FOIPA COVER SHEET

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

NEW LEFT

ALBANY DIVISION

100-449698-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOTICE

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4/8/71

SAC, Albany

1 - Mr. J.J. Casper
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. W.M. Felt
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

Director, FBI (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT
(COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)

ReBulet 5/10/68.

Referenced letter instructed that each office submit to the Bureau every 90 days a status letter commenting on pending and potential counterintelligence action and on tangible results achieved under this program. Effective immediately, these 90-day status letters will no longer be required and should be discontinued. You must, however, continue aggressive and imaginative participation in this program and assure that we take full advantage of opportunities for counterintelligence. Specific Bureau approval will continue to be required for every counterintelligence action contemplated.

The Bureau will closely follow your efforts and accomplishments in this vital area.

100-449698-1-1

REC 17

EX 101

2 - All Offices

12 APR 13 1971

HM:sac
(12)

NOTE:

See memorandum [redacted] to [redacted] dated 4/6/71, captioned as above and prepared by HM:sac/[redacted]

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 2
APR 9 1971
FBI

54 APR 19 1971

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-4[illegible])

DATE: [illegible]

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO
NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated 12/22/70.

The following summarizes the captioned program as of the present time within the Albany Division:

1. [illegible]

Currently, within the Albany Division, the New Left Activity is at a minimum, and consequently, the opportunity for counterintelligence action is equally low. As previously indicated, speakers and activities and their financing was a topic of consideration but this, too, has worn off considerably and offers little in the way of counterintelligence consideration. Attention will be continuously directed to this program in an effort to develop a suitable form of counterintelligence action.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

There is no pending counterintelligence action in this Division at the present time in view of the very limited New Left activity and opportunity for such action.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Currently, within the Albany Division, there are no tangible results to be reported attributed to this program.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany
FJW:kar
(4)

REC-7 [illegible] 16

[illegible] FEB [illegible] 1971

NEW LEFT

62 MAR 5 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 12/22/70

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO
NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau, 10/30/70.

The following summarizes the captioned program at the present time within the Albany Division:

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

Per referenced communication, Albany is closely following the various programs at the several colleges and universities within this territory in order to determine the speakers and activities held, and the financing thereof. It is contemplated that should student funds be used which appears to be contrary to the current ruling on the use of these funds, a suggestion will be made to the Bureau to institute appropriate action designed to embarrass the organization and/or institution involved and thus preclude future activity of this type.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

At the present time, there is little or no New Left activity within the Albany Division and therefore, the potential for counterintelligence at this time is small. There is no pending counterintelligence action in this Division.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

EX REC-10

There are no tangible results to report at this time, which fact is attributable to the almost complete lack of New Left activity within this Division. Investigative personnel

CC: 2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany

FJW:pas
(4)

22 DEC 28 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

have been continually advised and will remain alert to the importance of this program.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/30/70

FROM : SAC, Albany (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO
NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated 8/14/70 and Albany letter to Bureau dated 9/14/70.

The following summarizes the captioned program at the present time within the Albany Division.

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

In referenced letter the Bureau was advised of the then pending legal action against the University of New York at Albany regarding the use of student funds in support of the student strike activities in the spring of 1970. This court action has terminated and at the present time the Board of Trustees for the University will need to approve the expenditures of these funds and it will no longer be entirely a student function as to their use.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

Currently within the Albany Division there is very little New Left activity and therefore the potential for counterintelligence at this time is small. There is no pending counterintelligence action in this Division at the current time.

EX-111

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

REC-52

There are no tangible results to report at this time, however, this matter is receiving continued attention and Agent personnel in the Albany Division are continually reminded of the importance of this program.

15 NOV 3 1970

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Albany
FJW:pak

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 8/14/70

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated, 6/30/70.

The following summarizes the captioned program at the present time within the Albany Division:

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

In referenced letter the Bureau was advised that State University of New York at Albany was involved in legal action whereby several students were contesting the use of student activity funds to support and perpetuate the student strike activities. It was determined on 8/12/70, that an injunction had been issued staying the use of student funds for this purpose and a hearing is scheduled to be held for a final determination in this matter on 8/14/70. This will be closely followed and if a counterintelligence potential is observed relative to this, it will be suggested to the Bureau.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

At the present time, there is no New Left activity in the Albany Division, and with the exception of the aforementioned legal proceedings, there appears to be no potential for counterintelligence at this time. It is felt that anonymous letters to the local newspaper could possibly be in order if the students pressing the action against the University are not successful.

2- Bureau (RM)
2- Albany
FJW:lew
(4)

REC 38
EX-105

15 AUG 17 1970

INT. SEC.

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3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no tangible results to report at this time. However, this matter is continually brought to the attention of investigative personnel of this office in an effort to foment constructive thought in this particular regard.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 6/30/70

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau, 4/30/70.

The following summarizes the captioned progam at present within the Albany Division:

1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

As set forth in referenced letter to Bureau, financial support for New Left groups within the Albany Division was a matter of considerable concern and a potential target for counterintelligence work. Since last reported it should be noted that a civil suit has been brought against the State University of New York at Albany by individual students, wherein it is alleged that student funds were misused but allowed to be spent for perpetuation of the student strike activities at the university during the months of 5/70. It is further alleged that the university was remiss in allowing funds to be channeled for this particular type activity. The matter received considerable local publicity and the suit, itself, received considerable support in this area.

This matter will be closely followed and if a counterintelligence potential is noted it will be brought to the attention of the Bureau, and recommendations made for implementation of the program at this time.

2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

It is felt that the aforementioned legal action in the Albany area may well present a counterintelligence potential and it will be followed with this in mind. With the school recess for the summer months activity on the New

REC-56 100-449698-1-1

2- Bureau (RM) EX-117
2- Albany
FJW:dap
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57 JUL 8 1970

RESEARCH SECTION

5 JUL 15 1970

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Left front is at a low ebb. Opportunities for counter-intelligence work at this time are believed to be minimal.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no tangible results to report at this time, however, every effort will be made to develop a purposeful counterintelligence program within this division.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

DATE: 4/30/70

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated, 2/26/70.

The following summarizes the captioned program at present within the Albany Division:

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

The source of financial support for the SDS and other New Left groups within the Albany Division is a matter currently under investigation as a potential target for counterintelligence work. In recent weeks it has been determined that funds for speakers from the Chicago Seven Conspiracy Trial have been coming from the Student Government of various universities as a result of a vote by the members of the Student Government. University officials are well aware of this, as are the families of students attending these universities. There currently is controversy as to the expenditure of student activity funds for such speakers, and it is believed that additional pressure through a letter writing campaign from interested tax payers might be useful in discontinuing this practice.

It should be noted that SDS activities in the Albany Division have been limited in recent weeks. Perhaps, the most classic example of this is at Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, where a former strong SDS group has become badly factionalized and relatively inactive.

2- Bureau (FM)
2- Albany
FJW:lew
(4)

REC 25

16 MAY 6 1970

RESEARCH SECTION

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

It is felt that as much bad publicity and development of public sentiment with respect to New Left activities especially in view of the recent bombings resulting in loss of life and great property damage, would be of benefit.

3. Tangible Results

At this time, there are no tangible results to report, however, it is hoped implementation of a letter writing campaign will be authorized by the Bureau.

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MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/26/70

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Bureau, 12/11/69.

The following summarizes the captioned program at present within the Albany Division:

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

Efforts continue to develop information of pertinence regarding financial support of SDS members at the local colleges and universities in order to bring their attention to those funding them. To date no instances have been developed.

SDS activities have centered in Ithaca, N.Y., and in particular at Cornell University. At this school, the SDS is badly factionalized and in recent weeks has shown very little activity. With the trial of the Chicago Seven, local newspapers and television have given coverage to the New Left and SDS and have presented stories of the factionalism as well as the individuals involved in the organization. Continuous presentation of the accounts regarding the trial and the individuals being tried with special emphasis on their complete disrespect for law and order and their

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany
FJW:gab
(4)

REC 9

2 MAR 2 1970

EX-114

RESEARCH SECTION

MAR 9 1970

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militant activity during their trial has helped to show them in their true light and the organization they represent as well. It is felt that the news coverage has been positive with respect to the adverse effect it has had on SDS.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

In view of the inactivity of both SDS and the BPP within the Albany Division, and the apparent disenchantment with these organizations of the public in general, it is felt that further publicity of a national nature regarding the leaders and their attitudes and background can be of great value to further widen the rift and promote disrespect and dissension in the rank and file.

3. Tangible Results

There are no tangible results to report at this time.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 12/11/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

The following information is submitted concerning the status of this program within this division:

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

Bureau airtel, 9/8/69, instructed that appropriate informants should be selected in both SDS and the BPP for the purpose of widening the rift that has developed between these organizations. Due to the fact that the BPP has only limited activity within this division with this being in Albany, New York, there were no appropriate informants available for this purpose.

Continuing efforts have been made to develop information relative to active SDS members who might have state scholarships so that this information could be brought to the attention of state authorities; however, no instances of this have been developed.

The factional disputes within SDS, as far as this division is concerned, have centered in SDS at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, where four factions have developed. The local press has devoted several articles to such factionalism. Because of this divisive situation, Cornell SDS has not been as active this school year as in the past, and it is believed that emphasizing this factional split quite probably can do as much to weaken SDS as any other action.

2- Bureau (RM) REC-70
2- Albany
PFM:lew
(4)

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2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

It is believed that extensive publicity should be given to the factionalism within SDS. With this in mind, it is suggested that the Bureau prepare material concerning this factionalism so that this material can be furnished on a selective and discreet basis to press contacts within this division.

3. Tangible Results

There are no tangible results to report at this time.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 8/26/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 8/20/69.

Due to the lack of Black Panther Party activity within this Division and of any instances of BPP - SDS alliances, there does not appear to be any suggested counter-intelligence measures available to exploit the break in relationships between the BPP and the SDS.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany
PFM:ad
(4)

REC-23

AUG 27 1969

INT. SEC.

54 SEP 1 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 8/18/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

The following information is submitted concerning the status of this program in this field division:

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

Efforts have been made to develop substantial information, which would tie in student activists with narcotics use and sale so that such activity could be used to discredit the parties involved; however, no subjects of active investigation or interest have been arrested in any of the recent narcotic raids in this division.

Efforts have also been made to determine if any of the leading student activists are in receipt of state scholarships so that this information could be made available to appropriate authorities. It has been found, however, that in most schools this scholarship information is no longer available for release, and, to date, no instances of scholarship aid to these students have been developed.

With the factional dispute that has developed within SDS, every effort will be made to take advantage of the relationships that have developed between the National Office faction and the PLP faction. In this regard, by letter dated 6/26/69, Albany brought to the attention of the Bureau the June, 1969, issue of "The Campaigner", a publication of the National Caucus of the SDS Labor Committee, which contained an editorial that was severely critical of the role of SDS in fomenting

2 - Bureau
2 - Albany
PFM:nts
(4)

REC 70
ST-113
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1 AUG 28 1969

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students riots and the destruction of university properties. It was suggested that this material be made available by the Bureau to national news media sources.

Several SDS members from this area were arrested by the Cameron County Sheriff's Office, Brownsville, Texas, on 4/1/69, at South Padre Island for swimming in the nude, after having attended the SDS National Council meeting in Austin. It was hoped that the details of this arrest could possibly result in the embarrassment of, not only the subjects involved, but also SDS itself. However, local newspapers carried accounts of these arrests with no apparent consternation of any of those involved.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

There is no specific potential action pending at this time.

3. Tangible Results

It is believed that the national publicity that has been given to SDS, such as SDS plans to infiltrate labor this summer, the factional dispute that evolved in the National Convention in June, and facts that depict SDS as an anarchistic and revolutionary organization, has been successful in awakening the American public to the dangers presented to our democratic institutions by this group, and it would seem that continued efforts to keep the public informed can serve as a strong counterintelligence measure.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 6/26/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

Confidential

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed herewith for review by the Bureau is the Volume II, #2 (June, 1969) issue of "The Campaigner", a publication of the National Caucus of the SDS Labor Committees.

The attention of the Bureau is directed to the editorial entitled "From Resistance to Impotence". It will be noted that this editorial is severely critical of the role of SDS in the fomenting of student riots and the destruction of university properties. This self criticism of SDS by an integral part of this organization is quite surprising and it is believed that this editorial could be used as a counterintelligence measure by making it available by the Bureau to national news sources.

For the additional information of the Bureau, this publication was furnished to this office on 6/12/69, by Albany [redacted] at which time he advised that several hundred issues were being printed by the Glad Day Press, Ithaca, N. Y., at the request of the SDS Labor Committee in Philadelphia. The Glad Day Press is located at 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, N. Y., which address is commonly known as The Office and which serves as an office for Cornell SDS as well as other local peace and protest groups.

(2) - Bureau (Enc. ENCLOSURE (RM))
2 - Albany
PFM:lmd
(4)

REC-86

5 JUN 27 1969

Classified by 9325
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification indefinite

79 JUL 2 - 1969

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L. The Third Stage of Imperialism, c/o Campaigner.

Karl. Capital, vol. III, parts 1, 3, 5.

s should not confine themselves to reading volume I of . Vol. III was written first, setting forth Marx's prin- nclusions. Much of what would appear to be empiri- vol. II and especially in Vol. I is actually a teaching whereby Marx tries to lead the empiricist reader to s-for-itself doctrine as set forth in Vol. III.

_____. Critique of Political Economy, Preface.

_____, and Engels. The German Ideology, "Feuerbach" "Thesis on Feuerbach."

s, Jacob. "Spurious Capital Formation," Science and ety, 1965.

CAMPAIGNER PUBLICATIONS

THE CAMPAIGNER

ining what he conceives to be his own interests.

nder conditions of radicalization the ruling class has d to effectively buy off each of these swinish separate s in society with the customary rations of concessions. in even traditional types of concessions, working people ompelled to fight not only employers as employers, but lso compelled to fight against anti-labor laws, state tax- poli-ies, and the repressive force with which state and oyers support anti-labor laws and tax oppression. Once ypical white trade union, oppressed minority group, ent group (and so forth) finds itself opposing the power of tate in even day-to-day struggles, it is compelled to d crushing defeat by seeking the broadest possible allian- with other workers, other oppressed groups, other stu- s (and so forth).

The very urgency of these alliances -- as the alternative efeat -- compels working people and other groups to begin art with their habitual swinish outlooks. In order to win l battles, they are compelled to redefine their local ands in a way which also meets the immediate interests of r actual or hoped-for allies.

It is this process of alliances which defines what we have ed the mass strike process, and which provides the social is for the emergence of socialist consciousness or class- -itself consciousness among those involved in the organized s struggles.

Actually, the social content of transitional program is more damental than the economic content. Even with the best nomic theory and solutions, socialist program would lead y to a kind of technologically-oriented sectarian elitism, ess it were founded on the perspective of subordinating de unions, community organizations and other parochial titutions of working people to mass alliances along class- -itself lines.

It is parochialist organization, such as trade-union ideology, community-control ideology, black separatist ideology, which foster various forms of pro-capitalist ideology among working people. Just as simple trade-union ideology leads the AFL-CIO into the Democratic Party and as black separatism has already led toward black capitalist frauds. To create a socialist movement, to create socialist consciousness, demands above all the replacement of the hegemony of local trade unions, community groups, etc. by mass political alliances of trade unionists, militant community groups, students, and so forth. This does not mean to destroy trade unions, community groups, etc, but to subordinate them to a unifying, political class organization.

That is why revolutionaries are opposed to such ultimately pro-capitalist slogans and perspectives as 'community control' and local 'workers' control.'

In sum, then, a transitional program fulfils the following qualifications. It is, first of all, mainly addressed to pre-revolutionary periods, to periods of radicalization and of conditions which objectively determine continuing radicalized struggles. Secondly, it is aimed at bringing about alliances of previously fragmented local groups of trade unionists and their potential social allies. It accomplishes this because it includes economic proposals which are actual, practicable solutions to the historic tasks of socialist power, and are also, in their approximate form, the correct basis for immediate demands in day-to-day struggles of class common-struggle alliances.

Bibliography

Magdoff, H. Problems of U.S. Capitalism, Radical Education Project, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Melman, S. Our Depicted Society, Dell:N.Y., 1965.

The above two works contain valuable statistical information confirming the assertion of a crisis of underproduction and industrial obsolescence.

focus of most day-to-day campaigns.

means that the demands raised by each such struggle erally guarantee defeat from the start unless they in- ecific proposals to raise specific sums from a speci- ion of the income of the ruling class. Shall we demand ful investments be taxed at the same rates as useless ents like war production or real-estate speculation? we are fools, we concentrate our demands on appro- the incomes from what we regard as the least useful ally parasitical forms of investment. What we are day-to-day struggles is, at the very least, a defense xisting incomes, political rights and so forth of working and their allies. What we count as a gain is some con- won from the capitalists in the direction of socialist trialization.

sum, the economic side of socialist program is not just mum program, is not a blueprint for what we plan to do e get state power. Socialist reindustrialization is a poli- erning the demands we introduce to every day-to-day le.

call such economic programs transitional because, conditions of capitalist economic, political and social , they represent a direct connection between the day-to- mpaign and the establishment of socialist power. The ds we propose as practical goals of day-to-day efforts step toward the program of socialist reindustrialization end to institute from the vantage-point of political power. day-to-day struggle is conducted in this way, then the ience of those struggles fully prepares the working people eir allies to approach the tasks of state power with an standing of what they intend to do with that state power.

owever, a transitional program is not just economic.

'Socialist consciousness,' a prerequisite for socialist revolution, is absolutely not represented by a worker 'mad enough' to take his local plant away from the boss. Socialist consciousness is, in fact, impossible within the narrow self-interest sphere of demands raised by a local trade union or black cultural nationalist group.

The slovenly practice among 'socialist' sects of equating working-class consciousness with socialist consciousness is licensed by astonishing ignorance in these circles of Marx's two definitions of the working class. One of Marx's definitions is more or less strictly economic, and limits the working class to what we would casually identify as productive 'blue-collar' workers. Marx's second definition defines the working class politically; the strictly defined productive workers, other wage-earners and their allies, organized politically as a class. The first is identified by Marxists as the class in itself; the second as the class for itself.

Socialist consciousness is a synonym for class-for-itself consciousness. A worker with socialist consciousness, for example, is one who regards his membership in a trade union as a matter of strictly secondary importance. A worker with socialist consciousness is one who gives his primary personal loyalty to a political organization which represents not only members of other trade unions, but unorganized workers generally, oppressed minorities, radicalized students, and so forth.

Under normal conditions of capitalist political and social stability, the typical worker, the typical oppressed person, the typical students behaves like a swine and thinks like a swine -- with our apologies to honest four-legged swine. He is preoccupied with the petty interests of the special-interest groups to which he belongs. He lacks an active sense of his social dependency on the useful contributions of other groups of non-capitalists in his society; he does not relate to other groups

olutely clear the distinction between socialist transi-
gram and liberal programs for 'redistribution of the
vulgar socialist notions that the workers must simply
heir bosses' profits.) The socialist task is to in-
rmendously the production of real wealth under the
and control of the working class as a whole... not to
ate the existing poverty.

nding the production of wealth in the US-world economy
step process: expansion of production of means of pro-
Marx's Department I) must occur in order to expand
ntly the production of consumer goods, to raise the
of living of the American and world population.

war production sector alone can yield enough plant and
nt each year (of the most advanced type) to provide pro-
employment for between 4 to 6 million people. By mak-
of the productive potential of our unemployed and mis-
d, by eliminating deadend jobs (like rack-pushing in
York City garment center), and by more than halving
ber and proportion of persons employed in paper-shuf-
day, we have in the US alone a very large reserve of
available to be shifted from backward, obsolete and
employment into modern productive jobs. Further-
the effect of accelerated applied industrial technology
nually release from 5 to 10% or more of the population
resent jobs (through labor-saving effects) to fill the new
n jobs opened up by continued industrial expansion.
other areas of presently wasted capacity and resources
same way, a 20-25% annual rate of real economic growth
onservative estimate.

oreover, in this way — and in no other way — can the
ial oppression of impoverished Americans and the griev-
ants of the semicolonial billions be remedied. Any so-
t economic program but socialist reindustrialization is
usly pure bunk.

