

NEW LEFT NOTES

Let the People Decide

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SANE Voters' Pledge conservative, inadequate

by John Maher

On March 7, I attended a meeting at the New York office of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy as a delegate from Massachusetts Political Action for Peace and the National Office of SDS. Also present were Sanford Gottlieb and Donald Keyes from SANE, representatives from the traditional peace groups, and delegates from grass roots organizations such as Women's Strike for Peace and the National Coordinating Committee. The meeting was occasioned by SANE's efforts to initiate a nationwide campaign to circulate a voters' pledge, to be followed by a March on Washington the day after. Several and even fundamental disagreements existed over the form and content of the pledge proposed by SANE, the timing of the March, and the desirability of SANE attempting to organize a political convention for the entire peace movement at this or any other time.

I had hoped that our discus-

sion would focus on the areas of disagreement so that a program could emerge which, while taking into account our very different conceptions of the role of the peace movement in America today, would at the same time provide a basis upon which common action could be initiated where such seemed called for. I was to be disappointed. When I arrived at 10:30 in the morning the voters' pledges and accompanying handbooks were stacked neatly on the table as if to say that the proposed campaign was a vital enterprise already launched and well underway. Such was not the case, as the coordinators knew well from the reaction of the SANE chapters in New Jersey a few days before, when these materials had been rejected as totally unsuitable. That this fact of life was not acknowledged by the coordinators of the campaign led me to suspect that unless SDS and PAX disagreed openly and forcefully our seeming assent would be used to whip other grass roots organi-

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Peregrinacion, Penitencia, Revolucion

by Cesar E. Chavez
General Director, NFWA

In the "March from Delano to Sacramento" there is a meeting of cultures and traditions; the centuries-old religious tradition of Spanish culture conjoins with the very contemporary cultural syndrome of "demonstration" springing from the spontaneity of the poor, the down-trodden, the rejected, the discriminated-against baring visibly their need and demand for equality and freedom.

In every religious oriented culture "the pilgrimage" has had a place, a trip made with sacrifice and hardship as an expression of penance and of commitment--and often involving a petition to the patron of the pilgrimage for some sincerely sought benefit of body or soul. Pilgrimage has not passed from Mexican culture. Daily at any of the major shrines of the country, and in particularly at the Basilica of the Lady of Guadalupe there arrive pilgrims from all points--some of whom may have long since walked-out the pieces of rubber tire that once served them as soles; and many of whom will walk on their knees the last mile or so of the pilgrimage. Many of the "pilgrims" of Delano will have walked such pilgrimages themselves in their lives--perhaps as very small children even; and cling to the memory of the day-long marches, the camps at night, streams forded, hills climbed, the sacral aura of the sanctuary, and the "fiesta" that followed.

But throughout the Spanish speaking world there is another tradition that touches the present march, that of the Lenten penitential processions, where the penitentes would march through the streets, often in sack cloth and ashes, some even carrying crosses, as a sign of penance for their sins, and as a plea for the mercy of God. The penitential procession is also the blood of the Mexican-American, and the Delano march will therefore be one of penance--public penance for the sins of the strikers, their own personal sins as well as their yielding perhaps to feelings of hatred and revenge in the strike itself. They hope by the march to set themselves at peace with the Lord, so that the justice of their cause will be purified of all lesser motivation.

These two great traditions of a great people meet in the Mexican-American with the belief that Delano is the "cause", his great demand for justice, freedom, and respect from a predominantly foreign cultural community in a land where he was first. The revolutions of Mexico were primarily uprisings of the poor, fighting for bread and for dignity. The Mexican-American is also a child of the revolution.

Pilgrimage, penance, and revolution. The pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento has strong religio-cultural overtones. But it is also the pilgrimage of a cultural minority who have suffered from a hostile environment, and a minority who mean business.

GRAPE STRIKERS BEGIN PEREGRINACION

Delano, Calif. (news release from Terry Cannon): 100 farm workers and their wives set out from Delano March 17th to march on foot 300 miles to the state capital.

Delano is the center of the 7 month old strike of agricultural workers, considered by many to be one of the most important in California's history of labor organizing. The march, the latest dramatic development in the strike, combines the Spanish tradition of religious pilgrimage -- the "Peregrinacion" with the contemporary protest march.

Farm workers from other agricultural areas in the state -- the Salinas, Sonoma, and the Sacramento Valles have begun to join the "Peregrinacion" as it journeys up the great central valley of California. The strike activities in Delano will be continued by the relatives of those on the march.

Each night, the march stops in a different Mexican-American community, a rally is held, and word of the Farm Workers Association spreads. Several hundred workers have been attending each of these meetings.

The March will arrive in Sacramento at Easter; by that time it is hoped that national attention will have been focused on the farm workers' struggle. The hope of FWA is that this attention will help force Schenley to recognize the union and bargain with it.

Detroit, Mich.: William Bunge, a geography professor at Wayne State issued the following statement concerning his protest of the war: "... I will not become a finger man for the Selective Service, I will not give a grade lower than C to any young man, even if he supports the war. Today's announcement that college students are about to lose their deferment merely means that I will escalate my grades in step with their escalation of the drafting of students to be butch-

ered thousands of miles away. I will not fail any one of my students merely for below C work. It is not a just punishment. D-stands for Death."

