LIBERATION

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Taking A Step Into America

Editorial: Nixon's Peace Plan

President Nixon's "peace plan," presented with Madison Avenue hoopla on May 14 as a "real breakthrough," was not only couched in the Lyndon Johnson rhetoric but contained the usual gimmicks which have stamped all American peace plans as hoaxes. If North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front were to accept it, it would mean not a complete settlement, but their liquidation and defeat.

Nixon, the premature Johnsonite who wanted to send an American army to Vietnam in 1954, not 1965, still bleats that we cannot "abandon" the millions of South Vietnamese who "placed their trust in us." If we did so it would "risk a massacre that would shock and dismay everyone in the world who values human life." Hitler could have made the same statement about Norway's Quisling and the thousands of other quislings throughout Europe. If there is one decent person in South Vietnam who placed his trust in the United States no one has yet uncovered him. Should Americans, then, continue to die for crooks, profiteers, and Hitler-lovers like General Ky, whom Nixon cannot "abandon"?

Moreover what do we have in Vietnam now if not a "massacre" that shocks and dismays the whole world? The Pentagon is bombing hundreds of thousands of people in "free fire" zones, where the order is to kill anything that moves. It is burning down scores of villages, uprooting two to four million people and putting them into concentration camps, burning people to death with napalm, spraying countless acres of land with defoliants, and putting its blessing on the arrest and torture of at least 20,000 Vietnamese whose only crime is their desire for peace and neutralism. A report by a religious team on General Thieu's tortures will soon be made public that will really shock the world, assuming it can still be shocked by the war crimes of Washington and Saigon.

It is not only the rhetoric of Mr. Nixon, unfortunately, that reminds us of Lyndon Johnson, but the plan itself. Headlines the following morning left the impression that Nixon was offering to withdraw all American troops within twelve months. In fact, he did no such thing. He said that if an agreement can be reached he would send home the "major portions" of American forces during that time, while the "remaining" troops would stop fighting and be regrouped in enclaves *in South Vietnam*. These "remaining" soldiers would stay on until a *second* agreement could be reached for a second mutual withdrawal.

It takes no crystal ball to figure out the true objectives of Messrs. Nixon and Henry Kissinger. They would ship home, say, 350,000 U.S. soldiers, leaving the "remaining" 200,000 in their present military bases to act as *political* leverage, exactly as Brezhnev has done in Czechoslovakia. Twelve months after a "settlement," with the scale of fighting reduced, American casualties cut to a minimum, and the American public lulled into apathy, Nixon would find a hundred excuses for refusing to withdraw the remaining military contingent.

He would, for instance, charge North Vietnam with failing to live up to its side of the bargain, or argue that the liberation troops are actually North Vietnamese in disguise who should also be repatriated above the 17th parallel, or insist that the Laos civil war must be ended simultaneously, or something of that sort. Meanwhile the chances of a free election or a true coalition government would be on a par with the chances of Czech liberals to function today with 75,000 Soviet troops on their soil. The American troops would act as a back-up for a monumental wave of repression by General Thieu, particularly in the so-called "contested" villages.

This would not be the total military victory that

Johnson and McNamara envisioned in 1965, but it would give Nixon the alternate victory of a Korean-type stalemate. A pro-American government, whether under Thieu or someone else, would be in power in Saigon, the United States would retain its military bases, and Southeast Asia would remain secure for American imperialism. The only obstacle would be the "Viet Cong" guerrillas, whom Nixon hopes can be decimated to manageable proportions or who would simply "disappear" as the guerrillas did in Malaya. It is no accident that Cabot Lodge, the author of this disappearance theory, is the American negotiator in Paris. Neither he nor Nixon have changed their goals by as much as a scintilla. Like Johnson they are yielding to public pressures at home by providing candied phrases, but the essence of their offer is still victory for the United States, defeat for the "other side."

It is well to recall that this was exactly the Johnson technique. From December 1963 to April 1965 LBJ refused to consider negotiations of any kind because he was not harried by public outcry. He failed to respond to an offer made through U Thant in December 1963, after the fall of Diem, to end hostilities if the United States would recognize a "coalition neutralist government in Saigon." In September 1964 he turned down U Thant's proposal for private meetings in Rangoon, Burma, on the excuse that an election campaign was in progress in the United States. After the elections he turned down the idea again—through poor Adlai Stevenson—and many months later we were told that the reason was Dean Rusk's "antennae" which told him that North Vietnam was not "serious."

In April 1965, with all the academic clamor and the demonstrations of young people, Johnson finally made his Johns Hopkins speech offering "unconditional discussions." The liberals, overawed as usual, cried "ah, at last," until someone read the fine print which said that LBJ was willing to discuss only with "governments" not with the NLF that was doing more than 95 percent of the fighting.

At Manila, in October 1966, Johnson had the liberals gaping again. This time he said the U.S. would withdraw its troops within six months. The joker was that it was six months *after* North Vietnam withdrew its regiments, along with its "subversive forces," i.e. the "Viet Cong." In other words six months after the "other side," including the NLF, gave up the fight and repatriated themselves into North Vietnam, the United States would *begin* to take out its forces.

On February 2, 1967 Johnson wrote a private letter to Ho Chi Minh with still another offer, that he would end the bombing of the North if North Vietnam would stop its "infiltration." That's like exchanging Cadillacs for shoe laces. The United States would continue to keep 400,000 or 500,000 men in South Vietnam and continue to supply its "ally," while North Vietnam would have to sever its ties with the NLF. Under such circumstances Lyndon was confident he could either win a military victory or reduce the NLF to minor consequence.

Nixon's May 14th "peace offer" is in the Johnsonian tradition, and must be denounced for the same reasons. It is aimed not at achieving peace in Vietnam but peace in the United States. Its purpose is to allay American hostility to the war by cutting down the scale of fighting and casualties, while keeping the war going on a more favorable basis in Vietnam.

It won't work, alas, anymore than LBJ's trickery worked, if only because the "other side" too can read, and because a new generation of white and black youth in America will not be duped. The storm in the United States will not blow over, because it is precisely against such hypocrisy and duplicity that it has been raging in the last few years.

S. Lens

On "Anti-Communism"

Those of us who are sharply critical of present tendencies in national SDS—that is, of both PLP and the "national collective"—are sometimes charged with anti-communism when we put these criticisms into words. This is a response to that charge.

No one, I think, wants to question the movement's historical commitment to non-exclusionism. Like so many elements of the movement in the early 1960's this concept was defined in the context of work, rather than in the context of rhetorical correctness. As understood in SNCC, non-exclusionism meant that if you did the work, no questions were asked about your political background and ultimate political intentions. When a SCLC staff member turned out to be a former member of the Communist Party, SCLC fired him. When similar information came to light about a SNCC staff member, the worker was retained.

Non-exclusionism guaranteed the right of anyone sharing in a radical organization's work to take part in decisions about that work. It did not mean, nor should it mean, indiscriminate tolerance of all styles of participation in the decision-making process.

Some styles of politicking are objectionable in the movement, not because they are communist but because they are undemocratic. Caucusing, for instance, tends to destroy trust and openness. It is hard to talk with someone in a heartfelt manner if you know he made up his mind in a caucus before the conversation began, or worse, if you only find this out when the conversation is over. I believe caucuses are inevitable and necessary in a large organization. But should we not be able to ask of caucuses, first, that their members publicly identify themselves and, second, that attendance at any caucus be open to all who wish to come?

Whether an organization is communist or non-communist, whether it is centralized or decentralized, whether it makes decisions by voting or by consensus, secretive, manipulative relationships between people will tend to destroy it. Liberals, as we all know, can be the

most accomplished manipulators. Nevertheless, in one way there *is* a connection between adherence to Marxism as a total world view and exclusive guide to practice and a manipulative political style. If you believe there is such a thing as a scientifically "correct" political strategy, you will go on believing this even if a majority disagrees with you; and you may be tempted to manipulate the decision-making process to make it confirm what (you are convinced) is true.

Hence, the Old Left was and is characteristically manipulative. The first time I experienced what one might call Old-Left tactics in the New Left was at a meeting of the newly formed National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam in Washington, D.C. The conference and organization were destroyed by the Young Socialist Alliance. Although representing only a small minority of the thousand or so delegates, the YSA caucus turned the entire conference into a response to its maneuvers. My most vivid memory is the locked hotel room in which, by the end of the conference, the YSA was trying to form a new organization.

The problem with the Progressive Labor Party is similar. Members of PLP entered SDS in 1966 after a party decision to dissolve the May 2nd Movement. In the history of American radicalism, such decisions have usually been exploitative, because the smaller group uses its sojourn in the larger group to recruit and then splits away again leaving the organization it had presumably joined in good faith demoralized and divided. The Trotskyists used the Socialist Party this way in the 1930's. The Communist Party took advantage of a procession of Left-liberal movements in the same manner. I believe that, consistent with this model, both PLP and the national collective are working to recruit a revolutionary *cadre* out of SDS no matter what the cost to SDS as an organically evolving revolutionary *movement*.

In this connection, there arises the specific question of Stalinism, or to be less pejorative, of the movement's attitude toward Stalin, toward his writings, and toward the period of Soviet development over which he presided. This is a question which I hope can be carefully explored in future issues of *Liberation*. (For instance, I do not believe it to be a sufficient fundamental critique to reject "Stalinism" in the name of "Leninism.") For the moment my concern is that movement people should not be intimidated from criticizing Stalinism.

In Europe, the New Left came into being in response to Khruschev's denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and to the Soviet invasion of Hungary, both in 1956. In the United States, the repudiation of Stalinism was not a principle cause of the development of the New Left, but that repudiation was taken for granted. It was assumed that we wanted a movement which would eschew the manipulative tactics of the Communist and Trotskyist parties. It was assumed that the society we ought to create would be democratic, libertarian and humane which meant, among other things, a society which would not purge its dissidents as Stalin had destroyed his own comrades in the purge trials of the 1930's; a society without forced labor camps; a truly interracial society, rather than one which suppressed in practice the nationalities whose liberties Stalin had championed in theory; and, last but not least, a society prepared to risk its national existence on behalf of liberation movements elsewhere, not one which cold-bloodedly suppressed, muted, or failed to support other revolutions in Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, etc.

We struggled with the objections a) it was wrong to criticize Stalin because liberals also criticized him, b) we did not know enough about Stalinism to criticize it, c) historical necessity required Stalin to do what he did, and found each of these arguments finally unpersuasive. I think it is healthy for the movement to struggle again with these objections and I have complete confidence that an *unintimidated* scrutiny of the historical record will lead an overwhelming majority of the movement to sustain the New Left's original decision to repudiate Stalinism.

This is not to deny, of course, the possibility of a non-manipulative, libertarian Marxism. Rosa Luxemburg, for one, exemplifies it.

Those who argue for a disciplined cadre organization often do so in the conviction that because repression is upon us, participatory democracy, perhaps internal democracy of any variety, is an expendable luxury. But the heavy repression now underway is not yet fascism, and I do not believe that a conspiratorial, quasi-underground style of politics is the best way to combat it. I think, in fact, that what the movement needs now is the kind of commitment to public, long-term organizing in a particular place or institutional nexus which makes the assumption that there is time to work patiently and experimentally as all real organizing demands. Rennie Davis suggests elsewhere in this issue that the movement should not make defense against repression its main political work. What the indicted or imprisoned organizer most desires of us is that we carry on the work he was trying to do. We cannot "take a step into America" if our mood is one of waiting for the knock on the door, and if our principal political work is the building of tightly disciplined exclusionary sects.

Staughton Lynd

COMING:

A Report on the New Left's First Generation

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Toward Revolutionary Humanism

To the best of my memory it was Countee Cullen, a sensitive black poet who later committed suicide, who wrote in the Thirties that the reason black people laughed so much was because when they opened their mouths they had to laugh so that they wouldn't cry.

For different reasons, those of us who advocate nonviolent revolution find it hard these days to know whether to exult or to weep. On the positive side, conflict and confrontation are growing more intense every day, in the ghetto, on the campus, in the streets and public places of the country. There is a growing consciousness on the part of non-whites, young people, welfare recipients, women, draftees and others that the present society denies them their heritage of dignity, economic well-being and egalitarian control over their own lives. Moreover, a growing number of these people-in-revolt now perceive that the cause of their privation is not personal inadequacy, bad rulers or the malfunctioning of the system. Rather it is the nature and purpose of capitalism to create a class society, both nationally and internationally, with vast inequalities in wealth, power and privilege. If Randolph Bourne discovered, during World War I, that war is the health of the state, the youth of our country know in their bones today that inequality is the health of capitalism. And in their bones they reject this inequality, even when (especially when) they find themselves being channeled into privileged positions, either as apprentices to the ruling class or as trainees (both white and black) for the role of "house niggers."

Along with this growing rejection of a society of class divisions and delegated democracy is a growing rejection of the channels for social change within this society. It's not so much a question of "lacking patience," as is sometimes charged, but rather of realizing that the traditional methods do not lead in the right direction. The most that can be accomplished through electoral politics, lobbying, governmental commissions, polite negotiations with the authorities (whether of the university or the government), nonviolent demonstrations within the framework of law and order, is to shake loose a few benefits around the edges. These benefits may have immediate practical value for the recipients, but they are a small part of what is their legitimate birthright and leave the recipients in the position of second- or third-class citizens. At best they can elevate a few beneficiaries into a slightly more privileged position within the established pecking order, as happened to skilled workers under the reforms of the Thirties which legitimized labor unions and divided the working class, making business unionism a co-optive substitute for the liberating goal of worker-control.

The movement has not yet discovered how to challenge the existing power centers effectively, but the built-in assumptions of the present society are gradually losing their legitimacy in the eyes of its victims, including many who would normally be expected to become its future rulers. At least there is heightened consciousness of what the real issues are, and the first experimental steps are being made toward raising the level of the debate, both in the rhetoric of the demands and in the methods of raising them. The movement has discovered that in the absence of forceful confrontation (brought about by the seizure of buildings, strikes, the destruction of draft files and induction notices or other direct disruptions of established procedures) the "rational discourse" so lauded by university authorities, editorial writers and other addicts of the *status quo* is slow, superficial and for the most part irrelevant.

All of this represents tremendous growth in a few short years, a growth for which the country owes a debt of gratitude to the Cuban revolutionaries, the incredibly heroic Vietnamese and the black insurgency within our own country. Currently the Black Panthers and the Black Conference for Economic Development, together with the student revolutionaries of SDS, are continuing to transform the context within which the movement as a whole frames its questions and examines its tactics.

But history has taught that being anti-capitalist, courageous and militant are not sufficient guarantees for contributing to the birth of a liberated and humanistic society. If the U.S. persistence in its aggression in Vietnam is an historical fact which is contributing to the deepening anti-capitalist consciousness, the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the continued post-Stalin repression of individuals and groups advocating alternative forms and tactics for the building of communism make clear that non-capitalist societies can be brutal and dehumanizing as well.

Even without the lessons of history, one can look around and see a distressing recrudescence of Old Leftist tendencies and attitudes in the once New Left. The discovery that the forces of oppression, militarism, racism and political repression are deep, deceitful and brutal, and cannot be dislodged by polite debate, has led some people to conclude that *all* debate is futile, except perhaps within the secret confines of a theoretically democratic and assuredly centralist vanguard party. In practice such self-elected vanguards rarely level with other revolutionary groups or with that vast reservoir of potential revolutionaries who must be won over (not just manipulated) if the revolution is to succeed. Some movement people have inferred from the reformist nature of the nonviolent movement of the late Fifties and early Sixties that smashing windows, beating up police and roughing up our antagonists are necessarily part of becoming a serious revolutionary.

