The Politics of URPE

An Editorial

At the end of the NUC Convention in June I thought, "Wow! I'm glad we have scheduled all those workshops on teaching and imperialism and economic organization so we can spend our time at the URPE Conference talking about substantive things instead of all this incredible political bullshit!"

My thoughts these days are running a different course. For the past two months of serving as National Secretary of URPE, I have been dealing with people in Cambridge on a day-to-day basis, trying to form a collective around the National Office, reading materials submitted to us for publication, re-reading some of the materials we have already published. I have come to the conclusion that before we go any farther with URPE we had better engage in some lengthy discussion of our politics, and that this should be

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BLACK ECONOMIC POWER

by Barry Herman
University of Michigan

On May 3, the URPE Ohio-Michigan region held a conference in Ann Arbor on "Realizing Black Economic Power," attended by students and faculty from the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Wayne State University, Oberlin College, Antioch College, Wright State University, and other neighboring institutions.

The morning session was devoted to a panel discussion of the goals of black economic development and on "the state of the art". The panel consisted of a distinguished group of practitioners: from Detroit, Walter McMurtry, Executive Director of the Inner City Business Improvement Forum (ICBIF), an active black group that establishes and encourages black businesses and co-ops; Ed Ewell, Vice President, and Hank Rogers, President of the Urban Design Development

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URPE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, AUG. 24-31

The second national URPE conference will be held August 24-31, 1969 at Camp Sea Gull, Charlevoix, Michigan. The conference is open to all members and friends of URPE and their families. Camp Sea Gull has accommodations for up to 250 people housed in cabins. In addition there are 30 bedroom available on a first-come, first-serve basis for couples or families with children.

Included in the camp fee ($6.50 per day per person including children) are three meals prepared by the camp staff plus an evening snack. All of the facilities of the camp including tennis courts, sail boats, canoes, power boats, swimming, archery, baseball, football, etc. are available to conference participants. We are planning to arrange the conference so that at least one-third of your time can be spent in recreation. Child care will be arranged. Participants should bring their own bedding and tennis balls. Pets are allowed.

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Following is the revised tentative schedule for the Conference. The names listed are those people who, by the end of July, have committed themselves to taking part in the program. The list is by no means complete.

Sunday - all day Registration, Recreation, Socializing

Monday - morning Undergraduate Curriculum and Teaching - Pete Bohmer, M.I.T.
Stephen Michelson, Harvard

evening Imperialism: Past and Present - Jim O'Connor, BACSE

Tuesday - morning Contradictions of Advanced Capitalism - Jim O'Connor, BACSE
Towards a Radical Social Science: Breaking Down Bourgeoisie Categorizations in the Social Sciences

evening Wednesday - morning Issues of Our Times: Women's Liberation - Marilyn Goldberg, BACSE
Black Liberation
Student Rebellion

What Is URPE: How Do We Relate to the Movement?
How Do We Relate to Academic Institutions?
How Do We Relate to the Economics Profession?
Can We Be Professionals Without Contracting Professionalism?

Thursday - morning Graduate Education and Curriculum - Peter Bearse, New School
Mike Zwick, SUNY-Stony Brook

evening Poverty and Ghetto Development - Barry Bluestone, Univ. Mich.
Mike Zwick, SUNY-Stony Brook

Friday - morning & evening Capitalism's Alternative:
Social Property vs. Private Property
Centralization vs. Decentralization
Community Control vs. Workers Control

Discussants: Lenny Goldberg, BACSE; Mike Zwick, SUNY-Stony Brook; Pete Bohmer, M.I.T.; Les Boden, M.I.T.; Bert Schoner, U. of Iowa

Saturday - all day Business Meeting
evening Orgy

Sunday - morning Check Out
POLITICS (continued from page 1)

started at the National Conference this month, even if it means we don't get to talk about all those other groovy things.

From where I sit, I see two divergent tendencies within URPE. The first is represented by most of the material published in the first issue of the URPE Review. In fact, it is best represented by the fact that there exists an URPE Review with its smooth looking cover and format, before there has been any democratic discussion of what kinds of things should be included in such a publication or if we should have this type of publication at all. But I must admit that it does look professional! Reading the material only reinforces the fear that we have established another economic journal, this one somewhat leftist, from which we can snipe at the "establishment" guys, but which is far from containing any revolutionary analysis. The more basic fear, of course, is that we have established an organization to match that leftist, professional journal.

The other tendency is best exemplified by the BACSE Manifesto, which attempts to set out how they, as radical economists, view the world and their work. It is a program for attacking the basic theoretical problems of the movement, emphasizing that it is our responsibility as radicals to do this. Don McKelvey makes the point very clearly: URPE as an organization to date has remained irrelevant to the movement.

Our problem is that we have two audiences: people in the "profession" to whom we are trying to demonstrate an alternative and win to our position and people in the movement who desperately need solid economic analysis. Before we can do either of these, however, we have to define the politics of URPE. Here we can take a lesson from the radical sociologists. They have no fancy Review, no big organization, no National Secretary. But they have politics, and they're leading with them. Right on.

To paraphrase a Black Panther I heard speak a few days ago, "We'd better get our shit together!"

---Ted Behr

NUC
An Editorial

The New University Conference has clearly established itself as a significant organization for radical academics. At its recent Convention, a preamble to the Constitution was adopted declaring NUC committed "to struggle politically to create a new, American form of socialism and to replace an educational and social system that is an instrument of class, sexual, and racial oppression with one that belongs to the people." Thus NUC comes to the fore in the struggle for revolutionary change in the university and society.

At that Convention, there were five economists. This was a dismal showing for a group with 500 members, many of whom are committed to those same principles. What concerns me, though, is not the attendance at the Convention, but the implication that economists are not active in NUC in significant numbers.

As radical economists, we in URPE cannot ignore the larger questions of the racist, male supremacist, and class nature of the university and the society. We cannot ignore the problem of U.S. imperialism and the university's role in imperialism. NUC speaks directly to these issues. All committed radical academics should join NUC, to make it a powerful force within the university and to carry their own political activity beyond their typewriters. Contact your local NUC chapter or write NUC, 5810 South Woodlawn, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

---Ted Behr

Get a Friend to Join URPE

and

Send a Contribution
BLACK POWER (continued from page 1)

Group, black consultants and planners, who work closely with ICBIF; Phillip Meek, a Ford executive and President of the Economic Development Corporation of Greater Detroit which is a white "resource bank" for black economic development; and from Dayton, John Treacy, on the faculty of Wright State (and an URPE member), who has been working in black urban development in Dayton.

Discussion centered around the usefulness of different types of organizations and strategies (economic, political and direct action) for securing black control of black destiny. As might be imagined from the range of panelists, some of whom had just returned from the National Black Economic Development Conference, discussion ranged from black capitalism to cooperative society and from selling soul food in suburbia to "random disturbances" on Detroit's 12th Street. Also discussed were the different ranges of choices available in a large versus a small city.