Lincoln, Neb.: The following activities took place during the week of March 14-21, the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre: All-Africa literature tables, soapbox speeches in the Student Union, films on South Africa, a radio appearance, and a teach-in on "Africa and Revolution." The sponsors of the programs (including The African Student Association, Friends of SNCC, and local church people) visited people in the area with business interests in South Africa inviting them to attend the teach-in.

Middletown, Conn.: Students from several New England colleges have ended an eight day fast protesting U.S. action in Viet Nam. At Amherst College about 70 were involved in the fast while 40 fasted at Wesleyan. They were joined by students at the Univ. of Massachusetts, Trinity College, the Hartford College for Women, the Univ. of Hartford, and the Univ. of Connecticut in smaller numbers.

One of the sentiments of those fasting was that the fast was a sign of personal commitment that wouldn't alienate people like more traditional forms of protest action.

Flushing, N. Y.: 56 Queens College students began a three day fast for peace in Vietnam on March 23, reports a telegram from Andrew Berman of the SDS chapter.

Lincoln, Neb. (from Jane Adams): March 18, 19, and 20, people from Lincoln, Grinnell, Lawrence, Iowa City, Ames, Iowa, and the Des Moines project met to make more concrete decisions about regional organization. They met concurrent with a conference on Southern Africa, sponsored by Lincoln SDS, participating in the South Africa activities--picketing 3 insurance companies and

International Harvester for their involvement in the South African economy and politics, joining in a teach-in and discussions

Decisions concerning the region:

1. The SDS regional organizing committee is composed of representatives from SDS chapters in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. Each chapter has 1 vote for every 25 members or part thereof. Other groups can become associate members if they subscribe to the preamble of the SDS national constitution. Projects become represented by vote of the body, with voting rights. There will be no office as such the region will not at this point handle memberships.

2. Campus travellers: Pam Smith and Jane Adams were hired at \$50 a month subsistence plus travel and other expenses. Pam will work out of Kansas City, in Kansas and Missouri; Jane will work mostly in Iowa and Nebraska. Jane will handle funds.

3. Funds: The body decided to have a "Tax" on \$1.00 per month per member (national dues payer), to be paid at the first of the month, collected by the chapter. A fund raising brochure (which would also serve as an introductory pamphlet for new people in the region) was approved, pending funds to put it out. Funds will go to: campus travellers, a monthly paper, and community organizing projects

4. Publication: Each chapter will be responsible for getting news in to Don Olson in Lawrence, Kansas. The Lawrence people will do the job of editing it.

5. Summer projects: A few were discussed: expanding the Des Moines project, organizing Mexican-American workers in western Nebraska, research. Papers will concrete proposals will be written for the next regional meeting.

Chicago, Ill.: Winner of this week's Charles Engelhard Corporate Liberalism Award is Lyle M. Spencer, President of Science Research Associates (which is owned by IBM and noted most recently for administering the Draft ranking tests coming up at the end of April); chairman of the Board of Trustees of Roosevelt University; member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago; and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, who told an SDS meeting at Roosevelt that they should not picket him during the Days of Protest because it would hurt the fund-raising possibilities for the University.

Boston, Mass. (from Hal Benenson): Students from MIT, Harvard, Radcliffe, and Brandeis decided to set up a Boston Area SDS Labor Committee to coordinate the work that has been going on with various unions. These activities include participation in the boycott of Schenley products and organization of support for the striking farm workers in California, projects that have developed out of student involvement in the Thompson-UAW strike near Brandeis, leafleting workers and speaking to union meetings about Viet Nam, and labor organizing with the United Electrical Workers. The people who have been active in the different projects have not had a chance to get together and discuss the problems and questions

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"Chick-Stud" scene from A Minstrel Show, or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel

"In the seven years since it was formed, the S.F. Mime Troupe has waged 'guerrilla theatre' against 'the common enemy -- cultural stupefaction' writes a recent reviewer in the Nation. On April 14 the Troupe starts on the road with what reviewers call its most successful and popular production to date -- A Minstrel Show, or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel. They will be touring the midwest and east under the sponsorship of SDS and other left groups at many campuses. There are still openings in the schedule. If you would like to use this opportunity to work with radical theatre on your campus as well as fund-raise (the take would be split between you and them); write to either R. G. Davis, director of the S. F. Mime Troupe or Ken McEldowney, SDS Regional Office, both located at 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.

Radical Education Project - Draft for discussion and Comment

by Al Haber

Radical Education Program: an independent educational, research and publication program initiated by students for a Democratic Society, dedicated to the cause of democratic radicalism, and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America.

Democratic radicalism is renewing itself around a basically moral proposition that people should have the opportunity to participate in shaping the decisions and the conditions of economic, political and cultural existence which affect their lives and destinies.

This theme is not new, indeed, it is deeply rooted in the traditions of utopian and scientific socialism, popular democracy and humanism. But it has acquired a new urgency and concreteness in the radical action movements of the last five years. It has become the unifying point of moral reference in the opposition to the corporate state, in the anti-war movement, in the critique of authoritarianism and paternalism in the university, and in the freedom struggles of Negroes in particular and the American underclass in general.