... ture some of our critics will interpolate

mand.'" Nonsense! It is a program for immediate struggle;
it is a policy which properly governs the kinds of material
and related demands which ought to be advanced in every day-
to-day struggle.

The everyday problems of life which are radicalizing all
layers of the population today (although in different ways) in-
clude a lack of housing, a lack of educational opportunities,
a lack of decently-paid jobs, and the oppressive combined
weight of inflation, sales taxes and rising wage taxes on the
real incomes of ordinary working people and poor people.
Recently, this list of complaints has been increased by a sharp
budgetary crisis at every level of government finance in the
US. Welfare is being cut back, government services generally
are being cut back, which taxes — despite these cutbacks —
spiral. Meanwhile, in the face of all these material shortages
and oppressions, in the face of the resort of governments and
employers to escalating anti-labor and other political repres-
sions, we have immediate shortages which government bureau-
crats have estimated to be in the range of $1.5 trillions!

The Tax Question

"Where is the money to come from?" In every struggle of
every day and every 'constituency,' the same cry arises. In
many cases, the traditional answer of the trade unionist, "From
the bosses," suffices. However, unlike any previous period of
mass radicalization, today's US capitalist economy revolves
on a statist financial axis. The falsely-represented 'internal
self-financing power' of large corporations depends almost
entirely on direct governmental spending. The main axis of
investment and financial markets is the government debt and
the flow of government funds. Under these conditions, the tax
question becomes of center of everyday struggles of the people.
Three alternatives are posed: necessary programs must either
be cut back, be financed by taxing wages, or be financed by
taxing the revenues of banks, real estate interests and other
corporations. A class line on taxation is today the necessary

derstood) by the world communist movement that arose
e revolution.

Trotsky continues the development of transitional
after 1923, especially in his pamphlet Germany --
xt? This writing, not the 1938 "Death Agony of Capi-
document, must be regarded as Trotsky's first and
tensive elaboration of his development of 'transitional
mmatic method.' Trotsky saw the key to the German
n in a political program which would unite the working
nd its allies in mass action across its economic (em-
vs. unemployed and political (social-democratic vs.
nist) lines. Hence the interp netration of demands re-
g production and consumption, and for expansion of em-
nt and increased real wages. He showed that the culmi-
of united-front program was a plan for economic recon-
on, and that the soviet was 'the highest form of the united

fortunately, the programmatic prescriptions in the
h Agony" pamphlet have been substituted by Trotsky's
ican followers for the method itself. Thus there are two
tant distinctions to be made between the Labor Commit-
nception of 'transitional programmatic method' and the
on offered by the four organizations today each calling
selves the 'Fourth International.'

irst, each of these groups identifies the transitional
od with the particular contents of the "Death Agony" docu-
. One has but to note the stenograms of the discussions
een Trotsky and SWP leaders to understand the extent
hich he was compelled to dilute his systematic views, al-
to vulgarize them to the level of his miserable followers.
equently, as a document addressed to the concrete 1938
ation, the "Death Agony" is a very poor representation of
systematic conception of 'transitional method.' Second, to-
s self-styled Trotskyists all refuse to recognize the quali-
ve changes in the strategic situation which have occurred as

a result of the failure of a revolutionary upsurge in 1945-46 in Western Europe, and thus identify the 'transitional programmatic method' more or less exactly with the particular demands included in the 1938 program. None of these sects regards the 'transitional program' as outlined in this article as a method.

Using the Transitional Method Today

As we have discussed above, the application of the transitional socialist method requires that we draw the connection betweem the obvious failures of the capitalist system, the historic tasks facing a revolutionary movement, and the day-to-day struggles of the working class and its allies.

To recap our discussion of the crisis of capitalist underproduction: The ultimate source of both the present monetary crisis and the material deprivation of most of the world's population is the systematic failure of capitalist investors to invest adequately in productive employment, so as to expand the production of useful consumer goods and means of production. War production is the most glaring example, representing a stage of capitalist moral and economic decay at which capitalists must concentrate their investments in useless production in order to avoid new investment competing with existing previous investments.

A socialist economy is free of the basic contradiction of a capitalist economy, the property title. A socialist economy can and does disregard the price paid for previously invested capital; it does not have to worry about write-downs of existing investments because of technological improvements. Thus a socialist economy can expand production rapidly and harmoniously, and in the USA can make far-reaching changes which the capitalists couldn't even consider.

The immediate task of socialist power in the US is expanded social reproduction: what the capitalists are incapable of doing but which must be done to meet the material needs of the people. We term this program socialist reindustrialization (so as to

ible for the revolution to stop at that point.

nin's Imperialism, by demonstrating the dependence of sian bourgeoisie on foreign capital, settled for him the n of a Russian revolution 'by stages' (bourgeois-demo- then socialist). During this period (1916), Lenin fully d the conception of a dichotomized program -- minimum list) demands and maximum (socialist) -- for the Russian ion. Lenin's understanding of the historic tasks of the n working class as the overthrow of the autocracy meant is: The Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of replacing ting social order of the Czars. On the other hand, the g class and allied peasantry had developed sufficiently ry out those tasks themselves and in fact had to do so to their most urgent material needs. The revolutionizing of iture and the expansion of the industrial sector were the ensable requirements for saving Russia -- for carrying on panded reproduction -- for immediately improving the ard of living of the working population -- for augmenting th rplus available for future, more rapid expansion. And only the working class which had the will, the political line to do it. The particular historical circumstances of ian development had transformed the working class from eft wing of the democratic revolution into its leading ele- . It is in that sense that the Russian workers emerge as a for itself -- the class whose immediate demands repre- d simultaneously the needs of the whole of society -- whose point or economic policy had to become the fighting program Russia.

Lenin's April Theses (written shortly after his return to sia in 1917) are the finished form of the transitional program he 'economic' plan or proposal of the revolutionary move- t. Its social-political correlative was the Russian soviet, approximation of a class-for-itself form. Paralleling Lux- urg's earlier conception of the mass-strike perspective, in's revolutionary strategy was to obtain Bolshevik hegemony he approximate class-for-itself organizations, the soviets, he necessary and sufficient condition for the seizure of power.

The soviets, then, represent the new social formation born out of the pre-revolutionary ferment in Russia, which united all layers of the Russian population in a common, unified expression of their revolutionary aspirations. The objective decay of the empire had rendered the old mediating social, political, even religious institutions totally impotent. Traditional parochial associations of Russian peasants and workers and intellectuals simply could not respond adequately to changing material conditions. They could meet neither the new material needs and desires of the population, nor provide them with any coherent, sensible social indentity in the midst of the chaos of the rotting autocracy.

The soviets succeed in subordinating all those fragmented forms of social organization and related narrow viewpoints, especially the incredibly limited outlook of the peasant layers. The soviets define the needs and interests of each of its constituents in terms of the satisfaction of the urgent requirements of the whole population. They do that by expressing economic and political policies capable of solving all the most pressing problems of Russian society. The soviets, even before they become the government, express the masses' competence to do just that -- govern. The soviets, even before they command the heights of the economy and related social institutions, are, by virtue of their program and composition already socialist institutions. The soviets are transitional program come alive: they represent socialist doctrine translated into the problem-solving activity of the whole of the revolutionary Russian population. Classwide associations of all the producers, formulating and implementing fundamental 'economic' policy in the interests of the whole population, is socialism.

After October

The Russian revolution is the historical vindication of Marx's class-for-itself outlook. Despite the fact that during the first three congresses of the Comintern the Bolsheviks attempted to apply the above-illustrated lessons of the Russian experience, those principle were in the main forgotten (or

:e. capitalist, technique. The transitional pro-
an society inseparably linked peasant and worker
s industrialization and the corresponding crea-
nded, highly-skilled industrial proletariat with
vels of education, culture, leisure, etc. could
n the basis of mechanized agriculture -- at
f agricultural economy that would sever the last
dal and semi-feudal forms in the Russian country-
form, the eight-hour day, the Constituent
hese were the essential prerequisites for the re-
xpanded reproduction in the Russian Empire.

oric tasks had elsewhere been traditionally car-
the leadership of the emergent bourgeoisie, with
of the more inchoate peasant masses, and usual-
nt insistence of small urban proletarian elements.
ar development of Russian society and economy
minated the validity of West European models.
middle classes were tied with thousands of threads
ocractic order. The numerous petty restrictions
ive capitalist development by the autocracy and
reactionary assembly of landed and bankrupt
retainers had never permitted the bourgeoisie to
al measure of economic power and independence
not enough for that class to stand firmly and im-
viewpoint, its own program on the whole of Rus-
in the face of the autocracy's resistance. Foreign
other reason for the pitiful spinelessness of native
ements, had no special desire to run the risk of
icide by challenging the political power of Czardom.

sian middle class was simply not up to the tasks at
id not hope any longer, like the Decembrist vis-
accomplish anything without the active participation
orkers and peasants. And that spectre was terri-
to send them scurrying back to the Winter Palace
serious sign of independent political activity on the
masses. That general predicament had presented
previous revolutionary bourgeois movements, but

not nearly to the same degree.

The French had to deal, even by late 1789, with the sans-culottes, but for most of the revolutionary period were able either to contain them within the broader formation led by themselves, or when necessary to crush the sans-culottes when their organizational strivings became menacingly independent. Moreover, the small-scale character of French industry limited the programmatic conception of French proletarians to ill-defined yearnings tending to a sort of community of the means of consumption -- never to a truly revolutionary viewpoint, one that would refashion French society on the basis of a wholly new set of production relations. Such notions could not arise out of that kind of infantile proletariat.

Russia presented a completely different situation. The lion's share of capitalist development in Russian cities was foreign in origin. Large-scale British and French industry had created a small but concentrated, skilled and relatively well-educated urban working class, organized in large capitalist enterprises. Moreover, a leading layer of that class had become 'enlightened' with socialist ideas. The mass strike wave that culminated in the 1905 revolution proved conclusively that it was a class fully capable of raising its own demands in its own independent mass organizations -- the Soviets. The peasantry remained a question mark; nevertheless it was clear to Trotsky even in 1905 that the proletariat need only adopt the central feature of the peasant program -- land division -- and the bourgeoisie would be hard-pressed to retain its leadership of the mass upsurge.

It fell then to the Russian working class to accomplish the historic tasks facing Russian society. What in previous periods had been the heart of the program of the revolutionary bourgeoisie became the transitional program of the Bolshevik revolution -- with one exception. Precisely because it was the responsibility of the working class to lead the rest of the population in completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it was

e the problem as one of a class-in-itself tendency -
e working-class ranks and leadership of the SPD.
amental problem was the subordination of the SPD as
to the narrow, parochial trade-union interests of the
d German working-class movement.

emburg was unique in her understanding of the political
r of the Bebel 'proletarian kernel' leadership in the
he understood, in the course of the fight against revis-
that Bebel had reluctantly used her intellectual capaci-
order to tame a 'liquidationist' tendency within the SPD.
she realized, was not opposed to subordinating the SPD's
to trade-union fraction interests; he was merely op-
o the expression of those interests in a form which tend-
quidate the SPD's hegemony over the trade-union frac-
The correctness of Luxemburg's analysis was borne out
ubsequent veto powers which Bebel gave to the general
nion commission, and by the policies which came into
n after 1907, and in the subsequent evolution of the 'pro-
n kernel' executive of the SPD -- Bebel's heirs-desig-
Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske et al.

om this point of departure in analysis, Luxemburg de-
d her 'mass strike' program, adducing from the Russian-
experience of 1898-1905 the principles of a 'class-for-
social orientation. This orientation, the opposite of the
called for the subordination of narrow trade-union in-
s to the common mass interests of organized and most
ssed sections of the working class and its allies. She de-
that such mass-strike developments occurring in pre-
tionary periods, through the conscious intervention of
st cadres, led directly into socialist revolution. In her
Strike pamphlet and related writings of that period, she
s finally that socialist program could not be based on the
ption of minimum-maximum demands, but must proceed
the conception of program connecting immediate mass-
struggles to the seizure of power. Our of the mass
process itself emerge first the approximate and then
with the appropriate program, ready

in all essential respects to replace the ancien regime and solve the major pressing tasks of society.

The Russian Revolution

The Russian revolution presents the clearest illustration of the leading principles of the class-for-itself conception under conditions foreign to contemporary advanced capitalism. In that respect, it is extremely useful in supplying a real material example of the mutable nature of program.

Trotsky, in his Results and Prospects (co-authored with Gelphand-Parvus during the same period as Luxemburg's Mass Strike) advanced another approximation of a transitional-programmatic approach to the tasks of the next Russian Revolution. Essentially, his approach was to define those immediate programmatic demands which led, through alliance of peasants and workers, to the seizure of power. His conception of the national question -- like Lenin's, concretely addressed to a peculiarity of the Russian situation -- was presented as a transitional demand. Trotsky demonstrates in that pamphlet that the peasant problem in Russia could not be solved within the context of a bourgeois revolution: therefore the struggle around related peasant demands led directly into the question of a socialist revolution. Again an immediate demand which coincided with an historic demand, thus providing the means for linking immediate struggles to revolutionart struggles.

To end the deep decay associated with the Russian autocracy, it was urgent to accomplish the leading tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution. These tasks were land reform; industrialization on the basis of mechanized agriculture and the creation of a modern industrial work force; the establishment of integrated 'national' productive mechanisms free of a thousand parochial, provincial restrictions; the development of representative political democracy; and certain crucial educational-cultural advances necessary to break the stultifying stranglehold of boyar culture which stood as a stubbom barrier

tion of capital flows from capitalist waste into meaning-
anded reproduction offers such results as a 20-25%
rowth in real production in the U.S., and thus points
he solution of the outstanding material and social
society. The solution to human needs, to urban de-
ustrial obsolescence, black oppression and colonial
on, which we adduce from analysis of the misuse of
ve forces, represents the historic tasks of revolution
mmediate juncture.

obvious connection of our present program to Marx's
ions of a century before poses the following question.
it necessary to speak of a 'transitional program'? Why
cessary to have a special term like that? Why not
'a Marxist program'?

German Social-Democracy

this, we must turn for reference to Marx's "Critique
Gotha Program." We see there, as in the parallel ana-
f the 1891 Erfurt Program of the German Social-Democra-
endency within the self-styled Marxist movement turning
ly away from Marx's conception of program. The ten-
o subordinate revolutionary activity to day-to-day trade-
nd parliamentary struggles, unfolding from application
Erfurt Program, was reflected in a formal dichotomy in
oretical conception of program. On the one hand, the
um' program, in which trade-union struggles were or-
d around narrow, parochial, 'economist' demands. On
er hand, the 'maximum program' -- socialist state pow-
sum, the attempt to separate the criteria of day-to-day
mmatic struggles from the program embodying the his-
asks of socialist reconstruction.

is formal side of the problem -- the programmatic con-
ns of the Erfurt resolution of 1891 -- coincides with an
elated theoretical problem. Reference to four celebrated
s of Engels is particularly useful in this connection: To

C. Schmidt (5 Aug. 1890; 27 Oct. 1890), to J. Bloch (21-23 Sept. 1890), to Franz Mehring (14 July 1893). The substance of those letters is that the official 'Marxist' movement had overlooked Marx's theory of knowledge entirely, particularly the proposition that the form and internal dynamics of social formations -- which are the mediating form of human activity -- determine the forms of thought occurring among their members and the characteristic response of those institutions to the tasks confronting them.

Putting Engels' warnings into correlation with the problems posed by Erfurt, it is apparent that the formal errors of Kautsky's Erfurt program are not merely formal errors, but are a reflection of social tendencies rooted in the forms of organization and activity of that Party. Or, as Liebknecht reluctantly conceded in his attack on Bernstein in 1899, Bernstein's revisionism was not an expression of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals in the party, but rather an expression of Bernstein, Vollmar et al. in the capacity of attorneys of record for the Bavarian workers' movement and the trade-union fractions of the SPD. This revisionism was a product of an organization of a predominantly working-class composition and self-consciousness carrying out day-to-day trade unionism.

The question of program, as posed by SPD rejections of Marx, was more an organizational than a formal academic question. It was Luxemburg who first put this problem into its clearest, most fundamental form. Trotsky and Lenin, based principally on the more limited development of the Russian movement, were more or less bound to attack the problem in a narrower, more superficial way.

What Luxemburg recognized was the social basis for revisionism in the form of 'proletarian tendency' organization within the SPD. Trotsky and Lenin both regarded Bernstein and the reactionary developments after 1907 in the SPD as a petty-bourgeois intervention in the workers' movement, and as the reflection of a petty-bourgeois social tendency. Trotsky and Lenin failed to

ession hit Europe and the balance of payments prob-
st becoming a crisis. Again the rate of new produc-
nent was determined by their ability to produce
mushrooming of fictitious capital.

65 the growth of the unproductive government sector
ded at a gallop. Not only did Federal war spending
, but also at the state and local levels gigantic invest-
barrels were created. "Authorities" for transit,
ospitals, etc. were and are being created to provide
outlets for idle funds in long-term government bonds.
these attempts by financial ruling circles to create
nselves -- these 'safer' long-term outlets, money
o flow into the more dangerous areas of the stock
hort-term government bonds, and goal hoards. The
circumvent the falling rate of profit is resulting
nomical rise in the number of property titles chasing
ame or even decreasing amount of real surplus-value
ulation), while real production is shrinking. The
and the stock market boom signal the day of reckon-
o come.

spite the severity of the crisis, it is not unsolvable
ling class. In fact, it is precisely the attempts by
class to arrive at their long-term solution which
ing the course of history today.

The "Development Decade"--Imperialism's Last Chance

nly possible long-term solution to the crisis of under-
n is to increase the productive sector of the world
This means increasing the production of real wealth,
new outlets for productive investment.

ast possible place for that kind of investment to take
hout cause a catastrophic fall in the rate of profit, is in
-colonial sector, on the basis of extremely cheap labor.
ew era of primitive accumulation. But to industrialize
d world' means first to overcome the centuries of

imperialist induced impoverishment. An illiterate, unskilled labor force must be educated and trained so that it can compete with American and European labor power. The industrial infrastructure must be built before heavy industry can move in.

Before any of this can be accomplished, however, the imperialists must revolutionize agriculture in the colonial world. A highly mechanized and diversified system of agriculture must be created, capable of freeing part of the population from the necessity to work the land in order to live. An abundant and cheap supply of food to feed an industrial proletariat is the indispensable pre-requisite for any kind of industrial development in the semi-colonial sector.

So desperate are some imperialists to initiate this "third stage of imperialism", and first of all to secure that cheap food supply, that they are willing to provoke the most dangerous kinds of political disruptions at home and abroad.