The afternoon was devoted to workshops on the nitty-gritty. We treated problems in accumulating black capital—methods of setting up a mutual savings bank; getting pension funds and insurance companies in which blacks supply much of the funds to invest in the ghetto, or setting up alternatives to keep black savings from leaking to the suburbs. We treated methods of attracting white and black savings to the ghetto (establishing Federally guaranteed bonds, including the pro's and con's of purchasing-power-parity bonds; and embarrassing the Federal government, perhaps with even an outside chance of obtaining funds, by applying for a loan from the World Bank or the IFC). Also, we treated methods and strategies of extracting funds from available government programs.

In the evening we again assembled together to see specifically what URPE people could do. Black economic development groups, at least in Detroit, would like technical economic assistance in gaining control of the factors of production and aid in making project evaluations and profitability studies related to the use of these factors. (We should note here, since our panelists emphasized the point, that technical assistance is the only kind desired or acceptable from predominantly white groups such as URPE. Sophisticated economic and institutional analyses (from a radical perspective) on practical problems needing operational solutions are what is called for; i.e., no bull shit.)

However, since such analyses take large amounts of time and since many of us are primarily students, a mechanism is needed to make these analyses part of the curriculum. The appropriateness of relevant academic study would seem apparent, and the mechanism already exists for making this a reality. For example, social work students can now work for eight months for Urban Design as a regular part of their program at Wayne State; also, engineering and architecture students from Michigan State may work at Urban Design earning twelve credit hours. Although these are professional students and are not from academic departments, the principle, it seems, ought to apply to us academics.

The University of Michigan is currently setting up a Black Studies program and, it can be argued, a semester of work in the ghetto would be a highly relevant follow-up to any formal courses the economics department might offer as part of the program. The conference ended with a discussion of various possibilities for implementing such work-study programs in each of our respective universities. (Any individual interested in working in a technical assistance capacity in Detroit or desiring information on programs in other cities analogous to the programs in Detroit should write to: Hank Rogers, Urban Design Development Group, Inc., 600 Architects Building, Detroit, Mich. 48201.)

Ted Behr, Gail Coleman, Bernard Fang, Laurio Nisonoff, Barbara Reeves, Jesse Schwartz, Elliott Sclar, Dick Thoresen.

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Correspondence

Misguided Symbol

Florence Dinarstein, New York:
The use of "§" to end articles in the
URPE Newsletter is misguided, to say
the least! The major problem of radical
contractors is to fight against the
monetization of all values, not to pro-
mote it. The "§" is in current use with
in the Ayn Rand Objectivist movement,
where it belongs.

As an alternative symbol, how about
a V for peace, or an abacus to show the still primitive state of our
discipline.

Editor's Note: How about more suggestions
for this symbol?

A Good Article

Dave Martin, SUNY at Geneseo:
May I suggest a good article in the
Spring, 1969, Business History Review
(XLIII), by Robert C. Putt, "Supreme Life:
The History of a Negro Life Insurance
Company, 1919-1962", which provides a
timely insight on the meaning of competi-
tion versus monopoly in a sheltered mar-
et (see also, R.C. Putt, "The Origins,
Development, and Current Situation of the
Negro Life Insurance Industry" in Papers
of the 15th Annual Meeting of the Business
History Conference (2/1968) (Bureau of
Business Research, Indiana University,
1968), pp. 134-137). Secondly, you may
wish to call your readers attention to the
new "Journal" published by the Progressive
Labor Party, World Revolution, which is a
source of much international Maoist thought.
At two dollars per year it is an unusual
bargain. It is available from World
Revolution, P.O. Box 208, Church Street
Station, New York, New York 10008.

Anti-war Material Needed

Ray Reece, 304 E. 8th, New York:
...there are a couple of things I
need to discuss, one urgently, with
URPE...:

(1) Recent material on the war in
Vietnam/U.S. militarism, i.e. papers on
the economy of S.E. Asia, economic vs.
political significance of the war, the
relationship between the U.S. economy
and the military establishment - ANY-
THING YOU HAVE which might go into the
NUC anti-war packet of new material!

(2) Someone in your group ought to
do a study of the role played by
"temporary labor" (the various agencies,
such as Kelley Girl, constitute a major
business in NYC) in depressing wage
levels, especially wages among office
workers. There is a "reserve army of
labor" of housewives and dropouts now,
and with this pool, obviously unor-
ganized, the accountants and personnel
people...are able to generate consider-
able wage-savings through both the lower
wages and the flexibility with which
they can lay-off, re-hire, etc.

From Italy

Ferruccio Gambino, Padova, Italy:
If anybody in URPE reads Italian,
I could send some interesting stuff that
young comrades have put out recently.
There is no URPE here, but people in
the movement are working on some fundamental
issues.

Too Academic

Don McKelvey, New England Free Press:
When I received the URPE Review, I
was interested in reading it, not only
for its intrinsic value but because I am
especially interested in getting stuff to
reprint as part of our extensive
literature program (and especially on
political economy).

I was disappointed; the material
was not, to my way of thinking, aimed
at educating people in the movement
about the US political economy (some-
thing badly needed, in fact a primary
need). Rather, it seemed like an ac-
demic journal for radicals, not a
radical academic journal. I think it's
extremely important that an organization
like URPE see itself as, to a great
extent, an intellectual resource of the
movement whose efforts are directed
toward the movement.

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CORRESPONDENCE (continued from page 5)

This issue is connected, I think, to a wider one—namely, the problem any radical in this society faces in trying to remain politically committed and effective. Or, to put it negatively, not to become merely a "radical in the profession," that is not to have one's primary loyalty slide slowly and imperceptibly toward a "profession" rather than remaining primarily toward building a radical movement. The tendencies inside all of us to be "co-opted" (a term I don't particularly like), given our usually bourgeois backgrounds and trainings, combined with the powerful rewards, material and psychic, which "the system" has to offer, make this problem a central one for people in URPE. Again, I think that one way of trying to counter those influences is to tie URPE people as closely as possible to the movement, and to insist that their duty as radicals lies in being, more than anything else, part of the movement and serving and developing it as much as possible.

Needless to say, there are no formulas about how to deal with these problems, but I do think that it would be helpful for URPE people and for the movement if URPE directed its intellectual efforts directly at those problems of economics and political economy whose discussion and solution are of greatest importance for movement people. I know that it would be a great help for me, knowing as little as I do about the economy.

For instance, light needs to be shed on the whole question of the composition of the working class, that is the "new working class"/traditional working class debate which has been going on. We need to identify the factors which shape political consciousness and the factors which can change it. And lord knows there are many things about the structure of the economy—work like the recent IR editorial on mergers, and the last part of Mandel's piece in New Left Review. These are things which explain particular aspects of the economy in terms that the intelligent political layman can understand and which are of enormous importance for the direction of the country, and therefore for our understanding of what the movement should do. For instance, the whole question of competition among capitalist countries has gone almost completely unrecognized by the Left, but as Mandel shows, even in that brief few pages, it is of enormous importance. And the kind of work that Mike Zweig was talking about doing (and I hope is) on who owns the ghetto is very important.

These are just random ideas of what kinds of things would be important to do research on. But that wasn't what I found in the Review, and that's why I was disappointed.

