



The March on Washington--April 17, 1965. Photo--J. Feuerstein

STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY

BULLETIN

may, 1965

vol. 3 / no. 7

10¢

CONVENTION BY ROBB BURLAGE

The following is a rough outline of the present plans for the convention (tentatively scheduled for June 9-13, near Chicago).

I. "Institutes"--(first three or four days) such as: (1) an ERAP Institute--for ERAP staff; (2) a radical International Relations seminar--analysis of American foreign policy and world trends, place of peace and anti-imperialism movements in domestic political movement, etc.; (3) "university reform" and free university; (4) campus and regional programming; (5) publications, research, organizational journal and external journal relations, internal education; (6) drama and other art forms as political expression and community activity; (7) Southern political strategy--for SNCC, SSOC, and SDS people to talk about directions of Southern movement in general.

II. Opening day plenary--agenda discussion groups, informal get-togethers, a few speeches or panels for plenary, debate on the agenda. Also, national, regional, chapter reports, etc.

cont. p. 7

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

BY PAUL BOOTH, WASHINGTON MARCH COORDINATOR

On Easter Saturday, under the sponsorship of SDS, over 20,000 people came to Washington to protest the whole direction of America's Vietnam policy, and to demand an end to the war. It was the public manifestation of the New Left in America that has mobilized in opposition to Johnson's war, and is further determined to change the conditions embedded in our society that have produced that war.

Buses came from the Deep South, the flooded mid-west, and in large numbers from the industrial northeast, to construct the largest picket line ever to assemble in front of the White House. The March on Washington also constituted the largest anti-war demonstration in the history of the nation's capital.

The Marchers began gathering in front of the White House around 9 am--the first bus to reach Washington contained 40 members of the Mississippi Student

cont. p. 9

Letter Written in Answer to Criticism of Poem
Written By Todd Gitlin

You say that the new third stanza is "just too polemical for my idea of poetic message." I think the issue is whether polemic and poetry are, here, at odds, not whether you as an editor have the right to cast that judgment. Of course you've got the right--but I'd rather talk about your judgment, to see if I might convince you that there is no inconsistency here. Because if I can't convince you of that then in an important way the poem fails. That matters more to me than whether the poem gets in type: it's a matter of communication, which is--is it not?--the real stuff of publication anyway.

The poem is about obscenity, malady, injury, madness, all masquerading as stable, even pious, normality. It's about some ways in which I was fevered by the disease. My object was to describe, if not diagnose, the disease by taking and reading my own temperature.

You might say that a steady hand would get a better reading than a hand shaking with rage. (Maybe that's the limit of the metaphor.) You would have meant that a slow melancholy irony or a pounding rhythmic despair (foreshadowing apocalypse) would have sufficed to convey Dallas. What you--I--would thereby have implied is that Dallas is only a steady dark mood, a plague that moves in and settles with the inevitability of a long fog. That is, I think, the undercoating of Dallas--but the description falls short if you stop there: that map is flat and lacks the necessary contours. The third stanza and the beginning of the fourth are about peaks (or abysses). To go back to the original metaphor, they are about the shooting pains that characterize a racking disease running its course. Isn't Dallas now known by the name of one of those shooting pains?

So let's grant that Dallas isn't just an unruffled disaster; grant that my mood, likewise, had corresponding peaks and abysses; grant that I thought I could replicate some of Dallas' unbearable consequences--as well as its "normal" ones--by exposing my own;--granting all that, what is the poet to do? Can you describe the shooting pains without shrieking, stamping, hardening, biting your lips? No. The poetry of those exquisitely sickening moments is--polemic: Percy Faith is a rapist. Robert Morris is a witchhunter. See here!--look!--that's who they are!

You say "these shorthands are political not poetic." I guess they are political. They aren't poetic in the sense of tenderness, longing, anguish, melancholy--standard "poetic" emotions--but they are accurate, I think. (if you disagree then we should argue that.) And at that point in the poem, I think harsh accuracy is the appropriate poetry. If it comes unexpected, so much the better--maybe the reader then sees the violence so shallowly cloaked in the dark "normal" mood.

Or maybe not--maybe the poem doesn't do those things; I would like to know. That's the attempt, anyway . . . I want to stop here because over-analysis would make the poem superfluous.

DALLAS, DECEMBER 24, 1964

These Northern eyes a Christmas sun
burns staring open. It's seventy-five.
The clean young men glide out to lunch
in shirtsleeves; well-pressed blouses shine
as ladies swarm to their shopping hives,
or click toward a church that looks so fine.
A thousand streets are dressed so fine.

What the sun burns open it will seal.
Tinsel's glitter I could bear
but not the glare of rooted steel
wound firm about the rotting stuff
of hope once green.-- I need to hear
a ballad (one would be enough):
one common radio song--enough. . .

It's Blowin' in the Wind belied
by Percy Faith's glib strings, who rape
its plaint,--The news says a child died
today, burned by his friends in fun;
and Lincoln Rockwell asked debate
with a witchhunter, for men must learn.
Meanwhile, in offices, men earn.

I flick the switch; no sense avails
against this pounding gay debauch.
The sun itself spills golden pails
of blood upon the shadow form
of roughest beast in wildest crouch.