For example, Vietnam: The most prescient representatives of the ruling class aim at securing control of the rich rice-producing areas of the Mekong Delta. That rice, produced by cheap Vietnamese farm labor, could then be used to feed, and feed very cheaply, a new proletariat in India. (The present islands of heavy industry in India have, for the most part, turned out to be abysmal failures; first of all because the Indian laborer is so poorly nourished he tends to collapse at his machine). It would free large numbers of Indians from the land and allow them, first to construct the necessary infrastructure, both economic and "cultural", and then to employ them as highly skilled cheap labor in heavy industry. The present U. S. grain "surplus" is being used to prime the pump in India, but of course it is woefully inadequate to feed even a single colony. To produce more U. S. grain for this purpose would be contradictory to the principal objective of new-type-imperialism -- cheap labor. The hoped-for cheapness of colonial industrial labor would be based principally on the cheapness of its food supply. Provided that we do not

an experience was the failure of the state economy
permanent solution. Soon, to pay for these enorm-
s, German financiers were compelled to absolutely
taxation the level of living of their own domestic
s, (primitive accumulation within their own economy)
egin looting the rest of Europe to save the German
m imminent disaster. By 1943, the ultimate logic
of economy revealed itself with the institution of
mp system of forced labor. The German economy
ved on the basis of working people literally to

less, Germany really showed the way. U.S. finan-
d the resumption of production in Germany (see
of the National Industrial Conference Board on the
nomy). The house that Roosevelt began to build
respects modeled after the Nazi experiment. For
insurance, and mortgage insurance (a guarantee
ublic works, NIRA industrial loans, labor regula-
nd even the hoarding of $20 billions gold, it was
0 billions deficit financing of World War II that
epression in the United States.

tist war economy and non-productive state expendi-
the country out of the depression, However, this
nting state debt could ultimately only aggravate the
blem of credit expansion. Unless it was over-
y an increase in surplus-value coming out of the
sector which could carry this fictitious capital
would burst.

fore the close of the war the judicious policy of the
nment was to emerge as the only real conquerer
ontending parties. The years of post-war prosperity,
attributed to a brilliantly conceived arrangement of
abilizers", must really be credited to the Marshall
out it the U.S. economy would have immediately,
turned to its pre-war depression state. The post-
ity of the U.S. economy was based on Marshall plan

loans and investments mainly in Western Europe. The critical margin of expansion has been provided by appropriating existing, previously trained, European labor force, and appropriating remaining capital of conquered former enemies and allies alike. The post-war devaluations of European currencies, which arbitrarily wiped out billions of dollars of European capital at the stroke of a pen, established uneven rates of exchange between the dollar and conquered currencies--so that every dollar commanded a flood of cheapened commodities produced by European labor which was exploited at a higher rate than labor in the U.S.. The "built-in stabilizers" of the U.S. economy $30 billion in Marshall Plan "aid" (in part used to rebuild the war-shattered infrastructures of the European industrial economy), $30 billion in direct private investment, and the gobbling up of the richest colonial holdings of allies and enemies alike. The U.S. colonized the colonialists.

This expansion of the productive sector of the world economy was, until recently, the prop holding up the capitalist world. Credit expansion proceeded apace, but for a long time its cancerous appetite could be met out of the additional value being produced in Europe and Japan.

The 1957-58 recession marked the beginning of the end of the West European "investment miracles". The law of the falling rate of profit began to make itself felt once again. U.S. financial circles began to see the end of new productive investment opportunities. 1956 saw the need for expanding once again the governments subsidies to capitalists, placing additional taxes on wage-earners. And after the 1958 recession government expenditures (local, state, and Federal) began to rise rapidly. By 1960-61 talk of a balance of payments problem was being heard. As direct and indirect American investment began to saturate the investment potential of Western Europe during the early sixties, the relative costs of labor power in those countries began to be driven up to the actual social cost of producing modern labor power. American capital could no longer produce merely by using labor trained prior to and during World War II.

resses itself changes. Perhaps the easiest way to observe fference in form is to note the close correspondence of ag- te prices to value in the competitive period, and the grow- screpancy between the two under monopoly.

return to our history. Historically, capitalism has subsi- credit expansion in the advanced sector, first at the ex- both of its own agricultural sector and at the expense of olonial sector by a process of primitive accumulation. This ss of stealing from non-capitalist economies of raw materi- d cheap labor protects the rate of profit in the advanced sec-

1914, however, there were few new non-capitalist economie or European capitalism to consume (expansive possibilities tin America still remained for the United States). The 1907 cial panic signalled the beginning of the collapse. By 1913 were various serious signs of a depression, which the ma- owers temporarily prevented by massive arms building pro- s. In 1914 the capitalist powers went to war to redivide their res. A rate of primitive accumulation sufficient to sustain rowing mass of fictitious capital in any one group of capi- t nations could only be maintained by looting the colonial do- s of other groups of capitalists.

he war shattered the European economies. Germany was rupt. French capital throughout the twenties was incapable aking substantial new capital investment despite the looting ermany in "reparations". The French and German economies ed along, supported by large amounts of American (Dawes) credit. The U.S., of course, emerged as the strongest of dvanced capitalist economies, ending British supremacy.

he twenties was a period of massive credit expansion, both de the U.S. and in Europe. That expansion did not immedi y result in an uncontrollable inflationary spiral (as in Ger- y after the war) mainly because the U.S. economy had not reached the same advanced state of decay as the European nomies. The early and mid-twenties saw a brief period of

relative U.S. prosperity based on a substantial extension of imperialist loans to Latin America and China and on the exhaustion of the last remaining primitive accumulation resources of the U.S. agricultural frontier. But the exhaustion of new long-range investment opportunities in the "third world", coupled with a rapid accumulation of fictitious capital in the advanced sector was, even by 1926, tending toward a collapse of the whole house of cards.

The approaching depression took the form, first of all, of a balance of payments crisis, then a securities boom like the one we are witnessing today, and finally a monetary collapse. The 1931 devaluation of the British pound touched off simultaneous devaluations throughout the capitalist world. World trade all but stopped. Production was drastically curtailed. Masses of fictitious capital were eliminated, as many small and middle level capitalists went bankrupt.

Most important, the depression spelled the death of the system of private monopoly capitalism. The corpse of private monopoly capitalism could be made to walk again only with massive doses of government subsidies. National governments began to revive the credit systems with massive doses of government credit. Government deficit financing revived the banks who eagerly bought the government debt while government expenditures began subsidizing industry to the point where they could again produce at a profit. Government credit, being guaranteed by the government's ability to tax (mostly in the form o wage taxation) delighted the banks because of its risk free nature. Government subsidies took the form of tax incentives, mortgage and loan insurance, public works, and, of course, the largest of them all, war production.

What today can be described as a statist war economy already began to emerge by 1934 in both Germany and the U.S. Germany provided the first practical example. Revived military-industrial production subsidized by givernment deficit financing pointed to a qualitatively new solution -- a major new outlook for the investment of surplus, largely fictitious capital. The darker side

particularly as capitalism developed into monopoly and then into state-finance capitalism. We shall a concrete historical treatment of the operation of rate of profit tendency.

g Rate of Profit - 1914-1965

aw of the falling rate of profit is not a lifeless equa as propelled the capitalist world into three major cri- first world war, the Great Depression, and the se- d war -- and is now impelling it into a new world-wide imminent depression. Each crisis compelled signi- nge in world capitalism, but the law of the falling rate to haunt the financiers and is today producing major nd social convulsions, once again making socialism an e possibility.

re about to begin a quick history with the world war I However, by 1917 we are already deep into the period oly capitalism. For the sake of clarity and to dispense e theories (especially those offered by Baran and Swee- attribute to the monopoly era the ability to circumvent g rate of profit tendency of the previous period of the ury competitive capitalism, we offer first a few brief on the manifestations of the tendency in the two periods.

Under competitive conditions the tendency of profit rates pressed itself in continuous, wholesale bankruptcies, roat elimination of "weaker" capitalist enterprises. New nt by individual capitalists tended to immediately expose ious value associated with the property titles (the book- of older past investments of other capitalists. The ficti- ue relations of the economy as reflected in a bankrupted t enterprise reduced the market value of all property ti- his is precisely what happens to the whole stock of capi- arket-values in a depression. And this happened precise- se of the rapid pace of new productive investments which ntinually new real value relations for the economy as a It is that compulsion to new productive investment which,

despite the accompanying brutality, makes this period of capi- talist development progressive, at least in the advanced sec- tors, relative to the later period of monopoly and statist-war economy.

2) The gigantic concentration of capital resources, born out of the previous competitive period, especially in the hands of several major financial institutions and through the creation of a centralized banking system (i.e. the Federal Reserve with its extreme concentration of banking capital in New York), has al- tered the form in which the falling rate expresses itself. The general tendency of monopoly capitalism has been to abort new productive investments before they have the chance to produce disastrous depreciations of past investments in which centralized finance has a large stake. Large financial groups now have in- terests which cover whole sub-sectors of the economy and then extend beyond to other even apparently unrelated sub-sectors. And precisely because they control the lion's share of available capital resources, it is definitely within their power to restrict new expanded productive investment, not only in those sectors in which they are immediately involved, but throughout the eco- nomy. That is, not only would substantial new expanded capi- tal investment directly in the steel or machine tool industry threa- ten to wipe out inflated book-values of obsolete plant in those fields, but new productive investment even in apparently unre- lated areas would finally tend to the devaluation of those same industries. With monopoly capitalism then, we enter a period where the attempt to escape the falling rate of profit expresses itself as an increasing contraction of productive investment. It is that fact which indicates the essentially regressive character of this stage of capitalist development. The extent to which they are able to continue productive investment is that to which they are able to hide the production of fictitious value; that is, to show profit.

In sum, then, the law concerning the falling rate of profit persists in both periods as it does in the present period of state capitalism. There is no escape from it short of abolishing private property-titles to the means of production. Only the way

brings into being and who must, in order to preserve and
d that industry which is their means of existence, abolish
list ownership of the means of production.

n other words, the capitalist evaluation of C always pro-
from a model of simple reproduction, while Marxism im-
tely takes the point of view of expanded reproduction. It
his sense that the Marxist approach is revolutio ary, tak-
to account the continuous devaluation of C through time.
apitalist viewpoint, on the other hand, must grow increas-
reactionary, tying the reproductive activity to a past, now
ly inflated estimation of the value of C in order to pro-
hat fictitious value as it is represented in his property ti-
Capital is the past determining the present and the future.

se the capitalist class overvalues its constant capital, the
ent rate of profit will tend to drop. In the approximation
+ v), profit is thus miscalculated. If the (apparent) average
of profit is not to fall, the capitalists must find some way to
a profit from the fictitious portion ("F") of the value of
constant capital. Since this fictitious value is real to the
alists, they may use it to secure loans or flotations of stock,
generalizing its overvaluation into the capitalist credit sys-
No matter how many times this F is exchanged, or no mat-
hat form it takes (credit, title to idle plant or inventory,
pricing of goods, or as today, useless war material), it will
add to the existing real S or total profits; it will never
sent value, but only an excess of capitalist book-value over
value. Under monopoly capitalism, the first metamorphosis
is usually from idle plant or inventory to credit. As long
credit remains within the capitalist system, its income
only represent a redivision of existing surplus value.

This will be clearer if we represent the world capitalist class
single capitalist; part (F) of his capital is fictitious. What-
form this F takes, it can never add to his real profit (ac-
new productive capital). If he computes a profit on F, it will
be a subtraction from the rest of his profit. The fact that
apitalist system attempts to profit by lending fictitious ca-

pital in credit form at increasing rates of interest only makes
matters worse.

As interest on F consumes ever-larger portions of S, the
portion of S remaining as profit would first cease to increase,
then actually begin to fall, resulting in the fall in the actual (not
merely the apparent) rate of profit: p/(c + v) = (s - interest -
rent)/(c + v). At some point F would be consuming the whole
of S -- capitalism would be reduced, in a sense, to simple re-
production. From then on, the interest, or income of F would
have to come out of V and C, actually parasitizing and dimini-
shing production -- expanding itself by primitive accumulation
within the capitalist world.

Under monopoly conditions, the rate of profit does not ac-
tually fall for the individual capitalist. The law of the tendency
of the rate of profit to fall makes itself felt in just that way --
as a tendency which must be avoided. It is in the capitalists at-
tempts to circumvent this tendency that its importance lies.

The most important consequences are these. First, the
capitalists abort the rate of new investment, to protect the his-
toric value of previous investments. Surplus is reinvested in
areas which do not threaten to wipe out existing investments --
war production, speculation, etc. Secondly, fictitious value trans-
formed into credit as imperialist loans is used to loot the none
capitalist sector, robbing the colonies of their real value, par-
ticularly their constant capital -- agriculture and natural re-
sources, but also their labor power.

Secondary methods of counteracting the tendency are by in-
creasing relative surplus value -- speed-up, etc. in the shop as
well as government subsidization of profits by wage taxation
(squeezing V). Additionally, capitalists fail to count the deple-
tion of the environment (e.g. air, water pollution) as a constant
capital cost, thus discounting a social cost of production.

The use of all of these different methods vary in degree and

w capitalism violates the law of value. The question
rns us here is exactly where that violation occurs,
damentally capitalist price deviates from real value.

g Marx's explanation of the tendency of the profit.
l in Capital V. III, and remembering that Marx is
g a system of expanded reproduction, whereby each
production is merely the precondition for the succeed-
, the problem becomes clear. Capitalist prices de-
n the real value in the capitalists valuation of society's
capital -- the means of production themselves.

system of expanded reproduction, labor productivity
which is both the result of, and the purpose for ex-
production. Thus the means of production are con-
heapening, costing less average labor time. For ex-
in the next period of production machinery capable of
ng as well as that currently used were produced with
abor expenditure, then that machinery would be worth
as much as the present machinery in real (replace-
ms. An example to be viewed only as an analogy to
economy: if a computer were produced for $100,000,
capable of performing as well as one built for $1,000-
old computer is then worth only $100,000, even if it
y one day old, and had never been used or had cost
s transporting or installing it. It's value can only be
d by its ability to enhance social reproduction, not what
inally paid for it.

capitalist, nor the capitalist calss as a whole would
admit that the true value of his constant capital is
reduced in this manner. If a capitalist paid $1,000,000
used it one day, then the value to him is still approxi-
$1,000,000 and that sum is passed on wherever possible
nal pricing of goods. His outlay of $1,000,000 probab-
ed that much credit outstanding in the capitalist system
ble, although in real value terms, that credit is now
nly $100,000. But neither he nor his creditors have
ntion of taking such an enormous loss. Indeed, they

are blissfully unaware of the discrepancy and, in fact, have no
way of actually measuring the actual amount of the devaluation
of the machinery. Devaluation of constant capital can only be
determined by examining the productivity of society as a whole,
something individual capitalists cannot do. (Likewise, the above
example is not real, but merely illustrative. No devaluation
could be decided upon in an individual factory since the cheap-
ening of constant capital takes place in production as a whole.).

Since capitalists will not write the price of constant capital
to its true social value, ever falling because of increased labor
productivity, they must include the inflated price of constant ca-
pital in their eventual selling price. Capitalists are merely pre-
serving the price of their property, the means of production in
this case. In this process, they are including a wholly ficticious
cost in their selling price. As this cost increases, capitalist
profit as a whole is squeezed.

Prior to the 1929 crisis, capitalism settled its accounts
approximately every ten years, with inflated fictitious values
becoming suddenly deflated. Only with the onset of WWII and
the resulting war production were the capitalists able to pull
out of the last depression. The current balance of payments
crisis is the rising cost of money symptomatic of a long over-
due accounting. So too is the stagnation of useful production
such as housing. The reason that the day of reckoning has still
not occurred lies in the process of state financing of this over-
valued constant capital.

Marx explained this process with his famous diagram
S/C + V. Assuming constant variable capital (wages) and an
ever rising capitalist valuation of constant capital (means of
production), the proportion S/(C + V) tends to decrease, for
the capitalist system as a whole. An incredible anomaly since
increased productivity would be expected to bring an increasing
ratio of the production of surplus value. Indeed, it is here that
Marx shows how capitalism is doomed by the very industrial
forces it brings into existence. The social-political correlate
to this is capitalisms extinction by the social class that this in-

hat is, a rising rate of profit indicates the rate at which productive rate of society is rising. It is from that view- that the formula s/c+v (the average rate of profit) repre- an approximation of value for all industrial societies (so- t economy not excepted).

's Categories of Social Reproduction

ust like a living organism, society must counteract the ten- to decay and death by continually reproducing itself. It is n labor which carries on social reproduction; more speci- y, it is the labor of a specific group in society -- under ca- sm, the working class. To understand social reproduction ust analyze the labor of this class, and break it down into omponents. One part of this labor must go towards maintain- - in numbers, education, strength, etc. -- the productivity e class or the means of production of human labor. This por- of the social labor of the productive class is called "V". It nbodied in means of consumption. A second portion of pro- ive labor is used to maintain the environment necessary to uce "V" -- raw materials, machines, buildings, irrigation ems, soil fertility, etc. -- against the tendency of production nature to destroy it. This portion of labor, called "C" is en- y embodied in means of production, or constant capital.

A third part of the labor of the productive class is that which bove and beyond what is necessary to reproduce V and C. This ion can be used to expand production and/or the population ra- than simply reproducing it at the same level. This portion is ed "S", and may be embodied in both consumer and producer ds. Part of the means of consumption portion of "S" must be d to maintain the unproductive population -- in our society, the italist class, and its government, corporate and military retain- . Part of the means of production portion of "S" may be unpro- tively consumed, e.g. in the production of weapons. These ts of S are called, generally, capitalist consumption.

If all of S is absorbed by capitalists consumption or its equiv- nt, the society is in the process of simple reproduction, mean-

ing that population, work force and productivity are absolutely stagnant. The model of simple reproduction can only exception- ally and momentarily hold good for any industrial society. An attempt at simple reproduction for any extended period would mean death for a capitalist or socialist society.

Expanded reproduction means using part of S to employ new productive labor and increase the productivity of all workers. It represents both a quantitative and qualitative change in the mode of production. The consumer goods portion of S is used to raise the standard of living and thus the potential productivi- ty of the working class; while the producer goods portion is used to employ the unemployed and underemployed and to increase workers' productivity by introducing improved machinery. By applying new technology and improving machinery, the ratio of machinery to labor-power is increased. This can be expressed as increasing the ratio of C to V, also known as increasing the organic composition of capital. Increasing productivity by in- creasing the organic composition of capital results in a rising rate of surplus value (S/V). However, a rising rate of surplus value does not necessaruly correspond to an increase in the rate of profit, as we shall soon see.

Under capitalism, however, expanded reproduction tends in- creasingly to obstruct itself, and to turn into stagnation, increas- ing misery, and decay. This characteristic of capitalism is not accidental, but is fundamental and imminent in capitalism. Its cause lies in the contradiction between expanded social product and the largely fictitious values associated with individual proper- ty-titles in the means of production (and other income-producing property forms). For today every industrial product is both a re- sult of the co-operative effort of every worker in the world empire and of an attempt to maintain or increase the value of some indi- vidual property-title -- reflecting the contradiction between social- ized production and private property forms.

The Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall

The tendency of the rate of profit to fall is merely an expres -

ue kind of social practice -- socialist struggle, the strug-
e class-for-itself.

s basic outlook starts from society (in our case the U.S.
mpire) as a whole in the process of social reproduction.
s they are from the concept of the reproduction of soci-
whole, none of Marx's "economic" concepts have any mean-
he empiricist or bourgeois economist and vice-versa. Any
tempt at summarizing the Marxist approach to economics
spense with those fundamental misconceptions which tend to
Marxism with classical political economy.

rx's surplus product, for instance, has no recognized
ce for capitalism and its ideologists. To Marxist econo-
t is the social product available for raising the employ-
nd productivity of the labor of society as a whole; to bour-
conomists it would approximate the mass of corporate pro-
their commodity form. Similarly, surplus-value, the va-
he surplus product, does not exist for empiricists. All
n do is endlessly add individual profits and arrive at a to-
eaningless statistic.

arx's categories have definite and precise meaning only in
of the whole society in the process of producing and repro-
its material life. The empiricist categories are relevant
the individual capitalist. To the empiricist economist, a
capital is its assets; to Marxist economics, such individu-
itals only represent aliquot portions of the total social capi-
at is of the total environment which is necessary for the re-
ction of human life.

he necessary rate of wages is another category which can
e exact when it is most general; that is, when it is applied
productive class as a whole. It becomes progressively fuz-
n approaching the specific paycheck. The necessary wage
t which guarantees the reproduction of a productive class of
numbers and qualities. Wage rates reflect the actual cost,
lly determined, of currently maintaining labor of various
and guaranteeing its existence one year, five years, a ge-

eration hence. Serious underpayment of labor destroys its abi-
lity to carry out its productive function.

Beneath the cleavage in analysis of apparently identical eco-
nomic categories lie fundamentally opposed conceptions of the law
of value. The law of value for Marx is not a law peculiar to capi-
talism; it equally applies to pre- and post-capitalist societies.
For Marx it is the method of analyzing the historical evolution
of mankind. Value and surplus value represent the unfolding pro-
cess of expanding human existence and therefore potential human
freedom. Value is the law of human development, one to which
the daily operations of the capitalist economy rarely correspond,
but to which, all societies, including capitalism, are ultimately
subject.

Value for Marx is at bottom a reproductive rate. It is the
reproductive rate of an economy and simultaneously a measure
of the potential increase in that rate. For Marx, the value of a
commodityabsolutely does not lie, despite bourgeois and tradi-
tional leftist notions to the contrary, in the producer -- i.e. in
merely the notion of socially average labor time consumed in the
production of a particular commodity. The value of a commodity
lies in the reproductive power which flows from its consumption.
The concept of value as a reproductive power, each aliquot por-
tion of which is inseparable from the total reproductive mechan-
ism of society, is the only approach to value consistent with Marx
ist method.

Once the law of value is understood from this point of view
it should be apparent that the rate of surplus value (as distinct
from the rate of social surplus) and the rate of profit are only
the peculiar capitalist expressions for social realities pre-dat-
ing capitalism itself. Thus the rate of surplus value is a nearly
mathematical expression of human history. It is a measure of
society's increasing ability to reproduce itself. A rising rate
of surplus value represents a relative increase in the reproduc-
tive power of society. The rate of profit is the root of the Marx
ist concept of value.

iety. The utilization of the productive forces to meet soci- immediate needs and to fulfill its potential, are the histo- asks of a socialist revolution. And naturally, the obvious s and the feasible accomplishments of society must vary from period of conjunctural crisis to the next, and from one society nother.

In our historical treatment of the transitional method, we discuss the contributions of Marx, Luxemburg, Lenin and tsky in developing the transitional method. We will see, for mple, that the origins of the historic tasks of the Russian re- tion, embodied in the Bolshevik program, are to be found in particular development of the Russian economy -- conditions ch were not duplicated elsewhere.

Finally, we will present our application of the transitional grammatic method to the conditions facing revolutionary so- ists today. We will conclude with a discussion of the rela- ship of the economic and the sociological (organizational) ects of the transitional program.

italist Underproduction

The historical function of capitalism is to advance human de- opment by expanding the reproduction of society at a far faster e than was possible under any previous mode of production. In- d, it is precisely capitalism's ruthless elimination of all forms re-capitalist economic formations (notwithstanding its simul- eous dependence on those forms for its own existence) which at the heart of its historic mission. Capitalism, continually producing society and especially the social capital at a higher higher level quantitatively and qualitatively has brought the rld to a point where the conscious reorganization of society with- property becomes feasible. Now, that point has been reached me time ago; and it is becoming increasingly less capable of rying on expanded reproduction at all. After two hundred years' poverishment and dragging backwa:d of the great bulk of the rld's population in the colonial and semi-colonial sector, capi- ism has become incapable of further raising the level of human

existence and productivity in the advanced sector, even in the center of world imperialism, the U.S.A. At present it is push- ing back the level of productivity, of consumption and of culture of the advanced sector at an accelerating pace nearly as rapid as that at which it continues to deplete the semi-colonial arena.

It is our view that the core of socialist program, the social- ist alternative, consists essentially of fighting under capitalist rule for that which capitalism's own current predicament now pro- hibits --expanded reproduction. Because of the rate at which in- dustrial society depletes natural resources, only an expanding te nology can support the world population even at its current leve

Thus, any movement wishing to qualify as socialist must ade- quately explain the current inability of capitalism to fulfill its his- toric tasks. What is it that lies behind capitalist incompetence to organize production so as to expand the reproduction of society and especially of the social capital? What is it about the nature of the capitalist mode of production that forces it finally to lead its world empire backwards in retreat?

The Approach of Marxist Economics

The study of Marxist economics has been neglected by many socialist parties in our century, including parties which seemed very successful for a time, like the pre-WWI German Social Demo- cratic and American Socialist parties, and the European Commu- nist parties between thewars. The reason they never got into M ist economics is of crucial importance to us today. It was the basic outlook of Marxist economics which they could never accept, because it absolutely contradicted the social practice of these groups; and their living social practice was a stronger influence on them than "dead" books. What they thought was Marxist economics, was mere- ly the bourgeois economics of Adam Smith and related classical eco- nomists, dressed in ill-fitting Marxist language.

Marx called his basic world outlook that of the working class for itself. In its complete form, it can only be held by a revolu- tionary socialist movement of workers and intellectuals engaged

conomism or ocialism?

Socialist Transitional Program

By Steve Fraser & Tony Papert

Editor's note: Following is Part II of Economism or alism. This is a revised and updated version of the inal document submitted to the 1968 Convention of Progres- Labor Party: the defense of the transitional socialist ram in that document figured in the expulsion of the authors n PLP. Part I, containing an analysis of the misconceptions rogram prevailing in revolutionary parties in the U.S., was lished in the December 1968 CAMPAIGNER.)

* * * * *

Revolutionaries are currently faced with the possibility and ponsibility of establishing socialism in the U.S., therefore he world, in the more-or-less immediate future. The only rnative, emerging from the contemporary world-wide crisis capitalism, would be a new era of imperialism-fascism. Part this article explained why the Left, old and new, especially represented by the swarm of self-proclaimed revolutionary ties', cannot resolve the question in favor of socialism. Their k of any theoretical comprehension of the general economic sis which is destroying the stability of the capitalist world, and ir religious adherence of class-in-itself empiricist conceptions the revolutionary process are presently -- even now in the ommunity control' battles -- deciding the contest in favor of

Part I was not written as yet another contribution to an end- less round of sectarian squabbling. That is, this paper does not originate in particular "political differences", in opposed "lines on particular issues, nor in disputes over interpretation of re- volutionary scripture between us and one or another socialist sect. Instead, our point of departure is what can be termed the "marxian sociological" approach -- which distinguishes our con ception of program and day-to-day practice from the absolute abandonment of that approach by the traditional revolutionary groupiets. We start from the "class-for-itself" as a "norm", distinguishing both the kinds of ideas and the kind of ideational processes peculiar to such social formations (or their approxi- mations) from various class-in-itself alienated social formations.

Part I was intentionally polemical. Part II, on the other hand, is intended as a positive presentation of the "transitional programmatic method", an extension of the class for itself con- cept and related features of Marx's theory of knowledge into the present period of capitalist crisis and decay. Part II is both an attempt at a theoretical development of the transitional method and an introduction to the essential programmatic and organiza- tional ingredients of socialist victory in the immediate future.

The first half of the article presents an analysis of the econo- mic crisis now engulfing the whole capitalist sector. The analysis must be prefaced with a discussion of Marxian economics, in or- der to dispense with prevailing misconceptions about Marx's method his law of value, and the falling rate of profit. We will then give an overview of capitalist development and underdevelopment since 1914, concluding with the present crisis of underproduction and its manifestations in the U.S.-world economy.

As we will see in the second half of this article, analysis of the economy is not an academic matter. There is simply no other way for approximating the appropriate transitional program for any historical period -- including our own. The tasks of the work- ingclass revolution are strictly historically determined. They de- pend, first of all, on the discrepancy between the social potential embodied in the existing productive forces and the urgent needs of

t via the island of Crete.
a natural operational center and strategic bivouac
ndertakings against the other Balkan states and the
iet Union as well as a support to Tito's Jugoslavia.
within this framework Greece has been extensively
. It bases one Air Force flight with nuclear striking
ity, 11 nuclear delivery artillery ballallions, 3
-A-M missile battallions, 2 Hawk S-A-M missile bat-
s deployed both on the mainland and on Crete.

t from this, Greece, in keeping with the tradition of
endary "balkan intrigue" is the operational center of
tivities in the Balkans and in the Middle East. Cha-
istically, the U.S. embassy in Athens employed 1600
ns while that in Moscow has only 200 on its payroll.

itor's note: Events since this article was written have
ted that the credibility of the military junta is wearing
The political-economic 'miracle' assigned to the junta by
vestment-hungry American corporations has not been
ately carried out; and thus in the eyes of the investors the
cal usefulness of the junta is fading. (This may explain
he U.S. press (such as NY Times and Look) has begun
blish descriptions of tortures used on political prisoners
reece.)

he credibility of the military regime depends on two factors:
e government's ability to finance infrastructure development
er, communications, harbors, etc.) to make foreign invest-
profitable; and (2) its ability to attract sufficient foreign
stment to repay the development loans, and to provide for
a return and rapid repatriation of the foreign capital.

n the second anniversary of the coup the NY Times (4/20/69)
unced "Greeks still in need of capital 2 years after coup."
ttempting to provide development capital, the Greek govern-
t is building up a staggering state debt, increasing its
nce deficit and borrowing at high interest rates. From a
l of $428 million at the end of 1968, the state debt is due to

rise to $1.88 billion by the end of 1969. (This is according to the Times, but the figure is so high it may be a misprint). This is five times the country's expected total assets in gold and foreign currencies; thus the government is turning to the short-term capital markets. Competing here with money speculators, gold hoarders and other bankrupt governments, the junta is paying exhorbitant interest rates.

In January the junta announced a 10-year $20 million loan at a moderate 6.5% interest from Mobil, Shell and British Petroleum. In return for such a moderate loan, the oil consortium obtained the exclusive right to supply crude oil to the state refinery for the next 11 years. In another desperate attempt to provide development loans, the junta signed a $150 million contract with the Mac Donald Construction Company of Missouri to build 472 miles of road. The government is financing $45 million while MacDonald is obtaining the remainder from French and Swiss banks. MacDonald's fee for merely procuring these loans is 14% of the total price of the project. Interest on the loans themselves will add another $35 million to the cost of the project, payable between 1970 and 1977.

Despite such borrowings (at considerably above the prevailing price of international usury), Greece is not attracting sufficient foreign investment capital and aid to either spur nation-wide industrialization, or guarantee the mushrooming state debt.

Although perfectly willing to negotiate the most outrageous loans and fee contracts with any major corporations and banks, the Greek junta must also guarantee that it can make good on these contracts. But if the junta indiscriminately contracts loans, will they be able to squeeze the repayment out of the Greek people? It is this consideration, hardly at this point mainly a political one, that is making investors hesitate to invest, and forcing them to reconsider the usefulness of the present pack of ruling generals.

5 its contract, Litton along will carry the decisive
n the manner of allocation of 900 million drachmae
of state investment, as well as the final say approving
g any application by a foreign company for investment
. What in the past had been a government function
onsibility, today is Litton's whim.

either necessary nor practical to enumerate here all
es of favorable treatment of foreign capital. It would
o say that the entry of foreign capital assumed a new
after the new measures of the dictatorship.

the junta's assumption of power, there has been more
100 million increase in annual investment by foreigners.
ame time, the debt service has risen accordingly. Note
ease in both figures after the junta take-over (early 1967):

	foreign investment (in millions)	debt service (in millions)
964	$148m	$111
965	150	133
966	129	155
967	170	184
968	269	200

nclusions.

new large-scale looting of Greece whose preconditions
ing laid down and safeguarded by NATO's arms leaves
doubt as to the junta's direct relevance to the over-all
lopment decade" policy imperialism.[4]

t another set of considerations is in order here. The man-
which this policy is being implemented today (a manner
involves the partnership of the Greek bourgeoisie with
pital, via the currently reforming Stock Exchange, the
venture schemes, etc) implies a certain subtle political
There is a widespread feeling that a process of Amer-

icanization of a larger part of Greek bourgeoisie is in order. This attempt to directly tie up a larger part of the national ruling class with US and NATO interests seems to be very relevant to the country's militarily valuable position. Not only does Greece (along with island of Crete) provide a smooth axis of advance into the Middle Eastern region as well as a solid base for naval and air operations in the same direction, but she also provides very significant leverage in support of NATO policies in Eastern Europe. She is Tito's first-line reserve and a constant threat to Bulgaria and Albania.[5]

If the imperialists' efforts in Czechoslovakia, Romania, etc. indicate anything of their political and economic objectives, the military's role in Greece becomes all the more obvious.

The political lessons to be learned from the Greek case are numerous, valuable, and of direct relevance to what is today going on in Western Europe. The bankruptcy of the "peaceful coexistence" pronouncements and that of the general class-collaborationist, "democratic", parliamentary-cretinist policy of those in control of the working-class movement in Greece at the time of the coup is all too obvious, but it should be the subject of another article at another time.

N.D.

Footnotes

1. This article is partly based on a pamphlet that appeared last summer in Greece.

2. Economic Bulletin. Commerical Bank of Greece. June 1963.

3. Statistical Yearbook. National Statistical Service.

4. See L. Marcus: The Third Stage of Imperialism.

5. The military significance of Greece to NATO is threefold:
   1. It blocks direct Soviet naval and military presence in the Mediterranean.
   2. It forms an axis of advance into the rear of the Middle

as it is offered as a friend and collaborator, and not as
ieror...this opinion is dictated by elementary national
and over-riding national interest."[2] The National Bank
ng established links to international finance was neutral
controversy. A long political struggle ensued.

s political struggle started with the downfall in parlia-
of the right wing regime that had been in power ever since
d of the Civil War, and its replacement by a government
Center Union Party. The Center Union government laste
year and a half, until July 1965. From this date on a long
administrations appointed by the King occupied the scene
when all constitutional pretense was exhausted, the mili-
egime imposed its authority on April 21, 1967. Needless
, throughout this troublesome period, US, West German,
rench capital were busy setting up enterprises all over
ountry, on whatever terms could be obtained (and they
found these terms to be very disagreeable).

pon its assumption of power, the junta wasted no time in
g decisive measures in favor c foreign capital. A series
nergency laws was imposed in e first weeks of the dic-
ship, providing "new incentives for the importation of
gn capital". New tax benefits and depreciation allowances
granted to foreign manufacturing enterprises. In an ef-
to get domestic capital to participate in foreign enter-
es entirely new legislation was imposed, aiming at the re-
cturing of the Greek capital market, while new public bonds
floated to finance further infrastructural development,
h by now had been declared the avowed duty of the
ional government", as the colonels like to call themselves.

On a more practical level, the major controversies re-
ding regulation and control of certain foreign enterprises,
ch had been the bone of contention in the previous 3-4 years
e resolved overnight in a fashion so scandalous that it left
doubt about the junta's objectives.

The ESSO-Pappas concern had been involved for years in a

legal and parliamentary struggle for the determination of a number of policies affecting its taxation, import-export pattern, pricing of products, hiring policies, etc. The whole thing ended happily in the Hollywood manner: the daughter of Brigadier Pattakos (Minister of the Interior) was married to one of Tom Pappas' lieutenants, with Tom himself taking the role of best man and matchmaker. The Pechiney (French) case, regarding the exploitation of Greek bauxite and the price of electricity for the company's electrolytic process ended in a similar fashion over the mild objection of the British. The West German A.E.G. succeeded in getting the substantial lignite reserves at Megalopolis on its own terms.

Last we shall mention the case of Litton Industries, which seems to be the most blatant example to date of imperialist achievement in an allegedly sovereign country. It take some knowledge of Litton's leading officialdom (Tex Thornton and his whiz troops) to understand the gimmick played on Greece. Litton compelled the junta to buy its ideas for the economic "development" of Crete and Western Peloponnesus (15% of all Greek territory). According to the contract, Litton undertakes to do research and lay down plans for the development of these regions. On the basis of these plans it is to attract various US companies interested in investing abroad, mainly in tourist enterprises. It is programmed to attract $840 million in this way by the end of 1979. In the meantime Litton is not going to spend a single drachma in Greece, nor does it undertake any responsibility to invest its own capital. On the contrary, the financing of the entire research and programming operatons will be footed by the Greek state. Furthermore, it has been agreed that the Greek government will pay to Litton an 11% finder's commission on the capital that Litton attracts. In other words, not counting colonial salaries, Litton will ultimately scoop $92.4 million as a reward for inciting others to further exploit the land.

The sinister role of Litton does not end with its unprecedented monetary advantages. As a programming operation it automatically becomes a super-ministry of coordination. Ac-

r 1950, the major objectives of the Marshall Plan
been accomplished. The country's essential eco-
ties had been minimally restored, her main con-
en transferred from British to US control. At
inflow of US "aid" funds came to an abrupt halt,
erced that from this time on, "private initiative"
job. Private initiative was nevertheless not
. All domestic economic activity in Greece out-
ernment is regulated by the duopoly of the "National
he "Commericial Bank", whose relation to entre-
s been successfully characterized by competent
conomists as parallel to the "19th cent. banking
ontinental Europe and particularly of Germany."
these two commercial banks hold sway over the
capital market, but, in the period under consider-
"contributed" 60% of the total long-term credit. In
manipulation of domestically-generated capital was
s of these 2 banks, and it is characteristic of their
t in such a capital-deprived country as Greece, total
estment was never more than 2/3 of commercial
its. And expectedly so! The financial muscle of
nstitutions, no matter how tied up they may be with
al finance, could not sustain the undertaking of ven-
ternationally competitive scale, while at the same
r ownership of most domestically-confined activities
them from investing further in this direction.

onomic publications of the period were full of articles
s on the need for a new internationalist, export-
conomic outlook while at the same time the authors
to underline the urgent need for foreign capital.
nciers, while they could keep the country's savings
e crawling on their bellies, begging foreign capital
n so that they might throw their own money into more
ventures.

foreign brothers knew better, nevertheless. Greece
eady to sustain enterprises of internationally-com-
infrastructure.

When the Marshall Plan was interrupted, the US Mission in Greece, with lyric praises of "private initiative" made efforts to throw the burden of infrastructural development onto the local "private entrepreneurs". The US Mission set up an Agency for the Financing of Economic Development (today called the Hellenic Bank for Industrial Development with $250 million assets) -- ready to take advantage of any business opportunity while infrastructural development was left for the local boys. Of course the local boys retorted, demanding that the American Agency do the dirty work. Things stalemated for a while until a solution was found: the Greek Government started borrowing heavily from abroad on customarily atrocious terms and began a basic development program with the lenders' guidance, focussed on road construction, power production, telecommunications, port rehabilitations, etc. The process was in full bloom from 1961 to 1964 (it has been resumed recently along similar lines).

