

National program outlined at Dec. NC for coming months

by Paul Booth

SDS held a membership convention and a National Council meeting in Champaign - Urbana, Illinois, from December 27 to January 2.

A number of new national programs were adopted, and a much more definite direction for the organization's activity in the coming months was determined.

Viet-Nam and related programming

The following guidelines for Viet-Nam programs, introduced by Lee Webb, were adopted by the National Council:

- Viet-Nam program must be chosen that broadens the base of participation and involvement. We should concentrate on those groups we regard as essential to social change in America; they are: the colleges, trade unions, community organizations, churches, and a few others. We must broaden the base instead of escalating the tactics and militance.
- Viet-Nam program should be chosen that builds a new left in America. We must be planning years ahead, rather than responding

in every crisis. We should be prepared to reject activities that mobilize thousands of people but that do not build new constituencies. O Viet-Nam program should be chosen that relates directly to domestic issues and politics. And SDS should concentrate specifically on those relationships. We can count on other organizations to do the majority of talking about atrocities.

- We should be prepared to argue with the anti-war movement that the real lever for change in America is a domestic social movement. And that a movement to end the war in Viet-Nam cannot end that war.
- Finally, we should also say that radicals have more important priorities than working simply to ending that war.

As part of its implementation of these guidelines, the national office is in the process of publishing the following papers for distribution: "Churches

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SDS re-examined at Dec. Conference

by Carol Stevens

At the December Conference SDS began to re-examine its entire program from the Viet-Nam protest to community organizing in terms of building a new left in America.

The conference which drew some 360 participants representing 66 out of 128 chapters, was held on the University of Illinois campus in Champaign-Urbana, December 27-31. The participants came from 33 states, the District of Columbia and Mexico.

Workshops ranged from strategy in community organizing, to debate on the use and forms of coalition politics, the building of adult movements, and discussion of criteria for developing a movement strategy toward building a broad radical base among those groups essential to social change.

The assumptions within ERAP up to now has been that those groups are the poor, the unemployed, the dissident workers both organized and unorganized. Others are saying that more campus organizing are key to reaching the

middle class - the group most important to changing the society.

Implicit in both arguments is that a distinction is being drawn between the development of radical constituencies and just fostering increasingly more militant tactics on single issues such as the Viet-Nam war and South African apartheid.

Paul Booth, national secretary, and Lee Webb of Chicago say the role of a radical SDS is to concentrate on relating issues like peace and poverty. In a paper entitled "The anti-war Movement: from Protest to Radical Politics", they write, "It will be on the bedrock of the demands of the poor for an income, Negroes for an end to racism and economic discrimination, students and faculty for control over their own universities, that this

movement will be built. It will be the political force and direction of these movements, not their rhetoric, that will build a movement against war... Their demands will rock the very foundations of the domestic consensus on which our foreign policy rests. This attack on the manner in which decisions are made, on the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands and on the manipulative nature of American democracy will announce to the world the beginnings in this country of a real movement for a democratic society."

Within SDS a demand for better internal education, more research, adequate communication and dialog led to the founding of the Radical Education Project and other plans to improve literature distribution and publications. Al Haber, professor at the University

of Michigan and former SDS president, took the lead in proposing the project. It will provide for a speakers program; a bi-weekly bulletin containing pamphlets on programs and ideology and debate on them through published letters; creative programs such as campus seminars on poverty, power structures, the American economy, the Cold War, China, Viet-Nam, the labor movement, American radical history and thought, radicalism and form, coalition politics, etc. The research committee would start an exchange with other radical groups doing similar work.

Haber says SDS is learning to grapple with the confusion in its ranks about ideology by establishing a publications and education

program that will allow a large number of members to participate in the debate. SDS, he says, needs to develop a sound analysis of the society in order to build a strong political left out of the "new radicalism." He sees in SDS a growing radical consensus.

"The romantic almost a-political elements which prevailed among ERAP people from its inception are being soberly re-examined. On the other hand, many of those who have been more politically oriented are seeing the importance of democratic local structure in building a democratic left movement--What does participatory democracy mean? How do the people get to

have their say in decisions that affect their lives?"

And, the question is being raised, "How can the Students for a Democratic Society help build that society if the organization is turning into an undemocratic one?"