Towards a new left in America: The vitality and the idealism of the new movements are related in part to the directness of this relatively un-ideological moral position. But a left movement requires more than idealism and passion. Intellectually, it must have knowledge; it must have understanding and analysis; and it must have a social program and prescription which translates radical vision into concrete realities. **Organizationally,** it must have roots and relevance to every major section of the American community; and it must catalyze and encompass insurgency in every institution or sphere of life that it would seek to transform.

It must expand its appeal and its participation beyond the populations of students and economically exploited. The problems of the "affluent" in America--union members, professionals, the broad middle class, the intelligensia, etc.--are in many ways more pressing and serious than those of the underclass. Not only do more people experience them, but they are new, less clearly understood and less subject to simple institutional or economic remedy.

The task of the movement, now, is not only to seek immediate political objectives--locally and nationally. It must create, or coalesce anew, a generation of democrats--people, not only youth, who will maintain a radical value commitment and identity and a functional relation with the "movement." It must bring about opportunities for communication which allow us to build on another's thought, to learn from one another's experience and to reinforce one another in action.

We must begin to build now the loose linkages, or "fraternities," between people in particular professions and social activities; fraternities which could begin to give explicit meaning and substance to the ideal of radical democracy within that activity, and which could, in time, develop as catalysts of radical insurgency and organization in such activities.

A new political movement must have an internal vitality, potent enough to maintain enthusiasm and continuing creative challenge, and diverse enough to encompass the varied interests, talents, aspirations and social locations of its moral constituency.

The RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT is established to encourage the intellectual and organizational development of these directions among democratic radicals.

The program was initiated by Students for a Democratic Society and its immediate function is to serve the educational needs of the members and groups now in SDS.

Its longer term aspiration is to provide a means for radicals and democrats not now centrally involved "in" the movement to interact, to stimulate one another and to define for themselves an identity and program appropriate for their social location--whether in universities, in trade unions, in the arts, in professions, or wherever.

TASKS: The project will be under the direction of a "movement education committee." The committee would have five main areas of responsibility:

1. **SPEAKERS' BUREAUS:** to develop a series of speakers lists of people willing and competent to speak to SDS and movement groups on issues of political and social analysis. Illustrations of the subject areas for which speakers lists would be developed are: poverty, community power structure, the American economy, the Cold War, the labor movement, the history of American radicalism and radical theory, radicalism and the arts, etc.

Speakers lists might also be developed on more specific issues that have topical importance in the organization; for example: Vietnam, China, university reform, the War on Poverty, the debate on coalition politics, etc.

Al Haber, a former president of SDS, has been charged by the NC with the responsibility for organizing an SDS Radical Education Project. This is the result of his analysis of how the fundamentals of the project should be. A more complete report will be available at the NC and then from the National Office.

2. **TOURS:** to arrange speakers trips, tours of individuals or teams to campuses to speak, stage debates or lead membership discussion on particular issues of interest to the membership. The "traveling workshop" idea would be developed in places where people with particular experience or organizing ability--e.g. community organization, free university, power structure research--would visit campuses and aid them in establishing programs.

3. **PUBLICATION:** to publish a biweekly pamphlet series and printed educational bulletin to be sent to each member. The bulletin would include: (1) papers in pamphlet form (20-30 pages) on issues of program, analysis and ideology. These would be prepared by committee members, others in SDS or solicited from competent people outside the organization. (2) letters from SDS members and others on substantive issues of political analysis, action and theory, comments on pamphlets and papers, notes on controversies, etc. (3) seminar outlines and descriptions of educational programs that would be of value to local groups. (4) bibliography, reading lists, reviews and abstracts of pertinent material. In general, every second issue of the bulletin would be in the form of a pamphlet. The intervening issues would have discussion and shorter notes on issues, bibliography,-- items 2-4 above--and serve as a forum for membership debate.

4. **TECHNIQUE AND MATERIALS:** to recommend and distribute information to SDS and local groups on general programs of an educational nature, e.g. conferences, free-university ideas, research projects and techniques, etc. The committee would assist in the implementation of these ideas in so far as it was able. It would develop a stock of important educational materials: pamphlets, books, filing annotated bibliographies and discussion outlines, etc. It might develop a "book ordering service" to supply books to members at reduced cost.

5. **RESOURCE:** to service individual requests from the membership for information on specialized issues.

Broad Objectives:

The overall task of the committee is to develop and promote intellectually responsible programs which contribute to the education of democratic radicals.

It should seek to make explicit the meaning of radical democracy for America: the institutions and conditions that must be changed and the nature of the institutions and conditions that need be created in their place, as well as those aspects of contemporary life that are important to preserve and strengthen.

It should promote an understanding both of the consensus commitments and the major disagreements, controversies and debates important to democratic radicalism.

It should be passionate, but not polemical. Its function is to provide people in the movement with the intellectual material on which they can make their own decisions and sharpen their own beliefs.

It should provide facts which aid members in coming to grips with particular issues of action and judgement, but it should not lose sight of the broader questions of values and political reality which give context to those particulars.