As basic infrastructural requirements were gradually met, foreign business interest in Greece was rapidly mobilized, Greece's favorable association with the EEC helped substantially in this respect. (Characteristically, this association was effected at a time when the two dominant commerical banks were declaring their inability to meet the EEC's challenge without the decisive initiative of US capital). Indeed, it was the US's iron hand that prodded the Greek Government into signing the Association Agreement.

In 1963 everything seemed nicely set up for the long-expected and hoped-for massive invasion of US capital. Basic infrastructural requirements were being met; the outward outlook had been instiutionalized. One thing remained to be decided: the terms of collaboration with US capital. The Government at the time, and its Central Bank, were de facto sold, lock, stock, and barrel to the Americans. The Commerical Bank seemed for a moment to champion the "national interest" as it was closely linked with traditional domestic concerns and the thriving merchant marine. Its Governor, himself a shipowner declared, "... foreign capital is welcome and precious to our economy

erican Tobacco, American Plastron, Carton, Procter
nble, Dow Chemical, L&M Tobacco, R.J. Reynolds To-
, Hilton International, IBM, Kennicott Copper, Kodak,
al Refractories, Mobil Oil, Dresser Industries, Parsons
tmore, Charles Pfizer, Philip Morris, Reynolds Metals,
n, Kellogg, Union Carbide, Winthrop Products, Goodyear,
s-Dodge, AVLON, American Radiator & Standard Sani-
American Cement, Kelvinator, Otis Elevators, Litton
tries, et al.

ch scandalous profits and tax concessions have been se-
d by these companies that their initial invested capital is
triated within 5 to 8 years and their operation thereafter
ts a savage looting of native wealth. (We mention Dow
nical as a case in point: the production costs for one ton of
sene in Dow's Greek facilities is $150. Dow offers the
uct to the local market at its international price of $600
ton.)

Of exceptional importance is the fact that all long-term
dit and thereby practically all industrial investment in
ece flows out of four investment institutions: 1) The Hel-
c Bank for Industrial Development, whose equity capital
formed from Marshall Plan funds and is directly controlled
Americans. 2) the Greek government, which allocates
ut 25% of total annual investment, almost exclusively con-
ed to infrastructural development (not only is this invest-
nt program financed by foreign loans obtained from U.S.
West European banks, such as the Bank of America,
rst National City, EXIMbank, Irving Trust, International
nk for Development, etc., but the program is actually
ared to the fulfillment of infrastructural requirements of
reign business, mostly American. 3) The Investment Bank,
d 4) The National Investment Bank for Industrial Develop-
ent. In both of these last two banks there is a 30-40% U.S.
uity capital participation with actual complete control as
sproportionate votes and veto power have been granted to
reign shareholders.

To these, the independent activities of Chase Manhattan, First National City and the Bank of America should be added as they all operate a number of branch offices (10) all over Greece.

All this keen interest in Greece is once again elucidated by the obliging U.S. Department of Commerce:

> The association of Greece with the EEC -- France, Italy, FRG, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg -- has great significance to US investors, because many Greek entrepreneurs do not have the capital or the managerial and technical resources to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the association. (O.B.R. 67-16, p.5)

A process of transforming Greece into an American base in Europe is going on today along two parallel courses. One is short-run: the immediate harvest of the advantageous terms of association; it is expressed in the very significant increase of exports. The other is long-run: the effort at complete Americanization of the Greek economy; it is expressed by (a) the entrance of US capital into secondary branches of manufacturing and (b) the lifting of the obligation of foreign business to export a substantial quota of their production.

2. The Economic Significance of the Military Dictatorship.

To appreciate the junta's economic role, one would have to trace back the last ten years of struggle between conflicting domestic and foreign interests for the development of the country's economy.

In this article we shall confine ourselves to a sketchy outline of this controversial process, hoping that it will become clear to the reader that the imposition of the present military regime in Greece is, among other things, a violent resolution of this conflict in favor of American interests in the country.

racter of U.S. and Western European economic activi- Greece, as well as their larger implications for the and political fiber of Greek society compel us to direct ention first toward these economic activities.

Shadow of U.S. Economic Force

the end of April 1967, almost simultaneously with the ition of the military dictatorship, the U.S. Department nmerce circulated a long, informative brochure entitled ng Up Business in Greece" (O.B.R. 67-16). That zeal- blication extolled the ideal conditions for business ac- s and investment which prevailed in Greece.

actically coinciding with the operatic fiasco of the royal ter-coup" of December 1967, which marked the further olidation of the junta's position against contending groups e right wing, the fateful U.S. Department of Commerce ulated another brochure, documented in detail and updated a view to the junta's "positive" changes in economic poli- This second publication, "Basic Data on the Greek Eco- y," O.B.R. 67-100, after lauding the junta's new emer- y laws favorable to foreign investors, concluded:

> A key factor influencing progress toward the latter goals /of modernization and structural reform of the economy/ will be the extent to which the government is successful in attracting foreign productive capital and, with it, much needed technical knowledge. (p.14)

no strange coincidence that the publication of these bro- es coincided with the dramatic political changes in the try -- and American economic interest is naturally far n academic. That U.S. imperialism dominates the Greek nomy is a fact. It is also a fact that the Greek economy is culously miniscule compared to the fabulous dimensions of U.S. economy, but again, whatever makes "negligible s" look like decisive amounts to Greek eyes, it also makes

Greece so completely dominated by U.S. imperialism. If a careful calculation defines the level of the country's standard industrial capital equipment today at 40 billion drachmae, about 20 billion is foreign-owned, of which 14.5 billion is directly U.S.-controlled.

If we take into account the strategic deployment of this capital, its superior competitiveness as compared to the Greek, the favored treatment it enjoys through special legal provisions, the colossal economic blocks that are prepared to back it up at any moment, the "black arts of finance" and arm-twisting involved, etc., we may comprehend a small degree of the unrivalled monopolistic domination of U.S. capital in the Greek economy.

A characteristic example of the crushing American presence is the ESSO-Pappas industrial complex with its almost 6 billion drachmae investment in Salonika. This complex alone accounts for nearly one-seventh of all manufacturing activities in the country. Despite the insistent use of the name "pappas" (a Greek-American businessman from Boston), behind this whole venture stand the billions of ESSO and of the entire monstrous complex of Rockefeller's Standard Oil. As William Scott, executive vice-president of SONJ, characteristically put it, "We need Tom (Pappas) for his connections and his knowledge of Greece, as well as for his excellent reputation in Greek governing circles." On account of its size and the variety of its products, ESSO-Pappas is today in a position to exploit not only its own labor and the general consuming public (particularly farmers, to whom its sells fertilizers and tools) but the entire ailing complex of Greek handicraft. Besides all this, ambitious Tom has laid out plans to get a Coca-Cola concession, to build food canning plants, and has repeatedly expressed the desire to buy up Hellenic Steel Works, which is one way or another controlled by Republic Steel.

Naturally, the activities of U.S. monopolists are not limited to ESSO-Pappas nor exclusively to the manufacturing sector of the economy. A special substantiated study would be needed to give a complete picture of the situation. We can nevertheless give a partial list of U.S. corporations operating in Greece:

the charges of anarchy and irresponsibility that are
cted against student militants today.

ong before the Supreme Court formally ruled in 1939
ying factories was on a par with physically assaulting
r stealing his goods, organized labor had abandoned
s and turned to more orthodox methods. In this period,
yone from President Nixon on down is worrying
to check the lawlessness in the universities are there
in the industrial experience of 1937 that offer hope for
ly swift end to the present turmoil?" (NYT 5/12/69)

's historical review of how capitalism subdued the
search for a method of repressing the Panthers and th
tudent movement also implies this repression as a
ound for methods to use against labor and socialist
ions. While looking back to the labor movement to
to how to suppress students, the liberal bourgeoisie
forward to suppressing the labor movement with tech-
arned combatting students. Rule will be increasingly
d by police and judicial repression. The public senti-
the legislation for repression is now being prepared,
guise of being aimed solely at the student movement.
geoisie knows quite well that student militancy and
litancy develop together in periods of social crisis.
lution is to scapegoat each group against the other,
eparing their common repression. Our only solution
ild a united movement to resist the repression and
a common solution to the overwhelming problems of
ety.

Greece
Under NATO Dictatorship

(This article is partly based on a pamphlet that appeared last summer in Greece.)

In 1964, after two years of intense political warfare, a non-rightwing government came to power in Greece for the first time in about thirty years. In June 1965, this government collapsed over a constitutional quarrel with the King and under the unbearable pressure of the right wing, which had maintained intact its control over the Army and the civil services, and which championed the military-economic interests of NATO and the U.S.A.

Two years of mass struggles and political chaos followed, marked by massive demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people, general political strikes, massive peasant demonstrations, disintegration of Parliament, the successive collapse of six coalition-compromise governments in a row. This process of conflict reached its conclusion on April 21, 1967 with the swift imposition of the present military dictatorship. In what follows, we shall try to delineate the main pillars of U.S. policy in Greece which essentially supported this eventuality. We are aware of the fact that politico-military stakes in Greece far exceed the country's direct local economic relevance to U.S. imperialism. Nevertheless, the fever-

rn they had previously expected. Families will remain in crowded apartments, (paying higher rent) take fewer va- ns, cut down on the food bill, buy fewer clothes, books, o deeper into debt for college education, or forgo it en- . Women are being forced to take jobs; men must find a d job. The myths of affluence and "getting ahead" so non to both the working class and the middle class, albeit ferent forms, will be stretched to the breaking point. s and delusions will not give the family adequate dwelling , nor feed, nor educate, their children. That requires y. In this period of recurring monetary crises, the g class is wholly unable to maintain even present wage ards.

Labor's activity in the coming period will be conditioned e fact that workers in most of the large unionized industry's al, steel, auto, electronics -- are under the legal yoke o and three year contracts signed within the last year. strike occurring in those industries is therefore 'illegal' unishable by government sanctions. Thus the government r than the industry will assume the role of directly shing labor struggles. This is analogous to the use of the t injunction against student sit-ins and strikes by college inistrators. The onus of using force is thus transferred the college administrations to the courts who mete out 'justice' as the college administration washes its hands e entire situation. The analogy is an exact one: injunc- s are sought by employers against 'illegal' strikes, ging the entire force of the state against striking employ- The use of the court injunction brings into the focus the ciple of the Wobblies who, instead of raising the trade union an 'no contract, no work', steadfastly demanded . . . 'No ract!'

While strikes by workers under contract will be 'illegal' therefore repressed by government force, large numbers resently unorganized workers will also join the strike wave. y possibly the unorganized will come to lead the strike wave. g, generally speaking, the worst paid. For this group the

government has two policies. These workers will suffer the same repressions meted out to the organized workers, arrest of leaders, anti-picketing or demonstration injunctions, mass arrest of strikers, etc., but without the injunction against conducting an "illegal" strike. The use of this immensely powerful weapon against the strikers requires that they be organized and that they negotiate a contract with their employer.

The ruling class clearly perceives the possibility that unorganized workers (58 million, about 3/4 of American workers) could organize IWW-type organization. An IWW-type labor organization is a potentially socialist formation in that it doesn't attempt to sign a contract for the best "deal" it thinks it can get, but rather functions as a permanent strike committee opposing any form of contract with the employer. Representing the broadest possible alliance of wage-earners represented on a strike committee, this organization has the social potential to take power. The necessary ingredient at this point is a program of social re-organization upon which the strike committee can act.

Since a new wave of labor organization is a likely conmitant to a period of strike activity, the bourgeoisie must ensure that the workers enter the "right kind" of labor organization. The "right kind" of labor organization will petition the government to be allowed to use the "conciliation services" of the NLRB, and will seek to sign long term (3 years is now the average contract duration) collective bargaining agreements. The new union must be sufficiently radical to command the respect of it following, yet sufficiently respectable to follow the command of the government. Walter Reuther's new Alliance for Labor Action may just fit the bill.

A.H. Raskin, labor columnist for the New York Times, recently compared the student sit'ins with the great sit-down strikes of the late 1930's: "Three decades ago the country was as upset as it is now over the illegal seizure of buildings and the mass flouting of judicial process, but the battle-ground was the factory, not the campus. The sit-down strikes of 1937

.community control and poverty organizers were being
d by the active organization of the LC around its city-
point program*. Except for some Panther organizing,
represented the first independent organizing in the
since SNCC's in 1965. In that year SNCC was framed on
plot by former Police Chief Leary and subsequently
its organizing. Charges were later dropped.

city-wide program threatened the base of nationalists
mmunity organizers by presenting an alternative organi-
with the political asset of having a potential for forming
political alliances. Because the political power of na-
sts and community organizers rests on how many adhe-
hey can count as "their people", they are naturally hostile
forming of alliaces in all parts of the city on the basis
mmon program.

se groups are tolerated, supported, sometimes financed,
en established by the bourgeoisie because of their devise-
mong the working class. They are the first line of de-

six points are:
. Schools should remain open for the entire term without any reduction in school programs.
. 33 new schools should be built now.
. Institution of expanded remedial, job-training and college preparatory programs to prepare us to lead decent, productive lives.
. guaranteed expanded oportunities for high school graduates to a college education, regardless of their financial position. Expanded and up-to-date vocational programs and institutes.
. guaranteed productive, well-paying jobs for high school graduates by building 33 new schools and 80-100,000 low-rent housing units needed to alleviate the slums.
. The money for the new schools, the jobs, and the housing units must come from taxing the incomes of banks and landlords, not from increased taxes on the wages of working people.

fense of the bourgeoisie against a nascent socialist movement.

The other side of the government's repression, the scape-goating of anarchist students, including the blacks, is, for immediate, purposes, the cover for the passage of general repressive legislation. For example, the ostensible purpose of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was to guarantee the rights of minorities. Tacked on the end of the Act was the anti-riot provision first used against the Chicago Democratic Convention demonstrators. Nearly every state legislature has this year passed anti-student bills, while in California alone, there are 100 bills against students.

All this repressive legislation, and extra-legal police repression (harrassment and frame-ups) being instituted will soon be directed against its true victims: the labor movement and an emerging socialist movement. Scape-goating the students merely provides the political atmosphere needed to pass this type of legislation. By creating a mood of intense hostility towards these students, by such means, for example, as provoking students as Reagan is doing in California, most Americans will support anti-student legislation, even though it can eventually be used against them. The middle classes, the liberals who usually protest such repressive legislation and police terror are being neutralized by the stupidity, violence, and pretentious "revolutionary" rhetoric of the anarchists. The neutralization of the middle class is essential to the government, because this group is strongly civil liberatarian in sentiment, and will often defend the persons and groups being attacked by the government.

Even now, large scale labor "unrest" looms on the horizon. The intensification of the problems of wage-earners that we have discussed in past Campaigners is being heightened as the consumer price index now is rising at a 7% a year rate. Combined with tax increases, the cost of living will rise over 10% this year. Since most wage-earners will receive something less than the raise required to break even at year's end, most workers will suffer a break from the "normal" pattern of life --the

The two sides of repression

On April 9, four members of the SDS Labor Committee in Philadelphia were arrested on charges of conspiracy and possession of explosives. Eight cops from the Philadelphia Police Department's "Civil Disobedience" squad invaded Steve Fraser's apartment, loudly proclaiming that they had come to search for explosives. Close on their heels were cameramen from KYW-TV (the local CBS station) who refused to identify themselves or to leave the apartment. They had come for the show.

After rumaging through the apartment the police entered the kitchen, turning their backs on the cameramen. Huddled in a tight group around the refrigerator, they all bent down together as though searching for something. With cries of mock surprise, they turned to the newsmen holding up several short pipes, gunpowder, and a candy tin filled with a waxy substance claimed to be an explosive. The four occupants of the apartment were immediately arrested, handcuffed behind their backs, while cameramen filmed the show.

The four were originally booked on $15,000 bail apiece. Taking their cue from the police, Philadelphia newspapers ran front-page stories about the 'bomb plot', complete with

screaming headlines and close-ups of the 'makings of a bomb.

Charges were later dropped against two of those arrested, Muffin Friedman and Paul Milkman, and bail was reduced to $5000 apiece for the others. Steve Fraser and Dick Borgman are still charged with conspiracy and possession of explosives.

The political significance of the Philadelphia frame-ups must be seen on two levels. First, the frame-up reflects the activity of the Labor Committee in Philadelphia and the political threat posed by that activity; secondly, the frame-up emerges as part of a nation-wide pattern of repression against the student movement and the Black Panther Party, as the ruling class prepares them as a scapegoat for the nation's troubles. The two reasons are very much related. At the same time the activity of the Labor Committee allows it to transcend student-only politics, the student movement itself is now suffering the consequence of its own isolation and its confrontation tactics.

The government is acting against the Labor Committee because it offers an alternative to existing conditions and an ever-deteriorating standard of living, while it moves to repress the student movement to provide a scapegoat for all these miseries. Thus the more effective the Labor Committee becomes, the more the government is forced to respond primarily by police repression; while the further the student movement degenerates into anarchist antics, the better is its use as a scapegoat.

The political threat posed by the Philadelphia LC would hardly be due to its number of members. Although it grew considerably, on the basis of its program, during the February Univ. of Penn sit-in, it still represents a numerically small political group.

Repression came when the local bourgeoisie realized that its first line of defense in the ghettos was being breached by LC organizing at the high schools. The local cultural nation-

pring events.

t it is this very layer of students -- that is, the ones with cient social intelligence to distinguish the bankruptcy of the chist direction -- that must be attracted to a socialist ment. It is this group that can act as the cadre of a soc: movement, can develop socialist program, can lead mass gles for the implementation of that program. It is this p of the intelligentsia, who in Marx's description, betray ourgeoisie in favor of the alternative socialist society, they see it as both a genuine social alternative and the alternative. It is this group of developing intellectuals we must address ourselves to, and enlist in the work of de. ing and giving practical organizational life to a transitional list program.

n open admissions...

(The following are excerpts from a leaflet entitled 'After SDS', produced by the Labor Committee for Columbia.)

Both certain black student groups and their anarchist pporters' have reduced a legitimate issue -- 'open admis- ns' -- to a hopeless farce. Neither groups, in any of the ions mounted for open admissions on campuses around w York City, has made the slightest effort to win political port for 'open admissions' or to present a practical means which 'open admissions' could become a reality.

First of all, to get 'open admissions' for those high school duates entitled to go to college this fall would cost from 0 to $600 million a year! That amount of money could not sibly be gained at present (with budgetary cuts dominating scene!) unless we are able to win support from a majority high school and college students and from a majority or stantial plurality of the black, hispanic and white working ple of the whole city.

. . . Now, be really selfish. Forget for the moment your sympathy.... What will an open admissions program including black and hispanic youth do for you? What advantage will you personally, will your children gain from admitting virtually all children of working people to colleges now? We propose that on those grounds a realistic program of 'open admissions' is a matter of your urgent personal self-interest.

...What can be done about this [the poverty and material decay of our society] is to apply present war-production capacity and other wasteful uses of our productive potential to creating new plant and equipment whith which to employ four to six million presently-unemployed and misemployed people in productive occupations -- producing to meet our needs....

But if we are going to unleash modern technology, now substantially thrown down the drain of war production, into expanding modern productive employment, we have to face the fact that a great majority of the poverty-level working people are not technically qualified to be trained to fill these new jobs. We must prepare to marshall our potential human resources for that program.