But these are bad ways to educate people and win them to the real freedom and universal solidarity of our cause. If, as the saying goes, we are what we eat, a potentially revolutionary movement becomes what it does. Today people are still being won to the movement because they are revolted by what the system does to Vietnamese, G.I.'s, non-whites, students and the poor; and, conversely, because

they are attracted to the fraternal, humanistic and liberating goals and style of the insurgents. But if the rhetoric and practice of some of the present advocates of "by any means necessary" becomes the dominant reality, the new recruits will include more and more persons who enjoy street-fighting for its own sake or get a neurotic kick out of beating up other people. If the movement succumbs to the notion that there is one vanguard party which has *the* correct ideology, tactic and style and that all deviation is counter-revolutionary, it will attract and encourage those who are rigid, doctrinaire and repressive. Instead of becoming a family of revolutionaries who are united in some concepts and activities but have their family differences about other matters, we will become a set of feuding sects, incapable of learning from our allies or of mounting a genuine united front against political repression, racism, the Vietnam war and capitalism. Already SDS was treated to the spectacle of a caucus of about 200 members who refused to join in the applause, at the National Council meeting in Austin, when it was announced that the Oakland Seven had been acquitted of the conspiracy charges brought against them for their activities in Stop the Draft Week. Already some of the articles appearing in *Challenge, The Militant,* and *New Left Notes* which purport to describe the positions of rival groups are as grossly inaccurate as the statements of the government which led to the well-known credibility gap.

It is unfortunate that some of the criticisms of the type that are appearing in *Liberation* are also being made by people who do not share either the movement's revolutionary goals or its awareness of the need for increased militance. It is absurd that both the privileged elite and the timid moderates have become spokesmen these days for "nonviolence." University Presidents and government officials condemn the seizure of buildings as "violent," but have no words of condemnation for the real violence of R.O.T.C., police and court repression, or university complicity in war and counter-insurgency. The authorities who frame the Black Panthers on imaginary plots to bomb department stores are themselves engaged in blowing up every store, home, church and village in liberated Vietnam. In the general debasement that the word "nonviolence" has suffered, it may be necessary for those of us who are anxious to preserve the humanistic sensitivity and content of the revolution to find another word to sum up the real content of what we are advocating. — *Dave Dellinger*

In this issue: some urgent - and recurring - problems

In his article in this issue, Rennie Davis recalls that his North Vietnamese hosts in 1967 were not interested in displaying the atrocities of war, but, rather "their problems and successes in building a new society underneath the bombs. . . . Their preoccupation was with organizing a people's revolution, not with the 'repression' being visited upon them." Several contributors to the present issue address themselves to a question of great urgency to the movement: in a period characterized by virulent state repression, how do we expand the base of revolutionary commitment while we insure our survival.

William Appleman Williams argues that if the movement is to have a future, we must "convince those vast numbers of human beings that we can take the productive apparatus of mature capitalism and reorganize it for their benefit." But are we now moving, concretely, in ways that can realize this goal?

Staughton Lynd criticizes certain groups for "working to recruit a revolutionary *cadre* out of SDS no matter what the cost to SDS as an organically evolving revolutionary *movement*. . . . We cannot 'take a step into America'," Lynd concludes, "if our political work is the building of tightly disciplined exclusionary sects." The article of Tom Bell may exemplify what Lynd praises as "public, long-term organizing" and what Greg Calvert has called "meeting people where they are at."

We print this month Carl Davidson's comments on Greg Calvert's article in the May *Liberation*, as well as Calvert's response to Davidson. Both deal with the problem of organizational forms within the movement. Calvert defines the problem as follows, with specific reference to the current practice of the New Left:

> "I have come to the conclusion that Leninism is an incorrect direction for the New Left and that our task must be to begin to find new models of revolutionary practice and organization which correspond to the American advanced capitalist social order. . . . I . . . feel that the Communist movement which grew in response to the Bolshevik success in Russia is dead as a revolutionary force . . ."

These are classic problems in the history of socialist and libertarian movements—problems which may well need reassessment in the light of our current situation: the question of a "mass" as opposed to a "vanguard" party, and the question of authoritarian structures within the revolutionary movement which, in Calvert's view, vitiate personal freedom and democratic control. Davidson takes a different approach, in fact, understands the problem differently:

> "What's wrong with trying to build a vanguard party? . . . Even the most staunch Leninists in SDS are against a 'dehumanizing' vanguard. Are all vanguard parties dehumanizing? And if so, why? To say the least, the question is begged."

Paul Booth's reflections on the difficulties of trade union organizing, and William Appleman Williams' strictures against a "Left" still operating impulsively and within the definitions of nineteenth century radicalism throw a further light on the issues raised by the Calvert-Davidson encounter.

We hope in further issues of *Liberation* to explore such questions more deeply, and the comments of readers are warmly invited.

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COMMUNICATIONS

Our feature artist this month is Joyce Sills, a young graphic artist and painter, whose work, *Powelton Fire*, appears on our cover. The range of her work extends from woodcuts and children's book illustrations to her current preoccupation, color silk-screens and acrylic painting. Readers interested in seeing more of her work can write Joyce Sills at 149 Spring St., New York City.

Liberation is deeply grateful to Bruce Erlich of the Guardian Typesetting Service who not only composed the present issue, but provided much valuable editorial assistance. Susan Holstrom, also of the Guardian, was indispensable to the production phase of the issue.

An American Socialist Community?

William Appleman Williams

In moving about the country a good bit the last four years–from the campuses to the metropolis and through the provinces–I have repeatedly been struck by two things. The first is the accuracy of Harold Cruse's observation: "Americans generally have no agreement on who they are, what they are, or how they got to be what they are. . . . All Americans are involved in an identity crisis." The second is that the Left, or The Movement as the jargon has it, is not doing very much that is effective in dealing with that dangerous but potentially creative situation.

There is no persuasive evidence that The Movement is in the process of becoming a social movement of the kind that can generate and push through major reforms on a continuing basis–let alone institute structural changes–in American society. Whatever the victories of the Left, there are a good many indications that the activities of The Movement are increasing the concern and willingness within The Establishment to reform and rationalize the corporate system according to its own adaptation of our criticisms. And some actions of the Left are creating growing support for repressive policies (as contrasted with suppression in specific crises).

There are two orthodox comments at this point. One maintains that the revolution is being made by people doing their own thing: that if you leave the System it will collapse. If that is correct, then we either collapse with it or confront the necessity of a new ruthlessness to build the replacement. The other argument maintains that Establishment reforms will not–even cannot–go far enough quickly enough to avert a crisis that will open the way for The Movement. I do not rule out that possibility. But I do not think it is probable because the analysis overlooks, or discounts, several major considerations.

One: while American society is sick, it is not sick to the verge of rolling over dead, or even to the point that a good push will topple it into History. The will to maintain the system is real and visible and consequential. Two: an Establishment trying to reform itself will, for a long period, hold the loyalty of most of those who are reluctant to repress, as well as those who are now ready to maintain the National Guard on standby alert. This is particularly true so long as the Left makes no discriminations among and within other groups in society, makes no sustained effort to involve them as participating equals in a non-elitist movement, and offers nothing to attract them into such a venture. Three: things can not only get worse as a short run prelude to getting better, but can get worse for an indefinite period.

There simply cannot be an era of radical reform, or structural change, without a living conception of community and a clearly developed approach to alternatives to meet the needs of America in an equitable and effective manner. Much of the Left is operating—consciously or unconsciously—under the illusion that the United States today is comparable to England twixt 1660 and 1688, France in 1789, Russia in 1917, or one of the many poor and non-industrial countries of the contemporary world. It has become fashionable to call this the New Romanticism, and defend it with orthodox irrationality. It would be better, for the honor of true Romanticism, and for our own well-being (to say nothing of the millions of poor and powerless), to call it ignorance at best—innocent or arrogantly self-righteous as warranted by the specific case—and at worst the most insidious kind of anti-intellectualism.

It flatly will not do, in the last third of the 20th century, to pretend—or simply assert—that we in the United States can indulge ourselves in an indefinite period of willy-nilly-working-out-of-a-new-order. Nor is it meaningful to talk about anarchy or self-contained communes of mutually compatible couples. Or of the underground that can provide you with subsistence for a year. There is no more justification for putting people off in that fashion than there is for putting people down. Yet The Movement is doing a good deal of both.

Eldridge Cleaver heated up the soul on this issue as hotly as anyone. "We start with the premise that every man, woman and child on the face of the earth deserves the very highest standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing. Period. No more than that, no less than that." That is not really enough, or at least it is seriously open to the charge of mistaking economism for socialism (or whatever other name for the new order you prefer), but it is more than sufficient to end the explicit and implicit nonsense of The Movement that mundane matters will take care of themselves come the revolution. They do not now, which is one of our criticisms, and they will not do so even 10 years after the revolution if we do not see to it ourselves.

In one of his classic throw-away lines, Schumpeter once remarked that socialism was a post-economic problem. In a strict sense that is true. Socialism is, or at any rate should be, about the nature and functioning of a community, rather than about the failings of the capitalist system. And a community is not created, let alone maintained, by everyone simply doing their own thing. Adam Smith wrote that prescription for heaven on earth in 1776, and after 200 years we ought to be able to recognize the limitations. But Schumpeter's arrow did not hit the center of the bullseye. For Marx accurately noted that while capitalism created the means for solving the economic problem it could not organize and use those powers to fulfill its avowed reason for being.

Cleaver, Schumpeter, and Marx. All three were correct. Still are correct. Cleaver's proposition, explicitly expanded to include intellectual, cultural, and interpersonal matters, will stand as the "no less than that" of an American radicalism. But to get on with realizing that objective we have to deal with the implications of Schumpeter's point about socialism. We have, that is, to speak to the nature of a new economy and to the philosophic, physiological, and psychic foundations for a man who is not, as Adam Smith maintained, defined by his propensity to barter and trade in the marketplace. The Left, old or new, has yet to answer either question.

It is no longer relevant to prove that socialists can operate (albeit more fairly and more efficiently) the

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centralized and consolidated economic system created by mature capitalism. That would have been very helpful if we had come to power between 1894 and 1914, but the challenge today is to maintain and increase productivity while breaking the Leviathan into community-sized elements. And while the Hippies have blasted through some of the walls that capitalism erected around true humanism, they are very largely operating as a self-defined interest group in the classic sense of 19th century capitalism. It is no answer to Smith to define individualism in Freudian terms, or some other human propensity.

So what we come down to, Cruse to the contrary notwithstanding, is Marx. It is so obvious as to be the cliché of the era: capitalism has demonstrated a congenital incapacity to use its literally fantastic powers and achievements to enable untold members of the lower and middle classes—and even many in the upper class—to live as human beings. But Marx also said that the purpose and the responsibility of The Movement was twofold: to extend, deepen, and focus the awareness of that failure, and to organize the people of the society to use the powers created by mature capitalism in humane and creative ways.

So far there is less irrelevant about Marx than there is parochial about The Movement. The issues here are not the tactics of disruption, provocation, and violence. At least not for many (including myself) who lack the training or guts to be pacifists, or feel morally queasy about righteously provoking the worst in other men we know are not prepared to transcend their prejudices in a moment of crisis, or consider non-violent revolution as a strategy appropriate only for an established socialist society. I do not think it is possible—even under the best of circumstances—to move from mature capitalism to established socialism without considerable disruption and some amount of blood.

The central matter, however, concerns when—in what context and for what purposes—we disrupt and spill blood. I think there has been a good deal of both that has not produced any *sustained* deepening and focusing of radical consciousness. It has been my observation, as well as experience, that six months of quiet work in the dormitories, or of going up to the doorbell for a half-hour conversation, has deeper and more lasting consequences than the occupation of a building or the provocation of a bust. It was, after all, the teach-ins rather than the marches that played the major role in generating the now widespread opposition to the Vietnam War. Cruse is everlastingly correct on a visceral point: we must create and generalize our conception of what it means to be an American.

And of course that brings us to the two nut-crackers. One: we do not have a meaningful conception of what it is to be an American. We have instead a collection of disjointed notes on what it does not mean, and a vague assertion that all things will be beautiful and lovely come the revolution.

Two: we ought to transcend our narrowness in faulting Marx for being over 30 when we know he is over 100. Marx saw the necessity—moral and practical—for radical socialist change at a time when capitalism was plumbing the foundations for its century of great creativity. That was his genius. Our stupidity, at least so far, has been to think and talk about today and tomorrow so largely in terms of 1885. For, in an eerie way, much of the Left is still operating in terms of the 19th century world. The Hippies are almost a mirror reversal of full-blown Victorianism. The Communists are almost a mirror reversal of late 19th century corporate reformers. And there are similar comparisons with the anarchists and the Brook Farmers.

But, even though he fails to exploit it, Cruse does have a point about Marx. Taken literally, Marx is irrelevant because the only way to deepen and focus the radical social consciousness of the large numbers of women and men of our time is to tell them in concrete and specific terms how their lives can be richer and purposeful. There is simply not any time or justification for us to be vague like Marx, technocratically optimistic like Lenin, romantically irresponsible like Trotsky, or latter-day agrarians like Mao and Castro.

If we are going to have a social movement, we will have to build it on the basis of a workable answer to the eminently fair demand from our potential constituency among the lower and middle classes. *Why and how will socialism be any better than a capitalism without the Vietnam War and with a continuing (and improving) pattern of permissive welfarism* We have, that is, to convince those vast numbers of human beings that we can take the productive apparatus of mature capitalism and reorganize it for their benefit. That means erasing two primary lines in their image of the Left. One is the line that connects radical structural change with things getting worse than they are. The other line connects radicalism with radicals doing their own things at the expense of large numbers of other people.

I am very skeptical that we can meet that challenge through a strategy based on the declining age of the majority of the population; at least not as it is now being attempted by various campus groups. For one thing, most Americans do not define their hopes for a better society in terms of

university reform. To use the jargon, that is not relevant to them. Frankly, I sympathize with that for, while it is important to me personally in the short-run and to me as a socialist in the long-run, it is not nearly as central as building an inclusive social movement capable of forcing the Establishment to give large chunks of ground on primary issues affecting the majority of my fellow citizens. Secondly, as presently organized and conducted, the campus wing of The Movement is not making any serious outreach to its own recent members—McCarthy and Kennedy are all the footnotes needed on that point.

I think another strategy warrants serious consideration. It has three parts.

