of unprecedented War Crimes, then was led away without making a sound... he said it makes no difference whether the aged philosopher has become a mere stooge of a bitter propagandist, but it adds a poignant touch to this episode that the answer can never be known." If the New York Times was to ask that question to Russell himself, they would likely get back (out of the same am-

bition) Answered with the same stooges, one begins to wonder about the editor of the New York Times.

After an hour and a half of questioning, the last of the session had come. It was declared that in March the open sessions of hearings and evidence would begin. Paris was the chosen site. All the news in the press of France not allowing the Tribunal was (Continued on page 3).

new left notes

By Steven B. Accuracy, Neil Burke, James Grant Jr., Frederick Schmitt, and Dennis Williams - Penn State SDS

PREFAE

The Pennsylvania State University, a rear-

tionary business-oriented student-faculty, is located in central Pennsylvania in the bil-

ly-white town of State College. Penn State operates on the quarter term system of four-

teen-week terms per year.

For the first time in history, there seems to be a possibility for the emergence of a
genuine, effective student movement at Penn State along radical lines. Previous attempts
to student organizing have met with a variety of
difficulties.

**

In spring 1965, Carl Davidson (then a Penn State graduate student) and several
tried to develop a student movement via the Ad Hoc Committee for Student Freedom. Their main rallying point was the broad
equality of issues in local parents. Despite a con-
siderable amount of activity, the move-
dment did not receive the widespread sup-
port it deserved. The great majority of the students could not comprehend the role that in local parents played in the administration of their private lives by the University.

Most Penn State students, then as now, have not shed parental control. They are not ready to leave 'mama' and thus happily accept the University in local parents. On October 24, 1966, The Daily Collegian, the campus newspaper, reported that 'Univers-

ity Psychiatric Dr. Albert M. Ingram Jr. believes the isolation and rural nature of the University create an environment more favorable to emotional stability (read: ob-

scurity, complacency, conformity). Dr. Ingram suggests "we don't get the same kind of sophistication here that they do at New York University or


Volume 1, No. 48

Let the people decide

December 16, 1966

By Paul Booth

I attended a conference in Cleveland in late November at which was held the November 5-8 Mobilization. To put it most concisely, the group decided to participate in the very large April 15th Mobil-

ization in New York and San Francisco against the war. This was after considerable orga-

nizing for the mobilization-organization dilemma.

My first attempt to summarize the argu-

ment, or the political makeup of the group, or the characteristics of the planned March. I was invited to join in this exercise. I presume it will give full consideration. I urge this urgency that the other issues, the issues of the meeting, voted against the plan, it is clearly our responsibility as citizens of the world to take serious the proposal coming from this group, including as it does many adult peace elements, the student committees to end the war, and the LIBERATION group of pacifists.

Other meetings are and will be offering other national plans. A meeting then followed about what each school will discuss on the student strike. SDS will have its own N.C. organizing goals for national action aimed at the considerations of renewing the draft law which expires in June.

I would like to propose a procedure for the N.C. to follow in this regard. It is based on the notion that SDS should participate in the national decisions of the antiwar movement and should try to make its political approach as widely adopted as possible. There is a responsibility to our insistence on a multi-issue orientation, our ideas about permanent organizing, our interest in the draft, etc.

We have lost the initiative in national affairs, but this does not mean that it is being taken up by other groups and individuals. It is not par-


cially our responsibility to give everyone the correct leadership. In fact we must do so that we will be regarded as section of the group.

Concrete, I urge that the N.C. delegate a half-dozen or so representatives to go to the

notorieties. (Continued on page 3)

NOTICE

Registration fee for the December Conference will be $5 - NOT $15.

Any money left after the conference will go to travel subsidies.
ment as an organization, although many individuals who later joined the local chapter were not involved in this activity.

Last year’s movement climaxed with two demonstrations aimed at ending the busi-

ness building. One included a thousand man

walkin and sit-in (until then, the longest

sit-in in US history had been at Penn State).

The rallies were not up to FSM standards; they failed to
demonstrate the level of commitment and saw

consciousness. The demonstration leader-

ship, consisting mainly of political castrates, so liberal rhetoric sup-

porting a moderate reformist approach pre-

valent.

A major failing of the movement was its
target strength. The goal of the election was to

influence the policies of the student government, and the

movement led nowhere.

The administration successfully postponed

action until the next term. The demands for
democracy on campus were not on the agenda, and then passed a

watered-down liberalization of the existing

rules without consulting the students. A by-

product of the student agitation was the

"voluntary" ratification of the new administrative

practices, the principle of the administration official involved in the

controversy, the Vice President for Student

Affairs.

The summer of 1966 saw the evacuation of

many students. The opportunity to participate in

the previous year, so the movement had to be

reborn in the fall.

The fall 1966 Penn State had over 60 people

at its first meeting. They came back week

after week with the spirit if not the substance of a new wave of

student activism. A single-issue campaign could not

be transformed into a broad-based movement.

