



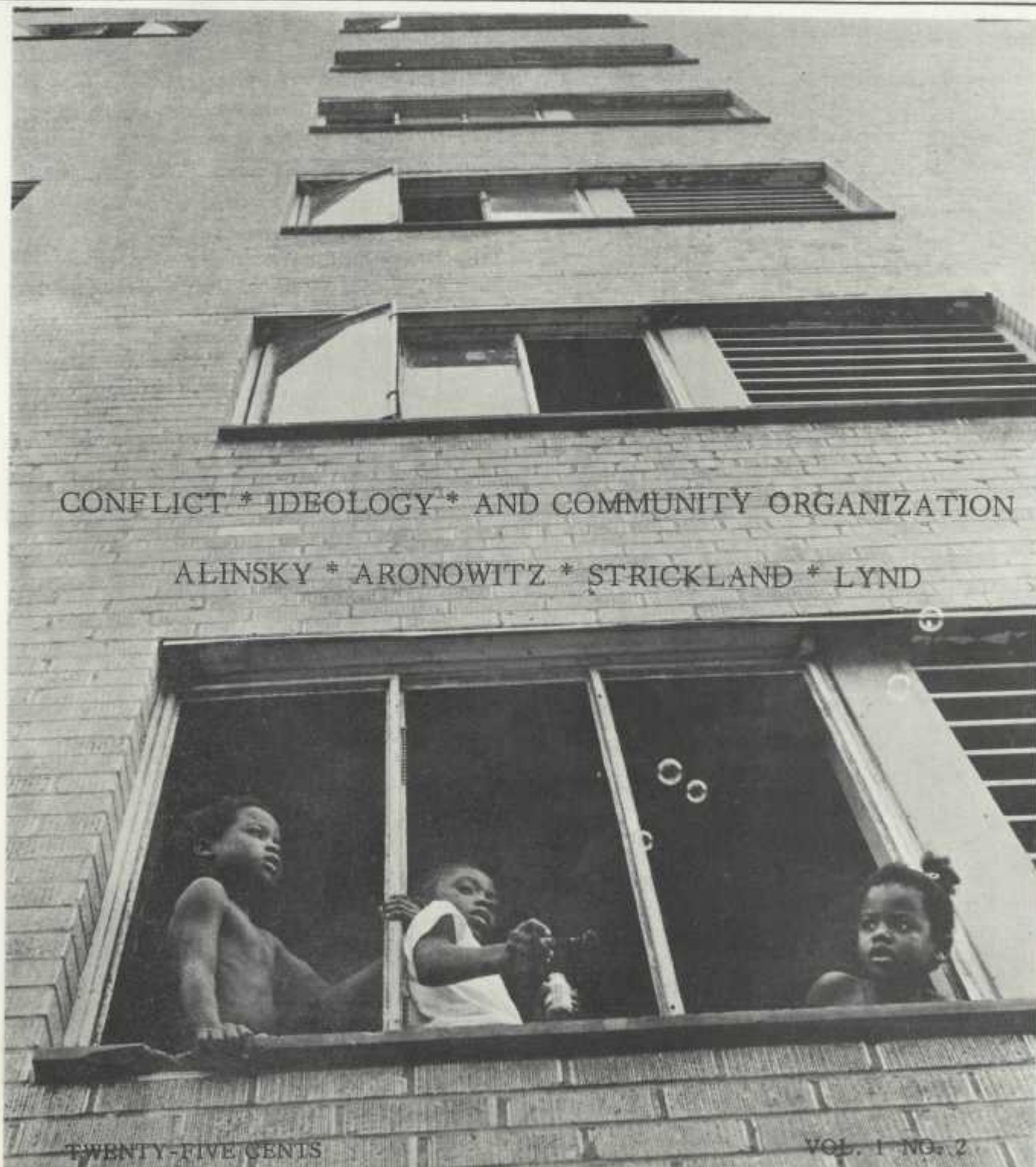
FREEDOM NORTH



A PUBLICATION OF NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
514 WEST 126th STREET NEW YORK 10027

CONFLICT * IDEOLOGY * AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

ALINSKY * ARONOWITZ * STRICKLAND * LYND



It's cold, people are scared and lonely and huddling around fires, waiting for the Lord to make them free, and we're waiting for that, too, I guess, in so many places. It's depressing how depressed we get by the way the people are brainwashed and crippled, and how paralyzed we become by the people's fear. What a terrible state Mississippi is, and how I hate this system that has turned people so against their own selves.

From a letter from Liz Fusco,
COFO Freedom School Coordinator,
Jackson, Mississippi

"PROGRESS" MUST INCLUDE PEOPLE

by Bill Strickland,
NSM Executive Director
Dan Schechter, Editor,
Freedom North

Liz Fusco's letter from Mississippi might have been written by any one of a number of NSM Field Secretaries working among other people who in their way are also scared, lonely, and victimized. As they work in the streets and unheated tenements of the Northern Ghettos, they too are confronting the apathy of the deprived, and the "terrible" system which through its racism and inadequacies is just as deadly in its deprivation.

The New Year is upon us, and the NSM staff is struggling to persist and continue its organizing efforts. At work among the welfare poor in Boston, against police brutality in Detroit, and the indifferent slum lords in Harlem, NSM Field workers approach the new year with less despair but with a realistic sense of anticipation. 1964 was a year of growth and explosion. The ghettos in many of the communities in which we are working exploded in anger and rioting, a frightening confirmation of the condition we are seeking to change. White Americans have begun to comprehend and acknowledge -- if only begin to confront -- the realities of poverty and powerlessness; the two deeply institutionalized sources of black oppression.