In short, the failure to educate the overwhelming mass of all young people today up to the equivalent of a modern college education can only result in the failure of our efforts to reconstruct our economy, and therefore result in the deprivation of all members of our society. White workers and intellectuals have to shift mental gears on this point. A black or hispanic student is not a competitor: his education is an essential part of enabling you to better your own material and cultural conditions of life. . . .

nal 'non-negotiable' demands that could not be met by any
y at the present time. Never does it occur to these
ls that demands must be made on the basis of what is
ly necessary, regardless of what the capitalists will or
t grant. Demands must be raised that express the need
ciety as a whole to progress, increasing its production of
alue, thereby elevating its material and cultural level.

uld we imagine the rhetoric-spouting, anti-intellectual
Rudd and his anarchist band comprehending the need for
izing hospital services in ghettoes, re-organizing the pro-
n of textiles, or steel, or turning the assembly lines pro-
that are both deadly and inferior into producing agricul-
implements for the starving agricultural workers of Asia,
a, and Latin America? Could we imagine the black cul-
nationalists equipped with dashikis and a whole bag of rhe-
re-organizing the war industries into building of urban
port systems, massive new housing construction, or
ng the capitalist press into organs of the working class,
ing the history and culture of the working class, and the
and culture necessary to lift the world's people from
present wretchedness?

is in the concret formulation of political demands that
tudent bodies and the working class in general will have
criminate between the anarchist-petty-bourgeois and the
alist-working-class wings of the student movement.

hose students involved in this spring's actions will of ne-
ity have to make political choices next year. This spring,
the last, cannot be repeated. Some radicalized students --
nost politically-dege --will conclude that more action
more-highly dedicated minority is necessary. These a-
hists, rendered increasingly impotent by their own actions,
carry out "guerilla action" and other tricks increasingly
ing", increasingly meaningless, increasingly destructive
in terms of the violence they cause and the justification
give for the State to crack down on the left.

It is from the depths of this group that a true fascist move-
ment will attempt to recruit. Their love of action and violence,
their celebration of youth as the abandonment of social res-
ponsibilities, and their natural middle-class contempt and fear
of the working class, (calling them slobs, racists, fascist,
bought-off, etc.) makes them potential recruits. Their attitude
that they must smite the "affluent" white working class organ-
izations on behalf of the blacks is as virulent an attack on
working class organizations as is the attack used by the govern-
ment in the Kerner Report, local control plans and other de-
vices to racially fragment labor organization in order to
finally crush it.

The second group of student radicals of the "class of '69" are
perhaps the most numerous. They are those who are in-
tensely antipathetic to the social order, yet despair both of pro-
viding the alternative or of re-submerging back into the bour-
geois structure. They tend to drop political activism, school,
careers, and other social responsibilities, and establish
"communes", etc. They are essentially lost to both sides,
although, when and if they re-enter politics, they will tend to
side with the anarchists with whom they have much in common.
The only way their intense demoralization can be overcome is
for a strong socialist movement to appear to give them leader-
ship; by themselves they are incapable of developing and sus-
taining any direction.

They most important section of the present student move-
ment will tend to reduce their political involvement or resign
themselves entirely and return to studies, attempting to re-
integrate themselves into the crumbling bourgeois society.
Because bourgeois order gives them increasingly less social
purpose, they may remain independent radicals of one sort or
another, but will be wary of organizational forms, believing
on the basis of their experience in the student movement, that
organization can lead them into personal disaster, forcing
them to act in ways they know to be politically suicidal. This
process, of demoralizing and casting off the most intelligent
layer of student radicals, has been significantly hastened by

s. In so doing, they identified the radical left with the launched on the white student body by the Committee of hus further discrediting the left on the campus.

ay the situation is bleak. The proportional admissions d has been rejected by the Board of Higher Education. demand has become a political football. By setting competing against blacks for admission to CCNY' the s now being used to mobilize right-wing forces in the city.

events at Columbia and CCNY merely foreshadow the ble demise of the student movement in its present form. ar the student movement is overwhelmingly merely a on to the unraveling of the social fabric, the social decay llapse that produces individual anomie and directionless- In spite of changes in style and rhetoric, the movement l epitomized by Tom Hayden's Port Huron Statement of 1962, which criticizes the society for failing to live up own promises, but offered neither an analysis of why the y was failing, nor the alternative social structure. It statement of what the movement was against, but it't explain why these social horrors existed, or how con- y the social system was to be transformed.

r the seven years since the founding of SDS, the con- that spawned SDS have only worsened. The social fa- gashed in a thousand place; deterioration of the live - s of working class and middle classes has intensified, ospects for the future are more grim, the basis for con- g to believe the social myths less real. We could only an intensification of the criticism of society and a ning alienation among greater and greater masses of stu- Thus as more and more students pass into (and very hrough) SDS, the movement has deepened its hatred for list society. The "anti" rhetoric of SDS sharpened as it new objects for its "anti" campaigns. SDS moved "up protest to resistance" to confrontation politics to the "antis" Campaign of this spring: anti-capitalism, anti- m, anti-imperialism. The more capitalist society

crumbled, the more the petty-bourgeois student movement confronted it with its failings and criminality.

SDS has played out the logic of its own birth. The fundamentally-alienated behavior of the student movement is essentially like that of a child who blames his parents for all his ills, and hopes thereby to solve his problems. In this process he derives constant satisfaction from unrelenting and intensifying attacks on the parents.

Just as the child's behavior is judged neurotic and incapable of producing the result actually desired, so, too, must the behavior of the current phase of the student movement. It attempts to act upon the social class that mediates its social existence rather than actually striving to take command of the social existence itself, that is, to take over the existing social institutions. The penultimate of such incapacity to solve their problems by taking over the institutions (which they are currently intellectually incapable of doing --it is not a matter of numbers), is the desire to destroy the institutions. The increasing rash of vandalism, and burning of college buildings, even the beating of fellow students as at CCNY, is a measure of the social degeneracy of the current phase of the movement. They cannot overcome the enslavement of their own social position; unable to assume the role of master of the society, and use this role to transform society, they can only vilify the capitalist master. If the college administrators were to hand the schools over to the militants saying, "Here it is, now run it the way you see fit", what would the militants do? Close it down? Burn it down?

Bourgeois radical demands, like those of the student movement, are always predicated on what the ruling class will do and how they will react to the demands. Either the radicals decide to make demands that will or can be met by the bourgeoisie, or they decide to make demands that cannot be met, calling these demands non-cooptable and non-negotiable. Either they jump into what is immediately practical under capitalism, "a first step" --like community control" or they make wholly

dings.

had not electrified the masses, had not
istration, and in fact had not even provoked
e police.

City College shed further light on the self-
the student radical movement. In Febru-
college's Onyx Society, Puerto-Rican Stu-
the SEEK Program formed an organization
e of Ten; and presented 5 demands to the
ion:

be established a separate Black Freshman
on Program;
hool of Black and Third World Studies be
ed;
SEEK students exercise greater control over
gram;
admissions policy of the college reflect the
mposition of the city high schools;
education majors be required to study Spanish.

mmittee of Ten sat-in the administration
their demands. President Gallagher announ-
with all of them, and promised to do his best
quickly.

ehalf of the demands was carried out for se-
n, in mid-April, the Committee called for
support of their demands; on the second day
ey seized the south campus, blocking entrance

tion swiftly agreed to implement all demands
litical pressure from the white student body
solution to that demand. At this juncture,
llege were moving quickly to the right.
nistration was in favor of the demands, they
keep the school closed down. Two private
served by groups of students (and co-spon-

sored by Mayoral candidate Proccacino), forced the college to be reopened. When that occurred, members of the Committee of Ten began physically attacking white students to close down the school again. On the second day this occurred, only the arrival of 200 policemen prevented the explosion of a massive race riot. The following day several serious fires were set. White students were becoming more angry and confused.

When a settlement on demand number 4 was reached, the campus became the focus for the city's political attention. 50% of the admittants to CCNY were to come from specially-cited high schools, where a large percentage were black and Puerto-Rican. These students would not be chosen on academic requirements, but on the basis of their poverty.

The settlement of this demand could only serve to further fragment the campus on racial lines. Coming at a time when the education budget was being curtailed and the threat of a total admissions cutback hung over the City University, black students were to be admitted to CCNY at the expense of white students. At no time had the Committee of Ten demanded an expansion of the university, (although they had allowed the white students supporting them to press for universal free higher education). The settlement was the culmination of a series of attacks on the white students and faculty. At one point, when asked by a faculty member where the money would come from for the Committee of Ten projects, a black student leader had yelled back at the faculty: "Take it out of your own pockets; you've got enough money!" At another point, another leader had yelled "We don't care if four people enter the City College next year. Two of them must be black." Having satisfied their feeling of moral outrage, the Committee of Ten, politically and tactically isolated itself from virtually the entire student body.

White radicals isolated themselves by going along with the Committee of Ten. The CCNY Commune (an organization which is attracted by action, any action) seized the education building during the entire time of the occupation of the south

hborhood people. Although SDS claimed that abolition TC would produce a crisis in the military, Andrew Cor- ayson Kirk's far more intelligent successor) called trustees to abolish NROTC in mid-May.

campaign against recruitment was kicked off by a tation with the Army recruiter in late January. In ion the campus discovered to what moral depths the ighty chapter had sunk. Being prevented from getting to ruiters by the police, SDS members went on a rampage the job placement office, smashing typewriters and ning office machines. Robbie Roth, an anarchist leader, fended this hooliganism as part of SDS's attempt to the university.

veral weeks after SDS had called a student strike, the tudent group, the Student Afro-American Society, con- a sit-in demanding control of black admissions and the tudies program. This became SDS's next opportunity ampus action, and to show solidarity with the "Third " represented here by SAS. In fact SAS's demands were unconcerned with the "Third World," but rather were at elevating the social status of their particular organi- on this particular campus by participating on selection tees of entering black students and in determining black courses. Some SAS members even declared that they ot at all in favor of open admissions because this would dilute the quality of their degrees and presumably re- eir opportunities in the job market once there was a supply of black college graduates. SAS refused any ampus support, choosing to deal solely with the adminis- . No matter how much the SDS anarchists were willing ble themselves abjectly, SAS would not deal with them.*

separatism has been encouraged and exploited by uni- ity administrations. Last week Sam Hayakawa declared whites are using blacks as "cannon fodder" for campus rrections. "White revolutionaries by their largesse are ing 'house niggers' of their black allies." A New York es headline May 15 stated "Black Studies Aim to Change

Factional warfare in SDS led to the "disbandment" of the Expansion Committee by the anarchists on the grounds that it was racist for not supporting the demands of SAS, but for acting instead on the housing demands previously put forth by the chapter. At this point, except for the factional split, the chapter (both wings) tried to replay the scenario of the previous year.

With the school year nearing its end, SDS decided to take "Exemplary" action to win its demands. Since 6 demands had been made last year, six demands (non-negotiable, of course) were formulated again. Since there had been a precondition for negotiation last year, there was a precondition again this year. Since Fayerweather and Mathematics had been held last year, these buildings were seized again.

The impact on the campus was nearly the opposite of the previous year. Small groups of students looked on at Math and Fayerweather, watching the SDSers act out their revolutionary fantasies. Juan Gonzales, Lou Cole, and Robby Roth made harangues from the windows of the buildings, taped and papered up so as to hide the identity of the speakers. Rallies at the sun dial, the traditional speaking area, were attended by several hundred students who were curious but disinterested.

Instead of calling the police, Andrew Cordier had obtained an injunction against the continued occupation of buildings. Although vowing to violate the injunctions and remain in the buildings, both factions of SDS were now fully aware of their lack of support from the student body. Classes were even beginning to resume in the non-occupied portions of the Math building. SDS remained in the buildings past the injunction deadline and past their court appearance date the following morning. Around noon that day, covering their heads to conceal their identities from the police and campus officials, SDS

Things", (while white radicalism is merely destructive.). Increasing numbers of administrators and the liberal press have been encouraging black separatism, while vilifying all white radicals.

Statement:

m resistance to impotence

plays out its role

spring has witnessed an unprecedented upswing in the
s of students and campuses involved in students demon-
s, sit-ins, building occupations and violence. [illegible]
movement another dimension has been added by [illegible]
groups which have provided much of the campus militi-
nd many of the demands made on college administrations.
student movement in its present form is being.

social 'logic' of organizing the mass of students [illegible]
ntation politics is collapsing. These tactics have
d their own end, not because the police crack down
itants, but because confrontation anarchism is
ngly alienating the majority of students on the campuses.
olishness of militant actions at Columbia and Brooklyn
e and the outright degeneracy at City College of New
ould not but create the natural forces on campus to
t those actions. The elitism of the black militant
s and their white anarchist counterparts become more
nced as they lose mass campus following. Elitist,
nalist actions, increasingly desperate as their numbers
ticipants decrease, have earned the disgust of fellow
nts.

Columbia University provides a strong example of the process of the student movement's decay. Living in the glory of the 1968 Columbia strike and entirely believing that it was brought about by 'exemplary action,' Columbia SDS has been desperately seeking a repeat performance.

In the late fall, after campaigning on its program of anti-racism and anti-imperialism with little success, there ensued a major debate between SDS's two main factions. The PL-led group, operating within the chapter's Expansion Committee, put forward a proposal calling upon the college administration to admit 300 working-class blacks on full scholarship. Leaders of the anarchist majority faction argued that "the campus was already too racist for such a demand" and that 'black people should not be subject to the brainwashing of bourgeois institutions." The proposal was not adopted.

Three months later, in a complete reversal, a leader of the anarchist faction proclaimed that henceforth SDS should make the universities "serve the people" and should demand that open admissions to Columbia be established from four nearby public high schools. Not to be caught on the same side, the minority faction now argued that "high school students should not be encouraged to accept the bourgeoisification of university study." To be precise, the open admission proposal called for SDS 'support' of the open admission demand by high school students on Columbia. This was done so that SDS could not be called elitist for putting its <u>own</u> demand forth. Since no high school students had yet demanded open admissions to Columbia, SDS found itself in an anomalous position.

In January the chapter leadership decided to organize around 'winnable' reform demands, including the end to NROTC, the elimination of military research and recruitment, and the opening-up of 197 Columbia-owned apartments

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The Campaigner is published by the national caucus of sds labor committees. Editorials represent the views of the committees. Signed articles represent the views of the author.

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From The Campaigner 25c

THE CAMPAIGNER

Publication of the National Caucus of SDS Labor Committees

Economism or Socialism: II

Transitional Program

FROM RESISTANCE TO IMPOTENCE
SDS plays out its logic

THE TWO SIDES OF REPRESSION

GREECE: Under NATO Dictatorship

JUNE 50c

1 - [redacted]

SAC, San Antonio (100-10510) 2/26/69

REC-91

Director, FBI ~~(100-449698)~~ 100-449698-1-7

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReALlet 2/6/69 captioned [redacted] SM - Miscellaneous, Cointelpro - New Left."

In view of Albany's observations as set forth in relet, authority is denied to furnish a photograph of [redacted] to the contacts of your office who are affiliated with the Board of Education.

Since [redacted] activities in your district do not appear at this time to be clearly demonstrated as sympathetic to the New Left, you should take no action with regard to notifying school authorities anonymously of his activities in Albany.

If, in the future, you receive information that indicates he has become affiliated with the New Left or is espousing anarchy or revolution in the classroom, you should make an appropriate request to the Bureau for the institution of an investigation.

2 - Albany (100-20205)

RHH:slw
(6)

MAILED 3
FEB 25 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE:

[redacted] is a teacher in the San Antonio school system. School administrators in the district where [redacted] teaches have received complaints from some students and parents regarding [redacted] teaching methods and some of his statements in class. Albany has determined that [redacted] during a demonstration in December, 1967, at Ithaca, New York, protesting the draft, burned a Selective Service document which he had in his possession. San Antonio originally suggested a photograph of the subject participating in this demonstration be made available on anonymous basis to the San Antonio School Board. Albany recommended against this as it would give away an investigative technique of that Office. As [redacted] sympathies have not been established, we do not feel that counterintelligence action is appropriate at this time.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

55 MAR 4 1969 TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/6/69

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20012) (RUC)

[redacted]

SUBJECT: SM - MISC

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re San Antonio letter dated 1/27/69.

This office does not believe that the photographs of subject previously furnished to San Antonio should be used for counterintelligence purposes since in all probability, subject would have the opportunity to observe these photographs, and thus not only be aware that a photographic surveillance was in existence but also where the surveillance was conducted from.

The Ithaca Draft Board is [redacted] to cover demonstrations outside of the draft board. Anyone having any kind of knowledge at all of this area could readily determine from looking at these photographs where the camera surveillance was located. This could quite possibly jeopardize any future use of this building in covering any future demonstrations.

It is not believed that the use of these photographs in this instance is important enough to warrant the above eantuality. The letter suggested by San Antonio should suffice for the purpose of bringing any necessary attention to the subject by the authorities of the South San Antonio School District.

100-449698-1-7

(2-Bureau (RM)
(1-100-451489)
2-San Antonio (RM)
(1-100-10510)
(1-100-10415)
2-Albany
(1-100-20205)
PFM/jmh
(6)

REC 54

FEB 10 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 12/24/63

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

[redacted]

Re Bureau letter dated 10/31/63, captioned COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT, and San Antonio letter, dated 11/6/63, captioned [redacted] SA-C.

The files of this office have been completely reviewed concerning subject, and it has been determined that there is no information in the possession of this office which shows that subject was a member of SDS at Cornell University during his attendance at this institution.

[redacted] was the subject of an SSA, 1943 investigation (San Antonio, origin) which was based upon his turning in his draft card to LB 62, Ithaca, NY, on 12/7/67, during an anti-draft demonstration. This case was closed when the AUSA, San Antonio, declined prosecution.

Enclosed for San Antonio are two copies of a photograph of subject taken at the time of the above demonstration.

100-449698-1-6

The only additional information contained in Albany files concerning subject is that he was in attendance at the National Mobilization in Washington, D.C., on 10/21/67, and that he was a participant in a sit-in as a protest to Marine Recruiters on the Cornell campus on 11/17/67. Concerning this later activity, [redacted] advised on 12/8/67, that [redacted] as one of 15[illegible] students who had notified Cornell University officials that they had participated in a demonstration held against Marine Recruiters at Barton Hall on the above date. According to [redacted]

3- Bureau (1- 10[redacted])
3- San Antonio (2- 100-10510); (1- 100-10415) (encs. 2) (RM)
1- Albany (1- 100-20012)
PHM:dap
(8)

Classified by [illegible]
Exempt from GDS, Category [illegible]
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

sit-in conducted by these demonstrators was successful in disrupting this recruiting activity.

On 1/17/68, [redacted] advised that his files contained no additional information concerning the subject and that he does not associate him with any student radical activity at Cornell.

[redacted] was recontacted concerning subject during the current inquiry concerning him, and on 12/13/68, he advised that a complete review of his file on SDS contained no information showing subject's membership in Cornell SDS. [redacted] further advised that he had made a discreet inquiry at the Dean of Students Office and at the Office of Student Activities concerning subject and that he had been unable to obtain any information placing him in the Cornell Chapter of SDS.

On 12/13/68, [redacted] advised that his files contain no information concerning subject or membership on his part in SDS while at Cornell University.

During the period of subject's attendance at Cornell, this office had coverage of SDS activity through an SI and a PSI, who are no longer Cornell students. Neither of these informants ever furnished any information concerning subject.

There were no other logical sources of this office to contact concerning subject's SDS membership.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/25/68

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 5/10/68, and Albany letter to Bureau, 6/3/68.