Todd Gitlin

contents

Convention	1
March on Washington	1
Dallas	2
Criticism of Poem	2
Poetry by Jane Stembridge	3
Mississippi Challenge	3
Free University Summer Project	4
NCUP Organizers Arrested	5
National Council	5
New Twist in Hayden Case	6
Right of Protest Denied	6

published monthly by:
Students for a Democratic Society
1107 East 63rd Street,
Chicago 37, Illinois

About no jobs:

61/2 percent of all the peoples
in America
who could work
can't

Because there isn't any jobs
for them

the reason that there isn't any jobs
for them

is because other peoples runs
everything

they
like
to

they can't let the peoples run
themselves
because then they wouldn't have
nothing to run

no peoples to run
no Cadillac car

They would just have to run themselves
they don't like that
because they don't like
themselves
which takes money
Ah Ha

So they gets all the money they can
which means some people don't get any
And also they use the newspapers
they own

and the T.V. and other devices
to stir up the peoples for war
And meanwhile they stir up the senate
And house and generals and various
white
western imperialistic and paranoid
groups

And we go to Vietnam
and the money for jobs

goes to guns

which are made by the peoples
with cadillac cars
Which means
they can now buy another cadillac car

with the money
they make from the war

the same money
that could have made jobs

Almost two million dollars a day
in Vietnam
not to mention

dead children

BY JANE STEMBRIDGE

Copies of "The Peoples Wants Freedom"
by Jane Stembridge, a portion of which
is printed above, are available from the
National Office. The poem was composed
on a trip through Mississippi.

THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE BY BRUCE SCHMIECHEN

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge to the primary and general elections held in Mississippi this past year, and to the seating of three Mississippi congressmen, has gone through the stages of formal contest on the floor of Congress, weeks of testimony, compiling of evidence, and presentation of briefs to the Subcommittee on Elections and Privileges. The MFDP challengers now have until June 1 to finish filing briefs, and the contested "Representatives" have until July 1 to reply. During this period the MFDP is asking for heightened student support, particularly through educational activity in local areas.

Students should recognize the critical importance of the Freedom Democratic Party, as the first real political arm developed by the insurgent movement in Mississippi. The attitude developed by the FDP is a new political realism, based not upon the corrupt values of the wheelers and dealers, but on the workability of democratic participation and frank evaluation of political motives and goals. That the FDP delegates would not accept token compromise at the Atlantic City convention was a shock to the manipulators of the system and a step toward proving the effectiveness of grass roots organization outside of the power structure. The refusal meant FDP was challenging established power to make a choice between justice and injustice, instead of bartering for a niche within that power structure. In the words of the Freedom Democrats, "The test was not whether the FDP could accept 'political realism' but rather whether the Convention and the National Democratic Party could accept the challenge presented by the FDP. The convention and the National Democratic Party failed that test."

In terms of the present, the success or failure of the challenge determines whether the rights of the people of Mississippi will be fulfilled or neglected. The challenge is a test of the Congress's adherence to a tradition of misrepresentation, a stagnant view of social change, and loyalty to fellow members of the "Club". In this sense, the representation of Mississippi Negroes alone is not on trial, for the representation of all who believe in democratic government is tested by the decision of their Congressmen concerning the challenge and their ability to influence that decision. With the challenge in Congress, enforcement of the rights of Mississippians is not solely delegated to a local registrar or a red-neck sheriff, but to the symbol of American democracy. The slim Congressional support mustered thus far adds to the overwhelming body of evidence demolishing the theory of "Mississippi as an island of injustice", and points to the more realistic picture of Mississippi as an acute symptom of a national disease. The challenge should be seen by radicals not only as a possible solution to a particular problem, but as an indicator of the national problem and how it might be dealt with. Interest was expressed at the National Council in the possibility of the FDP being the initial step in forming a national independent political network. The outcome of the challenge and the further development of the FDP will be practical tests of the potential of grass roots movements and should provide organizers and community unions with lessons on the form of future political action.

cont. p. 4

FREE UNIVERSITY SUMMER PROJECT
BY CAROLYN CRAVEN

These are some thoughts on the summer project of the free university which have come out of discussions before and after the National Council meeting and out of the NC itself. It has been the feeling that students and others want and need some type of school (free university may be a misnomer) and that because of time and money that this is impossible for this summer. It was decided that it could probably be effective and profitable for there to be a summer project of people who were interested in working on the idea of the free university and on ideas related to it.

There are many types of activities which people on the summer project should be encouraged to do. One function is that they would begin to do some of the ground work for establishment of a free university for next summer. The types of activities suggested for this are: people should meet and discuss the idea of a free university with potential faculty, people should spend time talking to as many students as possible discussing the idea and to initiate a real dialogue on the concept, tentative fund raising should be done for next year, people should spend time discussing any ideas they have for the free university and write down their thoughts to be widely circulated, and that at the end of the summer a tentative proposal be written and circulated to as many people as it can reach.