The American Government passed a "civil rights bill" in 1964 for White America, and declared a "War on Poverty" for Negroes. But that Civil Rights Bill promises token changes, and that War is a blatant sham. As so many commentators have observed, the War on Poverty is far more a War on the Poor than a War on the Poverty Makers. It operates on the premise that poverty can be abolished through education and training; but that premise ignores the reality of economic and political forces and is false. Poverty, unlike a headache, cannot be eliminated with aspirins. Only a substantive commitment to basic economic and social change can begin the task of bringing the "culture of poverty" into the American society.

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In This Issue . . .

SAUL ALINSKY, community organization expert, attacks Stanley ARONOWITZ' last piece in Freedom North. His own work is further supported by WARREN HAGGSTROM, of the Youth Development Center at Syracuse University. ARONOWITZ responds with a discussion of the need for political ideology in community organization efforts. (pp. 8-10)

RICHARD CLOWARD, Research Director of Mobilization for Youth, and Professor of Social Work at Columbia University School of Social Work, discusses "Conflict, Power, and Community Organization." (p. 9)

STAUGHTON LYND, Professor of History at Yale University, coordinated the Freedom Schools in Mississippi during the past summer. He traces the beginnings of ideology among SNCC workers. (p. 12)

FRED POWLEDGE, civil rights Reporter for the New York Times, investigates what has been done in Northern cities since last summer's riots and concludes: Almost Nothing. (p. 5)

CHARLES SILBERMAN, editor at Fortune Magazine and author of Crisis in Black and White, attacks the "romantic notion that the Government is going to launch a revolution." The next issue of Freedom North will feature a longer article by Mr. Silberman (p. 7)

WILLIAM STRICKLAND is the executive Director of the Northern Student Movement (NSM). In this issue, he discusses the relevancy of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to the North (p. 1)

WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW, author of My People Is the Enemy, speaks to the "white people of America" and asks them to understand the explosive depths of the racial crisis. (p.3)

COVER PHOTOGRAPH by Ken Thompson.

Subscriptions are only \$2.00 per year.

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ADDRESS

FREEDOM NORTH

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a publication of the
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The Northern Student Movement (NSM) is a non-profit, tax-exempt interracial organization committed to ending the economic, political, and social inequities which have created and maintain racial ghettos in the North. NSM works to build democratic community organizations so that the deprived can use their power for change,

THE RACIAL CRISIS IN AMERICA

THE EYE OF THE HURRICANE

BY WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW

I for one am sick and tired of the racial crisis in America.

God knows how Negroes must feel, but I, as a white man, am now almost overwhelmed with the feeling that I do not want to hear anything more about it, or see anything more of it, or do anything more in it. I wish it could be somehow escaped or evaded or avoided. I wish it would end without my being any longer or any more deeply involved. I would rather escape from what now happens to this nation. Yet I am certain both in my mind and in my guts that this exhaustion will not hasten the resolution--much less reconciliation--of the racial crisis: it can only frustrate and compound it.

A MATTER OF SURVIVAL

There is no one in the land who is not now involved in the racial crisis. If there ever was an option about that, which I doubt, it has expired. The only issue that remains is how one is involved: obstinately, stupidly, irrationally, or with concern, intelligence, and compassion. On that matter, let the white people in America at last face some simple truths:

The dimensions of the Negro Revolution are such that the very survival of the nation is at issue, and, therefore, the life and livelihood of every citizen is also at stake. I suppose this nation can survive and continue to exclude from the mainstream of its political and economic life, for instance, the American Indian. Such exclusion will not disrupt politics or threaten the economy in a way quickly noticed by most citizens, however damaging such an exclusion may be for the country morally and psychologically. The exile from American society of the Indian is hardly noticed, but the segregation of 22,000,000 Negro citizens from decent housing, educational opportunity, gainful employment, political responsibility, and free access to public accommodations is bound to threaten the survival of the nation for everybody.

The Negro revolution is the eye of the hurricane, but it is not the whole storm. It is the most intense focus of contemporary social crisis but that crisis involves many other citizens: all those who are poor, all those who are sick and uncared for, all those who are old and unwanted, all those who are young and neglected, all those whose skill and labor made obsolete by automation, all those, in other words, who have either been cast off in America--all those for whom the promises of freedom and humanity and society remain unredeemed in America in the 20th century.

That the crisis is acutely dramatized in the situation of the Negro citizen does not mean that if there were no Negroes in America or if the Negroes continued to acquiesce in their own humiliation and oppression that this nation would escape the reformation that history forces upon it, much less that this nation could somehow retreat from reality in romanticism for the 19th century--such nostalgia for the past is in fact nihilism.

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It is now about ten years since the Negro Revolution has been notorious and has had organization and direction. There have been all these years of peaceful protest: sit-ins and Freedom Rides and picketing and prayer vigils and marches. In that time, thousands of citizens have been arrested, thousands have lost their jobs, thousands have suffered abuse and humiliation in the churches, in schools, in the courts, in hotels and parks and other public places, even in their own homes, in the pursuit of their rights as citizens.

The question has now seriously and urgently arisen as to whether the tactics and ethics of non-violence are vindicated in results. What does the American Negro citizen have to show for these long years of unparalleled dignity and humanity and restraint?

They have to show the decomposed remains of three boys who sought to help some citizens to register to vote.

They have to show the body of Medger Evers--rotting in its grave in Arlington National Cemetery.

They have to show the graves of the children of Birmingham.

Hundreds of citizens can show you the scars on their bodies where they have been branded by cattle prods or bruised by police clubs or bitten by dogs.

More than 40 churches and homes have been bombed and burned in the past six months in one jurisdiction alone and there is still to be a significant conviction of a single white racist crime of violence.

And there are still the children of Harlem and all the other black ghettos who every night risk being devoured by rats which infest the shacks and tenements to which their families are consigned to live.

There is token integration now in many schools and colleges and universities of the South. There is the same in the North, but that's all there is.