The following information is submitted concerning the status of this program in this field division:

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

A review of New Left activities on college and university campuses within this division has determined the possible vulnerability of some of the student activists in the areas of free sex and the use of narcotics. When any information is received indicating that any students are using narcotics or are cohabiting, this office intends, with Bureau approval of course, to prepare anonymous letters to be sent to the parents of the students involved and to trustees of the school involved when there are several such known instances at a particular school.

It is the intention of this office to attempt to exploit any moral weaknesses on the part of faculty members involved in New Left activity. When any such weaknesses come to the attention of any Agent, consideration will be given to bringing this information to the attention of school officials.

100-449698-1-5

Another potential action will involve any student activists who are known to be the recipients of state scholarships. When these facts are found to exist, it is intended to bring this information to the attention of appropriate local, state, or federal authorities.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany
PFM:lal
(4)

REC-40

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2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

Copies of the article "Campus or Battleground?" reprinted from "Barron's" magazine have been furnished to established sources on campuses within this division. These sources have made highly favorable comments concerning this publication; to date, however, it has not been possible to assess if this action has brought any positive results.

3. Tangible Results

There have been no known tangible results to date.

Confidential source #2 is [redacted]

Sources used to characterize [redacted] are [redacted] and [redacted]

Sources used to characterize [redacted]

Sources presently utilized regarding SDS at Harpur College are [redacted], additional public source material including local newspapers and Harpur College campus student newspaper, "Colonial News" also used. Information from these sources has revealed the organizational functionaries and activities of the chapter. Due to the limited size of the SDS chapter at Harpur College, the above sources have been sufficient in furnishing complete coverage. No additional plans for increased coverage are warranted at this time. In view of the fact that all demonstrations at Harpur College have been peaceful to date, no campus violence is anticipated during the coming school year.

RE: Cornell University (CU)

Sources utilized in the preparation of material contained in this LHM are identified as follows: [redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 9/10/68

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Please send twenty more copies of the "Barron's" magazine reprint "Campus or Battleground?-Columbia is a Warning to All American Universities" to this office.

2-Bureau (RM)
1-Albany
PFM:das
(3)

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REC-21

EX-100

SEP 16 1968

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SEP 19 1968

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/2/68

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

~~Confidential~~

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reburlet dated 5/28/68.

Enclosed herewith are 15 copies each of LHMs prepared, in accordance with instructions in reflet, concerning New Left Activity at the following schools in the Albany Territory: State University of New York at Albany; Harpur College; Cornell University; State University at Cortland; Syracuse University; and Colgate University..

Administrative material applying to these LHMs is set forth hereinafter as such material applies to each of these schools:

RE: State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA)

Present coverage of New Left activities at SUNYA is being conducted through [redacted] members of the [redacted] and [redacted] Information has also been furnished on an intermittent basis by the local offices of the OSI, who have obtained information during their routine background investigations at that institution.

10 cc let destroyed
48 cc LHM "

ENCLOSURE

12 - Bureau (Enc. 90) (RM)
2 - Albany
PFM:gab
(14)

REC 36 100-449698-1-3
JUL 8 1968

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~State~~
RAO, SEC. SERV.
DATE FORWARD: 7-8-68
HOW FORWARD: R/S
BY: RLS:gap

4 JUL 71968

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Confidential

In accordance with prior Bureau instructions, only the leader of the Teachers Draft Counseling Committee (TDCC) is under investigation for possible violation of the ESA, 1948, Counseling, Aiding and Abetting.

Inasmuch as the activities of TDC at SUNYA are conducted under the direction of [redacted], and for the most part he is the only active member of that chapter, coverage of activities is considered to be sufficient. In view of the fact that the TDCC is a criminal matter moreso than a security matter or disruptive New Left organization, investigation is being conducted with a view toward prosecution through normal channels rather than informant and source coverage.

On June 12, 1968, contact with [redacted] and [redacted] revealed that there is no indication that violence will erupt at the SUNYA campus during the forthcoming school year. There are no strong militant leaders on the campus and no problems exist which could be a point for student discontentment.

Sources in attached LHM are:

[redacted]

[redacted]

RE: Harpur College

Confidential source #1 is [redacted]

Confidential

There are presently no informants at Cornell University; however, the Bureau has been requested for permission to open a new PSI case on [redacted] a CU student, who has volunteered to assist this Bureau. It is hoped that he will be able to join SDS as well as The Resistance. Efforts are also being made to identify other students who might have PSI potential.

The following sources are providing information on the New Left organizations at Cornell: [redacted]

[redacted], former PSI, who is no longer at Cornell, but who visits Ithaca, N.Y., from time to time provided information when he returned for such visits.

Additional information concerning New Left activity is obtained from the "Cornell Daily Sun", a daily newspaper published at CU, and through confidential subscriptions to "Dateline: Ithaca" and the "New Patriot", publications of the Peace Movement in Ithaca, N.Y., which often contain considerable information concerning the activities of SDS and The Resistance.

[redacted] has advised that Cornell officials are quite concerned over the potential for violence on campus during the next school year, and it is believed by Agents assigned to the Ithaca RA that there is a fairly strong violence potential and that this is due in a large part by a current administration at Cornell which is constantly bending to student demands.

RE: State University at Cortland (SUAC)

There is no informant coverage at this school, but efforts are being made to develop an informant in SDS if activities of this group increase.

The following sources are providing information at this school: [redacted] and [redacted]. Activities are also followed through receipt of the student newspaper, "The Hilltop Press".

It is not believed that there is any violence potential at SUAC.

RE: Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.

The confidential sources referred to herein are [redacted], and [redacted].

The informant coverage of these schools consists mainly of recognized school officials and/or appropriate [redacted] who have furnished adequate coverage to date.

At this time there appears to be no indication of violence potential at Colgate University.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Albany, New York

July 2, 1968

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
COLGATE UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, NEW YORK

At various times between February 15, 1968 and June 1, 1968, two confidential sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, stated that [redacted] at Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y., was the self-claimed president of an approximate 20-25 member group called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

According to these sources, the SDS at Colgate University was not a strong or closely-knit organization and its activities during the above period consisted mainly of one peaceful campus vigil for peace and the participation in a Syracuse, N.Y., peace demonstration.

[redacted] was described as a white male, born [redacted], a resident of [redacted] who graduated from Colgate University May 26, 1968, with an AB degree in Biology and with a stated intention to continue in an unknown medical school. This individual was not known to these sources to participate in other activities. No successor for the SDS presidency was known.

The SDS, according to the above sources, was not considered strong or particularly active at the above school.

The two above sources also stated that during the period of April 10 - 14, 1968, over 400 persons, including mostly students but some faculty members, had occupied the Colgate University Administration Building to the exclusion

100-449698-1-3

ENCLOSURE ~~100-444178-252~~

of most of the building's normal occupants. According to these sources, this campus disturbance was preceeded by a protest made by the school's 32 Negro students, all members of the Association of Black Collegians (ABC), described as a legitimate nation-wide racial group, against a school fraternity for an alleged incident involving a firing of a racing pistol by a fraternity member at a Negro student. As a result of this protest, the school immediately suspended the fraternity charter and closed the fraternity, causing its occupants to acquire other campus accommodations.

Following the above school decision, the ABC, with the backing of other students, requested the banning of all discrimination in fraternity selection of its members and house occupants. The protest centered upon one fraternity and its discriminatory practices were stated to be dropped by fraternity officials at the alleged risk of losing its own national charter and immediately thereafter the school officials revoked the fraternity's state charter and suspended its operation on the school campus.

According to the above sources, the ABC, joined by other sympathetic students and some faculty members, insisted upon the above revocation plus the ejection of the fraternity house occupants. While negotiating with school officials for the above points, the student-faculty group occupied the premises of the school administration building but left at the end of four days without violence and upon the agreement not to eject the fraternity occupants but to ban discrimination in fraternities in the future.

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES - COLGATE UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, N.Y.

The only known possible outside influence was the claimed support of JACKIE ROBINSON, well-known Negro athlete and civil rights advocate, who reportedly wired a message of support to the students and offered personal attendance on the campus if such was needed.

The above sources stated that the ABC had no actual leader but was represented by all of its 33 members.

1. APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Albany, New York

July 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

I. NEW LEFT ORGANIZATIONS

A. Students For a Democratic Society

This organization was recognized in early 1968 by Syracuse University, according to confidential source #1, who has furnished reliable information in the past. Most sources have indicated that there is no established membership, nor any actual list of members.

Confidential source #2, contact with whom has been insufficient to determine his reliability, but much of whose information has been verified, stated that it was believed there were no more than 20 or 25 "activists" in the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS) at Syracuse, but there was no way of determining the number of persons who are actually associated with the organization.

Confidential source #3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who has attended numerous meetings of the SDS, has identified 7 to 8 persons as probably being members of the organization.

B. Syracuse Draft Resister's Union

This organization has 51 members, established by signatures on a board which has been displayed publicly at numerous demonstrations, and is part of "The Resistance", which has headquarters in New York City. Confidential sources #2 and #3 have advised that this organization is closely associated with the SDS in the identity of persons participating in the activities and the names of both organizations have appeared on leaflets announcing demonstrations. These same

100-449698-1-3

sources advised that meetings are not specifically identified as to organization.

II. RING LEADERS:

A. Students For A Democratic Society

Confidential source #4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the SDS had a bank account at the Marine Midland Trust Company of Central New York, Syracuse, N. Y., in the name "Niagara Regional Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society", which showed [redacted] as President, [redacted] as Vice President, and [redacted] as Secretary-Treasurer.

[redacted] born [redacted] at [redacted] and residing at [redacted], has described himself as Student Organizer for the SDS. He was a former student at Syracuse University during the 1966-1967 school year. In February, 1968, [redacted] made a trip to Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Government, which was paid for by the Cuban Government, returning on March 6, 1968, through Canada, according to confidential source #2.

[redacted], born [redacted] at [redacted] and residing at [redacted] has been associated with SDS since at least 1965 when she attende the National Convention at Champaign, Illinois, according to confidential source 3%, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Confidential source #2 advised that [redacted] went to Cuba in February, 1968, with [redacted] returning with him on about March 6, 1968.

[redacted] former student at Syracuse University, resides at [redacted] with [redacted] who is also described as an SDS member, according to confidential source #2. [redacted] according to

this source, has been associated with numerous demonstrations of this organization during 1967 and 1968.

B. Syracuse Draft Resister's Union

[redacted] born [redacted] resides at [redacted], with his wife, [redacted]

[redacted] according to a close friend [redacted] who was interviewed in 1966, has been associated with numerous peace groups since 1965, including the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Committee To End the War in Vietnam, Syracuse Peace Council, the Catholic Worker and the Committee For Non-Violent Action. He has been a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Club, according to [redacted] and is closely associated with the leaders of SDS, according to confidential source #2. [redacted] tore up his draft card on October 16, 1967, at the Federal Building, Syracuse, N. Y., which was observed by FBI Agents, and turned in the pieces of the card, along with a statement supporting draft resistance, to U.S. Marshal [redacted] on the same date.

III. DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES ON CAMPUS

In connection with demonstrations against Dow Chemical Company, which was recruiting at the Syracuse University Placement Center, University Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y., a demonstration on March 12, 1968, was observed by Agents of the FBI at the Syracuse University Administration Building. The demonstrators closed the doors to the building at approximately 1 PM, tieing them with belts, ropes and wire, and barricading them with furniture. The demonstrators refused ingress or egress to the employees, officials and students of the University for about 4½ hours. The group demanded that all military, CIA, and Government contractors be denied the right to recruit on campus. They were granted the right to speak at the Syracuse

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY -
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

University Senate Meeting on March 13, 1968.

Chancellor WILLIAM P. TOLLEY of Syracuse University suspended all students involved in this action, but later agreed to submit the matter to a hearing committee, which placed all the students involved on probation.

Individuals participating in the above demonstration were both students and non-students of Syracuse University, and they numbered approximately 100 persons. No faculty members were identified in connection with this demonstration.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Albany, New York

July 2, 1968

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
STATE UNIVERSITY AT CORTLAND
CORTLAND, NEW YORK

On June 3, 1968, [redacted], advised that the only new left organization that is operating at the State University at Cortland is Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix pages.

[redacted] advised that the leaders of the SDS at the State University at Cortland during the past school year were [redacted] and [redacted] who were co-chairmen of SDS. [redacted] furnished the following information concerning [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] at State University at Cortland and resides [redacted] was born [redacted] in the [redacted] a [redacted] was chosen a [redacted]

[redacted] at the State University at Cortland and resides at [redacted]. His home address is [redacted]

[redacted] stated that SDS has been relatively inactive during the school year. He said that some members of SDC did commit themselves to participate in the march on the Pentagon in October, 1967, and that SDS did sponsor a teach-in on drugs. He stated further that he did not know

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100-449698-1-3
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ENCLOSURE

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
STATE UNIVERSITY AT CORTLAND
CORTLAND, NEW YORK

how many students from the State University at Cortland actually participated in the march on the Pentagon.

The October 6, 1967, issue of "The Hilltop Press", a student newspaper published weekly at State University at Cortland, stated that more than twenty members of SDS have committed themselves to participate in a march on the Pentagon called by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The march to take place October 21 and 22.

The February 23, 1968, issue of "The Hilltop Press" revealed that SDS sponsored a teach-in on drugs. The program was titled Drugs, The Student and The Law.

1.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Albany, New York

July 2, 1968

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

Confidential sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have advised that the following New Left organizations are in existence at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and The Resistance.

A characterization of SDS is contained in the Appendix hereto.

The June 5, 1967, edition of "New Left Notes", a weekly publication of SDS, reported that The Resistance was born on the West Coast and now has member groups on more than 20 campuses in the country. It serves as a focal point for coordinating the activities of all forms of active draft resistance such as civil disobedience and disruption of Selective Service functions. The Resistance sends men to all parts of the country in an effort to unite militant anti-war groups for a unified and maximum-effect push to impair the activities of the draft.

Cornell has an estimated SDS membership of about 50 and an estimated Resistance membership of about 20. In most instances the membership is overlapping.

100-449698-1-3

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

[redacted] is the leader of The Resistance at Cornell. He formerly held the position of [redacted] in New York City. He returned to Ithaca in the Fall of 1967 and has since worked on behalf of this organization at Cornell. Prior to his withdrawing from Cornell in 1967, [redacted] was also president of [redacted] He now holds the position of [redacted]

[redacted] is currently under indictment in Federal Court, Northern District of New York, for violation of the Selective Service Act in that he publicly destroyed his draft card on December 14, 1966, and then returned this torn card by mail to his local draft board.

[redacted] was also an active member of an un-named anti-draft group at Cornell, which promoted the mass draft card burning in New York City on April 15, 1967, at the time of the Spring Mobilization.

[redacted] who is considered as probably the leading student activist at Cornell, was born [redacted] at [redacted] His home address is [redacted]

[redacted] aka [redacted] was instrumental in reorganizing Cornell SDS as an action organization in January, 1968, and was elected to the position of co-chairman in charge of national coordination. Since that time he has been an active leader in SDS protest activity and demonstrations that have taken place on campus. He, reportedly, has the ability to lead and influence his fellow students, and because of this is considered a leading force behind the New Left at Cornell.

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

[redacted] has been identified as a participant in the mass draft card burning in New York City on April 15, 1967, and has been the subject of investigation for this activity. His case is awaiting final prosecutive opinion.

[redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted] He is a graduate student at Cornell, is married, and resides at [redacted]. His home is in [redacted]

[redacted] aka [redacted] became very active in New Left activity at Cornell during the past school year. In January, 1968, he was elected to the position of [redacted] and at the [redacted]

[redacted] has also taken a leading part in activities of the Resistance and has been publicly identified as a coordinator of The Ithaca Resistance. He was arrested at the National Mobilization in Washington at The Pentagon on October 23 1967, for refusing to move when told to do so and received a $25 fine, 15 days suspended sentence, and six months probation.

[redacted] is the subject of investigation for violation of the Selective Service Act for failure to have his draft card in his possession. This resulted from his advising his draft board that he had lost his card and that he no longer desired to cooperate with Selective Service.

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

[redacted] was born [redacted], at [redacted], [redacted]. He is single. His home address is in [redacted]

Although there were several demonstrations at Cornell during the 1967-1968 school year, relatively few resulted in either disruptive activity or violence, and there were no instances where it became necessary for university officials to call upon any law enforcement agency for assistance.

On October 20, 1967, four buses were scheduled to leave from in front of Willard Straight Hall, Cornell campus, at midnight for the National Mobilization in Washington, D.C. When the buses pulled up on the street outside of this hall to receive the passengers going to Washington, about 150 counter-demonstrators representing a student organization called STOP (Society To Oppose Protestors) surrounded the buses and staged a sit-in so that the buses could not move. They succeeded in delaying the departure of the buses for almost an hour until university officials prevailed upon them to terminate their sit-in. There was no direct confrontation between the demonstrators going to Washington and the counter-demonstrators, although there was some throwing of eggs, beer cans, and tomatoes, and one campus patrolman was slightly injured.

On November 14, 1967, approximately 40 students went to the office of Cornell Provost DALE CORSON in the Administration Building and presented a petition which stated that 600 students requested that armed forces recruiters should engage in debate with students and answer their questions, and if they failed to do this, the recruiters should be prohibited

from coming to the campus. On November 17, 1967, over 300 persons, most of them students, engaged in a sit-in at Barton Hall and were successful in blocking and disrupting the activities of Marine Corps Recruiters who were visiting there on that date. This activity could not be specifically identified with either SDS or The Resistance.

There were some minor injuries suffered by some of the demonstrators during the sit-in at Barton Hall; these injuries were caused by some counter-demonstrators when they walked over the demonstrators lying on the floor around the recruiting table.

There were no further efforts to block armed forces recruiting activities during the remainder of the year, and Cornell did not adopt any policy to stop recruiting activity or to try to force the recruiters to enter in debate with any students.

On February 27, 1968, approximately 200 students attended a rally at Willard Straight Hall to hear students and faculty speak against the draft and to plan a sit-in at the University President's office. This sit-in was called off after President PERKINS agreed to meet with the students and answer their questions.

On April 4, 1968, about twenty students took over the office of the Department of Economics in [illegible] Smith Hall in order to protest the alleged racist [illegible] and teaching of Professor MICHAEL MC PEHLIN. Most of these students were Negroes and claimed to represent the Afro-American Society at Cornell. They held this office for several hours. During this period, one campus patrolman was knocked down by the protesting students and suffered minor injuries.

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITIES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

Other demonstrations held on campus during the year protested the war in Vietnam, the Selective Service System, the manufacture of napalm by Dow Chemical Company, the investment of funds by Cornell in New York City banks having financial interests in the Republic of South Africa, and the operation of the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory in Buffalo, N.Y. by Cornell University because of its classified defense contracts. In few instances could these demonstrations be identified with SDS as the sponsoring organization.

The Resistance sponsored draft card turn-ins to the Ithaca Draft Board on October 16, 1967, December 7, 1967, and April 5, 1968. These activities were carried out without violence or disruption.

1.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Fort Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Albany, New York

July 2, 1968

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
HARPUR COLLEGE, BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK

On June 14, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the leadership of the New Left on the Harpur College campus was coming from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The source advised that the SDS has been a small close-knit group at Harpur College for the past few years and he estimates the current membership at SDS, Harpur College, at no more than thirty.

(A characterization of SDS appears in the Appendix attached hereto.)