A program for the development of political

and social awareness of students was needed to

provide the momentum for fundamental change in the power

structure of the University. To this end has

began to document and clarify SDS positions and has
designed a bi-weekly SDS REP (Radical

Education Program) throughout the vast

Penn State residence hall complex. A wide

spectrum of issues is being dealt with in
calling the civil liberties and academic freedom of a
department. What is needed is not a
corrupt business-oriented values which permeate

the pere

from the floor.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

1) REP

A series of "dorm forums" have been held

temporary duty as part of the REP. Two or more SDS spokesmen visit resi-
dence halls and speak to groups of about

young students. This represents from ten
to twenty per cent of the residents of

students. The internal REP consists of

teaching and discussion on subjects pertinent to SDS peasants.

2) Community Organizing

Penn State SDS has also begun a tutoring

and community organizing project in the

town of Allison (one of the state's strongholds in central Pa.). Several students

became involved in the Allison ghetto last

1967. Students from Pen of them SDS workers but some not
tutor (on an individual basis) high school students

and adults in the Negro ghetto and certain

poor "white" sections of Allison. The tutoring

project is the first step toward the organization

of the entire community. Application has

been made to the O.E.O. and in Washington, D.C. for financial assistance on the "Radical

Education Program" in Allison.

In addition as well as in Centre County (State College), SDS workers are investi-
gating local conditions and seeking to organ-
ize the poor and the hard-core recipients. High schools are

being contacted, and through them part-

ly residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.

3) Labor

As a result of inquiries from SDS people the

problems have finally begun to organize the

relying on the policies of the campus. This

influence over the curriculum and in under-

negotiation. SDS workers are being

contacted, and through them parti-

ary residential or should receive

interest. The needs and the low-

income families are being researched in this

area.
THE RESPONSE TO THE NEW FRONTIER:

The Kennedy Administration, with its campaign rhetoric of "getting the country moving again," and its style of a "New Frontier," explicitly recognizes the need for an Establishment capability of leadership to the crises of the new era. The Administration has reasserted an active and managerial role for government, after the Eisenhower years of a "government of agencies." Industrial interests. The comment of an activist political elite is a reflection of the inability of a major social economic and military institutions to agree on the means of pursuing the American mission. For example, business leaders, who are keenly interested in the stability and profitability of a major political crisis, have been focused on the issues of strategy and emphasis. These and other conflicts within American centers of leadership have created a need for an active, technically skilled, government elite. Basic structural needs are reduced to problems requiring administrative manipulation; they are never seen as a reflection of the clash of opposing interests. The National Security establishment, in the major changes of the policies of the Administration. Everywhere policies are pursued that are aimed at adjusting to the revolutions of the new era in order that old order of private corporate enterprise shall be able to remain unchallenged.

The New Frontier. Abroad, the commitment to a corporate America, follows its foreign policy aims toward increasing economic and political cooperation with the world no longer subject to blunt American direction: 1. The New Frontier, while regarding the Soviet Union as its chief short-run problem, now views Europe as a distinct possibility, too. The new problems involving nuclear energy, the arms race, and influencing the direction of social revolution in underdeveloped areas. Thus, the Cold War obsession with the Soviet Union, which has been reduced in significance, because of the need for greater attention to developments in Europe and the Third World. These are seen as the pressing that the Administration will seek to control with the USSR, if the detente can be achieved without critical alterations in the world balance of power.

2. The New Frontier increasingly regards China as the primary threat, increasing American interest in the area, while the New Frontier is now being directed at "reopening" the Chinese Revolution. On the other hand, the Administration seeks to avoid unnecessary incidents such as a China-French Shakesocket invasion of the mainland, although, as yet, neither the United States nor China is ready to be provoked into war.

3. The anti-colonial revolution is accepted as legitimate, as is the policy of non-alignment. The United States is pursuing justice through mixed economic and military policies.

4. A deep desire to avoid general nuclear war is fundamental to the Administration's "rational military policies." One way to avoid holocaust, it is thought, is to have a wide range of "options," to deal more effectively with military situations. Thus, while nuclear weapons do not deter revolution, social counter-insurgency forces are developed (pre- sently being tested in Vietnam). An increase in conventional forces in Europe to forestall the use of nuclear weapons should war occur; while at the same time, strategic nuclear superiority to the Russians is maintained in the contingency, that should nuclear war occur, the United States is prepared to counter-insurgency forces.

5. The Grand Design of the New Frontier involves its base on a multinational European-American community which would serve as the bastion of Western power and a counterbalancing force for the superstate in the world. The Grand Design, to determine Western political military strategy, while economic ties with Europe would both stimulate and prevent excessive competition with the stagnating United States economy.

The New Frontier at Home, Internally, the New Frontier is moving toward the image of a "responsible" America. Following the war in Korea, the government and business recognize that national planning by central bodies and strong programs of social welfare are necessary if social conflict which threatens the corporate economy be lessened. 1. The economic overplay of the Kennedy Administration is in a mix of Keynesian advocacy of "rational" economic policies and a major pursuit of economic recovery, with faith in the essential genius of the American corporate system. Economic problems are seen as "frictional," or nonspecific cyclical troubles. It is clear that as the troubles of the consumer and producer are still visible, the administration is directed toward "corporatist-bureaucratic" solutions rather than toward construction of institutions for economic growth.

2. The New Frontier is engaged in systematic and unprecedented intervention in labor-management disputes, as a representative of the "national interest," to attempt to settle labor disputes. The goal of this policy has been to establish the power of tax and other incentives and concessions to business and strongly against the use of the strike by the labor movement.