There is voluntarism in the churches, as well as tokenism in many businesses and public places but virtually the only unsegregated premises in the nation are those in communities with no Negro residents at all.

And the Civil Rights Bill has taken more than two months to be enacted and the Congressional handling of the matter--on both sides--seems cynical or cavalier or indifferent to the gathering peril of bloodshed and anarchy.

In other words, the ethics and tactics of non-violence have not yet yielded significant changes in the practical day-to-day lives and livelihoods of the ordinary Negro citizens, while only that sort of change can possibly sustain non-violent Negro leadership in the revolution.

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A FIRE STILL SMOULDERS

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NEGROES SAY 'NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE' TO END CAUSES
OF LAST SUMMER'S RIOTS

by Fred Powledge

It is getting cold now in the Northern cities that were racked last summer by racial rioting. A gray winter bleakness is overtaking the low-income housing projects and the ghetto tenements where thousands of Negroes revolted against the white communities and then against the police who were sent to calm them. There is sparse evidence now of the desperate hatred that filled the air on those summer nights in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and in Rochester, Paterson, Jersey City, Elizabeth, and Philadelphia. But those who have been watching the situation say the fire is still smoldering and that the white people have done little since then to extinguish it.

Those who exist within the ghetto are aware that officials in each of the riot cities have taken steps to participate in the Federal Government's newly enacted anti-poverty bill, which will soon provide \$861-500,000 for projects to help the poor. The problems of the poor are, for the most part, the problems of the Northern urban Negro.

Few of the Negroes in the riot areas who were questioned recently expressed more than passing interest in the poverty program. Many sneered when it was mentioned; they said they doubted it would amount to more than a new governmental agency, providing well-paying jobs for a handful of politicians.

LITTLE OR NOTHING DONE

Even those who professed faith in the poverty program said, when

asked what had happened since the riots, "Nothing." Not only Negroes gave this reply; some city officials agreed, privately, that little of significance had been done.

One white man, a city official who acknowledged he was a member of the white power structure, said, "Nothing's changed, which is not to say that nothing's being done. A lot is being done. A lot was being done before the riots. But what is being done is not being done on the right scale and fast enough."

When city officials speak of what is being done, they usually refer to the delegations they have sent to Washington; the poverty programs they have started to develop in their own ghetto areas, and the local councils on human relations they established long before the riots, when race relations first became an issue of concern in the North. The human relations groups have been working overtime since the riots, trying to establish communication between the races.

These examples, by and large, have not impressed the Negro leaders or the rank and file. They say they see no change in their living conditions and their employment potential, and only minute change in their ability to obtain quality public education for their children.

To one of the most candid leaders, Cecil Moore of Philadelphia, an important ingredient of last summer's rioting has not yet been

touched. Mr. Moore, in a recent interview, dismissed Philadelphia's urban renewal effort and poverty program as the creatures of "limp-wristed social workers and preachers."

'EXPLOITATION...GOES ON'

"The perpetual exploitation of the Negro, which was one of the big causes of the riots, goes on," he said. "Nothing has changed."

Negroes in the other riot cities agree that the merchants behind the newly replaced plate glass windows in the ghetto still charge more and deliver less than do their counterparts in the white sections.

One reason for Negroes' reluctance to put much faith in the cities' new projects is the way in which some of the cities responded to the riots.

In New York, emergency jobs were promised to 20,000 persons. About 1,100 actually got employment, according to the city.

In Paterson, N.J., three storefront offices were set up in the poorer sections, advertising the city's willingness to provide advice and help. At first the stores were locked. Then, when they were opened, the people who went looking for jobs were referred to the State Employment Service, which had been in Paterson all along.

POLICE RELATIONS BETTER

There is general agreement among the Negro leaders that one facet of life in the ghetto has changed for the better. The Negro's relations with the police, they say, are better than they have been in a long time.

(Reprinted with permission from The New York Times, November 7, 1964)

CLOWARD (Continued from page 7)

Only by mobilizing such influence can they challenge a society which has been content to let them become economically obsolete despite massive needs for human labor to rebuild the slums, to provide extended educational services, and medical care. Provision of the financial resources that will make possible employment on a huge scale where unemployment now exists will not be brought about except as effective pressure by these groups is developed.

There are many human casualties of our existing institutional inequalities. These people, children as well as adults, require access to remedial resources on a large scale. Only through organized influence can low-income people ensure that existing and potential remedial resources will be allocated according to need.

Finally, services will only become responsive to the needs of low-income people if pressure is brought to bear; whether we are talking of public welfare departments housing authorities, police departments, courts, schools, or medical facilities. Whatever else these institutions were established to do, they are human institutions and thus reflect the power relations of their society. To suppose that they will ever be responsive to low-income constituencies that are unorganized and thus powerless is to imagine a state of human society that has never existed and never will.

In short, the fundamental issue is one of power--how those who lack it can secure it.

....Another issue posed by some is that community organization efforts can be divisive if they produce antagonism among groups in the community. My chief difficulty with this argument is that I find it difficult to see that the interests of low-income minority people are wholly congruent with the interests of other groups in the community. To the extent that we are dealing here with issues of equity, we are in the very nature of the case confronted by conflicting interests. Failure to recognize the realities of this conflict--and that is what the reiteration of common interests is--can only result in submerging

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CONFLICT AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

By RICHARD CLOWARD
MPY Research Director

The issues of community development in the slum and ghetto transcends in importance the specific case of Mobilization for Youth. The chief element in the contemporary fabric of American life is the social and economic obsolescence of the poor. Today's poor are not needed or valued--a fact which no other group in our history has had to face.

The point is not that human needs have been filled and that human labor is no longer required. We know that substantial segments of our population live under the most deplorable conditions and that a huge amount of human labor could be employed to remedy these conditions. The bulk of the society, however, prospers and exhibits relative indifference to those who do not.