Some German Political Economy

James Marsh
Brookings Institution

A well-adjusted economics student recently informed me that foreign languages are not worth learning since everything worthwhile in economics was either originally published in English or would soon be translated. While this statement is only questionable when applied to "economics," it is definitely untrue when applied to "political economics." In this short note I would like to call the attention of Urpers (sic) to some important German Language sources, most of which have not been translated. It is hoped that at least some Urpers will be able to take advantage of this brief bibliography.

There are two journals which should be mentioned: Das Argument (C.F. Mueller Buchdruckerei und Verlag GmbH, 75 Karlsruhe 21, Rheinstrasse 122, West Germany; DM 15, 6 issues yearly), and Alternative (Alternative Verlag, 1 Berlin 30, Steinmetzstrasse 13/V; DM 12, 6 issues). Both maintain a generally high level of scholarship and discuss the major problems of capitalist and socialist society.

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GERMAN (continued from page 6)

Three books by Werner Hofmann are a must. His Ideengeschichte der Sozialen Bewegung, Ideologie, Universitaet und Gesellschaft, and Stalinismus und Anti-Kommunismus are excellent. The Ideengeschichte is itself a multi-lingual bibliography. Ernest Mandel is already known to English readers for his Marxist Economic Theory (Monthly Review Press) and for his article on the French uprising, but he has also written an interesting book on international economics: Die ENK und die Konkurrenz Europa-Amerikas. Students of logic, mathematics and cybernetics should be interested in the work of Georg Klaus, e.g., Kybernetik in philosophischer Sicht, Die Moderne Logik, Kybernetik und Gesellschaft, and others (published by VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, East Germany.)

A familiar name in European left circles is that of Georg Lukacs, who is relatively less known in America. Two of his books are now available in paperback in English: Studies in European Realism, and The Historical Novel. His interests are by no means specialized on literature. His Geschichte und Klassenbewuβtsein is a collection of excellent essays on the Marxist dialectic. (This book has been translated into French under the title L'Histoire et la Conscience de Classe.) Die Zerstörung der Vernunft is a study of German culture during the rise of the Nazis. Finally, Lukacs' huge three volume Aesthetik is a seminal work. (This book has also appeared in Spanish.)

Theodor W. Adorno has fallen out of favor among German leftists. In fact, one of his lectures in Frankfurt was recently disrupted by a topless show put on by female students. However, one should not neglect his earlier work, e.g., Dialektik der Aufklärung and Philosophie der neuen Musik. The Dialektik was written with Max Horkheimer whose earlier books are likewise interesting (e.g., Autoritaet und Familie.)

This is only a small beginning, and a German beginning at that, of a foreign language bibliography to which I hope other Urpers with a knowledge of current work in other languages will contribute.

A PARABLE OF PIGS
(The Inflation/Unemployment Dilemma)

by Douglas Stutsman
University of Southern Alabama

There once was a pig farm that was operated by an old farmer, his son, and a hired man. The farmyard was filled with hundreds of pigs of all sizes, and they all ate their swill from a huge trough. The big hogs ate faster than the little ones, but they had bigger bellies to fill, and when the swill was finally gone, all the pigs were content. One day some of the biggest hogs jumped into the trough, and the swill spilled over the sides. Some of the little pigs did not get enough to eat, because they could not lap up all the spilled swill before it soaked into the ground. The farmers saw the swill overflowing and they were greatly upset.

The old-farmer had learned his agricultural theory in the old Classical School, and he knew that when swill overflowed a trough there was too much swill in the trough. He did not see the big hogs in the trough and he did not notice that some of the little pigs were hungry, because he had been taught that hogs do not jump into troughs and that little pigs do not go hungry (unless they are just too lazy to eat.)

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PARABLE (continued from page 7)

The farmer's son had been educated in the new Keynesian School of agricultural theory, but he saw the problem much as his father did, for he too had learned that spilling swill means too much swill, and, like his father, he did not see the big hogs in the trough, for he too had been taught that hogs do not jump into troughs. But unlike his father, he knew that little pigs sometimes were forced to go hungry. (He was fond of joshing his father by reminding him of the notorious pig famines of the past and thus revealing the absurdity of the Classical "hungry pig = lazy pig" theory.) But at first the son did not notice the hungry pigs either, because he knew that pigs do not go hungry unless there is too little swill, when quite obviously the present problem was too much swill, i.e., spilling swill.

The son had recently reached manhood and had taken over management of the farm, and so the problem was his to solve. The next day he put less swill in the trough, and sure enough the overflowing stopped. Both father and son were delighted, and each was sure that the happy results supported his school of agricultural theory; however, they soon noticed that some of the little pigs were starving. The father argued rather weakly that these must be lazy little pigs, but the son wore a broad smile of anticipation, for he knew how to solve this problem too. Here, at last, was an opportunity to demonstrate to his father the superiority of the "new" agricultural theory. He patiently explained to his father that the starving little pigs were not lazy; they simply could not get enough swill. He poured more swill into the trough, and sure enough the little pigs stopped starving. The father was amazed and he became a convert to the "new" agriculture. (The father was somewhat senile by this time.)

But soon they noticed that the trough was overflowing again, and they were greatly distressed. When they put in enough swill to feed all the pigs the trough overflowed, and when they took out enough to stop the overflowing some little pigs starved. They found nothing in either the Classical or the Keynesian theory to explain and solve the problem. They worried about it constantly and came to call it the "spilled swill/hungry pig dilemma." They became desperate and tried all sorts of ingenious procedures in an attempt to find a solution. They tried pouring in the swill from either side of the trough and from both sides simultaneously, they poured swill in one end while the hired man scooped it out the other, and they even tried running up to one side of the trough and acting as if they were going to empty their buckets and then hurrying around and pouring them in the other side, but still the dilemma remained; and it appeared to be getting more severe, because more big hogs were jumping into the trough. (Of course neither father nor son noticed the big hogs in the trough, because they both had learned that hogs do not jump into troughs.)

Finally desperation turned to resignation and they lost all hope of finding a solution. Instead they tried to find some balance, some acceptable compromise. They sought that combination of spilled swill and hungry pigs that would be preferable to all other combinations, but they could not agree. When the son was at the farm he instructed the hired man to pour in enough swill to keep all the pigs from starving, for if the "new" agricultural theory had taught him anything, it was that pig famines were unnecessary. But when the son had to be away and the father was in charge, he instructed the hired man to pour in less swill so that the trough would not overflow, for the father still suspected that hungry little pigs were lazy little pigs.

The simple hired man had never been to school and was completely innocent of agricultural theory. He had great respect for both father and son and was awe by their obvious learning, but sometimes he wondered quietly why they did not pull the big hogs out of the trough.
A MANIFESTO
by the Bay Area Collective of Socialist Economists (BACSE)

1.