Jeff Shero from Texas, and vice-president, and a host of others wrote papers on the dilemma of a bureaucratic national office that fails to meet the needs of the chapters and very often in its actions fails to reflect the opinions and views of the membership. Many of the solutions offered revolved around the establishment of regional offices that serviced chapters in their own region and took some of the workload and decision-making off the Chicago staff.

In workshops on coalition politics, the debate showed marked improvement over that of a year ago.

Report from the North

(Tom Hayden, a past president of SDS and an organizer for the Newark Community Union, has just returned from his much publicized fact finding trip to north Viet-Nam with Staughton Lynd and Hubert Aptheker. The following message was read to a rally sponsored by the University of Chicago SDS January 14th. A longer article by Hayden on the trip will be forthcoming.)

We think that, as seen from Hanoi, there is a deep inconsistency between a peaceful posture looking toward a negotiated settlement, and an interventionist posture which has in view the permanent partition of Viet-Nam and an expanded war. This two-sidedness makes United States policy seem hypocritical and suspect to the Viet-Nameese, who hear overtures of peace but also pledges to remain in Viet-Nam, who know of the pause in bomb-daily military build-up in the south. To those with whom we spoke in Viet-Nam, it appears that the

United States knocks on all doors in search of peace except the doors of those whom it is fighting, particularly the door of the National Liberation Front of south Viet-Nam. They wonder if the United States is searching for peace or mainly attempting to soften its image before negative public opinion abroad and at home.

Frankly, we wonder as well. As you know, we have cabled Sen. Fulbright asking to report our findings at any time and under any conditions to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. At this time, however, we would like to share with you some of the key points in Premier Pham Van Don's answers to our questions.

1 The issue of withdrawal: The Premier said that a political settlement would be possible if the United States accepts the 4 point stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; proves this by actual deeds; and stops its acts of



Tom Hayden, who recently returned by the Newark Community Union from North Viet-Nam is shown, second in which he is an organizer. from left, at a demonstration organized (Photo by Howie Epstein)

war against the DRV. When we asked the Premier what actual deeds the government of the DRV had in mind, he replied that that was something for the United States government to decide. In the context of our other conversations, this response tends to clarify significantly the DRV's attitude towards American military withdrawal. We were told over and over again that the NLF and the DRV require, as a precondition to negotiations, a clear decision by the United States to end its ambition of occupying any part of Viet-Nam. But the NLF and DRV seem prepared to leave the United States considerable free-

dom in choosing how to demonstrate by concrete steps that this decision has been made. There seemed to be no explicit requirement of the physical withdrawal of all US troops prior to negotiations.

2 The issue of North Vietnamese forces in the South: Pham Van Dong denied the presence of forces of the DRV in South Viet-Nam, a denial which we think has not been made before in such absolute terms by high DRV officials. The Premier's answer seems even more interesting since we prefaced our questions by saying that we would not report having asked any questions that the Premier

chose not to answer. We wonder why the Premier should make such a statement if it can be proven false by American authorities. Perhaps it is literally a true statement; or at least it may be a means of underscoring the Viet-Nameese argument that the main burden and the main responsibility of their struggle is with the NLF of the south.

3 The issue of reunification: It is widely assumed in the United States that the DRV is no longer open to the possibility of national reunification by means of a free general election. In response to the question about this, the

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Liberalism and the corporate state

by Carl Oglesby

Seven months ago at the April March on Washington, Paul Potter, then President of Students for a Democratic Society, stood in approximately this spot and said that we must name the system that creates and sustains the war in Viet-Nam—name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it, and change it.

Today I will try to name it—to suggest an analysis which, to be quite frank, may disturb some of you—and to suggest what changing it may require of us.

We are here again to protest against a growing war. Since it is a very bad war, we acquire the habit of thinking that it must be caused by very bad men. But we only conceal reality, I think, to denounce on such grounds the menacing coalition of industrial and military power, or the brutality of the blitzkrieg we are waging against Viet-Nam, or the ominous signs around us that heresy may soon no longer be permitted. We must simply observe, and quite plainly say, that this coalition, this blitzkrieg, and this demand for acquiescence are creatures, all of them, of a government that since 1932 has considered itself to be fundamentally liberal.