In the field of social welfare, the poor are confronted by a rather dismal situation. Huge public agencies have been created to meet their bare survival needs. It is difficult to describe this system except as a vast holding operation, devoted to providing men with the minimum conditions of existence while the society denies them social and economic justice.

This system of public services pervades and controls large segments of the lives of low-income people--their housing conditions, their levels of income, the adequacy of their medical care, and the like. Despite this critical influence in their lives, low-income people have little control over the policies of these institutions. Influenced by civic groups, tax-payer groups and political groups, these institutions are least responsive to those whose needs they were established to serve. There is, in short, a great gulf between services and their consumer constituencies.

Dislocation occurs at a time when other structures which might have mediated between low-income people and public agencies have fallen into relative disuse. Chief among these is the neighborhood based urban political machine which once effectively traded votes for governmental responsiveness.

Thus the critical issue in any discussion of community action programs is power; the critical issue is influence: the capacity of low-income people to exert pressure on their own behalf, to take some hand in the shaping of their environment.

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LET'S TALK ABOUT THE REAL WORLD
by Charles Silberman

I must attack the romantic notion that the government will organize a revolution. And that, with only some exaggeration, is what has to be done. To mobilize slum residents requires the development of a mass organization to give the slum dwellers the power they need to force change. But this organization can be created only by appealing to the self-interest of the local residents and to their resentment and distrust of the outside world, and only by demonstrating--through boycotts, rent strikes, picketing, and other so-called disruptive actions--that the use of power can change things.

To assume that this role can be played by government or financed through government funds is, it seems to me, to betray a naivete of cosmic proportions. If logic alone is not enough to demonstrate that no government will finance a "revolution" against itself or against the existing structure of society, we now have the experience of Mobilization for Youth as proof. There is no greater sign of the bankruptcy of radical thought and the impotence of the left wing than the fact that the radicals are asking government to do their job for them.

(From a paper prepared for a symposium on "Manpower Policies for Youth" sponsored by the National Committee on Employment of Youth and reprinted in The American Child, November, 1964.)

ALINSKY ATTACKS ARONOWITZ CRITIQUE

TO THE EDITOR:

My attention has been called to the references to our work by a Stanley Aronowitz in your current issue of FREEDOM NORTH. Mr. Aronowitz is suffering either from misinformation or ignorance or both as all I.A.F. projects wind up by being completely self-financed and independent of any "sponsor" (what ever he may mean by that) finances or controls.

Yes, I do believe that people from the working class can and do gain "the technical and ideological means to fathom the larger implications of specific city policies which currently affect them." I have seen this happen again and again and I have seen community leaders who did not even know where city hall was become extremely sophisticated as to the political structure, the character of policies and the pattern of power and pressures involved. I happen to have a faith in the democratic process which apparently is not shared by Mr. Aronowitz.

In a sense, I envy Mr. Aronowitz since he seems to have the specific answers ideologically and otherwise, and I confess and plead guilty to not having the possession of the dogma of truth.

Saul Alinsky, Executive Director
Industrial Areas Foundation

TO THE EDITOR:

Congratulations on the first issue of Freedom North. If it records the ideas and experience relevant to NSM organizational work, it will certainly be a continuing important document.

In response to your invitation to make specific comments, I will express doubt about a number of points made in the article by Stanley Aronowitz.

In the first place, Mobilization for Youth had not, when I was there last a few months ago, created much power with their "picket line and rent strike" approach. These are tactics, a style of action; they have little to do with whether an organization is built which is effective in relation to the lives of people in the Mobilization area. There is a wide gap between the rhetoric of some theorists in Mobilization offices and the actual building of strong organization which helps people on any scale.

In addition, the discussion of Alinsky is so

distant from the organizations with which he has been associated as to be nearly unintelligible. Apparently people usually do not make much effort to learn about organizations created by the Industrial Areas Foundation; they usually report gossip instead. For example, contrary to the suggestion by Aronowitz, many IAF organizations have started through house meetings in low income neighborhoods without ever becoming related to locally-based social structures such as churches and businesses in any formal way. Also, it is absurd to argue that Alinsky denies the practical value of theory. On the contrary, he insists that theory be practical.

It is easy to argue for a careful thinking through of the basic problems of a society. It is hardly an intellectual challenge to discover many of these problems. The alienated intellectual tends quickly to become vague after he has done some of this preliminary thinking, unable to relate his grand constructions to any practical means of securing social change. Since practical politicians ignore him, he tends to become dis-

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

I am delighted to find that Alinsky agrees that people in community organizations in poor areas can gain an ideology necessary to understand the economic and power implications of their struggles on specific issues. There are several questions, however, which remain unanswered in his reply.

How do the poor acquire ideology? Does Alinsky believe that people battling the City's Urban Renewal program understand what interests are behind the program by their own experience without suggestion from organizers? Do organizers in Alinsky-inspired Community Organizations themselves have an explanation which approaches an ideology, and connects specific issues to the nature of political and economic power?

In his reply, Alinsky only indicates that people involved in local movements gain sophistication about the realities of political power within the city. Unfortunately, he does not tell us whether any of these organizations have evolved their own political organizations to grapple with these patterns of power, using strategies beyond pressure. In other words, have IAF-initiated community movements advanced beyond specific issues to electoral forms of struggle? To what extent have alternative programs for the Community been developed and projected as political platforms?

Ideologically speaking, what does faith in the "democratic process" mean? If by this is meant some faith in the spontaneous development of political understanding and political organization, I certainly do not share this kind of faith. My experience as a trade unionist and community activist has taught me that the assumption of spontaneity flows from a misapprehension of the organizational and ideological resources available

HAGGSTROM (continued from page 8)

to the poor. What experiences of political movement do they have to lead them to the conclusion that the City is not simply "mean," but represents a certain confluence of political and economic forces?