It should deal with social theory, and the conflicts between social theories, but it should go deeper, exploring the values and assumptions which theory often masks, and it should go further, drawing from theory the implications, and conflicting implications for action, organization and strategy in a radical movement.

It should be precise in detail, often developing hypothetical models, so that the social program of radicalism, and the disputes about program, are made concrete and specific; but it should keep clear the connection between the particulars of proposals and the broad values of radical democracy which should inform and unify program.

In these tasks, its job is not only to educate a new generation of radicals, but as well to seek a new vitality in the content of radical program and vision.

Organization of study groups

The project is a major intellectual enterprise. Its purposes are:

- (1) to identify and increase the educational resources of the movement
- (2) to stimulate the intellectual development and vitality of the left
- (3) to provide a means of affirming a radical identity within a framework of responsible intellectual endeavor

Clearly, there are no limits that can be set on the scope of this project. Neither can a particular organizational form be expected to encompass all activities which might become a part of the general enterprise.

The organizational form with which we will begin is a topic area "study group"--committee--panel--constellation--fraternity--(or some such name). Each group would be made up of people interested and working on a particular topic or problem. Moreover, the functions of each group would be:

- (1) to write on the topic and criticize one another's writing

- (2) to speak to SDS or other "movement" groups on the topic

- (3) to undertake research developing important aspects of the topic

- (4) to serve as consultants in the formation of action programs, strategies and ultimate goals related to the topic area.

- (5) to organize conferences, develop special educational materials, serve as liaison between the movement and other groups

- (6) to publish papers, pamphlets and discussions which, in the opinion of the group, merit wider distribution

The structure of each group would vary according to the desires of the people and the nature of the subject matter and the tasks undertaken. In general:

- (1) each group would have a coordinator responsible for maintaining communication within the group and liaison with the general program

- (2) the names of its members would be distributed to SDS chapters for speaking or consultant work on local education or research programs

- (3) an internal newsletter would be mimeographed as a means of circulating papers, comments, ideas, notes on research, requests for assistance, etc.

- (4) a central coordination would be maintained by the project staff to facilitate the printing and distribution of papers that the group approved and to assist joint activities and communication among groups such as conferences, symposia and joint research.

On money: while the program will raise money from the outside and many of the publication and travel activities will have to be subsidized, the intellectual activity of each group should be cooperative and cooperatively supported. People in a group should contribute, commensurate with their solvency, to support the internal communication newsletter and other internal activities of the group.

The study groups are seen as active working associations, not passive mailing lists. The products of the group will be generally available to the movement and the public. The internal process as reflected in the newsletter and distribution of draft papers will be restricted to those actively engaged in the work of the group and willing to take on its responsibilities.

Being realistic about people's other commitments, it is unlikely that any individual would be a member of more than one, or at most two, groups.

General structure:

The program will be directed by a committee of at least ten members, drawn from those working on particular study groups.

The National Council of SDS will recommend a panel of names to constitute the committee for the first year of its operation. The implementation committee will appoint as many members of that panel who are willing to undertake the responsibilities of the committee.

The committee would meet bi-monthly. It would be responsible for the determination, general planning and on-going evaluation of program: e.g. selection of topics, insuring that the range of significant debates among democratic radicals is represented, assessing the impact of the program on the local level, and serving as an "editorial board" for the bi-weekly project publication.

Committee members would be expected to themselves write for the project and participate in the activity of a study group, to comment on material prepared by SDS, to give some time to speaking to SDS groups, and assisting them in educational programs. They should have no other formal responsibilities in SDS.

There will be an overall, full-time director responsible for the coordination of all aspects of the program. He should have broad "professional" knowledge in the fields of economics, current history, sociology and political science. He should have writing, editorial and administrative competence, as well as direct experience in SDS and the activist movement. Such other staff as are necessary will be hired by the director.

The SDS President and National Secretary and the coordinators of each study group will be ex-officio members, without vote, on the committee.

Formal structure: the committee would draft its own articles of incorporation and bylaws to insure both its autonomy and its functional liaison as an educational agency with action groups.

The committee will be incorporated as a non-profit educational organization, either as a subsidiary of a tax-exempt educational foundation or in a way that would make it eligible to receive tax exempt funds in its own right.

The committee would determine its own budget. It would receive funds from SDS to support its educational work and would raise money from foundations, other organizations and private individuals.

Publications:

The committee would publish a biweekly pamphlet/discussion-bulletin. This would be distributed to all SDS members, with the price of subscription being part of the annual membership fee. Other individuals could subscribe to the bulletin at a price at least covering costs. Pamphlet issues of the bul-

National Secretary's Report

by Paul Booth

Voting returns

Soviet Writers Statement: 10 yes, 2 no, 1 abstain, and 4 not voting, out of 17 National Interim Committee members.

Political Defense of Ann Arbor SDS: 61 yes, 3 no, and 5 abstaining, out of the National Council members voting.

Freedom Draft: 61 yes, 7 no, and 1 abstention from the National council.

Happy Returns

To D. and Ruthie Gorton of Los Angeles regional office, married March 18th.