3. The Administration interprets his need to dampen the rate of unemployment as a "cost of increased productivity," and apparently feels that only conventional programs are needed to solve the problem. Thus the Administration claims that cuts in unemployment, decrease work-related efforts and other additional stimuli, plus minor welfare measures will do the trick. In actuality, the New Frontier is interested in maintenance of unemployment at politically acceptable levels. Consequently, a high rate of inflation (officially) of six percent or higher will be tolerated, so long as such unemployment does not become a political liability.

4. The Administration has no program for the alleviation of poverty. The medicaid program, skimpy compared to Truman's National Health Insurance bill, represents only major Administration commitment to help America's dispossessed. There have been no programs which would lead to a ratio point of income, no massive public works program; instead only business oriented plans and ameliorative social work in the form of the Social Security Act are pursued.

5. While being attacked by some business interests as "unfavorable" to business, the general trend of the New Frontier is toward the strengthening of large corporate power (while continuing to expand the free market system), and the cowering of the business elite. Here are some examples of such Administration action:

- The steel industry involved not only a freeze in prices but a freeze on wages as well, since then the steel companies have been permitted to raise their prices.

- The Toplitz giveaway - The Administration, over-riding liberal opposition, gave control of the international communications satellite to private corporate interests.

- The series of Administration concessions on tariffs, tax reform, depression allowances.

6. As the Administration came to power, civil rights was regarded as a problem requiring a gradual yet necessary solution. The goals were thought to be the process of water registration in the South - which the Kennedy supported financially and legally, as well as conceptually. This, it was thought, would lead to the movement of the streets, and build up Negro voting blocs for the Democratic Party. The accelerating pace of the movement, however, belied those early Administration expectations. Recognizing now that officially advocated racism is a major barrier to US effectiveness internationally, and a major spur to Negro mass action, the Administration now views the civil rights situation as a major and pro- longed crisis, demanding more commitment than initially hoped. But the basic goals and typical style of the New Frontier continued to be manifested. Although recognizing that segregation is a moral evil, to try to manage the civil rights movement into established institutions the Administration seeks to be able to political control and an accommodation. Meanwhile, Administration officials attempt to work with the civil rights movement - as a last ditch effort to stave off a situation in which all efforts and liberal strategies would be re- jected by angry and militant Negroes.

7. It is crucial that the rationalizing, managerial and assigns politics of the New Frontier do not have unanimous support within the Establishment, and that the Adminis- tration is very orepised by the traditionalists of the Right. In almost each instance the Administration is in a degree of conflict with groups who have a stake in the linger- ing ideas of the Fifites and before, in the area of military policy, there still remain power- ful voices in support of an unlimited arms race and forceful containment of the Soviets at any cost. In economic policy, there are those who continue to insist that the Adminis- stration has not gone far enough in the interest of private enterprise. In civil rights, key figures in both parties oppose any government action to deal with the problem. The Administration has decided, in essence, that such outlooks are irrational and conflict with the long-range interests of established power. To develop durable support for their own vision, the New Frontierers are seeking several important changes in the national structure of power.

They seek to greatly expand the power of the Executive in critical areas. This includes greater control of the media. The New Frontier elite of skilled intellectuals, politicians, and managers is the goal is to make the planning of war a scientific specialty of Pentagon intelligence - immune from Congress or any other public institutions which might inter- fere with rational military planning. The Administration also seeks the power to act, independent of Congress, in the following areas: setting of tax rates, regulation of public works and welfare programs, absorption of some Federal Reserve Board powers with financial control.

The Kennedy's seek to make the Democratic Party in their own image. They seek to replace worn-out political parties in big cities, to control, redirect or suppress reform movements in key states, and to undermine the power of recalcitrant Democratic congress- men - all with the intention of creating a party permanently loyal to the New Frontier political style.
America and the New Era

A number of trends, actively aided by the Administration, point to a remaking of Congres-

sional procedure, and the financing of opposition by the Administration, plus the

terrorism of the rival movement, the power of the Dicatist control of Congressional

power is aided by the Administration of the least of small countries.

It seems likely that the next few years will see a gradual transfer of power from the quan-
tity of men, a political oligarchy to a new group of men who are closer to

the views of the White House.

This, then, is the essential shape of the Establishment as it strives to respond to the

forces within and without, to the pressures and style flow from its necessary commitment to the preservation of the going system.

The Administration is committed to democracy and human dignity, two things new-ly

needed to be strongly emphasized.

First: In a world where counteries forces work to create feelings of powerlessness in

order to control the population, the controlled leaders and conflict destroy the con-
ditions of a democratic policy and rob men of their initiative and autonomy.

The New Frontier is engineering a society where debate is diminishing and the opportunities to

exercise options are diminishing. This process of democratic participation has been defeated.

In the short run, efforts to dampen social conflict and the pressures and style flow from its

necessity commit the people to a genuine democracy.

Second: The policies of this Administration can be characterized as "aggressive" tokenism.

And the Administration has not been able to devise in its essence to make real, measured adjustments by a foiling system to radical demands from all sides.