Illusioned, leaving the field or joining a new elite intended to substitute for the one presently in power. Even should such an alternative elite assume power, it would have so little idea of how to secure social transformations (except through the kind of bureaucratic fiat which would erode popular support that it would very likely be forced to govern by mass coercion. The test for a solution to social problems is what happens in social practice, and most people with answers have no practice to which their answers can be related. Fortunately, members of the Northern Student Movement will not share this common intellectual liability.

Isn't it true that the ideology taught, even to the poor, is the deadly combination of pluralism and fatalism which conspires to teach people that there is no real collective hope for change, that each must seek his own advancement, that others are not really trustworthy?

Alinsky practices the development of broad support for social change. He theorizes in relation to this practice. Unfortunately, he has as yet very few competitors. Most of his critics have no practice to which to relate their theories which thereupon become computations in a social vacuum.

I believe that different values must be taught, not simply drawn from the people themselves. A new style of leadership must assume that the poor, no matter how alienated objectively, have a great subjective tie to the system. People need to be trained, not only on the techniques, but the goals and ideology of "people's organization" as well.

I plead guilty to the charge of possessing an ideology. Essentially I believe that reliance on the tactics of pressure are a limiting factor to the success of community organizations, even in terms of achievement of specific goals. Pressure is an educative device capable of setting the stage for more advanced political involvement.

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The transition to politics, however, does not occur accidentally. Organizers must help generalize the lessons of frustration encountered by community people when confronting the power groups they attempt to influence. The key ideological concept which aids the transition from dependency to independence is that of "class"--we need to identify enemies in terms of class, individually.

This is where the social workers and the pressure group tacticians usually apply the brakes. In fact, what most often happens is that a militant community group is brought into a "broad coalition" dominated by business, liberal, and official agencies who seek modest legislative solutions to profound social ills, while the locus of power remains intact.

I am not accusing Alinsky of lying in bed with the business community, or the city government. But he remains close to the position of contemporary liberals, i.e. none of the movements he has created have apparently chosen the political road beyond pressure.

This is not a function merely of the fact that the people themselves have not "chosen" this road after it has been presented. It may be the result of a failure to build in a strategy of political independence, into the organizing process itself. Nor is this failure really Alinsky's alone. All of us who have organized on community issues suffer from the same fault. We tend to operate on the assumptions of pluralism, no matter what we profess.

We are a long way from this kind of movement nearly everywhere, except in Mississippi where the Freedom Democratic Party has emerged as an independent political force. The MFDP represents a first step in the direction of a relevant politics in the Civil Rights Movement. Elsewhere, both organizers and community people are groping for a viable handle to political independence. In the north, the picture is unclear chiefly because the base does not yet exist for an independent political movement although attempts are being made to build one in some areas. The NSM, SDS, and SNCC projects seem to be pointing the way.

It is significant, however, that ghetto movements are seeking political relationships with each other both locally and nationally. I am not aware of Alinsky-inspired movements linking up with these movements, or for that matter with each other. The sin of parochialism still afflicts them to a large degree.

Perhaps they feel the time is not yet ripe. But, even on specific issues, contact with other movements can be beneficial. The Back of the Yards Council, for example, has not been in a position to relate its experiences with fighting Urban Renewal in the city of Chicago to Negro movements struggling on the same problem. Nor has the Back of the Yards Council been associated with the Civil Rights struggle. Perhaps Alinsky is awaiting the slow working out of the democratic process before evidences of racism are confronted within this group. But racism is an ideology and must be countered on that level before it can be dealt with.

We all have a great deal to learn from TWO, the Northwest Organization and Back of the Yards. We need to know the organizational secret which Alinsky has mastered--how to project grievances into powerful public issues. What I am saying is that community organizers need much more than he has offered this far.

In the next issue, Freedom North hopes to feature a response and article by Saul Alinsky. Freedom North welcomes letters expressing views of all persuasions.

FREEDOM SOUTH

SNCC: THE BEGINNING OF IDEOLOGY

by Staughton Lynd

Five years ago this fall C. Van Woodward published an essay entitled, "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual," directed against "the disenchantment of the intellectual with the masses" so characteristic of the Eisenhower years. Woodward called on intellectuals to maintain the tradition of Henry George, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and Upton Sinclair, writers and thinkers who had thrown themselves into the popular movement of their day. He said:

One must expect and even hope that there will be future upheavals to shock the seats of power and privilege and furnish the periodic therapy that seems necessary to the health of our democracy. No one can expect them to be any more decorous or seemly or rational than their predecessors.

"The intellectual," Woodward concluded, "must not be alienated from the sources of revolt."

Woodward's article was itself part of a tradition: the prophetic tradition of American intellectuals who have called on their fellow craftsmen to join them in radical action. Emerson had issued such a call in his "American Scholar." He said, in 1837: "Action is with the scholar subordinate, but it is essential. Without it he is not yet man. Without it thought can never ripen into truth," Emerson went on: "Only so much do I know, as I have lived. Instantly we know whose words are loaded with life, and whose not." As if anticipating the circle of students singing "We Shall Overcome," Emerson wrote:

I grasp the hands of those next to me, and take my place in the ring to suffer and to work, taught by an instinct that so shall the dumb abyss be vocal with speech.

The speech of which Emerson wrote, issuing from shared suffering and action, and articulating what is latent there, is not easy. It is all too easy to write about one's summer in Mississippi: so many have. But these reports rarely reach the level of intellectual encounter. Too often their tone is merely adulatory, and consciously or unconsciously the fun-raising purpose hovers over the words. I believe that the intellectual who fully engages himself must emerge with critical as well as positive responses, and his responsibility ends only when he has attempted to communicate these.