The original commitment in Viet-Nam was made by President Truman, a mainstream liberal. It was seconded by President Eisenhower, a moderate liberal. It was intensified by the late President Kennedy, a flaming liberal. Think of the men who now engineer that war—those who study the maps, give the commands, push the buttons, and tally the dead: Bundy, McNamara, Rusk, Lodge, Goldberg, the President himself. They are not moral monsters. They are all honorable men. They are all liberals.

But so, I'm sure, are many of us who are here today in protest. To understand the war, then it seems necessary to take a closer look at this American Liberalism. Maybe we are in for some surprises. Maybe we have here two quite different liberalisms: one authentically humanist, the other not so human at all.

Not long ago, I considered myself a liberal. And if someone had asked me what I meant by that, I'd perhaps have quoted Thomas Jefferson or Thomas Paine, who first made plain our nation's unprovisional commitment to human rights. But what do you think would happen if these two heroes could sit down now for a chat with President Johnson and McGeorge Bundy?

They would surely talk of the Viet-Nam war. Our dead revolutionaries would soon wonder why their country was fighting against what appeared to be a revolution. The living liberals would hotly deny that it is one: there are troops coming in from outside, the rebels get arms from other countries, most of the people are not on their side, and they practice terror against their own. Therefore, not a revolution.

What would our dead revolutionaries answer? They might say: "What fools and bandits, sirs, you make then of us. Outside help? Do you remember Lafayette? Or the 3,000 British freighters the French navy sunk for our side? Or the arms and men we got from France and Spain? And what's this about terror? Did you never hear what we did to our own loyalists? Or about the thousands of rich American Tories who fled for their lives to Canada? And as for popular support, do you not know that we had less than one third of our people with us? That, in fact, the colony of New York recruited more troops for the British than for the revolution? Should we give it all back?"

Revolutions do not take place in velvet boxes. They never have. It is only the poets who make them lovely. What the National Liberation Front is fighting in Viet-Nam is a complex and vicious war. This war is also a revolution, as honest a revolution as you can find anywhere in history. And this is a fact which all our intricate official denials will never change.

But it doesn't make any difference to our leaders anyway. Their aim in Viet-Nam is really much simpler than this implies. It is to safeguard what they take to be American interests around the world against revolution or revolutionary change, which they always call Communism—as if that were that. In the case of Viet-Nam, this interest is, first, the principle that revolution shall not be tolerated anywhere, and second, that south Viet-Nam shall never sell its rice to China—or even to north Viet-Nam.

There is simply no such thing now, for us, as a just revolution—never mind that for two thirds of the world's people the twentieth century might as well be the Stone Age; never mind the terrible poverty and hopelessness that are the basic facts of life for most modern men; and never mind that for these millions there is now an increasingly perceptible relationship between their sorrow and our contentment.

Can we understand why the Negroes of Watts rebelled? Then why do we need a devil theory to explain the rebellion of the south Viet-Nameese? Can we understand the oppression in Mississippi, or the anguish that our northern ghettos make epidemic? Then why can't we see that our proper human struggle is not with Communism or revolutionaries, but with the social desperation that drives good men to violence, both here and abroad?

To be sure, we have been most generous with our aid, and in western Europe, a mature industrial society, that aid worked. But there are always political and financial strings. And we have never shown ourselves capable of allowing others to make those traumatic institutional changes that are often the prerequisites of

progress in colonial societies. For all our official feeling for the millions who are enslaved to what we so self-righteously call the yoke of Communist tyranny, we make no real effort at all to crack through the much more vicious right-wing tyrannies that our businessmen traffic with and our nation profits from every day. And for all our cries about the international Red conspiracy to take over the world, we take only pride in our 6,000 military bases on foreign soil.

We gave Rhodesia a grave look just now—but we keep on buying her chromium, which is cheap because black slave labor mines it.

We deplore the racism of Verwoerd's fascist South Africa—but our banks make big loans to that country and our private technology makes it a nuclear power.

We are saddened and puzzled by random back-page stories of revolt in this or that Latin American state—but are convinced by a few pretty photos in the Sunday supplement that things are getting better, that the world is coming our way, that change from disorder can be orderly, that our benevolence will pacify the distressed, that our might will intimidate the angry.

Optimists, may I suggest that these are quite unlikely fantasies? They are fantasies because we have lost that mysterious social desire for human equity that from time to time has given us genuine moral drive. We have become a nation of young, bright-eyed, hard-hearted, slim-waisted, bullet-headed make-out artists. A nation—may I say it?—of beardless liberals.