New Draft Program of the CPUSA

The new draft program of the Communist Party, U.S.A., calls for unity on the left, and the creation of a new, broadly-based party on the left. In announcing it last month, Gus Hall told the New York Times that SDS and SNCC would be invited to their convention (the first CP convention in years); thus far we have heard nothing more official (can you get any more official than the Times?).

Pamphlet

An eight-page printed booklet of Staughton Lynd's Jan. 24th speech to Women Strike for Peace in Washington has been reprinted by them and is available in bulk at 100 for \$3 from WSP, 2016 P Street, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

According to Carl Oglesby, W.H. Ferry of the Center encourages SDS members to write them requesting that they be put on the Center's mailing list. People on the mailing list are sent a free copy of all publications of the Center which have included many worthwhile items in the past such as Robert Scheer's *How the U.S. Got Involved in Vietnam*.

Also people have inquired how to obtain the statement on the Triple Revolution which we used to stock. The answer is: write to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California; they send single copies free to individuals.

NAC MINUTES

submitted by Lee Webb

The National Administrative Committee met March 20. NAC members present were Lee Webb, Joyce Bennet, and Judy Kissinger. Absent were Paul Booth, Steve Goldsmith, Bob Ross, and Harriet Stulman.

Resolutions. The NAC discussed preparing some resolutions for the National Council that would attempt to deal with some of SDS' organizational problems in light of our experience. Nothing was decided except that an amendment to the Constitution should be presented that would eliminate the sections, and sentences referring to the League for Industrial Democracy.

Additions to the NC agenda. NAC members reported some conversation with chapters and through correspondence wanted a workshop on Labor at the NC. It was felt that many SDS mem-

Grape Strike handy aids

By writing to Box 894, Delano, Calif., the following items can be procured: pledge cards for the Schenley boycott, subscriptions to *El Malcriado*, HUELGA buttons, HUELGA posters, a *Wall Street Journal* reprint on the economic condition of Schenley Industries, and other items as they come out.

In Delano, we discussed a proposal emphasizing summer work around the boycott throughout the country which is political work in the sense that it brings together people from key constituencies (unions, student groups, churches, community organizations, Spanish-speaking communities, etc.) in response to the program of the farm workers. The meetings were good, and the proposals (other kinds of work are being discussed including several projects for skilled people in Delano) are being worked on by FWA staff and the SNCC and SDS offices in San Francisco.

National Council Agenda

In addition to the items proposed by Lee Webb, I would like to propose that the NC meeting commence with a panel of Reports on the State of the Organization. These reports would be heavily factual, and would attempt to outline the actual situation in the administrative and political sides of SDS. Off hand I'd recommend Ken McEldowney, John Maher, Jim Russell, and Paul Booth as panelists -- the reports would be prepared presentations.

Free Society Association

This outfit, located at 1250 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, has put out an interesting and well-researched pamphlet entitled "Protest--What is the meaning of the New Student Left?" It is likely that single copies can be obtained free. Barry Goldwater is the association's honorary chairman.

bers are working with or for trade unions, and some kinds of conferences, newsletters, pamphlets, or projects in this area were needed. It should not be on the formal NC agenda, but be a workshop of interested members during some evening, perhaps. We are still waiting for more feedback on the proposed NC agenda.

Report on Plans for National Council. Lee Webb presented present plans for the National Council (included elsewhere in this issue). The NAC decided that one staff member, yet to be chosen, will go to Yellow Springs on April 5 to help the Antioch chapter with final preparations for the NC. Also, it was decided that one staff member will stay at the National Office during the NC to handle emergencies, and to keep the office functioning.

Withholding taxes. Recent meetings with the IRS necessi-

securing sufficient financing.

Subject Areas of Committee Work:

The committee will work in seven main subject areas. Within each of these it will attempt to establish a number of specialized study groups.

- I. The academic disciplines
- II. Radicals in the professions
- III. Political philosophy, ideology and strategy
- IV. Power, Politics and class

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SNCC to The Big Red One

Our napalming patriots, what did they give you for bombs? Portable ovens. One up on Krupp von Bohlen. Technocrats, ones we know, gave you the tortures of their portable world, the portable searing jelly of our fear. We fear the men we kill (you know it, camaraderie of death, esprit de corps). We fear the man you kill, with fear you carry in your uniforms, that you wear uniforms, stitched in fear. The perfect fear that casts out death, it hopes. Well, mate, the portable fear is wrong, your fear is here. Here in the valley and the ancient delta, sweaty cheap and the source of life. The Nile Valley is where we are.

It's your dirty home. Don't waste a grain of your hate for it. Come here. Here fear's not portable, but rooted, old, local, stupid, human, uncomputed, rooted, no rationales. Come here. If you can, be dirty with the dirty in your home, the dirty and the dirty who look clean, the hacks and hicks, Hegels, Heines, black reds, bearded, fundamentalist, dreary.

Come see love in our valley, love out of a book. Come learn our mistakes. Here are love out of a book and love off a psychiatric couch and cold non-portable hate off an empty plate. Come learn your mistakes in the dirt where we belong. Leave the technocrats to bury their geopoliticians.