It is just here that inhibitions crowd in. For, to begin with, surely "the movement" is already magnificently articulate? Its leaders are themselves scholars-in-action. James Forman left graduate work in African studies to go to Fayette County, Tennessee. Robert Moses, before he went to Mississippi, had majored in philosophy and mathematics at Haverford and Harvard. The young man at the Jackson COFO

office who, late on June 21, received the telephone report that Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman were missing, is a specialist in Japanese culture. The young woman who took my place at the end of the summer as director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools had been an English instructor at the University of Washington. Now SNCC even has its own research department, headed by Jack Minnis, a candidate for the doctorate in Political Science at Tulane. SNCC offices are uniformly strewn with magazines and paperback books; the songs of the movement testify, in a different way, to its articulateness. Nor is SNCC anti-intellectual in the manner of the Russian Narodniks, who were ready to exchange Shakespeare for a pair of boots. At the Oxford orientation session which preceded the Mississippi Summer Project, Bob Moses twice drew on Camus in public speeches: once, comparing race prejudice to the plague which infects everyone; again, after the three were reported missing, to say that there was no escape from guilt, that so long as the problem existed we would all be both victim and executioner.

Such a movement would seem to leave little more to be said. And there are other inhibitions. Sometimes one hesitates to speak because one has been asked not to. Thus I attended a SNCC staff meeting just before the Summer Projects began, about which I feel free to say only that it once more affirmed the position that SNCC staff members should not carry weapons. Sometimes one hesitates to speak because the thing experienced appears to lie too deep for words. I attended a SNCC staff meeting at Oxford after the disappearance of the three which began with the song "Come By Here, Lord," verse after verse after verse with one person after another in the room taking the lead. And that is all I know to say about it.

But there are times when one hesitates to speak because one fears rejection, or because one feels that, as a temporary participant, one has no right to speak, or because (in the case of the civil rights movement, and if one is white) the privilege of speaking seems appropriately to fall to those who have suffered in silence so long. At these moments, I feel, one is actually failing in commitment: holding back a part of oneself. The point is precisely that dialogue should begin among all of us as we really are, with all our secret shames and hidden glories. The intellectual has a responsibility to take his place in the ring, but also, as Professor Woodward said, to "shape" and "try to make sense" of the movement in which he participates (these words have patronizing overtones in this context, yet is not exactly the intellectual's job to shape and make sense of experience?). If the scholar-in-action repudiates the role of participant-observer, he should at least be an observant participant. Thoreau quarrelled with the abolitionist movement until, as he put it, the memory of his country spoiled his walk; but when he did speak out, in "A Plea for Captain John Brown," he spoke the more forcefully because he spoke with the whole of himself. He who aspires to be a man for all seasons must be prepared to recognize, as More was, the season for plain speaking.

The foregoing makes a pretentious preface to some jottings from a scholar's summer notebook: and yet it is the one thing I want most to say. There is now going on within SNCC, and within the civil rights movement generally, a fascinating intellectual ferment. The need for broader alliances, uniting white and black, North and South, is conceded on all sides. But some talk of a Populist alliance between Negroes and labor, while others suspect the Administration of using the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to domesticate SNCC. There are those who think the Freedom Democratic Party can compel Democratic re-alignment and that every effort should be bent toward acceptance

by the 1968 Democratic Party Convention. There are those, on the other hand, who believe that the FDP must grow into a third party. Many speak of appealing to the United Nations, even of moving to Africa. Others think the movement should keep clear of all suspect and subversive causes. Many confess that they are not prepared to die for a hamburger and the vote, and see no answer for the Negro's problem but socialism. Bob Moses, in contrast, insists that his concern is "limited gains," and Jim Forman agrees with his former teacher, St. Clair Drake, that the movement should seek first the political kingdom.

This dialogue is going on among full-time workers ordinarily too overwhelmed by tomorrow's meeting to give their minds to the issues. Moreover, there is in SNCC - along with the paperbacks, and the bull-sessions, and the hostile-yet-nostalgic ambivalence towards higher education - a mystique of action which forever interrupts the process of thinking ahead. What is in the making in the movement is simply a long-run plan, a strategy. But talk of this sort tends to get labeled "ideology." And so the ideology which, willy-nilly, is beginning, wears the end of ideology as a mask; and the movement backs into the future with its eyes closed.

What tends to be forgotten, it seems to me, is that an ideology is an articulated hope. Movements need hope. Newcomers to Mississippi this summer were astonished that northern whites were so readily accepted as teachers in the Freedom Schools, and that Negro youngsters in Mississippi showed so little bitterness and hate. Howard Zinn, discussing the problem with me, conjectured that the reason is that Southern Negro youngsters still have hope that the American dream will come true for them,

whereas children growing up in the Northern ghettos see nothing ahead. I am inclined to go one step further, and to argue that violence and black nationalism - whether they express themselves in Harlem or among the SNCC staff - are symptoms of despair about the future. Many, if not most, SNCC staff whom I know at all well believe with a part of their minds that the American dream can be realized, and moreover recognize the value of this belief from the standpoint of public relations; yet with another part of themselves despair, feeling that so deeply prejudiced a society as ours can never create a permeating atmosphere of equality.

Thus the penalty for non-ideological thinking is an undercurrent of despair; a tendency to restrict the focus of vision to the next, and the next, and the next tactical action; and a failure to make contact with groups who might be partners in a more broadly-conceived movement. From one standpoint this can be viewed as a commendable pragmatism, a creative refusal to be drawn into stale political bickerings. But it can also be viewed as a withdrawal from reality: as a refusal to face such questions as: how can you win power in Mississippi as Negroes move North? Can you get freedom if you don't get jobs also? Perhaps the fact that the Freedom Democratic Party paid attention to being seated and so little to program reflected not just strategy, but the difficulty SNCC itself experiences in facing programmatic problems. At a memorial service for Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman in Neshoba County, where they were killed, Bob Moses condemned America's action in bombing North Vietnam: he said the lesson of the deaths was that men must stop killing. Yet at Atlantic City Moses' party pledged allegiance to the man who ordered the bombing. The dilemma of victim and executioner is literal and cruel. But must it not be faced?