You say I am being hard? Only think.

This country, with its thirty-some years of liberalism, can send 200,000 young men to Viet-Nam to kill and die in the most dubious of wars, but it cannot get 100 voter registrars to go into Mississippi.

What do you make of it?

The financial burden of the war obliges us to cut millions from an already pathetic "War on Poverty" budget. But in almost the same breath, Congress appropriates \$140 million for the Lockheed and Boeing companies to compete with each other on the supersonic transport project—that Disneyland creation that will cost us all about \$2 billion before it's done.

What do you make of it?

Many of us have been earnestly resisting for some years now the idea of putting atomic weapons into west German hands, an action that would perpetuate the division of Europe and thus the Cold War. Now just this week we find out that, with the meagerest of security systems, west Germany has had nuclear weapons in her hands for the past six years.

What do you make of it?

Some will make of it that I overdraw the matter. Many will ask: What about the other side? To be sure, there is the bitter ugliness of Czechoslovakia, Poland, those infamous Russian tanks in the streets of Budapest. But my anger only rises to hear some say that sorrow cancels sorrow, or that this one's shame deposits in that one's account the right to shamefulness.

And others will make of it that I sound mighty anti-American. To these, I say: Don't blame me for that! Blame those who mouthed my liberal values and broke my American heart.

Just who might they be, by the way? Let's take a brief factual inventory of the latter-day Cold War. In 1953 our Central Intelligence Agency managed to overthrow Mossadegh in Iran, the complaint being his neutralism in the Cold War and his plans to nationalize the country's oil resources to improve his people's lives. Most evil aims, most evil man. In his place we put in General Zahedi, a World War II Nazi collaborator. New arrangements on Iran's oil gave 25 year leases on 40 percent of it to three United States firms, one of which was Gulf Oil. The CIA's leader for this coup was Kermit Roosevelt. In 1960 Kermit Roosevelt became a vice president of Gulf Oil.

In 1954, the democratically elected Arbenz of Guatemala wanted to nationalize a portion of United Fruit company's plantations in his country, land he needed badly for a modest program of agrarian reform. His government was overthrown in a CIA-supported right-wing coup. The following year, General Walter Bedell Smith, director of the CIA when the Guatemala venture was being planned, joined the board of directors of the United Fruit company.

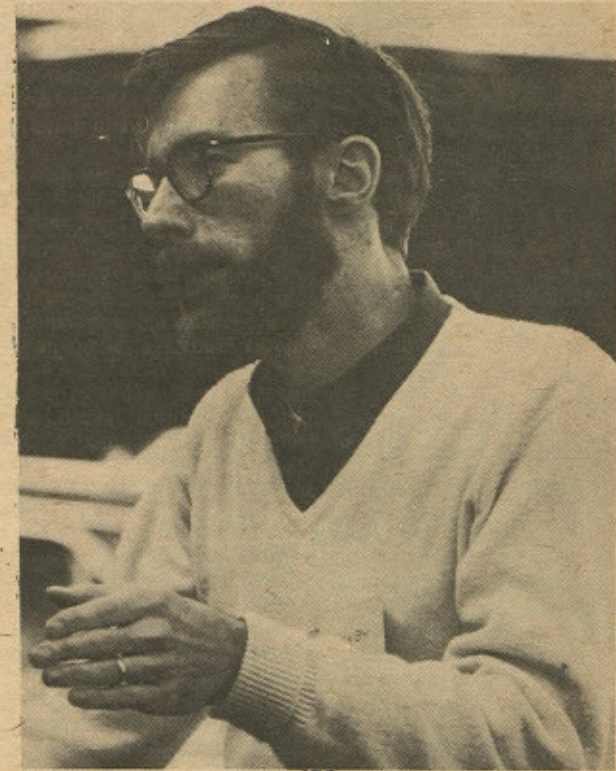
Comes 1960 and Castro cries we are about to invade Cuba. The administration sneers "poppycock," and we Americans believe it. Comes 1961 and the invasion. Comes with it the awful realization that the United States government had lied.

Comes 1962 and the missile crisis, and our administration stands prepared to fight global atomic war on the curious principle that another state does not have the right to its own foreign policy.