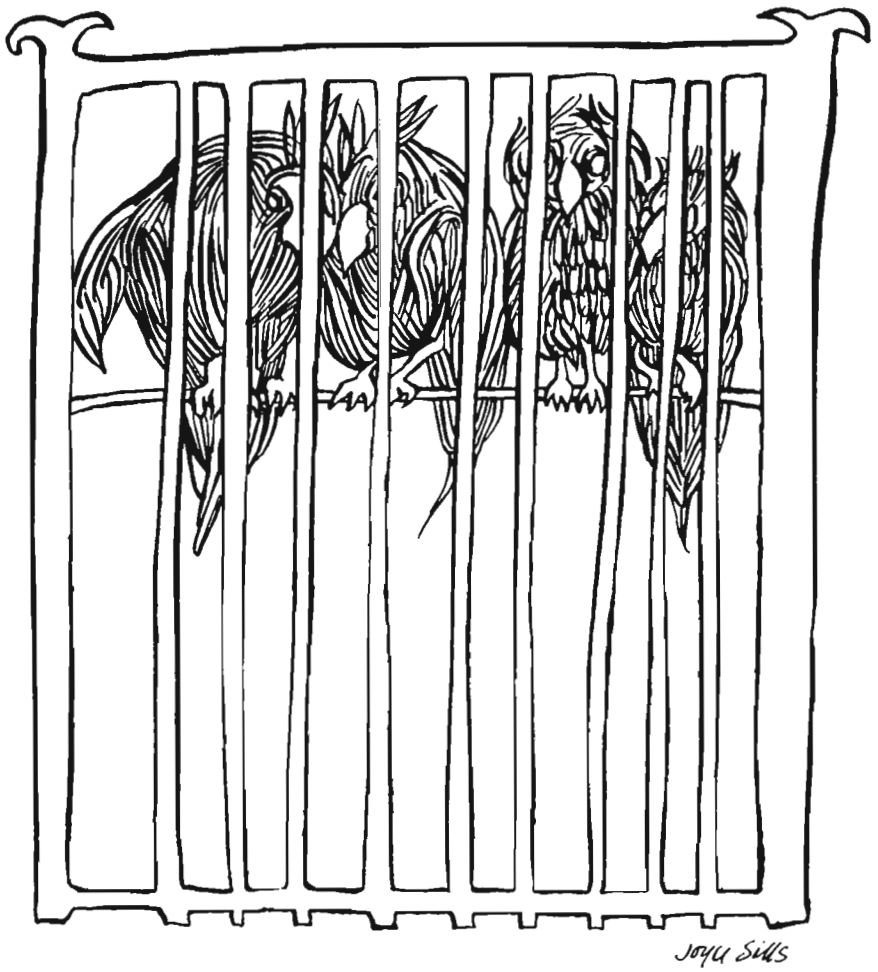
One: use the campus as a base for reaching the community. This means, in connection with campus action, preparing the ground in the city and the state for the ultimate confrontations on campus. It means, in the broader sense, using the campus as what it is—a generator of ideas—and as a center of serious intellectual activity dealing with the problems of the general society. A radical movement that weakens, or even destroys, the university to gain secondary and symptomatic reforms is not demonstrating a convincing case for general leadership of the society.

Two: stop evading the legitimate demands for clear and convincing proposals for the new American community. If we cannot meet that request, then we are irrelevant. It is at best a disingenuous way of putting people down; it is at worst hard evidence of intellectual incompetence. And, for ourselves, we ought to be able to learn from Russia and China that the lack of clear ideas and programs can lead to all kinds of serious moral and practical troubles.

Three: start dealing with large numbers of Americans, however misled or mistaken we may consider them, as human beings rather than as racists and stupids to be jammed up against the wall. For the self-righteous arrogance in The Movement is at least as dangerous to its future as The Establishment.

●

William Appleman Williams is a distinguished American historian whose published works include The Contours of American History *and* The Tragedy of American Diplomacy. *He is now teaching at Oregon State University, Corvallis.*



FACING UP TO REPRESSION

Rennie Davis

Two badges flash across some beefy fingers, too quick to see the identification numbers. "Officer Bell's my name. This here is Officer Luggio. We're assigned to you, Davis, as long as you're in town with these hippies and yippies. Make it easy on both of us, hear? We want the rundown on where you're going and coming and where you're staying, that's all. And I wouldn't try any fancy stuff at shaking us or anything like that. It'd make us look bad back at the district, and, mister, if you make us look bad, we're gonna have to make you look real bad. . . ."

Here comes the ridiculous extreme of that American theory that reduces the demonstrators, riots and revolutions in the world to the work of the "outside agitator." Here is the actual man getting paid to show up and walk the streets behind the "leader" who is suspected for his travels state to state, stirring up civil disorders. The notorious troublemaker is pursued into the bathroom, down to the beach, over to the television studio, up to the doorstep of the bedroom and to any other spot where disruption or chaos might break out.

Living in the free world, it's somewhat easier to dismiss this intrusion into a man's life as a humorous accident. One can accept it graciously the way you accept a high school teacher or welfare caseworker. The government tail is friendly. He has his clever jokes ("Davis seems to like that Chinese food," one says, followed by great howls of laughter.) The tail looks after you in a world of constant danger. ("Our job is to protect you," he says. "A lot of people around here want you dead as a fucking door, you know. We want to make sure nothing mean happens to you. It's like you was President of the United States.") But, above all, the tail is a professional, a career man, carefully selected and trained by that developed American

mind which reasons this country has no social problems, only "outside agitators," the same mind that figures the war in Vietnam can be won by assassinating 85,000 Viet Cong "leaders" (Operation Phoenix) or by sealing up the demilitarized zone to hold back the North Vietnamese "outsiders" (the McNamara wall).

Of course, it sometimes turns out that it's "Officer Bell" who wants you dead as a fucking door. One tail met me at the airport in Chicago and declared that if I would cooperate, he would protect me from his police partner who had a bullet in his pocket with my name on it. Once in Washington, D.C., I turned a corner with two tails behind me and decided to try a little run for it. When they turned the same corner and saw me about 50 yards ahead of them, galloping, one yelled, "Stop or I'll shoot." I stopped. The other partner tail then said, "No, no, that's not right." I got away with the mix-up about the orders of the day. Not too uncommon was the remark of one Chicago tail, during the Democratic Convention: "After this motherfucking protest, I'm gonna stomp you to death, fucking commie." Your average, local tail is about as much protection as facing a hail storm naked.

If you complain to the judge about the constant death threats by the police agent who follows you everywhere, the judge tells you to call the police. When the police headquarters are phoned, the man who answers never heard about "any tail assigned to you." So, you go about your business with grown men, running their car bumper-to-bumper behind yours, following on foot everywhere you walk, waiting hours outside some office or house they think you are in. At the trial, the friendly tail turns unfriendly witness, stepping forward, swearing for the truth, and laying down this story that could come right out of Official Detective magazine. When you get into the courtroom, you stop wondering what the tail's about. The only question you have is, should we kill the tails or let them kill us?

With the first signs of tails, the first waves of indictments and serious prison sentences, the movement buzzes with the whisper of the word—repression. It's becoming The Worry of the movement and, at another level, it's the talk of the Justice Department, the center that will unleash whatever is to come. Some people have stopped working, they're so busy thinking about it all coming down. And Nixon's got a strategy that aims to bring it down. The outline of his plan is already apparent and is worth describing, for behind its double-barrel purpose lies the objective of not only "stopping the dissenters" but diverting public attention away from the war in Vietnam. The war needs more time to "win," according to the fantasies of the Pentagon. And another public issue could defuse the domestic pressures against continuing in Vietnam. That issue, packaged through the media as the campus disrupters and black power militants, is us. We are to be made the smokescreen that allows the war to go on.

Nixon's repression project is simple: mixing punishment, fear and cooptation. Part one is to "get the leaders." Even though everyone knows that the average "disrupter" hates leaders, doesn't have any, and depends on no one individual for his politics, direction, energy or passion, the TV-spawned spokesmen of the movement will be dragged into courts, indicted on vague charges of "inciting to mob action" or "conspiracy." Once these vile conspirators are shown to be behind the misguided conduct of America's youth, the government will dramatically expose that they are also agents of foreign enemy powers (someone made a trip to Cuba). There will be much publicity accompanying the judges' five-year sentences.

The second part of Nixon's assault will be the "outlawing" of the revolutionary organizations, especially the Black Panther Party and Students for a Democratic Society. The current police practice of gunning down Panthers in their communities will continue, along with the dramatic uncovering of "secret plots" to blow up white people. Panthers will also be indicted under the Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the government. SDS will be the chief victim of the 1968 Anti-Riot Law which makes it a crime to travel interstate with the *intent* of fomenting a riot (a riot is two or more people who break a law). Regional travelers will be forced into penitentiaries for this crime of radical speech.

In addition, the current tactics of repression will be vastly accelerated: new state laws that prohibit any tactic that seems to be gaining effectiveness, congressional witch-hunt hearings, propaganda reports from various state and national investigatory commissions, police spy infiltration, an unending procession of grand jury investigations, court injunctions, FBI visits to the homes of parents, police raids on movement offices, more tails, more mace, more expulsions, subpoenas and convictions. And when mace and clubs aren't enough, they will bring out the shotguns and shoot us, as Reagan has done.

Nixon's plan is to isolate and crush the "hard-core," to frighten the "idealists," and to add some social change that shows the infinite flexibility and reasonableness of American capitalism (abolish the draft; perhaps legalize marijuana).

The mere mention of these plans is enough to shake some people out of the movement. Others joke about it, these signs of our future, the constant threats, the phone calls that say "your time has come, commie," the police pledges to put someone away permanently. Most radicals are continuing their work as before, while around the country, our offices are installing new security devices, doors are bolted, shot guns are purchased and hung in back closets, strangers are frisked for weapons at the door. As the official tolerance of radicals narrows and our threat to the power structure becomes more serious, we will require a strategy of defense consistent with long-term political objectives and based on the principles of self-defense, a definition of the enemy, a class analysis of the repressive apparatus designed to keep us in line, support for defense based on coalition rather than a narrowing circle of political friends, survival and a clear articulation of the politics behind our "crime." Above all, a defense must not be isolated from ongoing activities of the movement. It must be made

into an integral part of organizing and education in the community.

When I traveled to North Vietnam in the Fall of 1967, the Vietnamese I met talked little about war atrocities. They did not parade before me victims of napalm and anti-personnel bombs. I had to seek out these people and their personal stories. The Vietnamese wanted Americans to know of their problems and successes in building a new society underneath the bombs—the underground schools and hospitals, the road brigades and women's liberation groups, the agricultural cooperatives, and village self-defense units. Their preoccupation was with organizing a people's revolution, not with "the repression" visited upon them by the U.S. Air Force. Repression is not the issue, and any movement that pushes its own defense to the center loses.

Our defense must begin with educating people to the idea of self-defense, that against attacks on our persons or organizations, we have the right to defend ourselves. The front-line danger to the most radical groups in the country are police and the growing American right wing, particularly its para-military operation, the Minutemen. The assassination attempt on Herbert Aptheker in 1967, the abortive attacks on the pacifist encampments at Voluntown, Conn., Wingdale, N.Y. and Camp Midvale in New Jersey, the thousands of names compiled on lists marked for death, the stockpiling of arms in underground bunkers and the active experimentation in chemical-biological warfare research by a national underground network of superpatriots makes the Minutemen a serious source of future trouble. People are inclined to understand self-defense only after a friend like Dick Flacks has been nearly killed sitting in his university office. Then it is too late.

A defense strategy requires definition of the enemy, the idea that there is a complex of forces dangerous to the movement. People think they can "educate" the FBI agent who drops around for a conversation or that the innocence of a friend can be explained to the star chamber grand jury. Again and again, such people unwittingly help lay the basis for the indictment. There is no agency of the government with which we should cooperate (though certain outfits like HUAC may be turned into a public forum to demonstrate our contempt for such committees).

A defense strategy must teach people that law is an instrument for repression rather than justice. You never hear of the case of a supermarket owner being clubbed by a cop for overcharging his customer or federal marshals rushing into the White House to arrest a President for the murder of Vietnamese. My own judge in the case of the federal indictment stemming from convention week is a 74-year-old man, tied to a corporation engaged in weapon production for Vietnam. He is expected to pass judgement on young people whose "crime" includes militant opposition to the war. A man who has the financial ability to buy his way into the judgeship, a man who has an immediate dislike for those he must judge, should be condemned along with the system of injustice for which he stands.

Defense must not serve the enemy's purpose of isolating us from the people. If possible, defense should appeal to an even broader constituency than the act of speech or program that brought on the attack. We don't have to "water-down our politics" to appeal to the liberals or uncommitted workers. But we ought to develop many tactics in a broad defense strategy that permits support from a variety of political constituencies. I do not expect liberals to support the politics of the eight defendants in the conspiracy trial. They will not like the content of the trial. But I would defend active involvement of any group that wants to work against the unconstitutional Anti-Riot law or Smith Act. A court defense includes many aspects: education, fund-raising, legal preparation, the issue of civil liberties, the politics of the defendants, self-defense, etc. Through a creative variety of defense tactics, we can attract new people to the movement.

Not every court case can be turned into a "political" trial where one ad-

dresses himself to the outside community rather than to the capitalist judge. In some cases, there is little or no public interest. The movement is not capable of generating that interest. The issues involved have no fundamental principle that must be defended. Survival is the only issue at stake.

At other times, however, a trial offers the opportunity of a large public forum, an unfolding drama in which many people are participating and others are curiously watching to learn more of our purposes. Huey Newton's trial, for instance, succeeded in arousing a sympathetic and often militant public response. Such trials insure the movement's survival and promote its growth.

In our conspiracy trial in Chicago, we hope to turn the courtroom into a schoolhouse for the nation. The government wants to show that it was our intention to foment a riot in Chicago. We're going to show that conspiracies of small groups are not the cause of the popular opposition growing in America. The government will not find a handful of people responsible for riots, demonstrations, or protest of any variety. Only real problems and conditions of oppression move people to demand change and to struggle for it.

As the government becomes more repressive in its attempt to maintain order and to divert attention away from the war, as more military bases are put under lock and key to prevent troops from having contact with the anti-war movement, as more stockade rebellions occur, as expulsions from universities for political activity begin to reach the tens of thousands, the number of people who are willing to support insurrection will grow. I use the word insurrection deliberately. Our power no longer exists to soften public opinion. It exists in making people understand that to the men who rule this Empire, public opinion is a commodity to be manipulated, a weather vane of potential disaster to be read and measured, but hardly a force to be heeded. The force that they fear is the force of insurrection, the large scale active disregard of the repressive apparatus that has been created to keep people in line. That is our best defense. •

Rennie Davis, a long-time movement activist, was among the eight indicted for conspiring to "incite riot" at the Democratic Convention last summer.

The Movement at Work : springfield,mass.

Tom Bell

We are attempting in the Springfield area to build a radical organization which cuts through the superficial differences which normally divide American working people. Springfield has had no significant movement activity in the recent past and so our work is free from the usual left factionalism or organizational jealousies. On the other hand, we are starting from scratch, and the usual myths which divide people are quite strong in the population as a whole. People still act as though they believe that prestige has some real value as defined by the society's present standards. Thus, different job categories give excuse for contempt of the people in other job categories even though most everyone in the area is selling their labor power to some employer who gets the real benefit of that labor. Racist attitudes are strong. "Sexist" attitudes also are strong—so strong as to be often unrecognized by the women. The women act as domestic servants and as slaves to the economy's growing need for mass consumption. They are left to wonder why they feel such despair. Suburban dwellers scorn city people and city problems even though life will continue to be oppressive for both unless they can get together and work in their common interests. In brief, our long range goal as presently defined is to build a "political union" which can give a strong (even controlling) voice to the working people of the area in all the political and economic decisions which affect their lives.