There are many other activities in which people should involve themselves which are not directly related to the setting up of a free university for next summer. One feeling is that people will have ideas on which they will want to experiment. For example, if some one has an idea on university reform which they think can be tried at a summer school, then they should try it. If some people think that the free university should at least in part encompass community organizing projects as retreat for staff or by running tutorials for them, then those people should attempt to involve an organizing project. Various people are interested in educational theories and should be encouraged to discuss them with others. Others have suggested that people do research on the university, such as who owns it and what it owns, who runs it, etc. fashioned after the Berkeley study but more extensive in scope and in number of schools it covers. Others feel that someone should take the time to do an extensive study of university reform movements over the past few years, their tactics, where students have met with success and where they have failed, etc. This could be used as a casebook on university reform which could be useful in programming and as a stimulus for discussion. Other people are interested in relating the work of the summer project to the work which Carl Oglesby will be doing on research, publications, internal education, etc. Others want to relate the summer project to the expansion of the organization to include other than political interests and talents, such as writers artists, film makers. There are many ideas about what people on the summer project can do and there are many things which need to be done. People will be encouraged to do as much as they feel they should do.

There are still several questions about this summer such as where it will be, but those decisions will be made soon. Interest in the free university is high. It is important at this point that the discussion be extended to as many people as possible. One way that this will be done is that there will be a free university institute before the convention for any one who is interested whether they are to participate in the summer program or not. This will provide time for people to exchange ideas and to possibly discuss their ideas with "experts".

Anyone who is interested in the concept of a free university or in working on the summer project should write to Carolyn Craven in the national office.

CHALLENGE...

Along with activity supporting the challenge, students should begin to build support for the voting rights bill. The essence of the FDP position on the bill is one of support, but with recognition of its weaknesses and potential danger in its present form. The Freedom Democrats emphasize the necessity for an amendment providing for new elections, between six and nine months after the bills passage. If this is not included, the bill will not be in full effect until the expiration of the various elected officials' terms, in some cases 1968. The passage of the bill without new elections could also mean increased terror and intimidation of prospective voters. If avenues of legal harassment are closed, local officials could use heightened economic intimidation and terror to protect their futures, unless their illegal regimes are challenged by free elections as soon as all people have a chance to register.

The voting bill, even with new elections stipulated, should not overshadow MFDP activity. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, an FDP congressional candidate, has expressed concern that the voting bill is an attempt to "choke off" the challenge. Faith in local organization and independent activity must not be displaced by the proclaimed intentions of legislators. The history of the Negro in America offers ample evidence of this fact. Legislation can be evaded; genuine change, which the challenge demands, cannot be.

Work on educating the public and communicating with Congressmen should be planned extensively. A week of demonstrations calling for new free elections and dramatizing the issues of the challenge will begin May 9. Students are being asked to come to Washington to lobby for the FDP between June 13 and July 14. This is the focus of the summer program. Organization for these activities should begin now--people must be pressured, educated, if need be coerced, into recognizing and meeting the demands of the FDP and the changes called for in the challenges.

SDS National Convention!

Chicago area, sometime in June -- details to follow.

ncup organizers arrested in mississippi



As a result of meeting with members of MFDP, Jessie Allen, Barry Kalish, Betty Moss, and J.C. McKelson of the Newark Community Union Project went down to Sunflower County in Mississippi to discover what it was like to organize in the South. They went to Drew Mississippi to a voter registration project there. Almost upon arrival to Drew, a local SNCC worker was arrested. Barry, Jessie, and Eddie Robinson, another local SNCC worker went to the Mayor's office to discover where the arrested worker was being held. The mayor refused them the information and told them to leave his office. The three refused to leave. It seems at this point the sheriff also ordered them to leave and they again refused to do so. They were at this point arrested and bail was set. They were held for twenty four hours and tried by a judge who convicted them and sentenced Barry and Jessie to 60 days on the work farm or 500 dollars each for refusing to obey an officer. The hearing was a closed one and they were not given a lawyer.

Barry and Jessie are now on a work farm. In the meantime, MFDP attorney, Henry Aronson has filed a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that it a closed hearing and that they were not permitted council. The appeal bond has been set at \$1500 for the two and Aronson is attempting to get it lowered.

If you have not paid your dues yet
Please do so
NOW!

NATIONAL COUNCIL

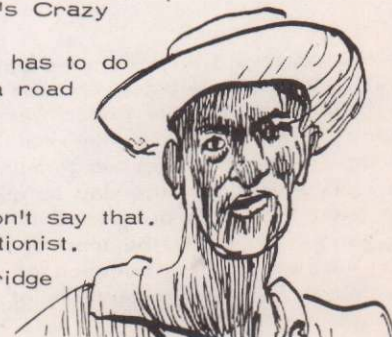
By Paul Potter, SDS President

I want to insert a couple of comments to suggest a little bit more about the tone of the post-March National Council. There were two particularly exciting parts to the NC. The first was the general discussion and debate on Vietnam followup which was excellent and raised a long list of questions which need desperately to be raised in each of the chapters and communities where there has been any interest in the war. We really do need to be urged to consider strategically what SDS should be doing about Vietnam, locally as well as nationally. This is not simply a question of what tactic is most effective as the next point in protest; instead the time has come for basic thinking about how we are organizing around the issue. What people are we reaching and how deeply are they being involved. What kind of pressure is needed to end the war and do we really think we can generate it. What possibilities are there for local programs that extend beyond the groups we have thus far reached--and more.