Comes 1963 and British Guiana, where Cheddi Jagan wants independence from England and a labor law modeled on the Wagner act. And Jay Lovestone, the AFL-CIO foreign policy chief, acting, as always, quite independently of labor's rank and file, arranges with our government to finance an eleven-week dock strike that brings Jagan down, ensuring that the state will remain British Guiana, and that any workingman who wants a wage better than 50¢ a day is a dupe of Communism.

Comes 1964. Two weeks after Undersecretary Thomas Mann announces that we have abandoned the Alianza's principle of no aid to tyrants, Brazil's Goulart is overthrown by the vicious right-winger, Ademar Barros, supported by a show of American gunboats at Rio de Janeiro. Within 24 hours, the new head of state, Mazzilli, receives a congratulatory wire from our President.

Comes 1965. The Dominican Republic. Rebellion in



Carl Oglesby at the 1966 SDS Convention. (Photo by Howie Epstein)

the streets. We scurry to the spot with 20,000 neutral marines and our neutral peacemakers—like Elsworth Bunker, Jr., ambassador to the Organization of American States. Most of us know that our neutral marines fought openly on the side of the junta, a fact that the administration still denies. But how many also know that what was at stake was our new Caribbean sugar bowl? That this same neutral peacemaker Bunker is a board member and stock owner of the National Sugar Refining company, a firm his father founded in the good old days, and one which has a major interest in maintaining the status quo in the Dominican Republic? Or that the President's close personal friend and advisor, our new Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, has sat for the past 19 years on the board of the Sucrest company, which imports black-strap molasses from the Dominican Republic? Or that the rhetorician of corporate liberalism and the late President Kennedy's close friend, Adolf Berle, was chairman of that same board? Or that our roving ambassador Averill Harriman's brother Roland is on the board of National Sugar? Or that our former ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Joseph Farland, is a board member of the South Puerto Rico Sugar company, which owns 275,000 acres of rich land in the Dominican Republic and is the largest employer on the island—at about one dollar a day?

Neutralists! God save the hungry people of the world from such neutralists!

We do not say these men are evil. We say, rather, that good men can be divided from their compassion by the institutional system that inherits us all. Generation in and out, we are put to use. People become instruments. Generals do not hear the screams of the bombed; sugar executives do not see the misery of the cane cutters: for to do so is to be that much less the general, that much less the executive.

The foregoing facts of recent history describe one main aspect of the estate of Western liberalism. Where is our American humanism here? What went wrong?

Let's stare our situation coldly in the face. All of us are born to the colossus of history, our American corporate system—in many ways, an awesome organism. There is one fact that describes it: with about 5 percent of the world's people, we consume about half the world's goods. We take a richness that is in good part not our own, and we put it in our pockets, our garages, our split-levels, our bellies, and our futures.

On the face of it, it is a crime that so few should have so much at the expense of so many. Where is the moral imagination so abused as to call this just? Perhaps many of us feel a bit uneasy in our sleep. We are not, after all, a cruel people. And perhaps we didn't really need this super-dominance that deforms others. But what can we do? The investments are made. The financial ties are established. The plants abroad are built. Our system exists. One is swept up into it. How intolerable—to be born moral, but addicted to a stolen and maybe surplus luxury. Our goodness threatens to become counterfeit before our eyes—unless we change. But change threatens us with uncertainty—at least.

Our problem, then, is to justify this system and give its theft another name—to make kind and moral what is neither, to perform some alchemy with language that will make this injustice seem to be a most magnanimous gift.

A hard problem. But the Western democracies, in the heyday of their colonial expansionism, produced a hero worthy of the task.

Its name was free enterprise, and its partner was an "illiberal liberalism" that said to the poor and the dispossessed: What we acquire of your resources we repay in civilization. The white man's burden. But

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this was too poetic. So a much more hard-headed theory was produced. This theory said that colonial status is in fact a boon to the colonized. We give them technology and bring them into modern times.

But this deceived no one but ourselves. We were delighted with this new theory. The poor saw in it merely an admission that their claims were irrefutable. They stood up to us, without gratitude. We were shocked—but also confused, for the poor seemed again to be right. How long is it going to be the case, we wondered, that the poor will be right and the rich will be wrong?