Bourgeois economic theory today is 'purely pragmatic...a technique for the practical consolidation of capitalism'
--Ernest Mandel

The corporate ruling class has adopted Keynesian and neo-Keynesian economics as major instruments of national and international economic planning. The corporate owners and managers engage economists on technical studies of the most pressing ruling class problems. These studies of inflation, unemployment, balance of payments, foreign aid, wage/productivity relations, and other subjects are conducted under the auspices of corporate-dominated institutions -- Harvard University, Committee for Economic Development, Brookings Institution, Foreign Policy Association, Stanford Research Institute, and other key corporate policy-planning organizations. In turn, these studies become guidelines for Federal government economic policy, and set the framework within which debates take place on specific policy issues. The corporate ruling class completely dominates the Executive branch of the Federal government and thus is in a strategic position to translate the products of its policy planners into Executive Orders and legislation.

The corporate ruling class has also adopted marginalist economics as an instrument of intra-corporate and micro-economic planning. Neo-classical economics still provides opportunities for esoteric exercises in various branches of mathematics, yet even in this great warehouse of 'empty economic boxes' there is a dominant pragmatic tendency. Micro-theory is important in cost-benefit analyses of infra-structure projects required by the corporate ruling class. Micro-theory is used by financial analysts to judge future corporate rates of return by estimating the effects of changes in the output of substitute and complementary products on prices and costs. Micro-theory introduces 'efficiency' into Federal government departments. Perhaps of greater long-run importance, the corporate ruling class has adapted marginalist economics to its immediate operational needs by emphasizing the practical component -- linear programming. Thus even in the traditional home of 'pure theory' the pragmatists in the service of the corporate ruling class exercise dominant influence.

2.

Bourgeois economic theory has a virtual monopoly in the university classrooms, research centers, policy planning institutions, and government.

The vast majority of economists in the United States today accept bourgeois economics as 'scientific', and hence deliberately or unintentionally serve corporate ruling class interests. Conventional macro and micro-theory are taught as 'economic theory', not as 'one economic theory'. The structure of economics departments, together with the structure of the economic profession itself, mitigates against critical, radical scholarship. At the level of undergraduate teaching, according to Samuelson, 'we have found that there is a danger that even the good student will memorize the formula for multiple bank expansion in terms of reserves and lose sight of the basic problem of economic stabilization by Federal Reserve policy...Or he will remember income determination as a matter of algebraic multiplier manipulations instead of thinking about President Nixon's problem of curbing inflation or Prime Minister Wilson's problem of getting Britain's productivity up.' (emphasis added)

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Students who are not concerned with these ruling class problems get low grades; students who are good 'problem solvers' are recruited for graduate school, and, eventually, if they are extremely bright and motivated, for positions with the large universities, foundations, policy-planning organizations, or the Council of Economic Advisors.

The graduate economics departments place a premium on 'rigorous analysis' by compelling the student to master bourgeois theory and quantitative methods. Advancement within the profession is contingent on publication in the professional journals, which demand studies of the modern capitalist mode of production. In these senses, economics departments and the economics profession are totalitarian.

3.

The ideological monopoly of bourgeois economics arises from the economic monopoly of the corporate ruling class.

The university helps sustain the hegemony of the corporate ruling class over the population by structuring the personality and minds of students to fit the needs of corporate capitalism. The function of the educational system as a whole is to generate that voluntary obedience to the ruling class which constitutes the latter's legitimacy, and to reproduce itself in that function.

Within this empire, there are gradations among the different disciplines with respect to their centrality to core ruling class interests. For example, the physical sciences, because of their direct role in the production process, are more vital to ruling class interests than the humanities and social sciences. There are finer gradations within the latter. For example, poetry and literature are ordinarily least vital, anthropology and sociology somewhat more, political science still more, and economics most vital of all.

The other arts and disciplines refer to links in the relationships of production which are auxiliary to ruling class power. Economics refers to the anchor in the chain of relationships of production—ruling class power over production itself.

The ruling class can tolerate alternative social forms in secondary spheres such as culture, and even in the political machinery itself. But it cannot tolerate alternatives to its own control over economic production. The flexibility of hegemonic practice is much narrower.

4.

The present challenge to bourgeois economics is attributable to the growing irrationality of corporate ruling class control over production, and to the inability of bourgeois economists to comprehend the basic reasons for this irrationality.

The main irrationalities of production today are: imperialist wars; urban decay and ghetto repression; impoverishment in the Third World; rising social costs of production; growing unmet social needs; increasing volume of waste production and production destined for destructive purposes; the danger of irreversible ecological damage; declining material standards of the international working class; and gross economic imbalances.

Bourgeois economic theory, because it is not really scientific, is not able to comprehend these irrationalities and hence is not able to develop policy to eliminate them. Marginalist economics is not scientific because its fundamental

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categories are individual categories, while production itself is social. Marginalist categories are thus unreal, fantastic, and, in fact, are being modified in the course of the practical work of micro-economics. Micro-economics has been compelled to tack on 'social' categories such as externalities, spill-over effects, and linkage effects to its foundation of individual categories, pressed hard upon historically by social production itself. Nevertheless, micro-economics is incapable of developing a theory of social production and social needs.

Similarly, macro-economics is unscientific, and economic policy based on its analyses cannot work. The Keynesian concepts of individual 'preference' and 'propensities' are weak theoretical pillars for an aggregate theory of economic activity. Macro-theory has failed to develop a theory of the causes of state spending. Therefore macro theory is unable to evaluate the relations between private and 'public' production. Further, Keynesian theory remains reified — for example, it poses the question, 'what causes inflation', when the real question is 'who causes inflation.' Thus macro-theory cannot comprehend the totality of relationships of production which lead to inflation. More, Keynesian theory fails to disaggregate the economy, and thus is not able to deal with the question of disproportionalities between economic sectors. For example, disaggregation would demonstrate that compensatory spending leading to an expansion of the corporate sector of the economy causes the decline of small business, and in specific, the further concentration of capital as a result of military spending, urban renewal, and transportation investments. Neo-Keynesianism is in fact the oldest theory of state policy under a new name. Stripped of its modern language, Neo-Keynesianism merely says, 'we live in a capitalist economy, capitalists decide the rhythm of capital accumulation, what sectors will grow, and at what rate. Capitalists won't invest unless it is profitable to do so, and it isn't profitable to do so unless the government makes it profitable. Thus the government should act in the interests of capital.' Forgetting all the time that the 'government' has always acted in the interests of capital.

Why then does the ruling class cling to support of the Neo-Keynesian and marginalist mode of analysis? Why are they unable to change their mode of analysis in order to comprehend the irrationality of the system? Because to do so would undermine the ideological basis of corporate rule in this society. To change bourgeois economic analysis would, for example, subvert the concepts of the primacy of profits over use, the primacy of individual atomization and competition over cooperation, the primacy of alienated labor over freedom, or the concept of government as a servant of capital rather than of the people.

5.

The central task of revolutionary socialist economists is to transform dissent within economics into a revolutionary ideology.

Dissent within economics which aspires to become a revolutionary ideology must fight and win its battles in economic theory before it can become a real threat to the corporate ruling class. Success or failure on the economic battlefield marks the difference between a revolutionary theory and merely a cultural protest. It is no accident that the Marxist tradition, which offers the only revolutionary potential, has been first and foremost grounded in political economy. It follows that any attempt to revive, rejuvenate, and reassert Marxism as a revolutionary theory must prove itself on this battlefield.