In Springfield, as elsewhere, we are up against a deep, often unadmitted sense of powerlessness when confronted with the real issues which face us as American working people. Basic to this sense of powerlessness is the educated inability of most Americans to conceive of any alternative to the American way of doing things. Other societies are presented to us as irrelevant. Some countries are "underdeveloped"—which equals bad; others are "communist"—which equals bad; and the rest are "just about like us"—which equals almost as good. The propaganda is tremendous: revolutions always make things worse—after all, look at Stalin. And high school language courses study the "culture" of the home land of the language by asking "What is their Thanksgiving like?" But powerlessness goes beyond this lack of an alternative. Most people at least know that the rich have a lot of power, but

they don't want to think about it too much because "that's the way things are," or "you can't fight City Hall," or "don't rock the boat." The feeling, it seems, is that we will just make trouble for everybody by trying to change things. I think this is the basis of the antagonism toward the movement: people think that if we push too much or make people think too much that they will lose the things they have—things which they have been carefully convinced to accept in lieu of a full life.

II

Our strategy is to demonstrate to people that a small elite in fact runs Springfield, that they are not the elected officials (though these officials certainly help them), and that they use power to serve their own interests at the expense of the population as a whole. Simultaneously we must show that by working together the people of the area can get specific changes which are to our benefit. To be clearly in the direction of our goal, the tactics we select must have a clear radical content (which is to some extent inherent in anything which exposes the functioning of the ruling elite) and must serve to build our organization. The first step in such a strategy, of course, is to build a solid nucleus of a group. This initial building has been the basis of our efforts since the founding of Springfield Area Movement for a Democratic Society in November, 1968.

The composition of the group of people who have come together in MDS is different from that of most movement organizations in the country. We have in the same organization high school students, college students, and working people. The nucleus of the 180 or so people who have come to meetings contains all three categories, but is predominantly young working people. Among these are several social workers, a waitress, a factory worker, an auto body mechanic, a personnel manager, a welfare mother, a couple of housewives, a VISTA worker, several students, and so on. So far we have worked mostly to build a sense of community and personal contact so essential to any truly radical activity. It is a slow process in a society structured to keep people isolated and focused on individual security (or security for the family unit).

In the last six months we have tried to work publicly in several ways. We had two successful rock concerts; we had a rally for peace that attracted 250 people on a cold, rainy day; we attempted to get two SDS chapters recognized as campus groups of their respective colleges; we opened a Movement Workshop in the downtown area intended for printing, draft counselling and small meetings; we tried to petition in one of the high schools for an end to hair and dress regulations, and we have held several discussions of MDS at church and other groups. It seems that even this relatively small amount of activity has made people aware of us in this town where less activity is the norm. Many people's hopes have been raised. But it is not easy to create a sustained effort. The powers-that-be watch us carefully and harass us when they can, and the people here have seen other attempted groups fizzle and are not flocking to give us active support, though they may agree with us.

Our Movement Workshop was busted up. On two successive days the windows in our storefront were broken—damage totalling $300. In neither case did the police report the incident to the landlord or investigate. In the second instance, the two large plate-glass windows in the front were shattered all over the sidewalk and street for over 24 hours on Sunday until one of the people working in the building reported it to the landlord on Monday morning. Our workshop was on a main street in town and must have been seen by the

police who patrol the street constantly. In addition, the landlord was contacted by "authorities" whom he would not identify. As a result he evicted us. It is clear that we have no police protection and probably police harassment.

So far we have relocated one of the presses. The Black Student Union, with which we have a growing alliance, found a place at Uplift, Inc., one of the independent Black poverty agencies. That press is a small Multilith and will be used for short run jobs, especially for the newspaper of the

B.S.U. and for two high school papers which are presently coming out (we expect other high school papers also). We have recently leased downtown space for the large press, a Davidson 233. The space is on the third floor and should be relatively safe from attack. We will do major printing jobs there and set up a darkroom to do the offset photography for both presses and to do the developing and printing from the photography group of the Free School, a program we propose to start this month. We will use this space strictly as a printing and photography workshop. The printing facilities are essential to us if we are going to be able to interpret our actions to the population. The Springfield newspapers are all under one reactionary ownership. There is a small underground paper coming out of the Religion and Arts Committee of the Unitarian Church. We are working with this project, and feel that it will be helpful in getting our views across. We may do some of the printing for it at the workshop.

What are our tactics for the near future? We have two tactics which have already been in the planning stage for some months. One, the Springfield Area Free School, is designed basically to work on developing the solid nucleus for the movement and the sense of community which we need. The other, the Bay State West project is a good example of the kind of public tactic which we need to overcome the gnawing sense of powerlessness on the part of working people.

As originally planned, the Free School was to be located in a house that we would purchase. The printing facilities, meeting rooms, library, dark room, and day-care center would all have been in one place. After the workshop was busted we decided that we were in no position to defend a house—that centralizing our things in that way would make us much too vulnerable to whoever might want to put us out of operation. We decided to decentralize the Free School as much as possible. And we have moved in that direction by setting up two printing places. We now plan to hold group meetings in various places, to set up the library in someone's apartment, and to work out a day-care center somehow. The Free School will be initiated at a general MDS meeting May 19th. Its structure is loose and should allow us to meet people's various interests. Twelve of us are now in the process of preparing outlines for various groups to begin meeting after the 19th. Each person will take responsibility for organizing his or her group. The groups are either research groups designed to seek out information which will be valuable as background for action, skills groups, or study groups. The ones to start this month include a female liberation group, a study group on the family, a guerrilla theatre group, a research group looking into the corporate structure of the area and the general economic base, a group researching the political structures as they now exist, an American History study group, a group studying the secondary education system in the area, a printing and offset photography skills group, and a photography and filmmaking group. There will also be coordinating meetings and monthly general meetings. People will sign up for the various groups at the general meeting, but each group will then take the responsibility for recruiting additional people into their work as the summer goes on. Some

people, of course, will be in more than one group.

The hard work of researching power in Springfield has already consumed a great deal of the energy of seven or eight of us in MDS. We have begun to analyze how power works in Springfield, and in brief what we have found is the following: The Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company (one of the 50 largest corporations in the country) is practically synonymous with the Springfield ruling elite. That is, the company is the richest in the area and the only major corporation with its home office in Springfield. The directors of Massachusetts Mutual interlock with every important

employer or financial institution in the area and are trustees of the area colleges.

This company has undertaken an urban redevelopment project in downtown Springfield called Bay State West. The project will be a 30-story office building, a 300-room luxury hotel, a shopping mall, a new clubhouse for the Colony Club (the social club which the ruling elite of Springfield belong to, including the local directors of Massachusetts Mutual), air walkways with additional shop space over the street to the two major Springfield department stores, and a four-story, above-ground parking ramp. None of these things are needed by the population of the area, though other critical needs do exist which are not being met. It is argued that Bay State West will increase business and commercial activity in the downtown area. Such an accomplishment is great for the small group of already wealthy businessmen who get the benefit, but provides little real encouragement for the working person, who is only getting another opportunity to spend his money. The question for us is, will the project increase city revenue and take some of the tax burden off of the average taxpayer.

Massachusetts Mutual applied and was accepted as a private redevelopment authority to build Bay State West under Massachusetts General Law Chapter 121A, with all the "powers, rights, privileges, benefits and exemptions" granted by that law and under Chapter 257 passed especially to give additional privileges to the project in Springfield. Among the privileges granted under these laws is an exemption for the period of 40 years from all real estate and personal property taxes which would normally be paid to the city and which *are* paid by all working people in the area. Massachusetts Mutual has contracted with the city to pay an amount in lieu of taxes. The amount is based on a percentage of income from the project or $10 per thousand on a maximum of $50,000,000 valuation for the life of the contract (whichever of the two amounts works out to be greater for any year). Of course no regular homeowner has a pegged assessment (latest estimates made public are that the project will cost $45,000,000 just to build) and the normal tax rate is $54.50 per thousand and rising. The calculations of our research group are that Massachusetts Mutual will be paying the city at least $2,000,000 less per year on the average than it would if it were paying taxes. This figure might become considerably higher if the income formula in the contract fails to keep pace with inflation (the assessment formula being fixed). $2,000,000 is approximately 9% of the total real and personal property taxes collected by the city in 1967, and the minimum loss of $80,000,000 in uncollected taxes over the life of the contract represents a considerable burden which will have to be assumed by the average taxpayer. But beyond this under-payment, it appears that Bay State West and certain related projects will take additional land out of taxation in the central city. Most of the business occupying space in Bay State West will be relocating from other locations in the city where they are presently supporting taxable property. The Valley Bank and Trust (two of whose directors are also directors of Massachusetts Mutual), for example, will occupy the first 10 floors of the new office tower, and will abandon the three buildings which they now occupy in the downtown area. Even worse, Massachusetts Mutual did not agree to build Bay State West until the city agreed to build and maintain a civic center designed to attract convention business to Springfield. Such a center will

help to fill the hotel at Bay State West and to give business to other of its facilities (e.g., two liquor licenses were specially granted to the project). This civic center will take two city blocks out of taxable development, and it will be funded by a municipal bond issue ($9.3 million), the interest on which provides tax-free income for the rich. To make matters worse, even the Mayor admits that the civic center will run at a deficit perhaps over $100,000 per year.

At the same time that these tax deals have been developing, the ruling group in Springfield has done an extensive publicity job to try to make people think that the reason for the heavy tax burden on the working man is the rising cost of welfare and especially of state Medicaid. The Taxpayers Association in town has been one of the leading voices in this attempt to turn working people against each other. Members of this association include all of the directors of Massachusetts Mutual who are local residents. MDS will attempt to propose a counter-explanation of high taxation based on our research findings. In doing this we hope to be able to get through to many people in Springfield concerning the existence of a small powerful group in the city that is controlling the decision-making which affects us all. We will point out that this group is now planning the future of Springfield, and that they are doing it in such a way as to insure their own benefit while everyone else picks up the tab (both financially and in terms of the quality of our lives). We will try to force Massachusetts Mutual to pay the same taxes as everyone else, and hope to have enough success to demonstrate to people the power we really have if we get together and work together.

We have not presented here a discussion of our work with Bay State West in any sort of final form. We are in the process of writing a lengthy pamphlet which lays out our research in considerable detail, and we are engaged in further legal research. We will not do extensive work publicly on this tactic for a couple of months, and it is essential to have successful results from the Free School, and to get a functioning movement workshop before we undertake so large a task. It will not help in overcoming the sense of powerlessness which people have, unless MDS makes a good showing with this issue and is capable of working humanly with the new people who will want to become involved in the group. •

Tom Bell works for the Springfield, Massachusetts Area Movement for a Democratic Society.

from Diary of Makapuu

I

Moving to Hawaii
I didn't mark the equinox
for winter when it blows
won't mean much to me,
but aloha and a flower lei
will also mean not much
to one who needs what is
nowhere a native product.

II

I've come to hate, it is appalling,
Adam I used to love,
I will no longer write poetry
my earnest speech with him.
In this war between mankind
and the beauty of the world
I am a traitor, my loyalty
does not lie with my kind.

III

These scholars mean no harm, just to learn
to palaver with the porpoises,
but my guess is the sagacious animals
won't talk in jail to the wardens.
The language of the ocean knows
no syntax for servile needs
and they cannot lie like Uncle Toms.
As it is, another has decided to die.

IV

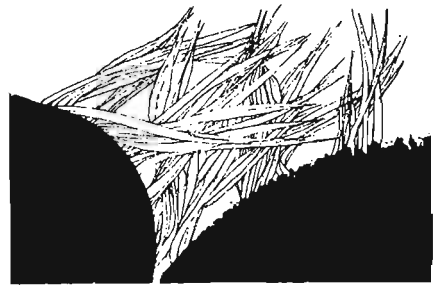
At quis custodiet custodem?
—who will watch the watchman on his rounds?
I will, he is a good-looking Samoan,
it is midnight and he is lonely too.
I watch his wandering flashlight
visit the dark offices and peer
behind the bushes, he has nineteen stations
to punch before at last he wends this way.

V

When I read of the races of these islands
their histories and grim vicissitudes
and each has prejudices and sore spots
that I can never learn to take into account,
here I will never be able to make love
for people are not plain. I would be happier
trying to make out with the porpoises
if only I could swim better than I do.

VI

I got a little car real cheap
that clanked and shuddered like a wreck
but I knew it was the universal joint
not a big job, and now my friends
admire me for a mechanic.
No. I drove when I was poor
a car whose universal gave,
I know it well. I know it well.



VII

My car can go up Pali
in high (at 30 miles)
the utmost feat demanded in this little world
where you can pause and study the famous view
across the sea, it is the very cliff
where the Oahu warriors were
pushed headlong by Kamehameha
the father of his country.

VIII

In the great wheeling of heaven from the east
the oblong of Orion is rising at 10 o'clock,
when I return at midnight he is glittering
high and his dog shines over Makapuu
end of October, there are many brief
meteorites in the Hawaiian sky
and the steady trade-winds push the ocean
ashore faintly foaming in the starshine.

IX

A white American New Yorker Jew
talented, I am by birth
the royal family, and since my lust
is democratic and pan-humanist
inevitably I come on noblesse oblige
magnanimous and paternalistic
as the foremost foam of the incoming tide
sinks in the dry sand without a trace.

X

At the little public school in Waimanalo,
my little girl says, they stand up
at strict attention for the Stars and Stripes,
but for the Bars and Crosses of Hawaii
they lay their little hands upon their hearts.
It's realistic anyway.
If there is no idolatrous saluting
father doesn't intend to make a fuss.

XI

Otters got loose and people were joyous
shouting excitedly O freedom!
dammit! in the thorny bushes
we flush them out or they would perish
in the salty sea far from Malaysia
or be hit by a car. Moimoi let out
a shriek of rage when we threw him back
and everybody went away depressed.

XII

Dead mongoose a dead dog
dead boobie on the highway,
there is no shame in being dead,
so many are, it may happen
to anybody. The atom bomb
of Hiroshima surely shrove
many of guilt and I am made
easier by the dead mongoose.

—Paul Goodman

Farewell To Reform--Revisited

Charles Forcey

It all started with a book, read some twenty years ago, a book already fifteen years old by then, John Chamberlain's *Farewell to Reform.* Chamberlain's subtitle "The Rise, Life and Decay of the Progressive Mind in America" gave some hint of his purpose. The hint was not enough for a possibly overworked editor of a reprint house in 1965, who blurbed *Farewell* as "one of the most important conservative interpretations of reform in America." Conservative! Blurb writers are congenitally careless, and this one no doubt deprived the once-radical Chamberlain of many thoughtful modern readers. Yet the editor, to do him justice, may

have known something of Chamberlain's later career as a Hearst columnist and a canny writer for the *Wall Street Journal.*

Chamberlain's book for the undergraduate who read it in 1947 was the equivalent for today of one by a Harrington or Marcuse. Chamberlain foreshadowed, in fact, many of the insights of both. ". . . Progressivism and Liberalism in this country," wrote Chamberlain in 1932 just as the New Deal was dawning, "are, at the moment, preparing the ground for an American Fascism. . . ." Or: "Political organization looking towards a socialist America . . . is the *sine qua non* of any alternative to the present chaotic order. This does not mean a reliance upon strict Marxist doctrine. . . . But . . . does it not call for a redefinition of the phrases of the class struggle, a re-application of Marxist dogma to American conditions? If Marx is any good, he can stand the tampering."

The book for at least one undergraduate helped stimulate a life-time's work. Now a middle-aged professor, he recently rather guiltily realized as much. The source of the professor's guilt was the preparation of a scholarly paper to be delivered before a session of the Organization of American Historians' convention in Philadelphia. The paper bore the title "Inconsequential Consequences: Twentieth Century Reform" Chamberlain, the Chamberlain of 1932, had not been re-read by the professor for two decades and now was just about totally forgotten. Yet he became a ghost amidst all the scholarly agonies and festivities that marked the preparation and delivery of the paper. Chamberlain's shade loomed all the more lugubriously at the convention as the paper was repeatedly applauded by an audience of students and academics. Had the professor said anything that *Farewell* hadn't said? Having now re-read Chamberlain, the professor's answer is: no, not much. Chamberlain, too, had been much concerned about inconsequential consequences. Had the professor anything to suggest that Chamberlain did not in 1932? Well, yes, a little.