Liberalism faced a crisis. In the face of the collapse of the European empires, how could it continue to hold together our twin need for richness and righteousness? How can we continue to sack the ports of Asia and still dream of Jesus?

The challenge was met with a most ingenious solution: the ideology of anti-Communism. This was the bind: we cannot call revolution bad, because we started that way ourselves, and because it is all too easy to see why the dispossessed should rebel. So we will call revolution Communism. And we will reserve for ourselves the right to say what Communism means. We take note of revolution's enormities, wrenching them where necessary from their historical context and often exaggerating them, and say: Behold, Communism is a bloodbath. We take note of those reactionaries who stole the revolution, and say: Behold, Communism is a betrayal of the people. We take note of the revolution's need to consolidate

itself, and say: Behold, Communism is a tyranny. It has been all these things, and it will be these things again, and we will never be at a loss for those tales of atrocity that comfort us so in our self-righteousness. Nuns will be raped and bureaucrats will be disemboweled. Indeed, revolution is a fury. For it is a letting loose of outrages pent up sometimes over centuries. But the more brutal and longer-lasting the suppression of this energy, all the more ferocious will be its explosive release.

Far from helping Americans deal with this truth, the anti-Communist ideology merely tries to disguise it so that things may stay the way they are. Thus, it depicts our presence in other lands not as a coercion, but a protection. It allows us even to say that the napalm in Viet-Nam is only another aspect of our humanitarian love—like those exorcisms in the Middle Ages that so often killed the patient. So we say to the Viet-Nameese peasant, the Cuban intellectual, the Peruvian worker: "you are better dead than red. If it hurts or if you don't understand why—sorry about that."

This is the action of "corporate liberalism." It performs for the corporate state a function quite like what the Church one performed for the feudal state. It seeks to justify its burdens and protect it from change. As the Church exaggerated this office in the Inquisition, so with liberalism in the McCarthy time—which, if it was a reactionary phenomenon, was still made possible by our anti-Communist corporate liberalism.

Let me then speak directly to humanist liberals. If my facts are wrong, I will soon be corrected. But if they are right, then you may face a crisis of conscience. Corporatism or humanism; which? For it has come to

that. Will you let your dreams be used? Will you be grudging apologists for the corporate state? Or will you help try to change it—not in the name of this or that blueprint or ism, but in the name of simple human decency and democracy and the vision that wise and brave men saw in the time of our own Revolution?

And if your commitment to human value is unconditional, then disabuse yourselves of the notion that statements will bring change, if only the right statements can be written, or that interviews with the mighty will bring change if only we can make them massive enough, or that policy proposals will bring change if only we can make them responsible enough.

We are dealing now with a colossus that does not want to be changed. It will not change itself. It will not cooperate with those who want to change it. Those

allies of ours in the government—are they really our allies? If they are, then they don't need advice, they need constituencies; they don't need study groups, they need a movement. And if they are not, then all the more reason for building that movement with a most relentless conviction.

There are people in this country today who are trying to build that movement, who aim at nothing less than a humanist reformation. And the humanist liberals must understand that it is this movement with which their own best hopes are most in tune. We radicals know the same history that you liberals know, and we can understand your occasional cynicism, exasperation, and even distrust. But we ask you to put these aside and help us risk a leap. Help us find enough time for the enormous work that needs doing here. Help us build. Help us shape the future in the name of plain human hope.

Booth

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and the War," "Unions and the War," Viet-Nam Study Guide and Annotated Bibliography, and "The University and the Cold War." Following adoption of Webb's guidelines specific programs related to the war were approved.

Political Defense of the Ann Arbor Sit in 13

Thirteen members of the SDS chapter at Michigan, VOICE, have lost their 2-S classifications in a concerted effort by Selective Service to punish them for their anti-war sit-in protest held October 15th in conjunction with the International Days of Protest. Despite a torrent of criticism from editorial writers, columnists, Congressmen, and the liberal community in general, Gen. Lewis B. Hershey maintains that the sit-in students forfeited their right to a 2-S with their political action.

SDS will be organizing nationwide demonstrations to protest the use of the draft as an instrument for stifling political dissent. Local groups will be asked to circulate petitions calling on their local draft boards to issue a pledge that they will not use the Selective Service in that manner. Groups will carry these petitions to the local boards during the middle of February. These demonstrations should serve to focus public attentions solidly on this situation. (For further information, contact: VOICE: rm. 2435, Student Activities Bldg., U-Michigan, Ann Arbor or the SDS national office.)