The second exciting element about the meeting was that in small, informally organized working groups of the National Council people discussed at great length a number of the difficult areas that SDS has to deal with and had the kinds of conversations that were creative in describing and thinking about those problems. The reason so little of that appeared in the formal statement of the decisions of the NC is simply because it is difficult to implement many of those decisions. For example the need for intensified internal education in SDS is not something that you can codify. On the other hand one group talked about that problem for a day and a half and came up with an excellent understanding of what needs to be done --some of which is reflected in Robb Burlage's report and suggestions on the Convention--one small portion of the ground the internal education group covered. Other discussions on foreign policy, Vietnam follow-up, University reform and a free university, organizational structure and democracy, and the Mississippi challenge were also productive of a great body of information and inspiration which now needs to be shared.

When peoples goes to visit Bob
He gets some bread and wine
Anyone who wants to sleep
can have a place to sleep
People say he's Crazy
and he said:
What a person has to do
is help make a road
Make a school
build a house
have a son
plant a tree.
Most people don't say that.
He's a Revolutionist.

--Jane Stembridge



new twist in hayden case

The case of Mamie Hayes vs. Tom Hayden, which began as a simple frame-up, has taken a new twist with the power structure seemingly stumbling over itself deciding whom to eliminate.

In response to a complaint by a Mrs. Palestine Watkins, on October 4th of last year, NCUP organizers Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman went to slumlord Mrs. Mamie Hayes requesting that she make repairs and reduce Mrs. Watkins's rent until they were completed. Mrs. Hayes agreed and signed a notarized statement to this effect.

Several days later Tom went to see Mrs. Hayes and asked about the repairs. When he took the agreement out of his pocket the landlady tried to take it away from him, and in the skirmish cut his wrist.

Tom went to the police station to file a complaint, but was told to return later. When he went back to Mrs. Hayes's home he was met by two police officers and a man who claimed to have witnessed the fight. Tom was promptly arrested and charged with assault and battery with intent to kill.

The case was taken to magistrates court, to a grand jury (where the 'intent to kill' charge was dropped), and back to magistrates court on April 5, 1965. The presiding judge was Del Mauro, well-known in Newark for his conviction of Ida Brown and Clyde Wright and for his vindictive statements against the NCUP organizers in the past.

The trial began with a lengthy description by Mrs. Hayes about how Tom Hayden had beaten and kicked her, but the real surprise came when the witness took the stand. Pointing to Tom, he said, "that's not Tom Hayden," and identified Carl Wittman ("that blond boy") as the real assailant. Mrs. Hayes concurred, Judge Del Mauro castigated Tom for impersonating himself, and Carl was immediately arrested. It was this switch that led to the NCUP city Hall protest, in which ten were arrested for sitting in at the Mayor's office.

Judge Del Mauro was persuaded to disqualify himself because of his outburst against Tom, but the trial went right on with a new judge and new defendant.

Carl's trial dragged on for three days, despite motions by both the defense and the prosecution to dismiss the case, despite police records positively identifying Tom Hayden as the real Tom Hayden and despite several witnesses locating Carl somewhere else entirely on the day in question. The decision has been postponed for one month so that the judge can study the transcript. On his decision rests not only the question of who beat whom, but apparently, the very identities of two of our organizers.

county employe denied right of protest

On April 27th, 1965, at 12 noon, SDS member Michael Tabor was fired from the Montgomery county (Maryland) welfare board for leading a picket line the previous day which protested the unanimous appointment of two self-declared segregationists to the Human Relations Commission of the County. The CORE protest demanded the registration of the entire committee and called for the establishment of a citizens human relations board.

County Manager Mason Butcher said that Tabor was dismissed because his protest "was conduct not becoming a County employee." He said a letter had gone out to the State Welfare Department, which pays most of Tabor's salary.

Welfare Director William Royer said that any employee may criticize the government through proper channels, but does not have the right to attack publicly the bodies that pay his salary. While the County manager had stated that Tabor's action in the picket line was the only reason for his dismissal, Royer said that he would have been dropped anyway when his six-month probationary period ended May 7, both for his previous political activities and because he "had not shown sufficient growth on the job."

Tabor is suing for reinstatement and back pay, although, as a trainee, he does not have the right of appeal to the county personnel board.

"The appointment to the Montgomery County Human Relations Commission of segregationists and my own termination of employment," said Tabor, ". . . is indicative of the county council's views regarding civil rights in racial matters generally."

Tabor is a founder of the University of Maryland chapter of SDS and presently chairman of Suburban Washington CORE. He was instrumental in the now-famous CORE infiltration of a Prince Georges County White Citizens Council chapter, and the White House protest over Selma last month.



Burlage cont.

III. Analytical and issue discussion groups (about 3 days) on topics such as (1) University as agent of social change; (2) Political strategy; (3) Democracy and organizational structure; (4) Foreign policy: Its place and priority; (5) Cultural change and social change; (6) Basic values; and (7) Economic change and political change.

IV. Plenary discussion and debate on a couple of issues plus other resolutions proposed--conclude with election of officers (perhaps a half-day or day).

Interspersed would be after-meal special speakers; a couple of general panels for entire plenary; entertainment; parties; time for regional and chapter caucuses.