It is clear that, in the present situation, the New Frontier cannot solve the three most pressing problems of our time: disarmament, abundance with social justice, and complete racial equality.

Alternatives to the New Frontier

A peace-making foreign policy in which disarmament is the central goal is the first need.

The program of the Administration is a dangerous attempt to make the world safe for

the military-industrial complex and the suburbs of nuclear deterrence. Certainly all sane men will support the Administration as the only way to achieve detente with the Soviets. But they must face the fact that the resulting world is not a world of democratic leadership and does not control conflict destroy the con-
ditions of a democratic policy and rob men of their initiative and autonomy.

The New Frontier is engineering a society where debate is diminishing and the opportunities to

exercise options are diminishing. This process of democratic participation has been defeated.

In the short run, efforts to dampen social conflict and the pressures and style flow from its

necessity commit the people to a genuine democracy.

The program of the Administration is a dangerous attempt to make the world safe for

the military-industrial complex and the suburbs of nuclear deterrence. Certainly all sane men will support the Administration as the only way to achieve detente with the Soviets. But they must face the fact that the resulting world is not a world of democratic leadership and does not

Speech given to Organizational Meeting of the American New S.O.P. (Students to Op-

pose Paternalism).

by Everett Frost,

Iowa City SDS

Let’s not mince words. Neither let us mis-

understand what we are about, nor misjudge

our goals and so misdirect our enemies. For

we who are involved in this movement have

called ourselves to tonight–if we are serious

–more than the radicalization

of the nature of the University. We have

specific grievances in need of redress, that

are immediate and important (and we have a

number of them tonight):

the regulations governing dormitory life;

the regulations governing parking,

putting up posters for student organizations on

campus, the way in which we will use

the money that this regulatory system costs

us...

the money it costs to park your car...

and above all, the almost total absence of

legitimate student power to influence or have

influence on these regulations will be the

inscrutable manner in which they are decided

The acquisition of more civilized parking

rules, or of more civilized dormitory

living arrangements in the new, expanded,

living Student Union rather than a defunct

MEMORIAL Union–all these are important–

but they are not the central issue. The central

issue is the right of student action, of student

action in the process of acquiring them. (And

We would like to have them.)

For our real goal is not talking the Univer-

sity into changing its mind. Our real goal is

the creation of the kind of university in which

we can make up our own minds. Our real

goal is to have students and faculty partic-

ipate in the governing of the University.

This is possible by permission of the administra-

tion but by us, we–or some of us–can do,

so through our elected representatives, as

constituent members of the university

student body...and students and faculty

have to form an off-campus pressure group

for we–students and faculty–are legitimate members of

the University--and this is an argu-

able point, its ONLY legitimate members. We

need to redefine our roles and influence,

the decisions that govern our lives and our

institutions, by every means available, by

right of the governed and not by permiss-

ion of the Governor.

According to our real task, as we see it, involves, I am afraid, radical changes, and not the purpose of a University as it exists in the University.

To offer data so that we might begin to understand some of these things as it now exists, let me quote you a few passages from Clark Kerr’s The Uses of the University.

Clark Kerr, the first and as yet the only in-

famous president of that infamous Univer-

sity, the University of California.

I pick on him only because he is both typical of an Administrative mentality and brighter and clearer than many of my colleagues. He says: (the italics are mine)

"The American University is currently undergoing its second great transformation. The university is being called upon to assume historically unimagined numbers of students; to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activities with those of other institutions to adapt to and rechannel new intellectual currents. By the end of this period, there will be a new university, and perhaps a model for universities in other parts of the globe."

"So many of the hopes and fears of the American people are now related to our universities...[the university has become]

...the center of a national and natio-

onal purpose. This is new. This is the transformation now envying our univer-

sities..."

Yes, this is new—and Clark Kerr and men like him, LIKE IT, for one, DON’T LIKE it. But Kerr is valuable, I believe, because he follows up the implications of his analysis, and the book bears the ominous title of: The Knowl-

edge Industry."

Back to this transformation now: the growth of the knowledge industries and the need for transforming government and business and to drive into it more and more people (Continued on page 5)

The University--perhaps, and this is an argu-

able point, its ONLY legitimate members. We

need to redefine our roles and influence,

the decisions that govern our lives and our

institutions, by every means available, by

right of the governed and not by permiss-

ion of the Governor.

According to our real task, as we see it, involves, I am afraid, radical changes, and not the purpose of a University as it exists in the University.

To offer data so that we might begin to understand some of these things as it now exists, let me quote you a few passages from Clark Kerr’s The Uses of the University.

Clark Kerr, the first and as yet the only in-

famous president of that infamous Univer-

sity, the University of California.

I pick on him only because he is both typical of an Administrative mentality and brighter and clearer than many of my colleagues. He says: (the italics are mine)

"The American University is currently undergoing its second great transformation. The university is being called upon to assume historically unimagined numbers of students; to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activities with those of other institutions to adapt to and rechannel new intellectual currents. By the end of this period, there will be a new university, and perhaps a model for universities in other parts of the globe."

"So many of the hopes and fears of the American people are now related to our universities...[the university has become]

...the center of a national and natio-

onal purpose. This is new. This is the transformation now envying our univer-

sities..."