Freedom Draft

This program seeks to allow thousands of young people to register opposition to the war, and demonstrate thereby the fact that young people desire alternatives to the war, and personal alternatives to the draft. It also allows us to elaborate our domestic critique. It confronts young people with the question "bomb or build?" while suggesting the possibility of devoting their lives in constructive directions. Mechanically, it involves

signing up people on Freedom Draft cards, which carry the text: I want to work for democracy. I don't want to fight in Viet-Nam, because the war is destroying our hopes for democracy both there and at home. I want to build, not burn. The work done by many young Americans in civil rights and in community organizing are prime examples of what I want to do.

The cards have three parts: one which is carried by the signer, one which is a post card and is sent to President Johnson, and one which is sent to the central office which counts them and announces the total to the public.

1 Establishment of registration tables on campus which can serve as the focus not only for the Freedom Draft program, but for recruiting for domestic organizing projects, for debate about the war, for conscientious objection counselling, etc.

2 Circulation of affidavits to people in the movement which will carry a simple introductory statement about why the work they are doing is more important to democracy than fighting in Viet-Nam, and which will mostly leave space for personal statements to that effect.

National campaign around cutbacks in domestic spending

SDS is preparing as the central thrust of its political campaign demanding that domestic expenditures be expanded rather than cut back. The program will be organized in two ways. The first, a national petition, involves local drives to compile statements of local demands on the resources of the country. These constitute the exciting part of this program and go hand-in-hand with orientations toward grass-roots community organization and electoral action.

Several strategies for accumulating local demands are available:

1 Going door-to-door in all kinds of neighborhoods with simple surveys finding out what residents

feel their community needs really are.

2 Consulting with academic and professional people in city planning, economics, etc., to draw up model plans.

3 Going to the agencies themselves that need and spend the money (schools and school boards, housing agencies, health agencies, welfare, etc.) to find out what their estimate of needs is.

A corollary strategy would involve finding elements within or related to each agency to press the agency to come up with a true estimate of the real needs of the community in that area.

4 Going to P.T.A.'s, unions, and the whole range of civic groups, clubs and professional associations, to elicit their estimates of community needs. This can include local newspapers, individual local leaders, political parties and politicians, and SDS chapters too.

(For further information, contact the NO, Barry Bluestone, University of Michigan Student Employees Union (UMSEU), Student Activities Building, Ann Arbor or Jeremy Brecher, 1900 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.)

March 25-26 marches

The National Council turned down proposals for actions, coordination, or calls for that date separate from the National Coordinating Committee. As before, chapters will be referred to the NCC for the coordination of that action. The request to the NCC that it consider changing that date for its International Days of Protest because of its apparent conflict with spring school vacations, and because of the national program of South Africa action beginning March 19th was turned down by the NCC.

South Africa

The NC mandated the national office to coordinate demonstrations, seminars, etc., on US foreign policy in southern Africa and the government and economy of the Republic of South Africa. The emphasis of the campaign

is to fall upon the role of US investment in South Africa. The nature and intensity of activities will be determined by chapters on the basis of available resources at the local level. Activities might vary from small educational seminars through teach-ins to massive demonstrations such as those at the Chase Manhattan bank last year. If possible, activities should reach their peak on or about Sunday, March 20, the anniversary of the Sharpsville massacre.

The NO will furnish an SDS representative to testify at the House hearings on South African policy in February. It is also mandated to prepare a film list and bibliography on South Africa, research guides on university investments, a new edition of "Voices of the Victims," and an expanded/updated edition of "The Web of Power." A pamphlet on Southwest Africa can be prepared if there is sufficient interest. Suggestions or queries to the NO should be marked to the attention of Tom Condit.

Farm labor

SDS will be carrying on a broad program supporting both the Delano grape strike and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU). In the case of the grape strike, chapters should be working to put together local ad hoc committees, broadly based with representatives from churches, labour, and the liberal elements of the community, around the boycott of Shenley Industries products. The grape strike and the strike in Mississippi are seen as major opportunities to relate to the labor movement, building around an understanding of the facts of economic power in America, in the course of organizing support activity. (For further information contact: SDS, 924 Howard, San Francisco, Calif.)