The professor's paper, after some severe criticisms of just about everybody who had worked in the field of twentieth-century reform (including himself), once it defined the problems and the paper's approach to them, got down to the solid work of evaluating twnetieth-century reform. Here the professor had some advantage over Chamberlain, who had focused of necessity on progressivism. The professor had not one, but three major reform eras to analyze. Beyond the Roosevelt-Wilson era, the Hoover-Roosevelt and Kennedy-Johnson periods gave him a range of data far greater than Chamberlain's. He had at his command the results of the labors of an army of historians, political scientists, sociologists, statisticians, and the like, who had probed endlessly, though rarely effectually, most of the problems of concern to modern American reformers. So, buttressed by footnotes and all the rest, the paper's conclusions promised to be more convincing than Chamberlain's. But not so different.

Professors, like Roman generals, like dividing all things by threes and such was the fate of reform in the paper.

The three main aims of the reformers were found to be the improvement of democracy, of capitalism, and of the general welfare. As for the first, political reform, the paper could merely have quoted Chamberlain. "The initiative and referendum have produced nothing," he wrote, and the experiences of two further reform eras require little qualification of the flat statement. "Women's suffrage," continued Chamberlain with equal prescience, "has only added, in direct proportion, to Republican and Democratic totals. Direct primaries have proved not even a palliative; they have worked against strong labor and independent party organization, which is the only hope of labor and the consumer in the political field."

Chamberlain, writing just as Franklin D. Roosevelt was emerging as a national leader, could have only vague forebodings of what "charisma" would mean for modern liberalism, a major preoccupation of the professor's. Yet Chamberlain's relatively firm grasp of the relationship of politics and economics took him to the heart of a President's role as reform leader. His book analyzed at length the relationship of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson to the movements they ostensibly led, and Chamberlain's conclusions as to consequential consequences were, like the professor's, negative. "If he is a representative of the so-called public-at-large," wrote Chamberlain of the reformist Presidents, "he becomes a politician in favor of either one of two things: preserving profits and productive prosperity in favor of some group alignment that has elected him, or of managing the industrial machine for the benefit of everybody." The latter possibility, for the professor as for Chamberlain, would become really possible only if the President were part "of a radical party, dominated by labor, skilled and otherwise, the white collar worker, the unemployed, and the poorer farmer." But liberals since the time of F.D.R., said the professor, have "wasted much of their time waiting, as it were, for Lefty. They thought they had found him first in John and then in Robert Kennedy, but the shallowness of their dreams in terms of consequential reform became clear enough in the reformers' response to Lyndon Johnson. For the first time in the century just at the peak of one of our waves of reform sentiment the liberal reformers had as President a man who both wanted and knew how

The wars of the twentieth century are the real explanation of the survival of American capitalism

to get things done. Johnson did get things done, obtaining from Congress a number of measures for poverty, education, civil rights, and conservation that promised consequences far greater than from the work of any previous President. And most of the liberals, long before the issue of Vietnam arose, loathed him. Their nostaligic memory of Franklin Roosevelt confirmed their preference for style over performance."

Where, in the political realm, the professor differed slightly from Chamberlain was on the inconsequentiality of the progressives' direct election of Senators. Chamberlain, writing at a time when Huey Long and others were beginning to alarm some men, saw the main difference in the Senate after 1913 to be "one of demagoguery." The professor, with some belief in the social utility of demagogues, found no difference at all. The "millionaire's club" that aroused progressives to denounce "the shame of the Senate" was, research has shown, even more a "millionaire's club" in the 1960's than in the heady, uninhibited days of Hanna and McKinley. The professor went beyond Chamberlain to suggest that the political reforms of the progressives, together with such New Deal ones as the Hatch Act, had one cumulative consequence that was not inconsequential. The reforms had combined to make political activity more expensive (an effect multiplied geometrically by the giant costs of radio, television, and other mass media) while at the same time reducing the independent resources of politicians in the spoils system. The most consequential result of the progressives' political reforms was a domination of American politics by the "plutocracy" far beyond the dreams of Marcus Alonzo Hanna.

The professor also questioned the success of liberals in defending and expanding liberty, an aspiration at the very core of their libertarian creed. John Chamberlain, who had only the Red Scare after World War I to analyze, passed over the question lightly. The professor, with his longer time span, believed that there had not been merely temporary periods of post-war hysteria but a long-term erosion of American freedoms. He could cite instances concerning immigrants, aliens, and other minorities, as well as free speech, sedition, loyalty, and criminal law. While acknowledging the part reformers' test cases had played in the recent liberal trend of the Supreme Court, the paper questioned the rate of implementation of the historic decisions. The professor found typical the rate in the first decade after the great 1954 desegregation decision. Ten years after the Court's ruling only one per cent of black school children in the South attended integrated schools. One per cent in ten years, well . . . . Such a rate of improvement suggested final success for desegregation in the year 2954.

As for economic reform, the record was much the same. The professor did not have to belabor evidence to show that "trusts" were far more part of American life today than when Theodore Roosevelt first pretended to take on Mr. Dooley's "heejous monsthers." Even with his more limited data, Chamberlain got right to the point when he noted how little difference it had made when the country moved from Roosevelt's Square Deal to Wilson's New Freedom. "The Morgan interests might have been rebuffed and affronted . . . ," wrote Chamberlain, "but the Morgan crowd merely gave way to Bernard Baruch and the Kuhn, Loeb crowd. It was from one banker group to another, as it always must be when money is needed to provide a leverage in politics." With one point, where the radical Chamberlain had actually been hopeful as he bade farewell to reform, the professor could not agree. Chamberlain had seen great promise in the progressive income tax as an instrument for the redistribution of wealth. Yet his argument became simplistic when he suggested that "an income of six per cent may be shaved to the vanishing point by a five per cent system of taxation. . . ." The professor for his part had the studies of Lampman and Kolko in the Fifties to show that neither the income tax nor anything else had changed the preponderance of the very rich that had existed in 1900.

With respect to the central issue of the general welfare, the liberals' record had proved far worse than anticipated. Here, oddly enough, there was little real concern in *Farewell*, despite the desperation of the poverty of at least two-thirds of Americans by 1932. Perhaps that was it. Chamberlain could not make much of poverty in the midst of poverty. The professor could do better with figures to suggest the grim irony of extreme poverty in the midst of extreme plenty. "The United States each year with but one-seventeenth of all the world's total population consumes about one-half of the world's annual goods and services. Yet amidst such great wealth at least one-fifth of

our people—to accept President Johnson's conservative estimate of a few years ago—live in poverty. One-fifth means forth million Americans who have not the wherewithal for a decent life for themselves and their children."

For all the similarities, there was one major point of difference between the professor's farewell to reform of 1969 and that of Chamberlain thirty-seven years earlier. Chamberlain then, understandably from his perspective, had seen the fate of American capitalism to be inevitably one of "eventual constriction." He conceded that prosperity might return and capitalism survive, that there might be "new markets to be uncovered, new wants to be exploited, new famines to create new farmer-purchasing power, even new sources of gold." But he doubted it. He believed that Russia as a great productive power, immune to the instabilities and extortions of capitalism would massively undersell the capitalistic countries in the world market. The capitalists would be forced to cut back, with chaos following constriction. In this respect the professor found Chamberlain not only a poor prophet, but a poor analyst of the data at his command. Chamberlain had failed to see and forsee the dependence of American capitalism for its survival upon the wars of the twentieth century.

As a corollary to his argument about capitalism and war, the professor argued that relationship was

the main reason for the failure of the social democratic alternatives to liberal reform of which Chamberlain dreamed in 1932. And rather paradoxically, the wars largely explained why the United States had not been swept by the fascism that Chamberlain dreaded in 1932.

"The wars of the twentieth century," wrote the professor in his paper, "are the real explanation of the survival of capitalism in the United States. The relationship between these wars and our periods of prosperity reduce to complete inconsequence all the tinkering that has been done with our economy. World War I came in Europe in 1914 just as the American economy began to sag into the morass of a cyclically overdue depression. The surpluses built up before and during our participation in the war made possible our break-through during the twenties to a mass consumption economy, much sooner than was true for any other industrial nation. World War II in turn did what all the relief, recovery, and reform efforts of the New Deal had failed to do; it restored the country to prosperity. And then, as the country moved through the recessions of the late Forties came Korea, and for those of the late Fifties the giant defense budgets of Kennedy and Johnson. War, in sum, has again and again saved our reformers from facing up to the inherent contradictions of capitalism, from suffering from the consequences of their own inconsequential consequences."

At this point the professor was willing to throw scholarly caution to the winds and risk a prediction as sweeping as any Chamberlain had hazarded in 1932 about the future of capitalism, liberalism, fascism, or socialism. "There is a possibility," the professor wrote, "that now with Vietnam the process [of capitalism bolstered by war and militarism] has come to an end. The Vietnam crisis came not when the economy was lagging but when it was already much overheated. So today all the counter-cyclical weapons past reform has bequeathed to us are contending with what may well be an uncontrollable boom. The basic fact is that an uncontrolled capitalistic economy responds to massive psychological pressures no amount of tinkering can control. Though a historian risks predictions among his peers only at his peril, I think we may see in the next year or so how inconsequential all the reforms of our economy actually have been. A war of sufficient magnitude to bring us out of the next depression will be, if you will forgive the grisly irony, the final war to end all wars."

So there it was. The professor's paper was one of several dozen at the convention wherein scholars were supposed to report on the present status of research in a field of American history. The rising challenge of his conclusion concealed, as probably had been true for Chamberlain in 1932,

the near despair of his own heart. "In the face of facts like these," ran the peroration, "what can a historian of twentieth century reform say to the more thoughtful and intelligent among his students who reject most of the underlying assumptions of American liberalism? We hear much talk about the failure of the older and younger generations to understand one another. But do we of the older generation, professional men devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, understand the world that we and our elders are bequeathing to the young? Perhaps a few of us, with our universities blowing up around us, will credit the young with a true sense of the hollowness of much that they have learned from us. Perhaps a few of us also can develop a saving impatience with such scholarly games as conflict or consensus, continuity or discontinuity (the major preoccupations of most historians of twentieth century reform). We can hope that more than a few will regain the sense of commitment that enlivened the works of those earlier progressive historians it is now so fashionable to deride. For better or worse we no longer live in a world that will tolerate the inconsequential consequences of American liberalism."

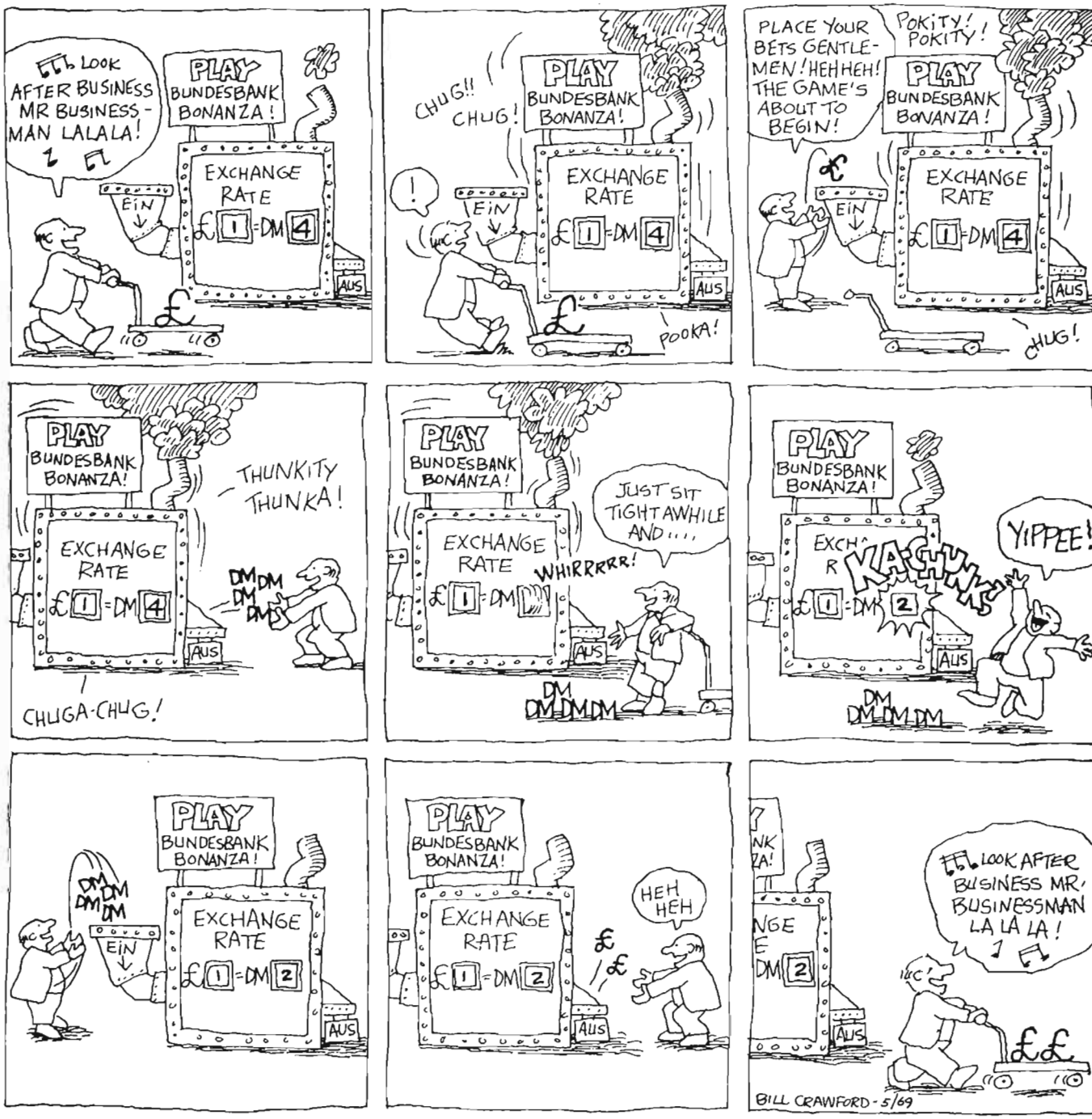
Soon after the session the professor ran across at the convention an old friend from graduate school days, Larry Gara, who had exceeded by several hundreds the one night the professor had ever spent in jail as a consequence of his convictions. Gara apologized for having missed the paper. He had been busy at the time taking part in a demonstration across the street from the convention hotel. Gara's parting shot as the professor moved on was jocular but telling: "You were in there talking about the revolution while I was across the street making it."

Later the professor wished that time and circumstances had allowed explaining to Gara that if anything he had been speaking against "the revolution." He had a sneaking fondness for an old phrase among American radicals, "revolutionary change," a phrase that went back at least to Eugene Victor Debs and can be found today even in the pronouncements of S.D.S. As is often true for propaganda, much of the power of the phrase lay in its ambiguity. It could mean change brought about by revolutionary, that is, violent, means. Or it could mean more gradual change of revolutionary, that is, massive, dimensions. The professor had spoken for the latter "revolution."