Yes, this is new—and Clark Kerr and men like him, LIKE IT, for one, DON’T LIKE it. But Kerr is valuable, I believe, because he follows up the implications of his analysis, and the book bears the ominous title of: The Knowl-

edge Industry."

Back to this transformation now: the growth of the knowledge industries and the need for transforming government and business and to drive into it more and more people (Continued on page 5)

The DILEMMA of LABOR and LIBERAL FORCES

While the Negro populst strikes itself, the traditional sources of power for movements for social justice find themselves on the defensive. The labor movement, and the institu-

ations of liberalism have been caught in a vicious circling movement: the automated economy— the jobs bills and the automation of power in the heavy production industries. And the capture of liberal rhetoric and the liberal political base by the corporate liberalism of the New Frontier means

the atrophy of the workers and the atrophy of the base of the Democratic Party, but afraid of irreversibility outside it.

The effects of technological and industrial changes, so strikingly expressed in the shifting complexion of the labor force, are creating problems and a more

sizable number of unemployed, while exacerbating the problems of displaced workers, and perhaps its greatest single threat over the course of the next twenty years...

The labor movement for the fit of the forces within the labor forces, including labor-management relations, without the typical or charac-

teristic industrial relations. The base of labor's power and social influence – the production line worker – is vanishing. Labor, however, has failed to achieve the kind of political power in the New Frontier has not.

The Negro revolt poses a challenge to other groups as well. Particularly it speaks to liberals, to reformers, to trade unions, and to radicals. The question it poses has been raised by Walter White, the NAACP: Is the rising discontent which is showing itself among the 20 million Negroes going to change is important ways the shape and pace of American politics? Big popular movements such as Populism in the last century, the Square Deal and the New Deal, have been driven by a new social movement to peremptory government and business and to drive into it more and more people (Continued on page 5)
America and the New Era

routed to higher and higher levels of skill. Not only are they making people not only higher and more intelligent, but also more skillful.

The production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge is in all forms is said to account for 50% of gross national product in countries where "knowledge production and publication" growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy.

It is often through new academic specializations and through the arts that the university is able to rise to the occasion. The arts can most quickly and easily attract national attention—and also hiring great numbers of new workers. The "university" that new workers can make scarlet for all stars and professional luminaries. The former do little studying and the latter little teaching, and so they form a neat combination of music and art. The university is "the University of the segments of industry and the less alike. As the university becomes the center of the world, the professor takes on some of the characteristics of the entrepreneurs. The two worlds are merging physically and psychologically.

I urge all of you to get a copy of Kerr's book. You will read it in its entirety because I have found that a carefully analyzed analysis of where the University is going from a point of view a deal more powerful than our own.

Lord knows, I have been one of those most vociferous to argue that the university ought not to be an ivory tower and ought to be involved in a dialogue with the modern world. I am with Kerr and I agree with the book. But I disagree with the nature of that involvement.

Mr. Kerr wants us to accept without question the present military-university-industrial research-economic complex or the "iron triangle" or the "military-industrial complex" or whatever. The result is that he must have a university that you call "the Jet to the larger picture. He must have a university by which liberal programs can be enacted. It would be an occasion for much celebration if it were ever accomplished.

Within the liberal organizations, at all and below the middle levels of leadership there are groups that would support more militant action and forthright positions. The views of these people are often submerged. The emphasis on the positive, the ideological and social support; the deep, peaceful movement is a fact of life and organizations of liberal can be reinforced by the emergence of new popular movements, articulating their own programs in the face of the inadequate ones.

The changes in the spirit and new strategy for American democracy, they would require a new insurgency.

THE NEW INSURGENCY

In a growing number of localities a new discontent, a new anger is growing towards a particular kind of liberalism. At present, the major resource for these efforts is a number of individuals who are thinking and acting in radical ways as a result of a variety of recent political events and changes.

Chief among these are the activists in the civil rights movement. Discovering that most protest is more effective than patient suffering, the community finds a new way to achieve equality, it is bound in complex ways to more general economic pressures and employment and economic growth. Behind local segregation there lies a more pervasive discrimination, economic, social oppression; slowly, the civil rights movement is rising to the challenge.

Within the liberal organizations, at all and below the middle levels of leadership there are groups that would support more militant action and forthright positions. The views of these people are often submerged. The emphasis on the positive, the ideological and social support; the deep, peaceful movement is a fact of life and organizations of liberal can be reinforced by the emergence of new popular movements, articulating their own programs in the face of the inadequate ones.

The changes in the spirit and new strategy for American democracy, they would require a new insurgency.

SPARC TAC

New issue -- SPARC TAC
74 Crisis in Maoist China; SNNC and Revolution; Hungarian Revolution; 106 cea., 12 issues $1.
Also available:
What is Permanence Revolution? by Leon Trotsky... 10c What Is Revolutionary Leadership? by John Reed

Marxist Bulletin: Cuba and Marxists

35c

SPARC TAC, Box 1377, GPO, New York, N. Y. 10001

pointing to the University's glittering new Student Union building.

But scientists are being paid to price their privileges in the form of good athletic behavior. For withdrawing their talents is the only offense to those who are supporting them during their privileges and brackled ages of grace, before they go out into the world as it is really. To be idealistic and above all, to try to carry that idealism into democracy is important for the raisin. It takes unfair advantage of one's special situation as a scientist to perversely reject the easy isolation from the adult world--the best years in life—which has been arranged for a great deal of adult effort and expense.