Thus dissent must fix upon the central contradiction of capitalism, which lies between the forces and the relationships of production, or the wage labor-capital (continued on page 12)
relation, and work out the ways this contradiction is presently manifest, where it is displaced to, what forms it takes, and what opportunities it presents for the revolutionary movement. In other words, it is necessary to analyse the revolutionary potential of society in terms of the revolutionary potential of the working class, broadly defined, via the wage labor-capital relationship.

6.

The Collective of Socialist Economists devotes itself to this task, among ourselves, and in our relations with our brothers and sisters in the Union for Radical Political Economics, other groupings of radical economists, and movement activists.

We recognize that in the event that we do not fix upon the central contradiction of capitalism, with the central aim of participating in the socialist revolution in order to abolish class society, we will in fact be ameliorating class struggle, not advancing it.

We understand our general task is to continue and expand our efforts in the following directions in an organized, coherent way:

A. Conduct general analyses of the development of capitalist production as a whole -- for example, the present economic crises in the Third World and the ghettos within the United States all reflect the general law that the development of one sector of the world capitalist system causes the underdevelopment of other sectors.

B. Conduct concrete analyses of the specific production relationships -- for example, the current fiscal crisis of the state, and the struggle of the state employees and clients of the state, is in the last analysis due to the socialization of many costs of production, which heap increasing financial burdens on the state, without a corresponding socialization of profits, which keeps the state tax-dependent, that is, poor.

C. Conduct general analyses of relations between real production and finance capital -- for example, the movement across international borders of foreign exchange by corporate capital disturbs the financial equilibrium of the European and underdeveloped economies, and potentially threatens the basis for real corporate production overseas.

D. Conduct specifically local and regional studies of tax structure, tax policy, state expenditures, subsidy policy and so on, and to provide speakers and literature on these topics.

E. Establish groups within the university to combat corporate ruling class ideas in the sphere of economics, fight for radical economics courses, help to advance revolutionary teaching, work to abolish the departmentalization of knowledge, and, in general, struggle against ruling class ideas at every opportunity.

F. Construct models which will demonstrate the viability of socialism in a post-imperial America, and which will help the people to gain the knowledge required to control academic life.

G. Conduct all our work with the aim of arming the revolutionary movement ideologically thus directly and indirectly advancing agitational and organizing work.
MAXIMIZE
by Roger Bohmer

Sitting in my bleak, lonely room
enclosed by dull white walls
I am empty, disconnected.
I read my economics, and find
the injunction Maximize
which prior to how and why
presents the problems
Who and What.

Now economic theory postulates
the unified self
as maximizing agent.
But my disjointed parts
seek to extend themselves
and merge together
before they max f(x) out there.

But why don't you learn
from all your learning?
Simply assume this self
and proceed to maximize.

So on to the task
What to maximize?
What are the arguments
and form of f(x)?
How about Power,
that's a powerful argument
in this context.

How about letting P = Power,
and maxing Kp^x
where K is an arbitrary constant
and Power is raised
to the Xth power.

But a poetic voice objects,
L sounds prettier than P,
you must consider Beauty.
Use the argument
Lower instead.

So, letting L = Lower,
we max. KL^x
where K is an arbitrary constant
and Lower is raised
to the Xth power.

And so my assumed
self sits here
maxing KL^x
and sinking lower and lower.*

* The author would like to add that subsequent to writing
Maximize a further argument was suggested by a young colleague
of his. Raised on the 4F's, he contents that our argument
should begin with an F. This gives us the argument Flower.
He then suggests for the sake of generality we include Power -
giving us the argument Flower Power.

An obvious advantage of using this argument in our function is
that we no longer have to consider any constraints. Furthermore,
the assumption of a unified self becomes less critical. In fact,
it is no longer necessary at all. Hence, as good economists
raised on Occam's Razor we can all lean toward this argument.

New England URPE Conference
Boston Area — Mid-November
Send papers, workshop ideas, etc. to the National Office
-> Start organizing in your area!!!
Sociology Liberation Movement Organized

Radical sociologists are organizing themselves for the upcoming meeting of the American Sociological Association in San Francisco, August 31 to September 4. In The Insurgent Sociologist: Counter-Convention Call the Sociology Liberation Movement outlines its plans for the ASA Meetings.

Besides the four session officially scheduled by the ASA for SLM, an entire counter-convention will be held at Glide Church, near the Hilton. The list of topics is too long to include here, but anyone interested should contact Irwin Sperber, 2340 Grant St., Berkeley, Calif. Copies of The Insurgent Sociologist are also available from Irwin Sperber. Donations will be appreciated.

The following is reprinted with permission from The Insurgent Sociologist:

Introduction: PRELUDE TO RADICAL COMMITMENT

"Research in chemical and biological warfare is not one of those activities that can be regarded as appropriate to an 'idealist's' institution. Nor is the Pentagon-sponsored research in counter-insurgency an appropriate activity for social scientists who ought to be acting as independent and critical commentators on their government's policies. Far from being victims of anti-intellectualism as some of these scholars complain when their activities are criticized, they themselves are perpetuating a virulent form of anti-intellectualism. They do so by contributing to the corruption of their universities, the militarization of American society, and the persistent degradation of values which goes by the polite name of 'credibility gap.'" --- Senator Fulbright, April 1969.

Modern scholarship is in deep crisis. The extent of intellectual prostitution to those who oppress and manipulate others may have already reached the point of no return. Prominent social scientists have been furthering their careers by giving organizational advice to those who manage weapons-making, by helping to "rationalize" government agencies charged with carrying out the aims of U.S. foreign policy, by doing studies of the character and handling of domestic and foreign "deviants," and by indulging in racist control and other similar counter-insurgency research projects. Such criminal research activities and theoretical legitimations of official violence must be stopped.

A social science that serves to liberate people and not to oppress them cannot flourish in the present intellectual and career environment. This environment is controlled by a self-perpetuating elite that has proven acceptable to university administrators and their corporate employers. The aims of this elite are to maintain and "prudently" reform the major institutions of American society so as to repress those sociologists who in theory and action seek to establish alternative institutions. This priestly caste legitimizes the concentration of wealth and power in a small upper class whose universities train middle-class experts to service its military-corporate structure. It legitimizes the police and court system which smashes dissenting domestic groups and the military machine which wipes out revolutionary movements seeking to overthrow undemocratic governments that serve U.S. economic and strategic interests.

The task of the sociological power elite that controls the ASA is the major University departments, the allocation of research funds, and the acceptance of manuscripts by the major publishers, is to define sociology and social reality, to mutually affirm that definition, and to enforce their definitions on other sociologists, as well as subject groups. The aim of the Sociology Liberation Movement is to destroy the power structure of the profession, eliminate the power elite that controls the profession through its undemocratic structure, and redefine sociology to correspond to social reality. Radical sociologists in the SLM are challenging the value premises, concepts, methodology, and conclusions of establishment sociology. Radical humanist sociology must develop social analyses that will point the way to the elimination of those institutions that are destructive of human dignity. We are striving to construct alternative institutions that will encourage the full development of human potentialities.