The same confidential source advised that the SDS was currently being directed by [redacted] President, white male, born [redacted] at [redacted], and [redacted] white female, born [redacted]

Confidential sources who have furnished reliable information in the past advised that [redacted] parents were formerly active in Communist Party, USA, and that [redacted] herself formerly had attended Du Bois Clubs of America meetings and was carried on the rolls of the national office of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, Chicago, Illinois.

(A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America appears in the Appendix attached hereto.)

The first confidential source mentioned above further advised that suspected SDS members [redacted], white male, born [redacted] and [redacted] born [redacted] have been active organizers of campus protests.

ENCLOSURE 100-419698-1-5

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
HARPUR COLLEGE, BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK

Sources who have furnished reliable information in the past advised that [redacted] is on the National W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America mailing list in Chicago, Illinois, and was one of five listed charter members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs at the State University of New York at New Paltz, N.Y.

On December 7, 1967, 120 students and faculty members of Harpur College participated in a silent vigil at Broome County Court House, Binghamton, N.Y., sponsored by SDS chapter. This service was in opposition to the Vietnam War and some of the demonstrators carried signs to stop the bombing in Vietnam. There were no outbreaks of violence during the course of the vigil.

On September 27, 1967, U.S. Marine Corps Captain EUGENE M. LITZ and Navy Chief ROSS FEGLEY, assigned to the Officer Selection Division of the U.S. Marine Corps Recruiting Station, Syracuse, N.Y., appeared at the Harpur College campus for recruitment purposes and were met by 40 students carrying signs protesting the war in Vietnam and referring to the Marines as "killers". The first confidential source advised that numerous known and suspected SDS leaders were named the leaders of this demonstration. There was no violence or physical contact made with the recruiters during this demonstration. Some of the protestors sat in the corridor near the recruiters' table and displayed signs such as "Kill for Peace", "The Marine Corps destroys men", and "No killers on campus".

On February 22, 1968, Captain LITZ again appeared on the Harpur College campus for recruitment purposes in a private room in the Administration Building. In the lobby of the Administration Building in conjunction with his appearance, approximately 100 students gathered for a rally teach-in to protest LITZ' being on campus. Among the speakers at this protest was [redacted] The first confidential

source and known suspected SDS members were in attendance at this demonstration. No attempts were made to interfere with the progress of Captain LITZ or harassment while he was on campus.

During April 16-26, 1968, 10 days of protest and resistance took place on the Harpur College campus under the sponsorship of the United Student Government, the official student governing body of Harpur College. Among the speakers who appeared on campus was DAVID DELLINGER, Chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, who spoke at a program moderated by [redacted], a suspected SDS member. On the last day of the strike, April 26, 1968, approximately 150 students gathered on campus to hear speeches by students and professors against the Selective Service System, the Vietnam War and racism.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during this demonstration [redacted] spoke and stated he was going to burn his Selective Service registration certificate. [redacted] then set fire to a piece of paper source could not identify. At the conclusion of the demonstration on the campus, [redacted] announced that a group was going to picket the Selective Service board in Binghamton, New York, and the IBM plant in Endicott, N.Y. Later that same day, approximately 50 women and girls picketed Selective Service Board 54 in Binghamton, N.Y., and the IBM Corporation, Endicott, N.Y.

The first confidential source advised that the main issues in contention during these campus demonstrations were the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. He advised that all

demonstrations either on or off campus by Harpur College students were peaceful to date. There has been no attempt at civil disobedience. He stated that there has not been any attempted student take-overs on campus such as the one which occurred at Columbia University earlier in the year.

1.

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 13, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

1. APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

2.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that [redacted] is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Albany, New York

July 2, 1968

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY ---
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
AT ALBANY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapter and the Teachers Draft Counseling Committee (TDCC) at the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA) are presently the only active New Left organizations in existence on the SUNYA campus. A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the SDS membership has been established at approximately 33 students and the TDCC membership has been established at approximately 32 counselors with 59 supporting members. This source advised that the TDCC is a committee of concerned faculty members attempting to make available to students full information concerning their alternatives to the draft under the Selective Service law and inform them concerning all legal oppositions.

SDS is characterized in the Appendix attached hereto.

This same source advised that [redacted] is currently the president of the SUNYA SDS chapter and additionally is the only member who is actively engaged in any New Left activities. Investigation of [redacted] has revealed that he is not associated with any subversive organizations or individuals other than his association with SDS. [redacted] graduated from Oberlin College, Ohio, and is presently a graduate student at SUNYA. He was born [redacted] at [redacted], and currently resides at [redacted], with [redacted] his wife. [redacted] has participated in various protests in the Albany area, one of which resulted in his arrest for disorderly conduct. This arrest was the result of a demonstration against a Dow Chemical Company recruiter who was

ENCLOSURE 100-449698-1-3

conducting recruiting activities at SUNYA on 2/28/68. [redacted] accompanied by nine other demonstrators, was arrested for blocking the recruiter's office and was charged with disorderly conduct by the Albany, N. Y., Police Department. [redacted] was fined $25.00.

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] SUNYA, was the chairman of the TDCC. [redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted]. He attended the University of West Virginia graduating in 1954 with a BA degree in English. [redacted] received his MA degree in April, 1960, and his Ph.D in September, 1967, both from Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. He presently resides at [redacted]

The November 2, 1967, issue of the "Times Union", an Albany, N. Y., daily newspaper, contained an article which stated that a recruiter from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was forced to break off interviews with students at SUNYA campus on Wednesday, November 1, 1967, when protesting students intervened in the session. The students invaded the room where the CIA field representative was talking to students, and according to University officials made it impossible for him to continue. The CIA representative was forced to move to a different office to conduct his recruiting business. The first source mentioned above advised that the protest was organized by [redacted] representing SDS.

On February 21, 1968, a demonstration was held in the corridor outside of an office being utilized by a Dow Chemical Company recruiter who was interviewing students for future employment at SUNYA. Students interested in being interviewed by Dow were initially allowed by the protesters to enter the office although they had to walk around and step over the demonstrators. However, at approximately 4:30 P.M. that day, several protesters locked arms and blocked the

entrance to the Dow recruiter's office and allowed no one to enter or leave the office.

Attempts were made by University officials to disperse the protestors which was negative in results. After repeated warnings, the ten demonstrators were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. This source advised that among the leaders of the demonstration was [redacted] representing SDS. All ten demonstrators arrested paid fines ranging from $25.00 to $50.00. Among the ten arrested was one faculty member and the wife of another faculty member.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 6/14/68

FROM : SAC, Albany (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet dated 5/23/68.

The following information is being furnished the Bureau as per instructions in reflet:

False Allegations of Police Brutality

In the few student-police encounters that have taken place within this field division, there have been no charges of police brutality. It is noted, however, that Prof. DOUGLAS DOWD [redacted] of Cornell University (CU), and who is regarded as a faculty spokesman for the New Student Left at CU, wrote an article entitled, "Step Up In Police Brutality", which appeared in the 11/2/67 issue of the "New Patriot" (an independent news weekly of the Peace movement published at Ithaca, N. Y.) In commenting on the opposition to the Vietnam War in this country. DOWD stated that the most deadly recent development at home is the great increase in police brutality used against those protesting the war. He maintained that acts of civil disobedience do not justify police brutality in any way, and stated that what has occurred with increasing frequency is that those engaged in or willing to engage in civil disobedience had found themselves being beaten, battered with high power fire hoses, butted with rifles and tear gas. He further indicated there may be Agents and provocateurs planted in the peace movement to cause trouble by exhibiting violent inclinations.

100-448698-1-2

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Immorality

It is believed that the following incidents are representative of the habits and living conditions of those associated with the New Left.

1. [redacted] an instructor at Onondaga Community College, Syracuse, N.Y., has been active in various demonstrations in the Syracuse area protesting U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and has also organized and led demonstrations against CIA recruitment.

[redacted] has advised that he has learned from a confidential source that [redacted] was cohabiting with [redacted] who has also participated in several demonstration in the Syracuse area.

2. On 1/22/66, [redacted] advised that [redacted] then a student at Central High School in Syracuse, while in attendance at the SDS National Convention at the University of Illinois in December, 1965, had open sexual relations with numerous persons at the convention and on one occasion, took a shower with a large group of men in the men's shower room.

On 3/11/68, [redacted] supra, advised that [redacted] and [redacted] since their return from Cuba with an SDS delegation who had visited that country, were living together at [redacted] Since that time additional information has been received that [redacted] and [redacted] are all living together at the above address.

3. [redacted] has advised that 25 cigarettes found in the Syracuse University Administration Building on the floor, after a sit-in demonstration, directed against Dow Chemical Recruiting on 3/12/68, contained marijuana.

4. [redacted], a student at Utica College of Syracuse University, Utica, N. Y., has been an outspoken campus newspaper columnist against the war in Vietnam and the draft. He was suspended from school for one semester for involvement with narcotics.

5. [redacted] is the subject of an SSA, 1948 investigation by this office for draft card destruction. When he was contacted at his apartment in Albany, N.Y. for interview by Agents of this office, both he and his apartment were so filthy that the Agents had to talk to him outside because of the stench.

6. [redacted] is a [redacted] of the CU SDS. He also is the subject of investigation for having burned his draft card in NYC on 4/15/67 during the Spring Mobilization. He is a graduate student at CU, is married and has one child. On 5/21/68, [redacted], a neighbor at Hasbrouck Apartments, a Cornell owned apartment development for married students, advised that [redacted] and his wife are separated, that his wife was going to try to get a divorce on grounds of adultery, and that in the meantime, both reportedly are living with other partners.

7. [redacted] the son of [redacted], nationally known author and champion of the New Left, was the subject of investigation by this office for never having registered for Selective Service prior to the time he was killed in a mountain climbing accident last summer. When he was contacted by Agents of this office at his apartment in Ithaca, N.Y., for an interview early one morning in the spring of 1967, he appeared highly flustered when he answered the door. He said he didnot want to talk with the Agents at that time, but that he could be contacted later that morning by the Agents. He later told a PSI that the reason he wanted to postpone the interview was because he was living with [redacted], a Cornell coed, who was in bed with him when the Agents came to his apartment. [redacted] after [redacted] death, sometimes used the surname [redacted] During the past winter she contacted the Ithaca RA to see if the

FBI would be willing to furnish her with a photo of [redacted] since she stated she had no good photos of him.

8. During the course of several SSA, 1948 investigations conducted concerning CU students at Ithaca, N.Y., the investigating Agents have had occasion to visit several apartments of the subjects in the collegetown area of Ithaca. This area consists of privately owned apartment houses located just off Cornell campus. The Agents have come upon several apparent instances of male and female students living together. It has also been found with very few exceptions that these apartments of these individuals, most of whom are connected with either SDS or the Resistance, are maintained as slovenly hovels with unmade beds, unwashed dishes, open garbage and general filth and disarray.

9. The "Trojan Horse" is a student literary publication at CU. During the 1966-1967 school year, the local printing company that normally printed this magazine refused to print one article submitted for inclusion in one of its issues because of the obscene nature of this article. The Glad Day Press, which is a part of The Office, which in turn serves as the headquarters meeting place and literature distribution center for the various peace and protest groups at CU, including SDS and The Resistance, readily agreed to print this article as an insert to the regular printing of the "Trojan Horse". As soon as this magazine appeared in its [redacted] distribution points on campus, [redacted] issued orders to confiscate all [redacted] issues of the magazine because of its obscene nature. This action resulted in a lengthy campus controversy that ultimately ended in the forced resignation of [redacted] for his action in this matter and for alleged collusion with the Tompkins County District Attorney.

10. There has been a small SDS Chapter at the State College at Cortland, Cortland, N.Y. In January, 1968, two of its members, [redacted] were arrested by the Cortland PD on narcotic charges; [redacted] and [redacted] criminally selling a dangerous drug, first degree; and criminal possession of marijuana, respectively.

Action By College Administrators

1. On two occasions, in December, 1967, and January, 196[illegible], a small group of students at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., attempted to block the way of a military recruiter and prevent his appearance on campus. School officials immediately intervened and established the policy that recruiters had a right to appear on campus, that disapproving students had the right of peaceful protest, but that the students could take no physical action to prevent the activities of the recruiter. No similar protests have occurred.

2. In April, 1968, 33 Negro students at Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., initiated a protest against racial and religious discrimination practiced by school fraternities in their selection of members. These protestors were soon joined by nearly 400 other students and some faculty members who occupied the school's Administration Building and excluded others from the building for four days. Their demands included that fraternities drop their discriminatory requirements and that the school immediately close one fraternity house that was the particular target of their complaints. The fraternities voluntarily dropped their discriminatory clauses; however, school officials refused to close down the fraternity house that was the main target of the demonstrators.

3. On 3/28/67, a group of students at the State University at Albany caused a demonstration against recruiters of the Dow Chemical Company, which resulted in completely disrupting their recruitment activity. Albany Police were called in and ten students were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and received fines ranging from $5 to $50. Fifty other student participants who threw their ID cards at a school official when he requested their names during the demonstration were all suspended from school. There have been no subsequent demonstrations.

4. A demonstration was held on 3/12/68 at Syracuse University, during which time an estimated 100 persons barricaded

the doors of the Administration Building. This demonstration began around noon and continued until 5:30 that evening. The demonstrators demanded that the University exclude selected recruiters from use of campus facilities, including any companies doing work essential to continuation of the Vietnam War and the military services, as well as CIA. At the time of the demonstration the chancellor of the University wasout of town and no action was taken to remove the demonstrators. Upon the return of the chancellor, however, immediate steps were taken to expel the graduate students participating in the demonstration, and the chancellor, WILLIAM P. TOLLEY, stated he would not tolerate any such future activity. He, however, was prevailed upon to submit the evidence regarding all students to a faculty committee and accept their decision regarding expulsion of the graduate students. This faculty committee later reported that they recommended the suspension of the original expulsion of the students on the proviso that these students would be on probation during the remainder of their stay on the campus. The committee stated that such action as the demonstration on 3/12/68 could not be tolerated. Subsequently, in his report to the Board of Trustees of the University, chancellor TOLLEY made it very clear that such actions on thepart of the students would not be countenanced. There have been no demonstrations at Syracuse University since this time.

5. There have been several demonstrations at CU since 5/17/65, when the first student protest was held. At that time, 72 students staged a sit-in at Barton Hall during the annual review of the Cornell ROTC Units and succeeded in disrupting the review as a protest against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Most of the student participants were placed on disciplinary probation for the remainder of the school year, (which actually was only a token punishment, since the school year was almost near its end). Since then, there have been two incidents where demonstrating students have tried to stage sit-ins at the University President's Office. The Cornell President refused to talk or bargain with the demonstrators until after they left the premises.

Although allother demonstrations have been peaceful, the Cornell Administration has been quite vacillating with respect to its attitude towards these demonstrators and their demands. Although school officials have consistently stated they will not be intimidated by student demonstrators, they have, nevertheless, acceded to many of their demands, as shown by the following examples:

a. All classified research was conducted at the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory in Buffalo, N.Y., which was a wholly owned division of Cornell University. Cornell has now agreed to sell and sever all connections with this facility.

b. Because of the demands by a few that class rank and grade information not be given to the SSS, a policy has been adopted whereby very little information is given to any outside agency, including Government investigators. Theoretically, the only information now being made available are the dates of attendance, school attended and whether a degree was awarded.

c. Recruiters are allowed on campus, but they must be willing to engage in open discussion with any student demonstrators as long as the demonstrators do not disrupt their activity.

d. When an assistant proctor attempted to remove a button which contained offensive language from a student who was an SDS officer, this official was not backed by the Administration and was publicly censured for his action.

e. When the supervisor of the Cornell Safety Division confiscated an obscene publication, as mentioned above, he was given the choice of being fired or resigning with severance pay.

Student protest action at Cornell has not received outside influence to any extent. However, such action has been backed in most instances by certain faculty members numbering probably less than thirty.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/3/68

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20205) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet dated 5/10/68.

This matter has been brought to the attention of all Agents handling security matters and all Agents handling investigations involving the New Left for the purpose of obtaining ideas and recommendations for potential counter-intelligence action.

There are no persons considered to be Key Activists in this territory, but there are several branches of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and of The Resistance connected with various educational institutions, including Cornell University, Syracuse University, Harpur College, State University at Cortland, State University at Oswego, Colgate University, and Albany State University.

Investigations to date of persons involved in this New Left activity indicate that many of these students have also been involved in the use of narcotics (marijuana in particular) and hallucigens such as LSD. Consideration was given to the exposure of this relationship through cooperative news media representatives, however, these individuals are of such ilk that it is not believed that such disclosures would be of any embarrassment to them or to their associates.

MCT

It is noted that many of the students, professors, and clergy, who are now decrying U. S. intervention in Vietnam and the Selective Service System, are the same persons who three or four years ago, were preaching civil rights. In most instances, these individuals have now divorced themselves from civil rights and have concentrated their activities on the Vietnam and related problems. It is suggested that disclosure of this complete change of activity on the part of certain selected faculty members and/or clergymen could possibly show their fickle nature and the fact that this type of person protests for the sake of protest only with its accompanying notoriety and publicity, and not because of personal sincerity or dedication of purpose.

100-902
2-Bureau (RM)
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REC-91

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Many Agents have noted during investigations of the student activists and draft card burners that most of them do not live on campus or in dormitories but in off-campus apartments that can best be described as slovenly hovels and that in many instances male and female students are living in open cohabitation. It is difficult to believe that the parents of these students can be cognizant of these conditions in most instances. It is suggested that, when such conditions are known to exist, anonymous letters be sent to the parents of the parties involved.

It has also been noted that many of the student protestors and activists are attending college with state and Federal scholarship help. It is suggested that instances of this nature be brought to the attention of cooperative sources in congress or the state legislature.

It is believed that an organization which has been called into existence on various occasions as a more or less ad hoc group in opposition to the campus radical protestors offers the best possibilities for counterintelligence. This group calls itself STOP (Society to Oppose Protestors), and its members have counter-demonstrated in a fairly effective and orderly manner when bus loads of demonstrators left the Cornell University campus for the National Mobilization in Washington, D. C., in October, 1967, and for the Spring Mobilization in New York City, in April, 1967. The advisor to this group is [redacted] and a highly cooperative source. It is believed that the initialed name of this group holds considerable public appeal. It is further believed that it could obtain national publicity and national appeal if it could be established on campuses throughout the country. This organization could function in an orderly, but yet in a manner which would create favorable publicity and which would at the same time be able to disrupt many of the planned activities of the participants in the New Left. It is suggested that [redacted] be used on a highly confidential basis to attempt to get members of this Cornell organization to start similar groups on other campuses, or that a comprehensive account of the activities of this group at Cornell be given to some highly cooperative nationally syndicated columnist, who could publicize its aims and purposes with the view in mind of encouraging students on other campuses to form similar groups.

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY -
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

~~Confidential~~

[redacted] is a neighborhood source on [redacted] and some information is being furnished by him at the present time regarding her activity.

Other efforts will be made to obtain additional PSI and informant coverage in the SDS.

POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE

Information has been furnished by [redacted] and other information has been obtained from [redacted], which tends to support the information from [redacted] that members of the SDS are in the process of attempting to obtain and stockpile arms and explosives, primarily for the purpose of starting what they refer to as "revolution" at Syracuse, N. Y., during the summer of 1968. This revolution is supposed to be timed to take place on the occasion of a race riot which the organization is allegedly attempting to bring about during the summer. Informant could furnish no timetable.

As to violence on the campus during the coming school year, there has been no information from any source indicating that any such violence is contemplated, and there is no means by which the potential can be assessed at this time.

~~Confidential~~