Thus, in order to maintain his status and his privileges, the student must be kept out of trouble. His politics, like his other extra-curricular activities, must be conducted in such a way that the administration cannot be accused of being politically incorrect. This is encouraged not to give the students an opportunity to govern themselves, but to create a political climate of insidious, innocuous. Student government is most acceptable when it mimics—indeed, parodies—its own political masters. And the student union is part of this game. The result is that all real issues are there except the real issues and the real relation between action and power which are not present at all. The liberal organization can and must be the only channel, and the only one by which liberal programs can be enacted. It would be an occasion for much celebration if it were ever accomplished.

Within the liberal organizations, at all and below the middle levels of leadership there are groups that would support more militant action and forthright positions. The views of these people are often submerged. The emphasis on the positive, the ideological and social support; the deep, peaceful movement is a fact of life and organizations of liberal can be reinforced by the emergence of new popular movements, articulating their own programs in the face of the inadequate ones.

The changes in the spirit and new strategy for American democracy, they would require a new insurgency.

THE NEW INSURGENCY

In a growing number of localities a new discontent, a new anger is growing towards a particular kind of liberalism. At present, the major resource for these efforts is a number of individuals who are thinking and acting in radical ways as a result of a variety of recent political events and changes.

Chief among these are the activists in the civil rights movement. Discovering that most protest is more effective than patient suffering, the community finds a new way to achieve equality, it is bound in complex ways to more general economic pressures and employment and economic growth. Behind local segregation there lies a more pervasive discrimination, economic, social oppression; slowly, the civil rights movement is rising to the challenge.

Within the liberal organizations, at all and below the middle levels of leadership there are groups that would support more militant action and forthright positions. The views of these people are often submerged. The emphasis on the positive, the ideological and social support; the deep, peaceful movement is a fact of life and organizations of liberal can be reinforced by the emergence of new popular movements, articulating their own programs in the face of the inadequate ones.

The changes in the spirit and new strategy for American democracy, they would require a new insurgency.

Cleveland Conference

(Cleveland continues from page 1)
with a similar strategy to create student strike and from the student council, and with of course other interested parties invited to help, that N.C. executive committee is inviting all students to come to an on-campus activity, should we seek it?

But the students must be cautious in functioning in the manner outlined by Clark Kerr as nicely as he does, that everything would work out as he would expect it. The notion that the institution will function as a whole is also hard to come to final decisions about the spring term.

The greatest alternative to this that we can see is coming down hard and urgently in Toronto and the Middle East, and it is the Middle East. The middle alternative of drift and indecision seems to me the least desirable and the most trouble-free way to get the student National office — it gives them no incentive.

The kinds of concerns that might be articulated might include:
1. explicit commitment to building permanent organization reflected in the calls and activists;
2. major emphasis on bringing unionists, poor people, rural groups, other people who are stronger to the middle-class peace movement;
3. a particular perspective and activity of the student council that is most obvious, most likely to appeal to students.
America and the New Era

The new insurgents are active generators of a wide variety of political activities in the neighborhood. Local insurgents are using mass direct action and voter registration campaigns among Negroes, political reform and registration campaigns among Negroes, political reform movements directed against entrenched Democratic machines, political action for peace, tutorials and other community-based attempts to reach underprivileged youth, discussion groups, periodicals and newspapers. For their part, the New Frontier is being forced to seek domestic stability, not just economic and social stability, but also political stability, and to involve new ideas in the political process.

Third: local political organization of the kind described could provide the base for Congressional candidates and Congressmen who, regardless of their party, could stand for radical economic and social programs independent of the establishment of either major party. The New Frontier, through the power of the conservative coalition, expelling racism from the seats of congressional power, forcing debate on Cold War policies by feeding men who really represent those who are now disenfranchised - these would be major steps in the effort to create a democratic society.

A NEW AGENDA FOR AMERICA

Political organization is meaningless without political program - definitive and concrete program based on serious analyses of existing conditions and addressing, coping with the troubles and problems of people. The immediate need is for such social and political analysis and the formulation of such problems into a program that will be effective in their "communities" and exposed to the pressures of post-war affluence and the hegemonic influence of the Cold War.

Despite the enthusiastic proclamations of public officials and college bureaucrats that the New Frontier was seen as the fulfillment of intellectual participation in the key institutions and centers of national life, it has been clear that independent, non-administrative intellectual programs in the universities and government is simply an indication of the effectiveness of the American Establishment. The centripetal force of the universities and government has fueled the performance of significant numbers of students and intellectuals has come a freshening, an independent new sense of purposes on the University system as well as the emergent centers of power in the social order.

While stressing the participation of university intellectuals in the new issue centers, it is not a new issue centers that have been 1,000 to 1,000 in number, and not one of them has been isolated from the participation of other groups that are isolated from one another by the experience of the Fifth. In particular, arists and writers as intellectual groups are being driven to and resurrected by reoccupation centers.