Within the broad groupings, some of which might encompass more than 100 persons, diverse panels and debates would be set-up and some would come forth spontaneously, small discussion groups would be staged frequently to break discussion down, spin-offs for people with special interests would be welcome as they arise, etc. People would be free to roam and attend different sessions, but panels would be at least loosely scheduled to be in certain times and a few people would be assigned to keep continuity going in each of the large groups.

One way of breaking down the analytical and issue groups might be as follows:

1. University as Agent of Social Change

- a. Survey of current stage of university reform movement--reports from FSM, various campuses, outside observers--What next? SDS role in this? Project proposals?
- b. Free University or counter-university proposal--what form should it take?
- c. University as a radical agent or recruiting environment in perspective to general movement strategy.
- d. The SDS "chapter" and "community project" and its university "constituency"--problems, potentials, etc.
- e. Role of intellectuals, professionals, etc. qua academic and professional lives--in what sense "radical" and part of movement--"support" roles or "direct" roles?

2. Political Strategy

Concerned primarily with community, regional, and national strategies as effect basic "movements" --"general politics".

- a. "Objective Conditions 1965"
The Nature of Johnson Consensus and Strategy. Influence of trends of economy, military, corporatism. Are liberals separable from corporatists? Is labor separable from corporatists?
- b. Who is in "our movement"--interracial movement of the poor? Other "independents"? Sympathetic liberals? Can reach "middle class" directly? What forms and allies and splits is civil rights movement taking now? Can link people through "campus", "professionals", "issue movements" (civil rights, peace, civil liberties)?

- c. How independent must "our movement" be? Freedom Democratic Parties, "independent" or broad coalitions? "Counter-society ideas" MFDP and SNCC people on their conception of alliances and the FDP model.
- d. Range of priorities and "stages" of development for local and regional movements--and for individual radicals--what are real issues --how test them--what must we know through experience? Proposals for research, experiment, further meetings, etc.

3. Democracy and Organizational Structure

- a. Historical perspective--radical politics in America and "internal democracy"--the SNCC experience thus far. Foreign perspective.
- b. The nature of SDS as a movement--how sensitive to diverse constituency and operate as "national organism" simultaneously: decentralization, less leadership, the need to be sensitive to broad potential constituency; need to be sensitive to "regional" relations, --unweildy nature of national coordination; difficulties of representing SDS "in field"-- need for open-end diversity; ERAPers on field experience that democracy is "local" experience primarily--dilemma of "power" even in this setting; campus people on how to be open to broad group of people there-- how to get "unity" and "division" of labor simultaneously?
- c. "Theoretical" problems and "practical" solutions?--Limits of "group dynamics" with regional or national scale; how to balance "openness" and "sensitivity with discipline, general consensus, ability to "move" in certain ways regionally and nationally? "Constitutionally how can Convention, Chapter, Regions, Projects, National Council, National Office function to maximize democracy while achieving political directions desired-- what relative role of each and limits of each "practically" and "legally"? How improve "communications systems", internal dialogue, etc?
- d. Resolutions, Proposals, Issues for debate, proposed constitutional or by-laws or administrative procedures changes--.

4. "Foreign Policy"--Trends, Connections to "Domestic" Issues and Constituency-Building, Priorities for SDS.

- a. "Objective Conditions 1965"--trend of US policies vis--disarmament and arms control, UN and multilateral development assistance, Europe, Communist World, Third World--
- b. History of "SDS Foreign Policy"--implicit strategic analysis behind this.
- c. Review of current challenges--responsibilities --looming and continuing, crises, "outrages": expected "future objective conds". Observed and expert research and action needs.
- d. Shift of new responsibilities to SDS? Significance of March on Washington? International demand. Other organizations view SDS as catalyst and leader.
- e. Real connections to domestic issues? Community people discuss this--from Newark to Mississippi--Different kinds of connections: general hardening of national system; military over anti-poverty priorities.
- f. A new "peace and anti-imperialism movement"?
- g. Limits of SDS "foreign policy"--how specific? how heavily weighted in terms of local

cont. p. 8

Burlage cont.

activity. How "general" SDS leadership relations to other groups--keep independence or freely enter cooperative sponsorship? Dangers of losing community base? Dangers of attracting too much national pressure too soon? Dangers of isolating position on campuses? Balanced against responsibilities and potentials.

- h. Resolutions on SDS analysis, program priorities, procedures for carrying out "foreign policy" programs, etc.

5. Cultural Change and Social Change

- a. Alienation and Politics--cultural roots
- b. The artist and politics
- c. Art and community politics as education, participation, leaven to political life, advertisement of concerns (ideas, "case studies").
- d. "Personal" rebellion and politics--meaning of "sexual revolution", youth revolt, "hip revolt", etc.
- e. Can SDS expand its programs, purposes, "community" to encompass these "multi-dimensional concerns and individuals without losing its basic political "discipline" and trajectory?

6. Basic Values

Take hard look at "value section" expressed in Port Huron Statement and SDS expression of values explicitly or implicitly since then--begin with diverse panel of persons viewing "SDS values" from different perspectives.