Professor Forcey, who teaches at the State University of New York, Binghamton, is the author of The Crossroads of Liberalism.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS

by Bill Crawford



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A Guide to the Grand Jury

Cathy Boudin and Brian Glick

It wasn't the Justice Department or the FBI or Daley, Johnson or Nixon who decided that leaders of last summer's Chicago actions should be tried for a federal crime. Not technically, that is.

Officially a grand jury did it. Other grand juries have indicted black militants and student activists. Many of us who do not face criminal charges have already been called as grand jury witnesses or will be soon. We're learning first hand how, in a society divided along lines of race and class, legal institutions are used by the powerful to perpetuate the status quo.

The purpose of legal repression is to intimidate and isolate us from our base. Unless we are careful, repression can divert needed energy into defense groups for raising money and publicizing repression.

I

The Grand Jury. Part of the Bill of Rights. A bulwark of American justice, supposedly serving three vital functions.

As the "conscience of the community," the Grand Jury is supposed to protect people against unfair prosecution. Until it finds that the government has substantial evidence, no person can be tried for a serious crime in federal court or in the courts of nearly half the states. (In the other states and for non-serious crimes, a judge makes this decision in a preliminary hearing.)

As "the people's big stick," the Grand Jury is supposed to investigate official misconduct. In many states it can issue a muckraking report even when it decides no crime has been committed.

Finally, the Grand Jury supposedly provides opportunities for citizen parti-

cipation in government. To the president of New York's Grand Jury Association it represents democracy in action:

"Effective government can function—and our communities can maintain their vitality—only so long as the ordinary citizen can and will participate in determining the circumstances under which he lives his life. Even before our country achieved its independence, grand juries were a means by which ordinary citizens have had a direct and powerful voice in the conduct of community affairs."

A close look at what the grand jury really is and does illustrates this general principle. Those who now actively oppose the status quo—youth, blacks, poor people—are excluded from jury duty. Moreover, the Grand Jury does not itself exercise significant power; it is controlled by the prosecutor (D.A., U.S. Attorney), who uses it as a weapon against movements for change.

The Grand Jury originated in the 13th century in England as a corps of knights assigned to help the Crown identify and prosecute criminals. In the United States today many Grand Juries still consist mainly of "blue ribbon" aristocrats.

From 1938-43 the federal court for the southern district of New York (Manhattan, Bronx, and Westchester) drew jurors primarily from Who's Who in New York, Who's Who in Engineering, the Social Register, the alumni directories of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth, and Poor's Register of Executives and Directory of Directors. Many of these people stayed on the jury panel for years and helped indict the Rosenbergs and many Smith Act defendants. The federal court agreed that this procedure systematically excluded black people and workers. But it still upheld the procedure as an efficient way to find jurors who were properly "qualified."

Today many states use only slightly more subtle methods to select similarly elite juries. The grand juries which indicted Huey Newton and the Oakland Seven, for instance, were picked only from names provided by the Alameda County Superior Court judges. Twenty-six company presidents, 31 bankers, 5 utility executives, and a number of realtors and other business officials were among the 261 jurors selected by the same method in San Francisco from 1950 to 1968. Nonwhites, over one-third the San Francisco population, provided only five percent of the jurors.

The New York County grand juries which have indicted Columbia strike leaders and Black Panthers are not much different. According to an analysis prepared for a court challenge, the New York grand jurors who sat in 1964 were 1.65 percent black, .003 percent Puerto Rican, and slightly over 1 percent blue collar. None were under 35. Most lived in census districts with a median income of over $10,000 per year.

These jurors were chosen from names supplied by judges and other grand jurors, plus anyone who applied in person at the jury clerk office. Over nine-tenths of the panel from which New York juries are now picked qualified at a time when a grand juror was required by law to own at least $250 worth of property. The chief jury clerk admits that his office still rejects any applicant under 35 unless he is recommended by a judge. The clerks also exclude anyone on welfare, anyone who was ever declared bankrupt, and anyone who has a lien or judgement outstanding against him. As the New York Times recently put it, "credit checks screen out fly-by-nights and unreliables."

Recent civil rights legislation gives federal defendants the right to a jury hearings to delay almost all trials until the fall, when a new University administration withdrew most of the charges against the students.

Since the grand jury serves the same procedural functions as the preliminary hearing—both are supposed to protect against unjust prosecution and both in fact rubber stamp the D.A.—the defendant is not entitled to both a preliminary hearing and a grand jury. In federal court and in states which use grand juries, a person cannot be required to stand trial for a serious crime (felony) until he is indicted by a grand jury. But in trials for the minor crimes (misdemeanors) that most people are charged with, the prosecutor can choose between preliminary hearing and grand jury. If the defendant requests a preliminary hearing, the prosecutor can simply stall the case until he obtains a grand jury indictment.

The New York D.A. used this tactic to avoid repeating his Columbia fiasco when CCNY students were arrested this fall for giving sanctuary to an AWOL soldier. The students were booked, charged and bailed out in the ordinary manner. They then planned collectively for the expected next stage, the preliminary hearing, at which many of them were going to represent themselves so they could more effectively present their political views. To the students' surprise, and the surprise of their lawyers, the D.A. presented grand jury findings on the basis of which the judges denied requests for preliminary hearing and immediately set dates for trial.

Finally, the prosecutor can use the grand jury to force potential defendants' friends and comrades to talk with him and turn books and papers over to him before trial, unless they assert their Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. He can use the transcript of the grand jury proceedings at trial to contradict a defense witness who changes his story. He may be able to trap a witness into lying to the grand jury and then convict the witness of perjury, even if he doesn't have enough evidence to try the witness or anyone else for a substantial crime.

The prosecutor has these powers only through the grand jury. Ordinarily we are no more required to talk with a D.A. or U.S. Attorney than with the FBI or the police. We can refuse to talk with any of them without fear of being jailed for contempt of court. (A person who lies to such officials can, however, be prosecuted for willful misrepresentation. In the Fifties political activists frequently were trapped into petty lies and then were forced to inform or spend several years in jail.)

III

The power to compel testimony through the grand jury gives the D.A. even more than significant technical advantages. It provides him, and the government generally, with a powerful

weapon for terrorizing people active in movements for social change.

The grand jury meets in secret and is surrounded by an aura of mystery. Not only are the prospective defendants, the media and the public excluded, but a witness cannot even bring his own lawyer into the grand jury room. His attorney can be in the hall, and the witness can be excused to consult him, but this is a far cry from having counsel at his side throughout the proceeding. The D.A. may well be able to pressure him into answering questions he shouldn't answer and to embarrass him so he will leave to talk with his lawyer only rarely.

The grand jury proceeding is the only situation in which a person can legally be forced to talk to the authorities entirely alone, with no lawyer or friends to advise and support him. The prospect of such an experience can terrify even the strongest and most experienced of activists. The government tries to intensify these fears by calling witnesses separately, or only a couple at a time, and encouraging them to respond as isolated individuals.

Most of the people called before the Chicago federal grand jury quietly appeared and talked. By acting individualistically they reinforced the sense of loneliness and terror which the grand jury evokes. They failed to draw on our one source of psychic and political strength in confronting the enemy on his turf, the power of collective action.

Some of those who talked in Chicago thought they could persuade the jurors to refuse to issue indictments, an unlikely prospect given who sits on grand juries and the fact that the decision to indict had already been made politically and was only being implemented through the grand jury. Others believed they could outsmart the U.S. Attorney, which seems equally unlikely since we never know just what the prosecutor's looking for and when seemingly harmless information will help him. Since the grand jury meets in secret and no one can be certain precisely what any witness said, testifying cannot help but spread suspicion and distrust within the movement. Cooperation with the grand jury also reinforces its legitimacy and leads even more people to believe it is in fact the protector of justice that it pretends to be.

Activist recent success in talking before HUAC in no way indicates that the same approach would be appropriate in responding to the grand jury. HUAC could be made to look ridiculous and its hearings could be used as a political platform because, unlike the grand jury, HUAC meets in public, with the media present. Moreover, HUAC can use the information it gathers only to recommend legislation and publish propoganda; it has no power to issue indictments and use "selected at random from a fair cross-section of the community." The new law also prohibits exclusion from federal grand juries "on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status."

The real effect of this reform is only to open the federal Grand Jury to the salaried middle classes. Jurors' names are drawn only from lists of voters or persons registered to vote, despite the well-known fact that disproportionately large numbers of blacks, Puerto Ricans and poor people take no part in the electoral process. Jury clerks continue to exercise vase discretion–remaining free, for example, to treat misspelling on the required written application as proof of disqualifying illiteracy. Finally, the clerks excuse from jury duty any wage earner who claims financial hardship because he might lose his job as a result of a month's absence or because he can't support his family on the juror's fee. (Most states pay only a few dollars a day. The new law raised the federal fee from $10 to $20 per day, still only half what the U.S. Labor Department estimates that a city family of four needs to live decently.)

II

Grand juries are made up mainly of white, middle-aged and elderly representatives of the propertied and managerial classes. It's hardly surprising that in their watchdog function such grand juries protect their own economic and political power and their social privilege. The reports issued by San Franciso grand juries during 1968 condemned "welfare chiselers" and drug use, while supporting freeways and downtown redevelopment and giving "special recognition" to the police department's tactical squad.

The unrepresentative make-up of the Grand Jury combines with the tructure of the legal process to ensure that the Grand Jury will rubber stamp the prosecutor, not protect the people against unjust prosecution. Most grand juries are mystified by the technicalities of the law. They serve only one month every two or three years. They have no staff except for the prosecutor's office, and they are not allowed to hire outside experts. The prosecutor manages the proceedings, bringing documents and witnesses, leading the question and drafting the indictment which the jury approves.

If one grand jury refuses to issue an indictment the prosecutor is free to call another jury and yet another until he persuades one to go along. If a grand jury decides to indict someone he doesn't want convicted, the prosecutor can always find a way to let the case die. In some states he has the legal right to dismiss any indictment. In the others he can neglect to proceed on the case, accept a guilty plea to a trivial charge, or try the case in a way which allows the defendant to win easily.

A defendant can gain nothing from grand jury proceedings. He and his attorney are excluded from the jury room. They cannot cross-examine the states' witnesses or object to questions

The 5 Beekman St. office of the War Resisters League in New York was virtually in ruins when staffers arrived for work on May 10. They found debris covering the floor, files dumped and machinery smashed. Damages totaled $5000.

Most important was the theft of the membership file, leaving WRL without a mailing list. All membership cards and addressograph stencils were stolen.

The WRL must reconstruct its mailing list–some 10,000 names–from scratch. *Liberation* readers who were on that list, or who want to be on it, can write to WRL at its new location: 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012. New WRL phone number is (212) 228-0450.

put to friendly witnesses. In federal courts and in many states the defendant cannot appear before the grand jury even if he does discover that it is discussing him, and in other states he can testify (and then leave) only if he agrees to allow the prosecutor to use anything he says against him at trial. Although the prosecutor automatically receives the transcript of the jury proceedings, the defendant can see a copy only under special circumstances and with a court order.

Though the grand jury is useless to defendants, it can help the prosecutor in several important ways. When pressed to bring to trial someone he wants to protect, the prosecutor can have the case killed by a grand jury of "ordinary citizens." The Brooklyn D.A. used this tactic with great success when a police officer shot a black youth in 1965. The grand jury issued a report exonerating the cop. D.A. Koota said there was nothing more he could do, and the courts rejected CORE's petition demanding further inquiry. Precisely the same technique is now being used to protect the off-duty cops who attacked Black Panthers near a Brooklyn courtroom.

Through a grand jury report—one which names names—a D.A. may be able to prosecute in the mass media opponents against whom he could prove no case in court. Black militants in Cleveland were harassed in just this way after that city's most recent "riots." In the early Fifties a New York grand jury report accused officials of the United Electrical Workers union of membership in the Communist Party, which was not a crime even then, and recommended that the National Labor Relations Board decertify the union.

The prosecutor's third possible use of the grand jury is to deprive a defendant of the tactical advantages of a judicial preliminary hearing. At a preliminary hearing a defendant need not take the stand or present any part of his case. The defendant's attorney can discover the state's case and cross-examine its witnesses; if the witnesses change their testimony at trial, he can quote from the transcript of the hearing to cast doubt on their honesty. Since court dockets are almost always crowded, defendants can use preliminary hearings to gain time before they have to stand trial. Attorneys for the Columbia strikers used preliminary testimony before it as the basis of criminal prosecution (except for perjury or contempt).

Strategy before a grand jury must also be distinguished from strategy before a trial jury. Trial juries are relatively more representative than grand juries (though not made up of the "peers" of most defendants); the defendant generally has power to exclude obviously biased jurors, plus some others. While the grand jury hears only witnesses' answers to the prosecutor's questions and then confers privately with the prosecutor, the trial jury hears the defendant's full case—as he wants it presented—and hears the prosecutor only in open court.

The people who testified in Chicago almost certainly could have refused to talk without risking jail. The last three witnesses, who planned their responses with other movement activists and lawyers, were excused by the U.S. Attorney after they pleaded the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination.

The U.S. Constitution prohibits federal or state officials from forcing anyone to give any information which might tend to incriminate him. Although technically there is no constitutional right to refuse to give information because it might incriminate *someone* else, in practice the courts are forced to accept almost all claims of possible self-incrimination, since no one can prove his testimony might incriminate another person without in the process incriminating himself.

The only legal obstacle to using the Fifth Amendment is the grand jury's power in some courts and in some kinds of cases, to offer a witness immunity from prosecution on the basis of his testimony and then to have him held in contempt if he still refuses to talk. The Chicago witnesses who took the Fifth were not offered immunity, possibly because federal immunity laws may not cover the supposed crimes which the grand jury was investigating.

Taking the Fifth, like accepting a deferment to the draft, still involves some cooperation with the authorities and still appears to accept the legitimacy of their power. As with the draft, the alternative is total non-cooperation leading to imprisonment. (First Amendment free speech offers no protection, as a number of people on the left discovered when they were jailed for contempt in the Fifties.)

The criteria for choosing between the two possible responses are essentially the same as those applicable to Selective Service. What would be the likely political impact of total refusal, given the witness's status and constituency? To what extent does the movement seem ready and able to organize around a refusal? How would the witness use his liberty if he avoided jail? Can his use of the Fifth Amendment be explained publicly in a way which avoids (as the left did not in the Fifties) the appearance of defensiveness and of admitting having done something wrong?

The decision almost certainly will vary with time, place and person. Whatever response is chosen, it is critically important that it be determined collectively, on political as well as personal grounds, and that it be joined with a political offensive against the Grand Jury and the oppressive legal system of which it is a part.

The witnesses who took the Fifth in Chicago first moved in a highly publicized court session to have their subpoenas dismissed. They used the court hearing and press conferences to attack the grand jury's composition and procedures, as well as the prosecutor's breach of secrecy and the bias of the judge who convened the jury. Other methods of attack might range from leaflets and guerrilla theater to providing sanctuary for a witness who refused to appear or physically invaded the grand jury room.

We need to attack the legal system of the United States—courts, grand juries, legislative committees, the ideology itself—just as we attacked its fraternal institutions, the university and the Selective Service System. •

Greg Calvert and the Politics of Guilt:

carl davidson

Greg Calvert's address to the Resistance Conference, printed in the May issue of *Liberation* under the title, "A Left-Wing Alternative," was unfortunate, to say the least. At a time when, more than ever, there is a need for clarity and honest debate within the New Left, his speech provided neither, and went a long way in encouraging the phony dichotomies and misreadings of history he attacked so bitterly.