A CRISIS IN TACTICS
(-continued from page 4)

The kind of social change which has impact upon the practical lives of the multitudes of Negro citizens has not been launched by these years of peaceful protest, nor is there much evidence that that kind of change has either bothered the conscience or entered the contemplation of white citizens. And, thus, the spirit of revenge is loose to prey upon the frustration and despair which American Negroes have inherited from three centuries of slavery and segregation. The mood becomes more militant and aggressive and explosive as each moment passes. The passion is that it is better not to live than to be a Negro in American society --either in the South or the North--so what is there to be lost by turning to violent assault upon white society and white property and white people.

The watershed of the tactics of peaceful protest was reached in the March on Washington. In the months that followed, riots have erupted in a dozen cities, brushfires of violence have scorched scores more: white merchants in the ghettos live in fear of their own customers; hate and the alleged futility of non-violence is preached every night from the streetcorners of the slums; the police become a virtual occupation army in Negro neighborhoods.

There probably was a time--when enactment of the Civil Rights Bill would have promised that the revolution remain nonviolent. Prompt passage of the Bill, following the March on Washington, would have demonstrated that the ethics and tactics of non-violence can secure tangible results. But that advantage of the Bill was dissipated by filibuster, compromise, and the acute myopia from which the Senate manifestly suffers. But if the Senate would not promptly act even for that cause, I had hoped the Senate would act to forestall the anarchy and bloodletting that looms ahead. This cynical performance which took place in the Senate chamber has invited a day of wrath for all of us--black and white men--in the nation.

As the day of wrath begins, let it be realized that the real recalcitrant in the American racial crisis is not the so-called die-hard segregationist of the South--least of all is it the pathological segregationist whose rationality has been destroyed by racism. Let neither the die-hard or the pathological segregationists have any comfort: they are not either so ~~many~~ nor so important. The real recalcitrants--who are very many and very important--are the nice, white liberals in the North and South. They include multitudes of church members. They are respectable, sane, sincere, benevolent, earnest folk. They do not despise or hate Negroes, but they also do not know that paternalism and condescension are forms of alienation as much as enmity.

On the day of wrath, as things stand now, the prospect is not reconciliation: the prospect is that Negro violence will be met by overwhelming counterviolence by the police--perhaps the Army--which the white establishment of America has at its command. If that day comes the frightful peril for all Americans is that this nation will take an irrevocable step into a police state--and the possibility of freedom for all citizens (which is the true aspiration of this revolution) will be aborted. That is the most ominous danger that the nation confronts.

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CLOWARD (Continued from page 6)

the interests of the weakest and most inarticulate elements of the community. Conflict, providing it is contained within reasonable and lawful limits, may have its devious consequences, but it is also the chief source of vitality in a democracy....It is basic for people who are potentially capable of struggling to secure their just place in the society.

(This article is excerpted from a larger paper presented to a forum for social workers held in New York in late November.)

The poor must become involved in this process of change. It is they who are oppressed and must end their oppression. As organizers, we must help by encouraging the development of political forms through which the poor can challenge and change those institutions which now so limit their lives. This is the task to which NSM, SDS, and SNCC, in their own ways, have committed themselves. This is really what the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is all about.

The MFDP practices the principle that people -- ordinary people -- have the capacity to make their own decisions about what they want and need. And it is because the Freedom Party jealously guards its independence and autonomy, and because it insists on the right to make its own decisions, that it remains the unique political force that it is. That principle was tested in Atlantic City, where various "allies" and "friends" sought to make decisions for the Freedom Delegates. That principle is being tested again in the MFDP's current Congressional Challenge. The MFDP refuses to be manipulated and maneuvered by any "coalition" which insists on the right to decide initiatives they should take. Thus, the MFDP Challenge deserves support not only because it is politically necessary and morally right, but because it is an assertion of a "new politics:" a people-centered and supported politics of social change.

The MFDP remains in many ways a model for civil rights activists throughout the country. The Freedom Democratic Clubs in Chicago are an attempt to root this new issue-oriented politics in the North. Whether that attempt succeeds or fails, it is an indication of the direction which we are assuming. NSM no longer sees its community organization efforts as abstract campaigns to increase participation in decision-making. Rather, our efforts now are becoming increasingly political -- political in a new sense. We are seeking to show people that their activism requires a political content and that demands which reflect real needs must confront the political structure.

We are no longer a naive group of college students anxious to simply eliminate racial discrimination. Our own work has brought us beyond that point. Today, the community workers in NSM hope to play a broader part in the transformation of this entire society.

(Advertisement)

NEW POLITICS SYMPOSIUM:

"WHAT POLICY FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT?"

SPEAKERS:

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CORE

Dr. John Morsell
NAACP

Marion Barry
SNCC

Daniel Watts
Liberator

Norman Thomas, MODERATOR

Friday, January 29,
8:30 P.M.
Admission: \$1.00

IAM Hall
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New York City

The Campus Responds To The Challenge

by Samuel Leiken

---N.S.M. Campus Director

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's Challenge to the right of Mississippi's Congressional delegation to be seated has inspired students throughout the North. In response to a request from the Freedom Democrats the Northern Student Movement, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee have put out a call to the northern student community. The response has been enthusiastic. Students have been organizing both on the campus and in the communities which surround it. Petitions, rallies, and fund-raising campaigns have been mounted throughout the Northeast. But more importantly, we have realized the necessity for political action. The power of the southern oligarchy to quash democracy within their own states and to block social legislation vital to the solution of national problems is being challenged with the help of students who realize that the basic changes we need will not come about unless the powerless are organized.