7. Economic change and political change: "contradictions" and "trends"

- a. Automation: how visible, how cataclysmic, how fast? Toward more leisure or new kinds of work?
- b. Economics: its "uses" for the movement.
- c. War on poverty: "opportunity" or total sell-out.
- d. Corporatism: how manageable in the public interest?
- e. Economic trends: looming crisis or dogged internal stagnation?
- f. Defense Conversion: boom or crisis?
- g. What's "ripe" for organizing?
- h. Community surveys--how useful for organizing? How "unitary" is local power?

Two kinds of panels might be of such general interest that they could be held during general sessions.

The first might be entitled: "As Others See Us" --bringing together four people of diverse backgrounds who are friendly to SDS but are from entirely different perspectives and with entirely different expectations, to talk about the role they would like to see SDS play nationally and their criticisms or praise of SDS's role thus far (the more critical the better!)

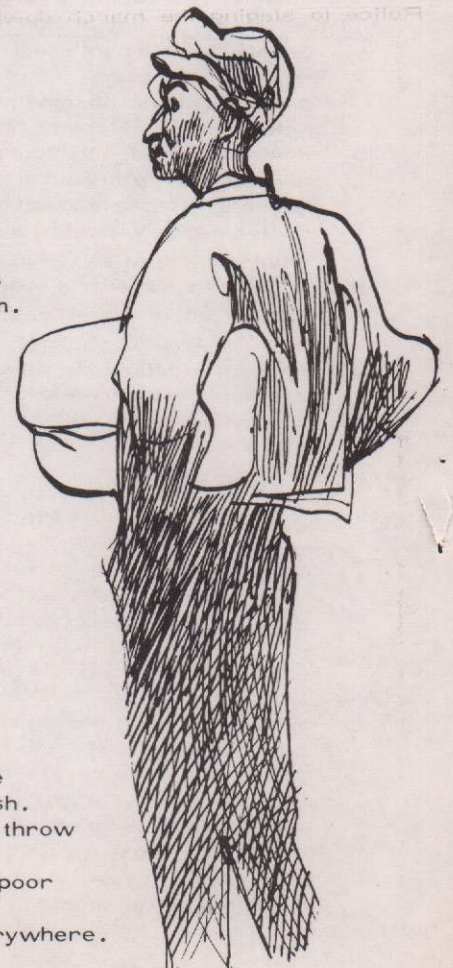
The second might be on "The New Left vis-a-vis Johnson's Consensus"--with a range of "political viewpoints".

If you are moving please send your new summer and fall address to the SDS National Office!



There are rich people
and poor people
There are rich people
and poor people.
Middle class people are
the same as rich people.
They have more things
than they need
Poor people dont have the
things peoples needs.
Like warm clothes for
winter
and food
Blankets
and bouses and bread.
The reason poor people dont
have what they need is
Because somebody took it
away
Thats what it means to be
rich
It means stealing from
somebody else.
To be poor it means to
be hungry
and cold
and
ashamed

Because in America
poor people are blamed.
Rich people are praised
People say that God has
blessed and chosen them.
Their money is a sign
that they are good.
People in America
have sayings
They say:
"God helps
the man who helps
himself."
When people see
a very rich
man
People Say: "He
must be living
right."
But when they see a
poor man
They say: "Bum."
Poor white people in the
South are called trash.
Trash is something you throw
away.
That's what happens to poor
whites in the South
And to poor people everywhere.
Amen.



Booth cont.

Union, high school students come to say that the war was doing to Vietnam the opposite of what they hope to do for Mississippi.

By 11:30 the picket line completely encircled the White House as three trainloads from New York brought by SDS and Women Strike for Peace arrived. At 12:30, the long line started to walk down 15th and 17th streets to the Washington Monument grounds, where for 45 minutes marchers filed into the open-air Sylvan Theatre.

As the marchers filed in, Phil Ochs, Bill Frederick, and the Freedom Voices sang about the war and what we would do with the peace if it could be won. Bob Parris, a SNCC field worker, gave the first speech of the program, and set the mood of the rally by talking about Alabama and Mississippi sharecroppers and the question of war in Asia.

He was followed by journalist I.F. Stone who dissected and disposed of the official rationale of the fighting. Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale talked about the movement of faculty, about the demand for genuine commitment that we are called on to make, and about the anti-democratic direction in which the U.S. is moving.

Senator Ernest Gruening followed Lynd, giving an unequivocal denunciation of the War. Gruening had been under considerable pressure not to appear from right-wing columnists and from the administration. He ignored the pressure, assisted the march coordinators in overcoming the resistance of the Park Police to staging the march down the mall, and was rewarded by receiving much greater press coverage for his position that it had previously been afforded.

Judy Collins then sang "The Times They Are A-Changing." Mrs. Carol King substituted for Iva Pearce of the Cleveland Community Union, saying that poor people in America are direct victims of the war in Vietnam, which is foreclosing the chances for a serious attack on poverty by wasting the money in Asia and by turning America into an armed camp. Mrs. Pearce's son had been in an auto accident the previous day, and Mrs. King read her speech. Paul Potter gave the final speech, articulating the radical analysis of the march, identifying extent of the task by arguing that the issue of democracy could not be avoided, and pleading that the marchers take up the serious work of organizing a new left to oppose war.