No one can deny that SDS is in need of both criticism and self-criticism. But most of Calvert's attacks fall far short of their mark, while others are directed at those aspects of the organization which are basically sound: the emphasis on struggling against white supremacy and other forms of opportunism.

To start with some of Calvert's remarks on SDS and the student movement:

> "What's going on in SDS is that, having denied that students have legitimacy as a strata, or that new-working class people have legitimacy as revolutionary strata, we revert to the old Leninist formulations which say that the task of the petit-bourgeois intelligentsia is to form a vanguard party which will relate to the proletarian struggle of the factory worker."

There are at least three errors or distortions in that one sentence. First of all, almost no one in SDS has denied that students have "legitimacy as a strata." Most see students as a multi-class stratum, reflecting all the class divisions within the general society, but understand that the majority of students come from working-class backgrounds and will return to the working class after they leave the college campus. Far from "denying legitimacy," there is general agreement in SDS that this stratum has a progressive if not revolutionary role to play in the making of a socialist revolution.

What Calvert either misunderstands or is distorting on this point are two concerns SDS has had in the past year: (1) Since the radical student movement has been concentrated in the "elite" colleges and universities, there is a need to focus organizing efforts on state and community colleges, trade schools, and high schools. (2) Since many young people in communities, factories, and the military have an interest in joining with the New Left in an anti-capitalist struggle, there is a need to expand the New Left beyond its campus base into a revolutionary youth movement, with a particular focus on working-class youth who are not students.

There is nothing in those two concerns that says students are "illegitimate." Rather, the understanding is that a student movement in isolation is not enough, that the New Left needs a base of support and alliances beyond the campus. That this is true should be quite clear to everyone.

To say that SDS has denied "that new working class people have legitimacy as revolutionary strata" is a second mistake, although more ambiguous. What most of SDS has done has been to reject two notions: (1) that the "new working class" stratum will be the vanguard of class struggle in the country and (2) that the term "new working class" is at all useful as a category, since it refers not to a distinct social class but rather to a highly skilled technical stratum of the working class. Insofar as "new working class" are part of the working class, then no one has denied that they certainly have revolutionary potential.

Calvert's third error is accusing SDS of reverting ". . . to the old Leninist formulations which say the task of the petit-bourgeois intelligentsia is to form a vanguard party. . . ." First, this is not an accurate description of Lenin's formulation. Second, almost no one in SDS (with the exception of the New York-Philadelphia Labor Committees) either see themselves as or set tasks for the petit-bourgeois intelligentsia. And third, what's wrong with working to build a vanguard party?

Calvert says he thinks ". . . there is an alternative to the question of party . . ." in the popular socialist and anarchist movements of the past. But he doesn't spell it out or even give a substantial idea of what he means. He does say "I will not sacrifice myself to be part of that dehumanizing vanguard for my children in another day." Even the most staunch Leninists in SDS are

against a "dehumanizing" vanguard. Are all vanguard parties dehumanizing? And if so, why? To say the least, the question is begged.

Calvert describes how the situation of students today is quite different than in Lenin's time, which is unquestionably true. In 1967 SDS's understanding of the multiversity's role in job-training and manpower channelling . . .

> ". . . gave us the possibility of a perspective that said students and post-students fighting around the conditions of their own lives are legitimately revolutionary strata where they are at, and that that can be their great contribution to a larger movement, which must include other sectors of the population—the blue-collar workers and the poor."

But even then SDS saw certain strategic problems with a student movement viewed in this light, problems Calvert glossed over or ignored in his speech.

Put simply, SDS saw that the student movement could go in one of two directions from "where they are at." They could focus on limited on-campus issues "about their lives" and go in the direction of "student power." Or they could raise those issues about their lives that led them to form alliances with other oppressed constituencies beyond the campus, a direction leading to the growth of revolutionary class consciousness.

The question, then, is what are those issues, what are the demands we must fight for and organize around? Calvert is not very specific, except to insist that they must be "our own" rather than "someone else's." But Calvert says he doesn't believe in a "two-story universe" where the personal dimensions of one's life are walled off from the political condition of the majority of humanity. Yet this is precisely the way he deals with the issues of white supremacy and male supremacy:

> "What you do to a white man in today's society when you tell him he's got to fight the anti-racism struggle is give him *a struggle that doesn't have any outside to it.* [my italics] I do not want to deny that racism is a problem, as male chauvinism is a problem inside of us. But I wish to insist that the only way we can finally fight against racism effectively is to be fighting our battles for our own liberation, in alliance with black people fighting their struggle for their own liberation."

While racism certainly is deeply rooted in the character structure of almost every white man and woman in this country, to say that the struggle against it "doesn't have any outside to it" and is only "a problem inside of us" is incredibly blind. It ignores completely the wide spread day-to-day *practice* of white supremacy and male supremacy, where millions of whites oppress blacks, and where almost every man is engaged in the oppression of almost every woman. Furthermore, that practice—the source of misery of most of the world's peoples—has been objectified in every social and political institution of capitalist society and, in some cases, even in socialist society.

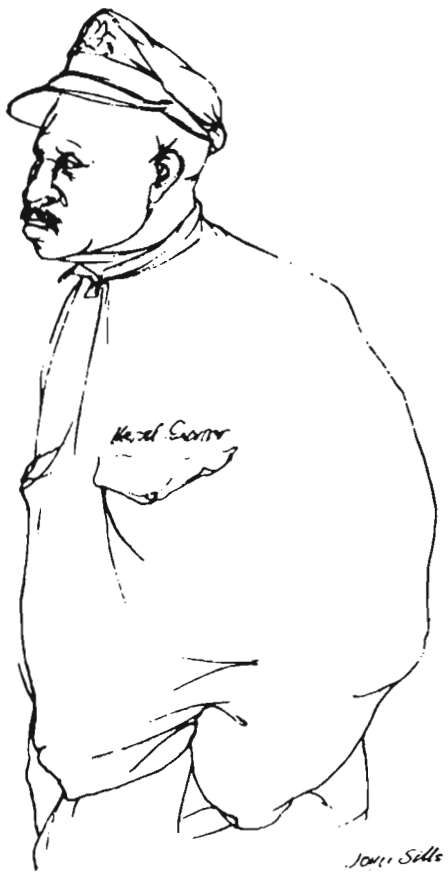
The false privileges gained by whites (and men) from engaging in or passively accepting the practice of white (and male) supremacy are the foundations of opportunism within the working-class movement and the main barrier to the development of revolutionary class consciousness, socialist consciousness, in this country. This is what it means to live—what our lives are about—within an imperialist nation.

White workers and students in America are both privileged and oppressed. This is the root of the problem of false consciousness, of self-interest as opposed to class interest.

This false privilege (both male and white) leads large segments of exploited people to side with their oppressors against other oppressed people. As a result, they are enslaved and dehumanized by the ongoing functioning of those institutionalized practices as well. That is why, as Calvert sums up the SDS line, "We got to support the black movement. Racism is our issue. Anti-racism is the radical position."

Calvert believes that this approach to the problem of racism is the politics of guilt. Most of SDS believes that this is the cutting edge, the dividing line that separates revolutionary practice from reformist and reactionary practice in this country.

How can the "guilty liberal" argument be confronted? When white Americans first grasp the totality of the oppression suffered by black people in this country, they are usually moved by a sense of human compassion. One would also hope that they would be enraged at the perpetra-



tors of that oppression. But here is the bind. While the ruling class perpetuates and profits from white supremacy, white people generally have participated in its practice, often with more violent intensity than those who are truly responsible.

The point is this: as more and more whites become more fully aware of the fact of black oppression (and they will, since the black liberation struggle will not let up), many whites are going to feel guilty, because they have participated in that oppression. The *fact* of the mass experience of guilt cannot be denied, because the material basis of that experience cannot be written out of our history.

But recognizing that people do feel guilty is quite different from manipulating those feelings for political ends. Calvert is quite correct when he says, "I do not believe we can free ourselves from that society through emotional structures of guilt which were created to keep us from fighting for freedom." On the other hand, those emotional structures of guilt cannot be ignored, brushed aside or forgotten. The only thing more immobilizing than conscious feelings of guilt are repressed guilt feelings.

The problem is one of turning self-hatred into its opposite: hatred of the oppressor. The process is one of self-denial only in the sense that bourgeois individualism is under attack, while the socialist humanity of free men and women is being affirmed. This is the meaning of the attack on false privilege in its institutionalized forms and social practice. Calvert raises the question:

> "Will it be possible to create that alternative history? Will it be possible to build a movement which talks about the community of free men, about the new selfhood, about new human beings, about new possibilities, about the new man?

The answer is yes, certainly, it is possible. But only through an uncompromising struggle against all those institutions and practices of imperialism that now make the realization of that humanity impossible.

Calvert raised the question of the legitimate basis for an alliance between white radicals and the black liberation movement. His formulation—that both groups are fighting their "own" battles for liberation against a common enemy—is not adequate. If the history of the international socialist movement has demonstrated nothing else in the past hundred years, it has revealed the criminal ability of the bourgeoisie to set the workers of colonizing nations against the people of the colonial nations, even though both were engaged in massive struggles for their "own" liberation.

So far as the liberation movements of the oppressed nations are concerned, the minimal basis for unity with potentially revolutionary strata of the oppressor nations must be the clear-cut support, in deeds as well as in words, of their struggle against national oppression. There is no other basis for unity, for class solidarity. This is the meaning and main responsibility of socialist internationalism for the working class and other revolutionary strata within the oppressor nations.

Calvert does a serious injustice to SDS when he characterizes their active support of national liberation struggles—particularly the struggle of black and brown people inside this country—as the politics of liberal guilt. SDS's position is based on the politics of revolutionary socialist internationalism. And if recalcitrantly guilty liberals happen to support the same position, then so much the better.

There are other errors in Calvert's speech that are also a misrepresentation of the New Left's history. For instance:

> "What were *we* doing in May and June 1968 when revolution almost took place in one of the advanced industrial societies of the world? It was the exemplary action of students fighting first around their own demands that catalyzed the situation. . . . What were we doing in those months? . . . The SDS national office was trying to grind out an elaborate analysis of racism, couched in the most abstruse and dogmatic language so that the line would be right at its national convention in June."

This is simply false. National SDS people at that time (and myself as a national officer) were traveling for and working with the Spring campus actions against the war and racism. This was the time of the Columbia rebellion, and we were devoting all our effort into putting the call for "two, three, many Columbias" into practice—and with some success.

Even Danny Cohn-Bendit mentions in the book Calvert quotes that the French students were inspired, in part, by the Columbia actions. The Columbia students in turn had been moved by the black rebellions around King's death and the exemplary action of the black students on campus. On the French students "fighting first around their own demands," Cohn-Bendit also mentions that the May-June events started as the result of the repression of French student demonstrations in support of the Vietnamese Tet offensive.

There is much more that is wrong and misleading about the speech that cannot be gone into here. For instance, Calvert's abuse of the term "Stalinism" to describe just about everything he disagrees with does not help the New Left in any way. Both SDS and the New Left in general need to improve both its political analysis and its practice. But this kind of criticism from Calvert only makes matters worse.

A former national officer of SDS, Carl Davidson is presently a staff correspondent for the Guardian.

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A Response: *greg calvert*

Dear Carl,

Having spent two years working closely with you and growing politically with you through the same experiences, I find it strange responding to your criticisms through the pages of a magazine. However, perhaps it is good that we discuss differences publicly. Too often, I fear, the important political debates of the last two years have not been talked out in a way which increased the whole movement's understanding of what the issues were about.

My intention in giving the talk at the Resistance Conference was to address the central question which had been haunting me and others I have been close to—namely, were the liberating values which had drawn us out of our lonely niches in American capitalist society suddenly no longer relevant to the making of a socialist revolution? Were those values nothing more than the reflection of bourgeois cowardice and sentimentalism? Only secondarily had I intended to concern myself with SDS. Of course, my speech couldn't have avoided SDS since I perceive a clear political direction which runs contrary to the original convictions and style of the New Left. I am sorry to learn that you found the substance of the talk "unfortunate" and that you feel it "only makes matters worse." If you are right in your estimation, then my efforts at trying to search for alternatives has been a miserable failure.

Out of the experiences and thinking of the last nine months, I have come to the conclusion that Leninism is an incorrect direction for the New Left, and that our task must be to begin to find new models of revolutionary practice and organization which correspond to the American advanced capitalist social order.

I regard the events of last year in France as evidence of the bankruptcy of Leninism in the advanced industrial world and feel that the Communist movement which grew in response to the Bolshevik success in Russia is dead as a revolutionary force in these societies.

I suggested that we look at the processes and forms of revolution from below, of power which is built on a popular basis and which represents the embryonic institutions of a new decentralized socialist society. Such a notion implies the abandonment of the dichotomies of "vanguard" and "mass" and the authoritarian structures of centralist organization. It implies that the changing of human lives, the emergence of the New Man, are integral parts of the revolutionary process. It affirms that the development of new human relationships as well as the structures which sustain them *are* what the revolution is. The events which lead to the immediate disappearance of bourgeois structures of political and economic control are only one dramatic part of this process.

In sum, revolution is the process whereby human beings liberate themselves from the repressive control of capitalist civilization, form new relationships and new modes of action, and create new structures of power which challenge and eventually replace

the dominant order.

How then do questions like "guilt" and the problem of racism fit in. First, it is guilt which sustains the repressive controls and taboos of the unfree society as an internalized mechanism which divides the individual from himself. makes him fear his real feelings

and instincts, and thus prevents him from envisioning or acting on alternatives to established behavior. It makes us hate our real selves—our needing, giving, energetic, loving, polymorphously perverse animal selves. It makes us act irrationally, against our real needs and interests. Only through a process of self-affirmation can we overcome guilt and begin to act in those new ways which establish an alternative mode of being and begin to initiate a revolutionary process.

The relationship to racism? Racism exists inside us as part of that self-hatred structures of society outside our individual characters. The black people of America are in the process of freeing themselves from the self-hatred which white society has created in them. They are also in the process of trying to build bases of power which will enable them to challenge successfully the dominant structures of bourgeois control. But, as you and I have always known, black people cannot do that alone within an advanced industrial society where their revolution can only be successful if a socialist revolution is made by all the oppressed people of this country. That means that whites too must be in the process of freeing themselves from guilt and self-hatred and must engage in building bases and structures of counter-power. For the moment, the major force among whites for challenging power is the student movement. The frustrating and agonizing problem for both blacks and white students is that these two groups alone cannot challenge power successfully and that more allies must be found among the white working majority of the population. Even now, socialists are a long way from being a majority force in either the schools or the black community. It may be a long time before events and active organizing create a base for revolution among the majority of the population. Until such a time as such a base develops, bourgeois control will remain, and, in the meantime those who believe they can make a revolution happen by engaging in armed combat with the police apparatus of the state run the very serious risk of being wiped out or of further isolating themselves from potential bases. I know of no place in the society where we have established the kind of structures of counter-power which would enable us to challenge existing structures—in most cases we cannot even defend ourselves and that precisely because we have allowed romantic militancy to replace careful political organizing.

As part of the process in which we have become engaged but which may only be in its earliest infancy, we must develop links and ties of solidarity between different groups and movements. However, the greatest mistake is to subordinate the needs and development of one group to another. Beating white students over the head with the issue of racism does not create a strong student movement. It turns people off and isolates radicals. In the end it does not provide blacks or any one else with strong allies determined to play their role in the struggle for their liberation and the creation of a new world.