The challenge portends a new stage in the struggle, both for students as well as the movement itself. We have come to recognize that the destruction of the signs and symbols of segregation is not a solution to the pervasive problems of poverty and powerlessness, but only a beginning. We must determine what place the Negro will have in our society. Our struggle is for human rights--the right of every man to have a voice in decisions about his life, as well as the right to live in a society where men are free to be men.

We have seen that unless all men in this country are a real part of the democratic process there will be no change. Unless our voice is heard about such fundamental national problems as automation, unemployment education, the military budget, and the entire American policy toward the emerging nations, the contradictions we see today will become more deeply entrenched. Our voice has been muted precisely because we did not understand that our activity must be directed towards involving people in the decision making processes rather than petitioning the powers that be for gratuities.

The new direction we have taken clearly indicates that students will play a decisive role in the political organization not only of the Negro but also of the white community. The Challenge has shown us that in order to gain power we must focus on a dual approach to civil rights. The white community is equally important to the creation of a democratic society as is the black.

As the Challenge continues students will be in the field building a movement to demand equal treatment for all from the legislative and executive branch of the government. We shall demand that the Justice Department protect investigators in Mississippi, and we shall demand that The Congress enforce the Constitution. This activity will lead to the establishment of permanent means through which the disenfranchised can express their power. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer said, "If you don't have a voice, you don't really have anything." We are just beginning to open our mouths.

NSM CONFERENCE HEARS SPEAKERS DEMAND CHANGE

by Rita Dershowitz

NEW YORK (CPS)-- A new direction for the student civil rights movement which would force a "radical reconstruction of American society" took form at an intercollegiate conference sponsored by the Northern Student Movement (NSM), Oct. 28-Nov. 1.

"The function of the movement," Stanley Aronowitz, trade-union organizer described a self-cle by which people can speak for themselves, because neither the traditional liberal ideology nor the Goldwater alternative speaks for us," William Strickland, executive director of NSM declared,

Political organization of the ghetto developed the theme of the conference and possibly as the direction of future civil rights activities. Charles Silberman, keynote speaker and author of Crisis in Black and White charged that "Negroes have been unable to take their rightful place in American society because of a power imbalance. The American creed was never intended to include Negroes," he added.

Silberman defined the present imbalance as resting on the patronizing, condescending relation of the white man to the Negro and the goal of the protest movement as a restructuring of Negro-white relationships. When forced to negotiate with Negroes, whites will begin to see Negroes as equals, as men," he said.

Silberman said that in the process of gaining political power the Negro is "no longer addressing himself to white prejudices, he is not trying to change minds and hearts, but simply actions."

"Using tactics of appeasement and distribution of some power in a bargain situation, such as the poverty program, the power elite is not distributing resources; we have to regain the power to make decisions rather than just bargain for an influence in the decision-making process," he declared.

Aronowitz saw the mobilization of poor communities into an alternative political movement as the vehicle for gaining power. "It is a question of developing class consciousness on specific self-interest issues: urban renewal, housing, poverty, education," he remarked.

Both NSM and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) have developed community action projects designed to organize ghetto inhabitants into political pressure groups. Tom Hayden, an organizer of the SDS project in Newark, New Jersey noted a renewal of self-confidence.

Charles Turner, leader of the NSM Hartford project, called for the creation of ghetto constituency, a base of power from which to confront political leaders and a political structure.

NSM NEWS NOTES (CONT.)

SHOTS CRACK OFFICE WINDOW
DETROIT, Nov. 14---Three shots were fired, Mississippi style, through the windows of the Adult Community Movement for Equality (ACME) at 9211 Kercheval some time last night.

The broken windows were discovered by Wilbert McClendon, co-chairman of the organization, when he opened the office at noon today. Police were called and declared that the windows were broken by slingshot fire.

McClendon later discovered a bullet, apparently from a high powered rifle, on the floor of the rear of the storefront office. Another bullet is apparently lodged in a wall. Police were called again.

It was the third such incident since the office was opened three months ago. Cause of damage done in the two previous incidents is undetermined. Police guaranteed protection after the first two incidents, both in September.

ACME is a relatively new civil rights organization formed by east side Negro residents to gain power for east side Negroes. It is the only civil rights organization in operation on the east side.

NSM DEMANDS PRESIDENT FIRE HOOVER OR APOLOGIZE

NEW YORK: Nov. 19--William Strickland, executive director of the Northern Student Movement (NSM) wired President Lyndon Johnson a demand to either fire FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover or order him to apologize for his "slandering allegations" against Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The civil rights student leader warned against "accentuating the belief that the police

are disdainful of Negro Rights."

His telegram read:

We urge an immediate repudiation of Mr. Hoover's slanderous allegations against Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Such behavior calls into question the attitude of the police toward Negro-Americans, and accentuates the belief that the police are disdainful of Negro Rights. We ask that Mr. Hoover be discharged and that a public apology to Dr. King be forthcoming immediately.

ARREST 43 IN DETROIT

DETROIT, Nov. 29

Forty-three people, most of them members of ACME, were arrested early this morning. They were held for more than ten hours and released without charges filed against them. Police alleged when they made the arrests that the group was frequenting a "blind pig." In fact, those arrested were attending a party in a private home for ACME members and their friends.

The incident represents the latest in a series of harassments of the organization and its members by the police force, particularly by police from the fifth precinct, where the ACME office is located.

Wilbert McClendon, co-chairman of the organization and one of those arrested, said, "It is obvious that they were only trying to intimidate us. No laws were being broken. The police did not have a warrant to enter the house in the first place. They also had no warrant for the arrest of any of the persons involved."

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