From "Proceedings of the Berkeley Conference of Radical Sociologists:"

"There are essentially three purposes to which our efforts should be directed. (1) Confronting and exposing the conservatives and reactionaries who are serving the empire and acting as priests for the establishment. (2) Educating and radicalizing the liberals by making them aware of the reality of what they do, cutting them from under them their ideological bases; present alternatives. (3) Consolidating the radicals and furthering our work. Increasing communications, self-defense, sharpening of our analysis and forming our own organization should be our goals there."

From "On Elitism and Democracy:

In short, we have committed ourselves to turning the ASA on its head: to avoid closed circles of "colleagues" appointing friends and supporters to activities, to avoid the use of the radical caucus as a means of "career advancement." (Should any labor under the illusion of career advancement through radicalism, we remind them of the increasingly steep price to be paid for radical commitments in an era of political repression.) We rather want to show that the creativity and power of the people are facilitated through a democratized organization, with the maximum feasible participation of all radical people. Let us demonstrate what our principles and programs mean through praxis. Let our very existence be a confrontation to the closed club, the ossified meritocracy, the authoritarian elitism of the American Sociological Association.
Random Notes

by Ted Behr
National Secretary

In the last issue of the Newsletter, a call went out for papers to be delivered at the URPE session at the meeting of the Southern Economics Association in November. The response has been minimal. Anyone interested in giving a paper or in participating in URPE activities at the SEA meeting should write Jim Weaver, Department of Economics, American University, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Though I am not familiar with most of them, there seem to be a number of regional economic associations which hold meetings annually. These are extremely fruitful places to take the URPE message and organize. Anyone with information on when any of these associations is meeting and is interested in organizing URPE activities, please write the National Office.

Have you asked your library to order the URPE Review and Conference Papers? If not (and most of you have not), please do so immediately. Also put in a request to your department head that all URPE publications be carried in your library. This is an important source of revenue, a particularly crucial area for our fledgling organization.

A group of present and former government employees have recently published a pamphlet entitled, "The Condition of the Federal Employee and How to Change It." David Brooks, in a covering letter, writes: "It was written because we felt the urgency to describe our experience in the Federal bureaucracy and to set forth some ideas of how to effect changes within it. This statement of 'manifesto' is unique in that it represents the first time that civil servants are publicly discussing the alienating conditions under which they work and beginning to explore more humane alternatives."

Copies are available from Box 406, 1310 New Hampshire St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Fall registration and cocktail party time is a good time to talk to entering graduate students (and continuing graduate students) about URPE. You should get immediate response from some; others will be wary, but an early discussion of the contradictions of graduate education should pay off in future interest. Copies of this issue of the Newsletter (and some copies of No. 1) are available from the National Office in bulk to give out. Write soon so you get them in time!

The Fifth Annual Socialist Scholars Conference will be held September 5, 6, and 7 in the New York area. "The Socialist Scholars Conference seeks to provide a focus for organizing the efforts and skills of socialist intellectuals in order to create a body of scholarship and theory that can contribute to building socialists institutions. In this work the widest range of intellectual activity will be encouraged and utilized, and through publications and other programs it will seek to build socialist consciousness. It will also work to identify and establish a coherent and responsible role for intellectuals in the struggle for socialism."

Two panels are of particular interest to URPE-ites: "Marx and American Society" with Martin Nicolaus, Marlene Dixon, David Levey (URPE), and others; and "Radical Responses to Bourgeois Theory", where Herb Cintis of URPE will comment.

Contact the Socialist Scholars Conference, P.O. Box 933, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903

(continued on page 16)
New from the New England Free Press (791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118)
in the area of Political Economy:
"Black Workers Set the Pace" by Jim Jacobs (reprinted from The Movement, April 1969)
"Taxation and Inequality" by Gabriel Kolko (ch. 2 of Wealth and Power)
"Paul Baran on Marxism" (two articles from Monthly Review, 1955)
"The Southern Tenants Farmers' Union and the C.I.O." by Mark Naison (from Sept/Oct 1968 Radical America)
"The Hanna Industrial Complex" by Eddie Black and Fred Goff (from the NACLA Newsletter)
"Where is America Going" by Ernest Mandel (from New Left Review, March/April 1969)
"Literature on the American Working Class" by Evansohn et al (Radical America, March/April 1969)


* * *

"There are some serious political misconceptions prevalent in the U.S.A. about farmers. They are generally considered more conservative than the rest of the population, less inclined to favor change or to seek new solutions, etc.

"All this is wrong. It is wrong from a historical standpoint, both regarding U.S. farmers and farmers the world over."

These are the opening paragraphs from an article in U.S. Farm News, the newspaper of the U.S. Farmers Association, entitled "Farmers and the New Left." Later in the same article, it asks, "Will the Radicals of the New Left today learn anything at all from anyone as to what rank and file farmers really need and want?" A paragraph later it states, "That the Left wing groups today are bankrupt as far as any farm program is concerned is a sad political fact."

This seems to be a problem to which URPE people can directly respond, particularly those who live and work in predominantly agricultural area. I am sure that USFA would be delighted to hear from anyone interested in doing some work in this area: 1024 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

U.S. Farm News itself make interesting reading. It opposes ABM, Vietnam, militarism, war, U.S. imperialism; it supports the Black Panthers, the need to struggle, parity, and peace (the organization's motto is "Peace and Parity"). It is published monthly at $2.00 a year.

Also available from USFA are two pamphlets: The Truth About Farm Betrayals by F.W. Stover and Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam: A Little History for Big Children by Oscar Ameringer (written in 1912.)

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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
Washington, D.C. 20016

The Department of Economics announces as additions to its faculty for 1969-70:

BRANKO HORVAT
Yugoslave Institute of Economics
Theory of Socialist Economy and National Planning

LARRY SAWERS
University of Michigan
Urban Economics, Poverty

E. J. MISHAN
Joint Appointment with London School of Economics
Welfare Economics

HOWARD WACHTEL
University of Michigan
Labor, Manpower, Poverty

Inquiries concerning admission and financial aid should be addressed to the Chairman of the Department.
Politics of NUC clarified in convention

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By Bob Ross
Special to the Guardian

Iowa City, Iowa

The New University Conference, a radical organization of faculty and graduate students, held its first convention here June 12-15. The meeting, of more than 200 persons, saw the establishment of a women's caucus which persuaded the male majority to reserve to women seven of 14 national officer positions and formation of a caucus of teachers at working-class colleges.

Leading up to the meeting there was, even among the NUC's founders, some question as to whether a truly radical organization could be established with academic people as its constituency. The convention laid that fear to rest by declaring in the preamble to its first constitution that NUC joined "all those committed to struggle politically to create a new, American form of socialism and to replace an educational and social system that is an instrument of class, sexual and racial oppression with one that belongs to the people."

The convention also passed programmatic resolutions calling for support of black liberation activities and for renewed action against the Vietnam war in the context of an anti-imperialist political analysis. A group of black delegates, now small, asked for and received official encouragement to organize a black and third-world caucus in NUC.