An End to Middle Class Silence

The great American middle classes (real and imagined) - the manipulated - they are a type of social. Even now some of the middle classes - especially university people and some of the small town professionals - are breaking with the apathy and complacency of the Fifteens. To a great extent these nuclear and the real middle classes has been removed from the real power structure. One of the most disconcerting features is the real middle classes have lost most in terms of political and economic influence. Second, beyond the press of their own material problems - such as unemployment, social security for income redistribution, etc. - there is a sense of their being part of the American Establishment. It is no longer a movement for real human relations and democratic participation in the work places of our society. This, it would seem, is the new frontier for America's labor movement. It is impossible that no labor insurgency - even though occurring outside the labor movement - could move the unions to approach this frontier.

An End to Middle Class Silence

The great American middle classes (real and imagined) - the manipulated - they are a type of social. Even now some of the middle classes - especially university people and some of the small town professionals - are breaking with the apathy and complacency of the Fifteens. To a great extent these nuclear and the real middle classes has been removed from the real power structure. One of the most disconcerting features is the real middle classes have lost most in terms of political and economic influence. Second, beyond the press of their own material problems - such as unemployment, social security for income redistribution, etc. - there is a sense of their being part of the American Establishment. It is no longer a movement for real human relations and democratic participation in the work places of our society. This, it would seem, is the new frontier for America's labor movement. It is impossible that no labor insurgency - even though occurring outside the labor movement - could move the unions to approach this frontier.

New Priorities

The political insurgency, the rabbi of populism, would upset existing American - and could rewrite the international equations of the political establishment. The working wings of both parties would control the decision-making apparatus of the Congress. This would make it difficult for the enactment of the New Frontier program. It is clear that this program is going to be a political issue and will be fought on both sides of the aisle. There is no question that the real political debate about real issues must come to the open. This is the truth in the often-stated "political stalemate"; issues which are under the rug must become the floor of a new movement.

Second: effective action by Negroes in both North and South will hazard the demise of the New Frontier, and such a result would paradoxically strengthen the movement. The New Frontier is being forced to seek stable middle class participation and to incorporate new ideas in the political process.

First intensified activity by Negroes in both North and South will hazard the demise of the New Frontier, and such a result would paradoxically strengthen the movement. The New Frontier is being forced to seek stable middle class participation and to incorporate new ideas in the political process.

First intensified activity by Negroes in both North and South will hazard the demise of the New Frontier, and such a result would paradoxically strengthen the movement. The New Frontier is being forced to seek stable middle class participation and to incorporate new ideas in the political process.
and students sent off the assembly lines ready to take their part in business, government, and industry. But is it the case?

We all know a dozen stories of how industry and business have cut back, not only for retraining if our academic and activities records seem to demonstrate that we are not the type of personnel they are looking for, we all know the vague feeling that maybe they’re right—we don’t really feel trained for doing anything and that we can’t even English qualifications if at all do for a job in an insurance company, so if only we tried graduate school...

There are a number of reasons for this—at least two of them relevant to the present discussion. The first is that, as students, we know the classroom—our point of view—the way the system operates—that is, in brief, teaching and learning are separate activities. The system doesn’t care about your personal or political position in modern America, but that grades, credits, pre-requisites, and procedures are not meaningful to a democratic society. It is like the classroom and its functions—or what it stands for—it is that tradition-
al values represented by a classroom very seriously. Little wonder then that dedicated teachers like William Kenrick of Amherst are driven to lament: 

"That something is wrong is revealed in our attitude toward class preparation and attendance, your willingness to get by and maintain a mark, your impatience with difficult authors and problems, the miser-
able time spent in reading, writing, your almost cataclysmic unconcern-
siveness in class, your general contempt for study and learning, and right your incessant plea for more time in which to complete your assignments, a plea you have been given ample time, the superficiality of your reading, the vulgar ways in which you communicate. I understand that level of your conversation, and your penchant for treating your teachers as paid employees of your education.

Dr. Kenrick is of course right—but students are only partially to blame. For we are vic-
times of a system that demands the kind of alternative behaviors that he would have us "learn.

The second reason why the system does not work—and why we remain unprepared for anything else—is that we tend to throw out the good with the bad. We feel alienated from the total system. Yet, the system is beyond the wildest and most fantastic values and humanitarian motivations that are part of the educational environment. But in chucking the system, we chuck them as well.

To be exact, then, that the Clark mentality has succeeded, it has defeated itself—for it has made the university more relevant and meaningful to our world—bureaucratic and superficial.

And that is the real reason we are here tonight. For after we have got the parking fee back down to three dollars we still have a job—FORT. We need to be concerned with intelle-
tual freedom as well as social standards. We need two things then. We, students and faculty, need the power (again by RIGHT and not by permission) to implement the changes that we see necessary, and we need to devote some serious thinking to deciding what is necessary. We are lacking very little regarding what we want to do.

And we will not get the job done without faculty help. Faculty, you are not off the hook. You need to risk an honest dialogue with your students. You may need to emphasize with few exceptions, I cannot think of any faculty members who are in any of these things—be it political, social, moral, racial, conservative, moderate, sensible or down-
right liberal. I do not mean to sound political.

The Great Value of Education. And if you do not stand for anything, who are we sup-
posed to blame? The students have a more difficult time of it. You need to stop lining up the students, correct their grades, their career and start lining up with the students who have come to share in the ideas you have had for some time.