Come and shoot, play law, ignore, fuck, strike, talk, shoot. There is a great ugliness here that suits you. We're home-sick for you, we know it, you're our history, Hegel, if you want to know, knew. The Secretaries are cheating us: they know, it's a matter of what's real, what's real? "Patriot?"

No, Come back if you can to the old real anti-climax, the known, the unheroic. We promise something new, most days. Come bomb the usual backyards -- bombs you know. You'll be surprised.

a Com Patriot

News (continued from page 1) which have come up in the course of their work. The Labor Committee was established to start us thinking and talking about the value and possibility of greater student activity with the unions. It will also provide the opportunity to plan some new kinds of projects, like a study-group

which deals with labor history and the labor movement and labor organizing today (We're going to invite some organizers from Boston unions to lead discussions); a spring conference on labor (which may or may not come off), and a summer labor project (which looks pretty definite) with people organizing and

tate our deducting social security, unemployment compensation and withholding taxes from our staff's salaries. Up till now, any money given to staff was for expenses. However, members of the staff in Chicago have strongly argued that they do not want to pay taxes to the government to support the Vietnam war. On first glance, we thought that we could simply notify the gov. that such and such asked us not to forward his withholding taxes to you, and then the individual would be confronted by the government. However, a preliminary legal opinion indicated that the organization is criminally liable if it does not forward withholding taxes to the government, no matter what the reason. As a result, Bob Speck, on behalf of the staff, is writing to the War Resisters League, CNVA, CCCO, and a number of lawyers for their experience and advice on these matters. The NAC will take this up at future meetings, and will submit a rec-

ommendation to the National Council.

Jeff Shero. The NAC received a letter from Jeff Shero reminding the NAC that it voted him a \$30 salary to travel and organize SDS chapters in the south and middle western states. He mentioned that up till recently he was getting adequate expense money from donations, literature sales, etc. However, he needed the money. It was decided to send Jeff \$30 immediately, and to add him to the staff payroll.

Finances. Judy Kissinger reported on our continuing financial crisis. We still have over \$2,500 in debts. A loan from a friend of \$1,000 paid our pressing phone, rent, and New Left Notes printing bill. We were waiting word on a fund-raising trip to California by Paul Booth and Carl Oglesby. No word on their success or failure was available, at that time. We decided that if money

- V. Agents of change
- VI. International education
- VII. The arts

There will be a good deal of overlap among these areas. Their differentiation is more for descriptive convenience than to suggest any inherent difference in their function. The study groups in each of these areas would perform all of the functions outlined in the section: "organization of study groups."

working in shops in the area. If SDS groups from other parts of the country are also interested in labor activities, it might be worthwhile to arrange a national meeting at the beginning of the summer, possibly at the National Convention, to discuss what's been done with unions so far and what opportunities exist for work during the summer.

Pueblo, Colorado: Several Univ. of Colorado students are concerned with the sudden termination of a Southern Colorado State College professor's contract. Professor Jones, chairman of the philosophy department, was unexpectedly fired and students are wondering whether there is any connection with this and his sponsorship of an off campus publication *Diogenes*, which had previously been censored by the student board of publications. Jones is also a pacifist.

Chicago, Ill.: A series of heated SANE meetings resulted in the withdrawal of SANE from the Chicago March 26 March against the war. Under pressure from the SANE national office and local conservative elements, the local SANE Board overturned its own decision to participate. This was announced to the local press at the same time as Father G. G. Grant withdrew his name from the speakers' list on the grounds that YSA and M2M were listed among the 33 co-sponsoring organizations.

Detroit, Mich.: At a meeting on March 6, 300 trade unionists established a new organization called "Trade Unionists for Peace." It was the result of a conference of trade unionists opposed to the war in Vietnam. It was called by stewards and officers of local unions in Detroit--primarily the UAW. Most of the delegates were from the Detroit area and Michigan, although a number of other cities were represented by delegates. Copies of the proceedings of the conference can be obtained by writing to Trade Unionists for Peace, Suite 5, 12065 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. It might be valuable to get information from them to distribute to trade unionists who you think would be sympathetic

did come that we would pay as many of our back printing, photograph, addressograph, and platemaker bills as possible, and keep an equal amount in the bank account to pay future expenses.

League for Industrial Democracy. The LID has requested our mailing list to send out a copy of Harrington's paper that was distributed at the December conference. There apparently is some doubt as to what else will go into the mailing. The NAC decided that sending our mailing list to the LID would be very difficult, and might establish a bad precedent. However, the office was willing to send out that paper, and any other agreed upon materials if the LID could pay postage, material costs, and labor involved.

letin would be available and advertised for sale to the general public.

The committee would publish papers produced and approved through the various study groups. These would make up a literature stock available to local groups in bulk and for sale to the members and general public.

If individual study groups decided to establish regular periodical publications, the committee would aid them in the mechanics of distribution and in

SANE meeting (from page 1) zations with similar disagreements into line. I was prepared to say no.

In the beginning it was decided over my strenuous objections to devote the first three hours of our four and one-half hour meeting to "progress reports" where each organization told all the others about all of the exciting things it had done or proposed to do. Thus what could have been a fruitful discussion became a contest of will, where strong buttocks would prevail. By 2:30 when the last of the parade of good intensions, little white lies and organizational trivia had gone by, the issue was finally joined.