When the NUC was formed after a conference in March 1968, it had three pre-chapter groupings. Fourteen months later it has 57 chapters with activities ranging from participation in anti-ROTC fights to Vietnam teach-ins to attacks on grading. This explosive growth and diverse activity was reflected at the convention in a great heterogeneity. Maoists, new left activists, Marxists of at least two or three varieties were active in attempting to "politicize" other delegates. Eventually the gap between the detailed theoretical understanding of some and the relatively inexperienced radicalism of others led to tabling some of the "heavier" analytical sections of resolutions. The major debates of the movement and in SDS were reflected—but without rancor, bitterness or over-organized factionalism.

Antileadership sentiment

A number of serious problems nevertheless confront NUC. In such a new organization, with many inexperienced people, it is no surprise that there is a great deal of romantic antileadership sentiment, usually tied to a kind of "chapter exceptionalism". A number of fights on the constitution centered on these feelings, though the majority consistently voted for a national organization with a national program and leadership. The recent experience of SDS, when it has been unable to legitimize its own national existence, was a persuasive lesson to most people meeting in Iowa City.

A number of questions are raised by the relatively successful, though difficult, NUC convention. They cannot be answered now, for practice is at the center of all of them; but they can be anticipated.

First, is there still a viable body of principles which distinguishes the new left from the old? The NUC's membership is composed of kinds of people the new left has always organized, but the most articulate positions at the convention were put in terms of classical Marxist debate.

Second, despite the hopes of the founders of SDS and of NUC (Dick Flacks, myself and Rich Rothstein, my successor in NUC office, are veterans of early SDS), our new movements are torn and bleeding with sectarianism—what Trotsky called the narcissism of small differences. Can any new movement organization avoid this curse? Do "hard" politics mean fragmented and rancorous organizations?

Third, can NUC, with its declaration of socialist and revolutionary identity, be an historical force among university and other intellectuals? Some of us think that a formulation of our inevitable minority role should be that of cadre group, thereby indicating a style of work which seeks relevance without giving up one's radical position. Others are convinced that to be an authentic force NUC must be able to attract leftward moving liberals. Still others are frankly confused, and await the verdict of experience. All of us dread the isolation or irrelevance which awaits a wrong decision.

Finally, NUC faces a problem common to the whole left. An organization of socialist intellectuals is historically incomplete. By right it should be a section of a party or in alliance with other forces, including working-class organizations. There are attempts among, for example, some "socialist scholars" to form party-like organizations composed of PhDs in history. But we don't want to be another center of ideas or node of theory. We want to win. And in so wanting the year-old NUC takes its place in the radical movement.

The author is the outgoing national secretary of the NUC.
Economic Development
James O'Connor
San Jose State College

Texts: Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism
Paul Baran, The Political Economy of Growth
Andrew Gordon Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America
Eugene Genovese, Political Economy of Slavery
James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin, Editors, Latin America: Reform or Revolution?

September 22 - Film: "Report from Cuba". Lecture/Discussion: "The Cuban Revolution".
Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, Socialism in Cuba

September 29 - Film: "End of a Revolution?" Lecture/Discussion: "The Bolivian Revolution".
Readings: Petras and Zeitlin, Part II, "Class and Class Conflicts."

October 6 - Lecture/Discussion: "Economic Underdevelopment in Africa."
Readings: Ila Niyont, The Economics of the Developing Countries, Ch.3-4.
Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, Ghana: End of an Illusion.
Kwame Nkrumah, Neocolonialism.

October 13 - Lecture/Discussion: "Economic Underdevelopment in Asia."
Readings: Clifford Geertz, Agricultural Involution (Indonesia).
Salvador Lopez, "The Colonial Situation."
Baran, Chapter 5, (India and Japan).

October 20 - Lecture/Discussion: "Methodology of the Economics of Underdevelopment."
Readings: Baran, Chapter 2.
Genovese

November 3 - Readings: Baran, Chapters 6-7.
Rudolfo Stavenhagen, "Seven Fallacies about Latin America;"
Luis Vitale, "Latin America; Feudal or Capitalist," in Petras and Zeitlin.
Frank.
F. Clairmonte, Economic Liberalism and Underdevelopment.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (continued from page 18)


Readings: Teotonio dos Santos, "The Changing Structure of Foreign Investments in Latin America;"
Miguel Teubal, "The Failure of Latin America's Economic Integration;"
Michael Kidron, Foreign Investment in India.
Marvin Bernstein, editor, Foreign Investment in Latin America.


Readings: Magdoff.
Baran, Chapters 3-4.
J.P. Murray, "The United States and Latin America," in Petras and Zeitlin.
Gabriel Kolko, The Roots of American Foreign Policy.

December 1 - Lecture/Discussion: "Foreign Aid."


December 8 - Lecture/Discussion: "Foreign Trade."


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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (continued from page 19)

December 15 - Lecture/Discussion: "Economic Reform or Social Revolution?"
Readings: Petras and Zeitlin, Part III.
   Readings for September 22.
   Baran, Chapter 8.
   James O'Connor, The Origins of Socialism in Cuba.

January 5  - Lecture/Discussion: "Historical Aspects of the Theory of Imperialism."
   Lloyd Gardner, Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy.
   V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.
   John A. Hobson, Imperialism, A Study.
   Maurice Dobb, "Imperialism," in his Political Economy and Capitalism.

National Secretary’s Report
by Ted Behr

1. Ann Arbor Secretariat

The two major tasks completed by the Ann Arbor Secretariat between March and June were the publication and distribution of the first issue of the URPE Review of Radical Political Economics and the completion of the arrangements for the August Conference.

The editorial function was served by an ad hoc group of URPE-ites in Ann Arbor, who had to do a little searching around to fill the first issue. Thus, the over-representation of University of Michigan people in that issue. Discussion on how this should be institutionalized is now going on in Cambridge, and will take place at the Conference. Details of the Conference are included elsewhere in this Newsletter.

Howard Wachtel offers some thoughts on URPE’s prospects in the final report of the Ann Arbor Secretariat:

"URPE does not lack an interested and enthusiastic audience. However, money looms as an important constraint on our growth. We have some good publishable manuscripts and ideas for conferences, but can only operationalize these plans as finances permit. Our commitment to employ a full-time paid National Secretary is essential for the growth of the organization, but raises additional financial problems.

"Of the major untapped sources of money, the most promising seem to be:

1. Library subscriptions to URPE publications. Please have your library order the Conference Papers ($2.50) and the Review ($15.00 for one year) immediately.

2. Large contributors. If you can contribute $50.00, $100.00, or more it will help. Also send us names of possible contributors.

4. Institutional sponsors for a portion of our program – e.g., a grant for the publication of the Review. Any information pertaining to possible sponsors will be appreciated.

(continued on page 21)
The first nine months has established URPE as a useful, important organization for a significant number of economists. However, we now face the more difficult problem of establishing its financial viability. This seems to be the major problem we face in the next nine months.

2. Cambridge National Office

In the middle of June, I stopped in Ann Arbor on the way home from the NUC Convention (and had a ring-side seat for the first night of the police riots there) and brought to Cambridge all the URPE files. From that time, I have assumed all administrative tasks.