And so I appeal to both students and fac-
ulty. Let us join together, let us discover our common identity, let us jointly-demand of ourselves the power to build—not merely a better set of rules—but a university come-

This is the point. The power to build, whatever shape we decide that it should take.
America and the New Era

to be made continued support for massive military programs untenable.

Even now, the growing need for American military power is an old question. What profit if America gains the whole world and loses its own soul? What purpose do the American people expect America to achieve if America no longer has any American enemies? It must "achieve our country" and thereby "change the history of the world."

The New Program

American politics presently excludes and discourages more ideas about problem-solving than it attracts and generates. America would open the scope of alternatives which could be legitimately debated in political forums. And creative alternative solutions are desperately needed. Proposals and policies adequate to the needs of the society have yet to be offered in political contexts.

Nevertheless, the nature of these programs is discernible; and it is essential that men become aware of what experience with programs is really implying. If it begins to democratically represent those now excluded from its functioning. Such programs would include the following:

Towards a Democratic Economy

A new concept of full employment must be demanded, wherein people are fully employed in the fabric of a creative society and are as well "workers" involved in a productive context.

This would entail a society which plans publicly, not merely to handle the "new automation" through general participation in decision making. Meeting the most basic and general material needs will be part of the incitement of democracy as an economic goal.

The goal of this will involve not only major governmental efforts to meet current needs, but also will entail radical changes in society and economic structures. The question is not whether radical changes will be needed, but how and by whom they will be carried out. To include a social and economic structure is a major priority. The overall strategic structure of the current nuclear changes must be included in the dynamic change. Tactical demands must be made on the most elementary level that human needs, and advances to a thorough change in social and economic structure.

This new program will cut step-by-step; hopefully, toward the society which is the model of society. The key is not merely a "fix" of liberals' demands find their basis in basic needs and human insights, in disillusionment with the present state of human life and its socio-economic institutions.

This, at all levels of political life, the issue of economic power must be raised. Limited "issue" demands will remain hollow unless the sources of disaffection are attacked. Political reformers, as an example, not only must lobby for more funds for education, but the social conditions, structural economic factors are now to wish to impel the University in the Cold War and in anti-communist propaganda should be noted.

The new program would seek to establish a new strategic goals fall into a number of major categories.

Solving the major problems of poverty, unemployment, and underemployment by making a wide range of increased in present programs and progressive changes in others.

Increasing the distribution of income as part of a guaranteed minimum standard of living for all people, this to be accomplished by a variety of mechanisms: progressive taxes without the dead weight of special interest loopholes, effective and realistic structural economic factors do not now wish to impel the University in the Cold War and in anti-communist propaganda should be noted.

This new program should be put in such a way to confront the failure of the current market model for the counter model for a genuine counter market in the Cold War, and in anti-communist propaganda should be noted.

The new program would seek to establish a new strategic goals fall into a number of major categories.

Solving the major problems of poverty, unemployment, and underemployment by making a wide range of increased in present programs and progressive changes in others.

Increasing the distribution of income as part of a guaranteed minimum standard of living for all people, this to be accomplished by a variety of mechanisms: progressive taxes without the dead weight of special interest loopholes, effective and realistic structural economic factors do not now wish to impel the University in the Cold War and in anti-communist propaganda should be noted.

The new program should be put in such a way to confront the failure of the current market model for the counter model for a genuine counter market in the Cold War, and in anti-communist propaganda should be noted.

These international and domestic policies are merely the first steps. These are essential, though without their realization we are faced with the prospect of deepening domestic and world-wide economic hardships for Negroes and other minority groups, many small-scale civil wars in the US, and the loss of all hope for the future of the world. The way out is the realization of the nuclear arms race. This process can be achieved. The restrictions of the major powers and their allies; and it is possible to avoid them. This is achieved.

The Abolition of All Forms of Racial Injustice

If the real needs of Negroes are to be met, there will have to be radical structural changes which extend beyond the question of color. To open up a new system of economic life, for the Negroes cannot be seen as sufficient change. However, discrimination should be eliminated through such minimal governmental and non-governmental action as follows:

a) the denial of Federal funds to states and communities where official practices en- courage or tolerate or deny civil rights to Negroes;

b) the passage of the present civil rights legislation including the Public Accommodations section;

c) full and militant enforcement of existing civil rights legislation, court orders, and executive orders directed at abolishing segregation in schools, housing, employment, and public facilities;

d) Federal protection — military if necessary — of civil rights action;

e) further civil rights legislation, including at least the permanent establishment of the Civil Rights Commission;

f) provision of Federal registrars to aid Negroes encountering discrimination in registering to vote;

Second-Class post-age rate paid to Chicago, Illinois, Entered at Chicago and other places.

J. Walton Senterfitt
2115 S St., NW
Washington, DC 20008

America and the New Era will be available from the National Office in pamphlet form at 25¢ per copy.

The Care and Feeding of Power Structures (N.L.N., Dec. 9, 1966) will also be available from the N. O. at 10¢ per copy, in pamphlet form.

NEW LEFT NOTES
1966 W. Maclaren
60512
Return Requested

50¢ Bulk Discount