Due to its length, verbosity, and lack of clarity, PAX considered the form of the pledge to be unworkable though it was willing to attempt to distribute the pledge if SANE insisted. Turning to the content, I said that I thought that both PAX and SDS would feel along with I.F. Stone that the voters' pledge as proposed by SANE demanded nothing of the government which it did not claim to be doing

Text of SANE Voters' Pledge--
 "I pledge to vote for candidates in 1966 who agree to work vigorously: (1) For U.S. steps to scale down the fighting and achieve a cease-fire; For U.S. initiatives to encourage negotiations with all concerned parties including the Vietcong (NLF); and for a settlement which permits the Vietnamese people freely to work out their own future; (2) For the use of international agencies to settle disputes among nations; and for the avoidance of military intervention in the affairs of other nations; (3) For the increasing use of our resources in constructive economic and social programs at home and abroad."

already. More specifically, PAX believed that a pledge which did not call for a cease-fire, an end to the bombing North and South, and negotiations with the NLF did not reflect political reality either in the United States or in Vietnam; SANE's proposals in effect abandoned Bobby Kennedy out in left field, which was good neither for Bobby Kennedy nor for the peace movement. Speaking for SDS I said that in my opinion students in the movement would not distribute the pledge

as proposed by SANE, irrespective of any organizational decision SDS might choose to make on the matter.

By this time most of the representatives of the traditional peace groups had already left, which was understandable since it had been a boring meeting (though they had done more than their fair share to make it so) and their contribution to a voters' march would be at most marginal. Homer Jack from the Unitarian-Universalists and Stuart Meacham from the American Friends Service Committee were extremely hostile to the notion that a disagreement merely over values, analysis, and strategy would prevent PAX and SDS from going along with SANE's proposals, but the delegates from the NCC and the WSP supported our position.

There were objections to SANE's proposals of another kind, for both the NCC delegate and myself felt that too many people in the peace movement still tend to regard a march as a substitute for, rather than a complement to the kind of grass roots work it will take to build an independent peace constituency. From this point of view the date of the proposed march seemed unfortunate. Two months is hardly enough time to teach a significant number of new people, and it seemed to us that there could be a sharply declining marginal utility attached to mobilizing the same peace people for yet another march on Washington. In addition I believed and argued that there was a danger that a relatively small voters' march in April or May might preempt the possibility of a much larger voters' march at the end of the summer or in the early fall after a really significant amount of organizing work had been done.

In conclusion I would like to examine the result of the meeting and the conclusions SDS might draw from this experience. SANE agreed to postpone the March until the middle of May, and made it clear that it would no longer object to a series of alternative voters' pledges in different parts of the country. This latter concession was crucial to gaining PAX's wholehearted support for the March, for they feel now that if the pledge reflects good politics, an early target date may

be useful in mobilizing people for a pledge campaign which can continue on throughout the summer. PAX and WSP have prepared alternative pledges for Massachusetts and New York respectively, which in my opinion are worthy of SDS support. In other regions where a voters' pledge campaign makes sense tactically I would urge SDS and other grass roots organizations to take the same initiative. By the same token I think that SDS should support the March in regions where it could serve as a useful complement to our organizing efforts, recognizing all the while that SANE will again probably use it as an occasion to misrepresent if not denounce the politics of the vast majority of the marchers. Plans for the "Convention" are still up in the air: should this unfortunate event occur I think that SDS should disassociate itself from it as much as possible.

As long as SANE conceives of itself as the spokesman, initiator, and coordinator of the national activities of the peace movement relations between it and grass roots organizations such as SDS are likely to be somewhat stormy. As an organization without a grass roots base SANE thrives on and is sustained by large public events; this is not the case with SDS. But the differences between SDS and SANE lie deeper than tactics, for SANE's organizational form reflects not only the temper of the peace movement but the politics of the organization. SANE's attitude toward Vietnam, for example, reflects its basic belief that American power has a legitimate role to play in Southeast Asia; SANE then is attempting as much as anything else to instruct the people who run this country on the ways in which this power can be used constructively. In contrast, SDS' interest in fostering the creation of political organizations independent of the power structure reflects our belief that American power in its present form is inherently destructive of the ideals and interests of the people in the underdeveloped world, and of the American people. Recognizing that these differences do exist and are fundamental to the nature of the two organizations, I still believe that there may be

some basis in certain instances for common action between SDS and SANE. The problem up until now is that this common action has been largely on SANE's terms. This is an unhealthy situation which must be corrected.

Finally, let me attempt to indicate the significance for SDS of my role as I conceived of it at this meeting. In my attack on the content of the voters' pledge I spoke on SDS' behalf, not because I had a mandate from the N.O. or from God, but because my experience with SDS led me to believe that the vast majority of its members would not associate themselves with such a document. Now believing this I could have said, along with the NCC delegate, that though I thought the response would be poor, our NO would distribute it anyway and "let the people decide". But the problem with the NCC approach is that had I followed it, it would have been difficult for the people to decide anything other than not to distribute the SANE pledge, whereas by stating that I would recommend that the N.O. not distribute the SANE pledge at all I was able to extract concessions which will make it possible for local SDS chapters to obtain the support of other peace groups in formulating alternative pledges where such seemed called for.