At the same time, I began to organize a Cambridge Secretariat, a collective of URPE people around the National Office (hyperbole, to be sure) to help with administrative work and to discuss matters of policy, though with no power to make policy decisions. At this point, there are between 15 and 20 people who have come to meetings and helped with some of the work.

This has been very slow in getting started, thus keeping me loaded down with office work and allowing me almost no time to devote to fund-raising, planning, etc. This is also the reason why some of the back mail is, unfortunately, still not answered.

The following things have been accomplished since I took office:

1. The mailing list has been computerized. This step was necessitated due to the unavailability of a machine in the Cambridge area that would use the mailing system set up in Ann Arbor. This gives us increased flexibility, however, and will allow us to keep more detailed information about members (e.g., areas of interest and research, institutional or group affiliation, etc.) on the cards.

2. A second mailing on the Conference was put out in mid-July.

3. Four committees of the Secretariat have been set up:
   (a) Newsletter/Administrative - to help put the Newsletter together and to assist with administrative work.
   (b) Fund-raising - to set up and carrythrough programs for raising money for URPE (see above for some ideas).
   (c) Review - to start working on the second issue of the Review, to discuss editorial policy and structure and to make recommendations to the Conference, and to help carry out whatever decisions about the Review are made there.
   (d) Organizing - to counsel, aid, and abet in the carrying out of programs to bring new members into URPE.

4. The second issue of the Newsletter has been published.

3. Prospects

URPE now has approximately 500 members with an additional 500 people who have expressed an interest. We have a working balance in the bank of approximately $1200. Thus URPE's two main problems now are (1) raising funds for the continued operation of the organization, and (2) increasing the membership. Both of these are going to take work, and much of that work has to be done on a local level. The National Office is here to help with ideas, to coordinate, and even to initiate some projects. But the burden of making the organization work is on the membership.

We will help all we can. What really has to happen, however, is for URPE people to start meeting in their localities and planning ways in which you can raise money for the national organization (and for yourselves) and can bring new members into your own chapter, into new chapters which you help organize, or just into the national organization. That is the only way in which we are going to evolve into a vital, growing, and democratic organization.
Comments on the Caucus for a New Political Science

by Craig Pope
American University

Editor’s Note: This article is slightly condensed. Any choppiness in logic is due to this. It is printed here not as a critique of the CNPS but because it has some useful ideas about the structure of a radical organization.

Is a new political science possible if its seekers follow the orthodox paths of policy-making? Does not a new political science presuppose change? Yet the Caucus continues to ape its seniors and to do business in the same old ways.

It would seem logical that the first place a group seeking to develop a new political science would start is on its form of organization. Surely hierarchical structures continue to be one of the major aversions of the dissatisfied students. Surely the nature of bureaucracy has not escaped the analysis of all social scientists. In all hierarchies intelligence is not a possession of the individual but of the position he occupies. It is phenomenal how a bureaucrat increases in ability, comprehension, performance, and wisdom, as he rises from nothingness to eminence. Because of its pathology, bureaucracy remains the least efficient form of utilizing human abilities. And, its pathology derives in part from its centralism: that knowledge is always on the next higher level.

Is it possible to structure society in other ways? This is the question which Fromm is struggling to answer in any way which eliminates the debasement of man and amplifies his ability to function effectively.

Does a model exist that can be studied for possible clues toward a new means? Bureaucracies are the antithesis of entrepreneurial organizations. The qualities that each finds desirable are polar. The entrepreneurial group fluctuates as it seeks the maximum mix of talents to achieve its ends. This type of operation can be seen in any dynamic, creative group, be it in advertising, fund raising, promotions, art, or politics.

Contrast this with the military, the apotheosis of bureaucracy, or with the university. In each, hierarchy is a means of maintaining succession through hand-me-downs. Conformity is the prized characteristic. Independence is out, along with originality, empathy, and all the characteristics that form a dynamic, rather than a static society.

Democracy has not been mentioned as a desideratum, partly because, as with all values, its definition is a function of character and not of empirical referents. Rather, the emphasis is on the creation of the opportunity to stimulate the development of the individual through his participation in ways which utilize his abilities in acts that are meaningful to him and to the group.

Guild socialism as a model is dysfunctional because it becomes interest ridden. Organization, apart from that required where and how one works, should be based on the needs of the individual as he lives qua individual. We join groups to fill needs that are not met through employment. We seek them as extensions of our selves. This means the ability to find the identities of others in oneself. This is not accomplished easily, and certainly not in the hurly-burly of conventioneering. Rather, it is a function of where one lives, and how one lives.

(continued on page 23)
POLITICAL SCIENCE (continued from page 22)

The Caucus should seek to establish local centers where there are groups of interested social scientists. Let each group select one of its own to join with delegates from the local groups of other nearby areas to form a council to serve as a means of helping each group and the members of each group to accomplish what they want. An important caveat is that there be no such things as formal elections, terms, constitutions, rules of order, rules of procedure, etc.

It is surely time to recognize the whimsical nature of constitutions, and that they are most honored in the breach. Too, it is important that no member thinks that he has a right to a position. While his choice is by the consent of the group, his tenure is likewise with their consent, to be withdrawn at any time regardless of his position. He should always be delegated solely to express the will of the group.

Our lives have become so formalized that we forget there are other ways of doing things than through nominations, elections, petitions, motions, votes. As political scientists we have learned little from anthropology, yet in the family, nuclear or extended, our ritualism is structured quite differently from that of bureaucratic hierarchism. What is to be considered first is needs. The means can always be created if the needs are understood, accepted, and to be fulfilled.

Let the local council, then, delegate one of its own to join with other area councils in creating a supporting group to span distances. The essential point is that at each span of organization, all the members must also be participants in the primary groups. The concept of a "headquarters" operation, or of a "state" or "national" operation as a means of doing special tasks would institutionalize a difference between the nuclear groups and the delegate groups.

(continued on page 24)

The UNION FOR RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS
P.O. Box 287
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

I enclose $__________ for the following items:

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Please send us the names and addresses of friends, colleagues, etc., whom you think would be interested in URPE.
Instead of a national headquarters "doing" things, it should be the responsibility of the local councils and spanning councils to do whatever is to be done. This would place responsibility where it belongs— at the bottom. Unless the bottom is responsible nothing of value can be created anyway, as anything else escalates into the irresponsible elitism with which social scientists are so familiar: in the nation, the Congress, the universities, the APSA.

One important assumption must be made, and that is about the nature of the people in the Caucus. If they are pushy, competing for place, seeking in organizational glories a fulfillment denied them in their private lives, not interested in advancing all as a prerequisite for advancing each, then anything other than the traditional politics of competition will not suffice.

If, on the other hand, they are intellectually curious, and confident enough of self to ask "How is it possible?" and seek to find probable answers as that question is focused on various problems, it is possible to eliminate the aspects of cooperative life that deaden the soul and delight the dullard.

An immense need is not for more position papers but for more communication. A Letters publication could be useful and informative. What people are thinking and saying does not surface easily in a journal, no matter how loosely structured.

Without a rigid structure, the combinatorial possibilities become enormous, as in all growing things. It is to be hoped that the end of the Caucus is to grow, and not to be parasitic on the APSA.