MOOD OF THE MARCH

As the press noted, the mood of the march was militant. The Sylvan Theatre audience responded most vigorously to the strongest stated speeches of Prof. Lynd, and SDS President Potter, whose concluding address brought the whole assemblage to its feet.

As well, the marchers communicated to each other their shared commitment to carry on the task of building opposition to the war. Only an imperceptive press (of which there was a healthy representation) could miss the observation that a real movement against the war was represented in Washington.

cont. p. 10.



The real and exact job of a cop: STOP
STOP

That is also true
of executive committees
and every government and
organization in the whole world

except
small quick ones

and plain people
who love.

Jane Stembridge

sds national office
is moving to chicago
may 14

new address: 1103 E. 63rd St.
Chicago 37, Ill.

Booth cont.

Potter's speech was the most successful in meeting the standard of the march planners that each of the speeches go far beyond the simple statement that the war is bad. He emphasized that the roots of the war are embedded deep in our soil, and that "if we were serious about ending the war", we would go home to engage in the hard work of building a movement committed to the achievement of democracy in America and conscious that the issues of war and peace, of jobs and freedom, and of the free university, must be solved by people in movement.

Following Potter's call for the construction of such a movement, the 20,000 marchers proceeded up the Mall to the foot of the Capitol, singing "We Shall Overcome" (led by Joan Baez, Judy Collins, Phil Ochs, and Barbara Dane), and then chanting "No More War". The marchers filled the Mall 80 abreast and several city blocks length. (As they approached 1st Street the ground underneath Grant's Monument shook.)

EFFECT OF THE MARCH

Throughout the weekend, the congressional opposition to the war began to come out of hiding (perhaps due to the March, perhaps to the spirit of the season). Chairman J. Wm. Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee announced opposition to the bombings of North Vietnam, and received backing from other committee members including Dixiecrat John Sparkman (Ala.), and two Republicans-- Frank Carlson (Kans.) and George Aiken (Vt.).

In response to this development, the March, and the persistence of substantial opposition as shown in the polls (opponents number over 33% according to Gallup) the administration is sending out truth squads to the campuses and is beginning to blast the peace forces through such high-level mouths as Senator Russell Long and columnists James Reston and Joseph Alsop. And, McGeorge Bundy has agreed to appear in a conferentation with the anti-war academic forces at a national teach-in May 15th.

The March has also served to spur the peace movement to a higher level of activity. One example is the national teach-in, sponsored by Michigan faculty, the originators of the "teach-in". A panel argument between Bundy and three supporting academics and George Cahin, Hans Morgenthau, William A. Williams, and Harry Benda will be piped into halls all over the country. The 15th, Armed Forces Day, will also be marked by demonstrations.

A second response was the national End the War in Vietnam Week called by the SDS National Council for May 3-8. Local groups staged demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, and other activities culminating in coordinated demonstrations on the 8th, protesting both the war in Vietnam and American intervention in the Dominican Republic.

A third evidence of the growing activity is the beginning of plans for full-time summer programs. A follow-up meeting of 70 local Vietnam coordinators was held the evening of the March, and it proposed

WANTED: BULLETIN ARTICLES

Please send information on your local chapter activities, demonstrations, community projects, etc.

a general meeting to decide summer program. This conference was held May 9th by SPAC, the Swathmore SDS chapter.

And, a crisis-response committee set up by the national council met April 26th and is circulating a 4-point program including student strike, international action, encouragement of non-cooperation with the war among soldiers, and direct action.

OTHER ACTION

Although the March was the big show, April 17th saw simultaneous demonstrations in Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and, most important, at the LBJ Ranch. A Houston group, with the help of the U-Texas SDS group, staged a 24-hour, 450-man vigil in front of President Johnson's ranch. The President felt moved to issue an Easter Sunday statement that he had not swerved from his previously stated course of action.

Actually, the biggest show was going on in Honolulu, where the top military hands met during the Easter week to decide on an unannounced policy of gradual introduction of tens of thousands of U.S. combat troops. McNamara returned from this meeting with the statement that attention would now shift back to the guerrilla war. The Marines have begun to engage in distinctly undefensive forays. The Coast Guard is being sent to help patrol the coast. Over 40,000 troops are already in the South, and we should be prepared to see that number increase by as much as 5000 a week.

The remarkable expression of opposition has only succeeded in driving the process of decision-making into deeper secrecy. The days ahead will provide greater and greater challenges to the left as the American entanglement becomes less and less extricable. The heat is on. * * *

The important lesson of the March on Washington is that we are many, and that we can apply a lot of heat ourselves if we so choose. Let us build the movement of opposition that we have begun so successfully.

ERAP is now taking applications for summer and full-time organizers. Write to: Economic Research and Action Project 1100 East Washington Ann Arbor, Michigan

literature list

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

ABOUT SDS (all items free; if possible, please contribute for PHS and ANE)

- ___ SDS Constitution
- ___ Port Huron Statement, 64 page manifesto of values and beliefs. Product of 1962 SDS convention. (Especially recommended) (35¢ appreciated)
- ___ America and the New Era. Analysis of the "American Scene" and strategy for dealing with it. Product of the 1963 convention. (15¢ appreciated)
- ___ A Movement of Many Voices. Description of ERAP projects and affiliates.

STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY

- ___ (10¢) Paul Booth: A Strategy for University Reform
- ___ (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Student Political Action, 1960-63 -- The View of a Participant
- ___ (10¢) Al Haber: Students and Labor
- ___ (10¢) Tom Hayden: Student Social Action (Especially recommended)
- ___ (10¢) C. Clark Kissinger: The Bruns Strike -- Student Participation in Labor
- ___ (10¢) Don McKelvey: The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties
- ___ (10¢) Eric Levine: The Berkeley Free Speech Controversy
- ___ (10¢) C. Wright Mills: Letter to the New Left
- ___ (10¢) Paul Potter: The Intellectual as an Agent of Social Change
- ___ (10¢) Paul Potter: The University and the Cold War
- ___ (10¢) Bob Ross: The United States National Student Association. -- A Policy Critique
- ___ (10¢) Carl Wittman: Students and Economic Action

CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

- ___ (10¢) Noel Day: The Freedom Movement in Massachusetts
- ___ (10¢) Noel Day: A White America in a Non-White World
- ___ (10¢) Nick Egleson: The Survey and Community Organization
- ___ (10¢) Warren Haggstrom: The Power of the Poor
- ___ (10¢) Tom Hayden: Civil Rights in the United States
- ___ (10¢) Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman: An Interracial Movement of the Poor
- ___ (75¢) Tom Kahn: Economics of Equality
- ___ (10¢) Charles LeBeaux: Life on ADC -- Budgets of Despair
- ___ (10¢) Jack Minnis: The Care and Feeding of Power Structures
- ___ (10¢) Paul Potter: Research and Education in Community Action Projects
- ___ (10¢) Swarthmore SDS: Chester, Pa. -- Block Organization
- ___ (10¢) Nicholas Von Hoffman: Finding and Making Leaders
- ___ (10¢) Robert Lamb: Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown
- ___ (10¢) Rennie Davis: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

ECONOMICS

- ___ (5¢) Bibliography on the American Economy: Lee Webb
- ___ (10¢) Ray Brown: Our Crisis Economy (new revised edition) (Especially recommended)
- ___ (10¢) Robb Burlage: The American Planned Economy -- A Critique
- ___ (10¢) Robb Burlage: This is War? -- An Analysis of the War on Poverty with Emphasis on Appalachia
- ___ (10¢) Robb Burlage: The South as an Underdeveloped Country
- ___ (10¢) Committee on the Triple Revolution: The Triple Revolution
- ___ (10¢) Bob Heifitz: A Draft Program for Eastern Kentucky
- ___ (10¢) Ken McEldowney (ed.): Readings on Poverty
- ___ (10¢) Bernard Nossiter and David Bazelon: The New Folklore of Capitalism
- ___ (10¢) Nyack Conference on Unemployment and Social Change--Working Papers

PEACE

- (10¢) Nancy Bancroft: The Christian Peace Concern
- (10¢) Paul Booth: Economic Conversion and the War on Poverty
- (10¢) Dick Flacks and Tom Hayden: New Possibilities for Peace
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Bibliography of War/Peace Books
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Deterrence and Reality--Where Strategy Comes From
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: The Case Against the Draft
- (10¢) Ken McElDowney: Disarmament and the American Economy
- (10¢) Don McKelvey: Economic Development, the Major Powers, and Peace

FOREIGN POLICY

- (10¢) David Arnold: Vietnam--Symptom of a World Malaise
- (10¢) Andrew Frank: Exploitation or Aid--U.S. - Brazil Economic Relations
- (10¢) Todd Gitlin: Vietnam--A Selected Bibliography
- (10¢) Don McKelvey: China
- (10¢) Sen. Wayne Morse: Speech on Vietnam
- (10¢) Chris Hobson: Vietnam: Which Way Out?
- (10¢) Bob Laufer: South Africa: The Meaning of Apartheid
- (25¢) Carl Oglesby: The Vietnam War: World Revolution and American Containment

POLITICS

- (10¢) Noel Day: The American Left--Post-election Prospects and Problems
- (10¢) Eugene Feingold and Tom Hayden: Politics 1965--Corporatism and Crisis
- (10¢) Tom Hayden: The Power of the Dixicrats
- (10¢) Tom Hayden: Liberal Analysis and Federal Power
- (10¢) Sumner Rosen: Liberals and Reality
- (10¢) Carl Wittman: Seminar on Marxism

FROM THE POLITICAL EDUCATION PROJECT

- (10¢) Robb Burlage: Johnson with Eyes Open
- (10¢) Tom Gish: This is the War that is
- (10¢) Steve Max and Doug Ireland: When the Southern Vote was Counted
- (10¢) Jim Williams: March on Frankfurt

Please use this order form. Bulk rates available to organized chapters.

Send to STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, 1103 East 63rd St., Chicago 37, Illinois

Name _____

School address _____

Home address _____

- I wish to join and enclose () \$1 initiation & () \$2 year dues.
- I am ordering literature checked and enclose \$__ in payment.
- Please send me information on SDS and mailing for two months.
- I wish to contribute to SDS: \$__ enclosed (contributions are tax-exempt).
- I am a member: enclosed is \$__ for 64-65 dues.
- I am interested in joining SDS staff () now () this summer. Please send me more information.