Finally, I disagree strongly with your analysis of what should happen to self-hatred. You argue that the "problem is one of turning self-hatred into its opposite: hatred of the oppressor." That argument once made sense to me though I must admit I was always plagued with self-doubt. Now I believe that it is wrong. "Hatred of the oppressor" is *not* the "opposite" of "self-hatred": it is simply its corollary. The opposite of self-hatred is self-affirmation, self-reliance, outgoingness, strength, courage, and love. It is the self freed to challenge authority, injustice, and exploitation because it does not need those structures to feed itself any more. It is the self which needs community and self-determination because it cannot bear isolated existence and authoritarian controls. It is the self which can think rationally about a socialist alternative to the present insanity of the capitalist order because it can rationally assess real human needs inside itself. It is the self which rejects the aspirations and the behavior of "the Man"—not because it hates him—but because it has radically different aspirations and a radically different sense of Manhood.

Carl, you suggest that I spell out further some of the points I made. I have tried here to indicate the direction of some of my notions. On the question of Leninism and Stalinism I feel very strongly that we are badly in need of a debate. Let me propose that such a debate begin to take place, here in the pages of *Liberation*. I will undertake to pull together the critique which I have been developing. I would appreciate it if you, and others, would reply or present alternative viewpoints. I really do feel that something like this is urgently needed.

Agreed?

Greg Calvert

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Greg Calvert, former national secretary of SDS, lives in Austin, Texas.

Communications:

A Response to Jim Matles of the U.E. : *paul booth*

Dear Friends,

I'm very glad you printed the interview with James Matles. [Liberation, March-April] The rediscovery of class relations by the left as the basic source of our problems and grievances is now leading to discussion of strategies of class conflict—anything that informs that discussion is valuable. In particular it is important to discuss American trade unionism, not only because "unions are there", but because among working-class institutions they are uniquely situated at the major point of class conflict—the workplace. The working-class counterparts of student militants learn their lessons at the base of production, and the union is their first point of departure.

In this communication I don't want to dwell on the elementary distinction between trade unions (which carry on class struggles but never to their conclusion—only within the limits imposed by a corporate capitalist society) and a new form of (as yet undefined) revolutionary workers' organization. This distinction is so clearly understood (and repeated ad nauseam) by the new left as to obscure the importance of the question: why do American unions carry out their (admittedly limited) functions of struggle and defense of workers' interests so poorly? Brother Matles seemed to be addressing several aspects of that question. Other aspects weren't raised by the interview. I want to comment on his answers to the questions you did raise, and suggest questions for future exploration.

It is incontestable that there is a growing spirit of discontent at the rank-and-file level. A number of spontaneous revolts have made it visible—Matles points to contract rejections, to the officer elections in Steel and other internationals, and to

black caucuses, and he might have added the Black Lung strike in West Virginia and a number of struggles for union democracy. But what does it all add up to? Some radicals see, mistakenly I believe, the emergence of a general alternative to "sellout" or "establishment" labor leadership. At least one left party has been proclaiming this for nearly a decade. I wonder whether it wouldn't be more precise to view most of this insurgency as in the American tradition of "throwing the rascals out"? The rank-and-file is aware that it is losing battles to inflation, taxes, tired leadership, and other factors, but has no political idea of how to turn the tables around. An insurgent candidate might promise the moon (some promise conflicting moons to black and white workers), but people vote for him because they want to say "no" to the incumbents, not because of his platform.

The Detroit black workers movements (such as DRUM) are reputed to be different from the here-one-day-gone-the-next caucuses to which Matles referred. By reputation they have a socialist-cum-black power ideology and rank-and-file base organized on a principle that sounds like "dual power". This is a far cry from being a kind of pluralistic veto to the leadership in the "vote the rascals out" form. The key question about insurgencies and caucuses is whether spontaneous developments are creating anything at all new, and if so, precisely what?

UAW

It was very noticeable that you didn't press Matles on the question of the Auto-Teamsters Alliance for Labor Action (ALA). He merely reports that Reuther has declared *his intention* to give leadership in the areas of organizing the unorganized, social and foreign policy, etc. That is two-year-old news. Even on the rhetorical level, the Reuther and Meany polemics deserve further investigation; on first reading, both sides come out looking pretty bad (perhaps you could commission a book review). Much more important are the concrete prospects for the use of the 10¢ per capita from UAW and Teamster members that would create an ALA fund running to over $3½ million per year. Do they have organizers? What will be new about the new locals? Will they stay out of competition with unions that have a jurisdictional claim to certain workers but haven't done

anything for them? Will newly organized workers have their own outfits, or will they be incorporated into large Teamsters or UAW locals? In sum, what will be new about the ALA?

When Matles describes a working shop steward system, and the loyalty of his members due to economic gains (and despite red-baiting), he is by implication describing part of what is lacking in the mainstream of labor. What makes up good trade union practice? Within the union, what initiative should the local have? What should be its attitude toward arbitration? In the area of demands, what kind of economic policy is a minimum standard; how should working conditions be regulated; should privately negotiated welfare and pension systems continue to be a major focus? Part of our problem is that no one with any authority in labor stands up and says categorically: this is what labor's objective in terms of real income for its members should be; anybody who settles for less hurts the rest of us as well as his own people. The last three years have seen a general wage offensive, with the highest rate of strikes since the 1946 drive to catch up with wartime erosions. This time, nobody called it an offensive, or set goals, because to do so would have been to politicize labor struggles, move them to a stage beyond the business union style of industrial relations. Nor have there been any standards set on-the-job, except spontaneously from below. The Black Lung revolt (even though it came, conquered, and vanished in a few months) proved that on-the-job standards of health, safety, etc., could be made political issues; DRUM and parallel black workers movements are doing something similar for racism in the plant. Behind these articulated developments lies the general problem of work standards, trigger to countless wildcats, but nowhere made a general issue facing the unionized working class. Perhaps it will take many more years to make these unresolved issues articulate and bases for unified action; in the interim, let's be specific about what they are, rather than mumbling about exploitation in general. Today there is no open debate in labor about any of these questions, and you can't add content to a debate that isn't going on. Between Reuther and Meany, the debate is mostly who has done less for mutually agreed goals, except in foreign policy (remote from workers' immediate problems).

Class demands

There is a parallel line of thought to be followed in the political sphere. Matles' formulation here is that UE leaders attempt to lead workers in the opposite direction from the reactionary path of Wallace, in contrast to other leaders who hardly resist that drift at all. What is this "opposite direction" and how is it different from supporting Humphrey against Wallace? It is just as true in the political area as on-the-job that labor engages in no general mobilization or offensive against the privileges and inequalities that are characteristic of our society. Sure, there is lobbying for tax reform and occupational safety, just as there are strikes for new kinds of protection for covered workers. The question is: can anyone imagine a campaign or issue (other than electing the Democratic nominee) around which rank-and-file energy could be mobilized to the extent that victory might become a serious possibility? Perhaps taxes are such an issue. If so, the question becomes how can the issue be articulated and organized so that the true dimensions of class power and privilege are clarified? Reaction's facile and racist explanations thrive in the vacuum that exists when there are no radical initiatives.

Students and Labor

When you asked Matles about worker-student alliance theories, you were probably probing for an opinion about the analyses of labor that are current in the student movement. But in order to get a sharp opinion on that, you will have to pose the question more precisely. There are two related questions: (1) would a mass student movement organized around a general program of university reform be a useful ally of labor, or would a disciplined organization of ex-student revolutionaries with a clear and sensible class perspective be more helpful? and (2) are the program and strategic assumptions of SDS ("bring the politics of the youth movement to the working class", organize support for DRUM and the Panthers, create cadres of revolutionary young workers) valid?

Students no longer need to be convinced that the working class is exploited in America. As open admissions and anti-tuition demands spread, at least that direction of the student movement has the potential for mutual aid with workers; this will be reinforced if SDS is able to continue to grow on commuter campuses. You should be asking questions that move the student-worker alliance conception from a slogan, applied mechanically, to a political conception that has more meaning for workers than the good wishes of SDS leaders.

Questions and Answers

The questions I have suggested (and many more) could be asked both of trade unionists and of would-be leaders of the working people who are popping up more and more frequently in the youth movement. If you can get a debate going on any of these questions, you will be ahead of everybody else. If necessary, you might look up A.J. Muste's thinking on workers education in the Twenties. We might find that the low ebb of labor during the open shop was not completely different from the low ebb of labor in the current period, in which, despite dues check-off and the union shop, the rank-and-file are disillusioned, barely connected to the official labor movement, and asking in increasing numbers where to go next. That, in short, is the question.

Fraternally,

Paul Booth

Paul Booth, a former SDS officer, has been active in organized labor. In a forthcoming issue of Liberation, Booth will attempt to answer many of the questions he raises here.

Letter to the Movement: *vernon grizzard*

Dear Friends,

I'm sorry I've delayed writing for so long. It's the old fear that anything one writes must be The Final Word that has kept me from sitting down at the typewriter before this. Therefore, this won't be a manifesto, by any stretch of the imagination; at best it will be a statement of some of the major concerns I've felt in the last couple of months.

I've been very excited recently by some developments in the female liberation movement. I have felt sympathy and understanding for some years about "the woman question," but it is only recently that I have been able to consider consciously the implications of this question for the male caste under capitalism and within the movement. Female liberation will not be achieved by opening up to women those roles now open primarily to men, just as black liberation is not to be found through integration into the dominant and oppressive white society. Liberation means overthrow and redefinition, not open access to already corrupted positions and roles.

This holds for the movement, as well as for the society at large. I don't mean to argue that the movement is the same as the society we are trying to overthrow, but I do mean to argue that we have been scarred by that society, and that our current definitions of leadership roles, ones which are of necessity almost always held by men, need to be changed, rather than merely opened up to women.

I want to describe briefly what I think would be the effects of greater consciousness of the system of sexual caste oppression. First, the style of leadership most common now in the movement is very individualistic and makes individual leaders almost inaccessible to any but intimate friends. Most people in the movement don't know how leaders spend their time or the manner in which they arrive at important decisions. I don't mean the final decisions, which are usually subject to the approval of one organized body or another, but rather the decisions of emphasis and energy which precede organizational decisions and which are usually made individually.

Being an individual leader involves self-evident ego satisfactions, but it is also trying emotionally. One feels called upon in every public or organizational situation to give direction and meaning to think of things which no one else has thought of yet. The result is a tremendous and unwarranted pressure on a single person, or on very few people. An individual who perceives that he is being looked to as a leader will naturally try to live up to that expectation, even when he is no more sure than others in the group about what should be done. Often, he perceives that people's belief in themselves depends partly on whether or not their confidence in him is justified. Instead of others learning how to share leadership skills, the consequence of the leader's strenuous work may simply be increased admiration for his talents.

It is small wonder that under such pressure as this in public situations, an individual leader will seek private situations where he can be understood, be listened to, have his ideas sympathetically challenged and periodically confirmed. And this is where women all too often come into the picture. It is indeed inhuman to expect a man to bear the pressure of individual leadership as it is now defined, and so quite naturally a man will try to share that burden. This sharing most often takes the form of relating to a woman as a private refuge. At the same time, the *esprit* of leadership is reserved for male friends.

I believe this is an instance of movement people acting out roles inherited from the nuclear family in a capitalist society (where, for instance, the privileges men enjoy in the private world of their family operate as compensation for the oppression they suffer in the public, social world of work). As we take care on a personal level not to recreate the patterns of privilege associated with the nuclear family, we also must develop an understanding of the nuclear family as an oppressive institution which, along with private property and the state (to paraphrase Engels), should not long survive a communist revolution.

Our goal should be to create revolutionary organizations based on a shared commitment to communism which can take into account an individual's strengths and weaknesses without constantly calling into question his ego.

As organizations come to be formed on this basis, I think we will find many more people willing and able to exercise initiative and leadership, as the process of making a decision and the cost of making a mistake will not be the exclusive property of one person. Without the intolerable pressure that singular leadership now imposes, I suspect that men will increasingly find it easier to turn to other men—as well as to women—for support.

I am not proposing that we will move toward the unrealistic utopia of no leaders, but rather to the kind of organization in which leadership is open to male and female alike, accessible and accountable to anybody seeking to join the movement.

Vernon Grizzard

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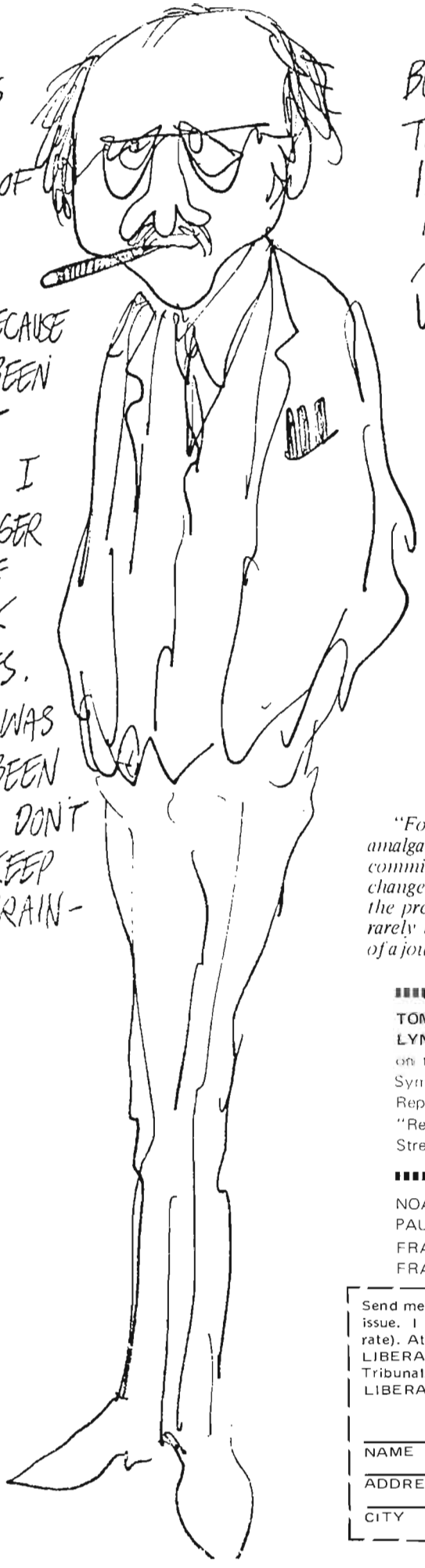
The informal format of a "letter to the movement" has been designed to let people write about whatever is on their mind without having to conform to the structural requirements of an article. Unsolicited letters will be considered for publication.

Vernon Grizzard works with SDS in New England and is presently on the staff of The Old Mole. He travelled to Hanoi in July, 1968, to negotiate the return of captured American fliers. Last summer, Vernon was on the committee staff of the National Mobilization Committee for the Chicago demonstration.

A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO I GAVE UP READING A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY DAVE DELLINGER ON HIS TRIP TO CUBA BECAUSE HE'D OBVIOUSLY BEEN BRAINWASHED. LAST YEAR IN HAVANA I ASKED MR. DELLINGER IF I COULD TAKE A SECOND LOOK AT THOSE ARTICLES. IT TURNS OUT I WAS THE ONE WHO'D BEEN BRAINWASHED. I DON'T KNOW HOW TO KEEP FROM BEING BRAIN-WASHED —



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