"The trouble with SDS," as Homer Jack was good enough to point out at the end of the meeting, "is that you guys object, but then end up going along anyway." On that point at least Homer Jack and I agreed, the only difference is that while he rather likes the present situation (the going along part, not the disagreeing), I find it distasteful. But the only way we can get a better deal is to bargain, and bargaining is impossible with negative sanctions. I think that on certain issues there is a consensus which indicates that delegates can and should bargain on our behalf. If this is true then I think it is an error of the first order not to take advantage of the opportunity. Do you agree?

Comment

NEW YORK, N. Y.
 I was rather upset today by Paul Booth's report in NLN 6.

It seems to me that SDS is on a path of unconscious organizational suicide.

In the section subhead "No Bread" Booth states that "SDS is in pretty sad financial shape." Later he goes on to say that "Every regional office is living the hand-and-mouth existence that was roundly condemned at the NC meeting. . . . I know from my own experience that that the NY Regional office is in desperate need of \$\$\$."

But despite SDS's financial difficulties, my mailbox is graced by an issue of *New Left Notes* every week. I'll admit that I enjoy hearing that Oglesby's speaking trip "felt like a triumphal tour." The news about the "Boston Grape Party" is interesting too. But I don't feel that any of this news is worth the energy and money it takes to get N.L.N. to me every week.

I know that N.L.N. is not composed entirely of what I term "regional gossip." There are important articles in it such as the analysis of the "pathology" of the NC. But, originally N.L.N. was intended as "a replacement of the worklist that will go to every member in a more readable and flexible form." From my point of view the worklist hasn't been replaced and the N.L.N. doesn't contain any of the thought provoking articles that were found in the old *Bulletin*. At any rate, I feel that N.L.N.'s role as "a means to better internal sds communication" is close to nil.

One of the positive aspects of Booth's report is "that SDS--at its local base--is strong enough that it doesn't require a national hooah to keep people energized. The talents and enthusiasm exist in the local units to enable people to plug intelligently into the array of national programs elaborated at the NC." If this is the case, and I believe it is, weekly issues of N.L.N. aren't needed as a stimulus.

In conclusion, I feel the time has come for a serious evaluation of the success of *New Left Notes*. It seems senseless to keep putting out weekly issues, especially when SDS is in financial trouble. A need for internal communication is present in the organization, but I doubt that N.L.N. is filling this need.

Marc Rosenberg

Errata

The announcement for the NC in last week's NLN contained two errors. The first is that the NC will be from April 8-10, not just the 8th and 9th. The second is that each chapter is entitled to one delegate for the first 25 national members and one for any fraction over that. Thus if you have 26 members, you get two delegates.

NATIONAL COUNCIL

TIME: April 8-10 Begins Friday, April 8, at 7:30 and ends 6 p.m. Sunday.

PLACE: Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Headquarters--Dayton Area Coordinating Committee office (Antioch Chapter) 234 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs. Phone (513) 767-2421.

REGISTRATION: Begins 6 p.m. Friday, April 8, at the office of D.A.C.C., 234 Xenia Avenue.

FACILITIES: The College has offered their complete cooperation. We will have classrooms, lounges, and lecture halls for meeting space. A mimeo machine will be available.

HOUSING: Approximately 85 dormitory spaces are available. Other accommodations are being worked out in private houses in Yellow Springs.

FOOD: The College cafeteria, snack bar, and local restaurants are available. No arrangements are being made to cook our own food. SDS in the past has always lost a great deal of money preparing meals at NCs and Conventions, however, we can make a different decision at the NC itself.

COST: Registration will be \$5 per person for the whole NC. This cost is necessary, as you understand, to pay for housing, meeting facilities, and other arrangements. As mentioned above you must provide for your own food.

TRANSPORTATION: Yellow Springs is in the southwestern end of Ohio, near Dayton, and between Dayton and Columbus. It is readily accessible by car. From the east and west go to Columbus, Ohio. Take route 40 to Springfield and then Highway 68 directly to Yellow Springs. From the south and southwest come through Cincinnati and go out on Highway 71 going to

Columbus; turn off at the Xenia exit (Highway 68) and go directly to Springfield, Ohio (7 miles from Yellow Springs). Call Jeff Jones, and a car will pick you up.

CONTACT: Jeff Jones is our contact at Antioch. He is in charge of all arrangements, and can answer any particular transportation questions. His address is 234 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs. During the day call (513) 767-2421. Evenings call 767-1752 till March 28. After that call 767-7334 and ask for Jeff Jones.

Credentials rule for National Council

Notification in writing of the names of delegates and alternates chosen by a chapter at a regular business meeting shall be sent to the National Office prior to the National Council meeting at which their delegates represent the chapter

Delegates

(1 to 25 members) _____

(26 to 50 members) _____

(51 to 100 members) _____

(101 to 150 members) _____

Alternates

Chapter _____

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