Oil

SDS folks in Oklahoma, Texas, and neighboring states will be trying out a research and action project investigating and exposing the role of the petroleum industry in

determining public policy of all kinds. Research is being conducted both on international relations of the industry, and on the domestic implications in state and national politics, universities, labor relations, etc. During the International Petroleum Exposition in May in Tulsa, a teach-in will be held "to ask the oil men a few questions."

It is expected that the announcement of the program will generate its own controversy and attention. (For further information contact: SDS, Box 7098, University Station, Austin, Texas.)

Regional offices

SDS has grown to the point that the need for

regional offices to assume the major organizing functions has become apparent. A number of steps have been taken to organize and staff these offices, and to increase their number.

There are presently regional offices in Chicago, New York, Boston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. In the coming months offices will be opening in Buffalo, Ann Arbor, Austin, Portland, Philadelphia, and Iowa City.

The N.C. also gave backing to the theater workshop being organized by Jerry and Jeriann Badanes, and the traveling exhibition being organized by Mike James. A more detailed account will be in forthcoming numbers.

Hayden

Continued
from page 1

Premier referred to the program of the Viet-Nameese Fatherland Front which calls for "free general elections" to achieve national unity "without either side trying to exert pressure on, or trying to annex the other."

4 The issues of conferences and supervisory commissions: The Premier said that once the 4 points are accepted "it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference of the type of the 1954 Geneva Conference." In addition another DRV official commented that determination of the "role and composition" of an international supervisory commission would be an appropriate task for such a conference.

I would like to share for the first time, with your meeting, part of the text of our interview with the Premier which I think is representative of the opinions of many Viet-Nameese. "It is not true that we do not desire peace, we desire it more than anybody, the war is happening in our country and killing our people. Our grief is about the children, the women, the old and young people who are killed. We feel pain in our hearts because of these sufferings. Surely we desire peace more than President John-

son. But peace at what cost? All the problems lie here. We must have independence. We would rather die than be slaves. There is often reference to the United States honor. But what about our honor? And what is the true honor of the United States? The great truth of our time is that we must be brothers, fraternal towards each other, that is a noble ideology. If you have the opportunity to meet President Johnson, will you please ask him, 'Why is he fighting against us?' There is no reason for it. If the United States accepts the 4 points sincerely, and proves its sincerity by the actions it thinks necessary, this is what can bring honor to the United States. The war cannot be honorable for the United States because continuing the war means killing ordinary people."

We feel it would be tragic, and quite frankly, irresponsible on the part of the United States government to regard Hanoi's response to a temporary bombing pause as a conclusive demonstration that an honorable negotiated solution cannot be found with the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Our conversations in Viet-Nam convinced us that many ingredients of an honorable solution exist.

CHAPTER NEWS

Chicago

More than 200 persons picketed outside Mandel Hall at the University of Chicago. Inside, Sen. Walter Mondale was reading a speech that was supposed to be given by Vice President Humphrey.

The demonstration, organized by Chicago area SDS, included a response to the Vice President's remarks by Rennie Davis from JOIN, Charles Cobb from SNCC, and Carl Oglesby. Mandel Hall had been rented by SDS for immediately after the planned speech by the Vice President. As news of the pending demonstration over the War became more and more prominent, it became more and more doubtful that Humphrey would show. On the day of the planned speech, Humphrey canceled and Mondale filled in for him by reading a 15 minute speech.

After the speech and Mondale had been hustled off, the auditorium was re-filled with the demonstrators and about 200 additional persons who stayed from the first program. Davis related the situation of a JOIN community person whose

husband had been drafted and now was in Viet-Nam and who was trying to eke out a living for her and her children on the paltry welfare allowances. He talked about her powerlessness in the face of the welfare institutions that have an iron hand in the life of the poor and how she was in JOIN working with others for a change. Davis then outlined an incipient movement of the poor that was developing in Chicago to challenge the Daley machine which included The Woodlawn Organization on the South side, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the Westside, and JOIN.

Charlie Cobb's remarks centered on the denial of Julien Bond's seat in the Georgia Legislature. Possible action of people in Bond's district to march on the Legislature demanding their representation and thereby tying it up would be bound to alienate a lot of liberal support for SNCC. This would be going too far outside of the orderly process, they would argue. The point he was illustrating was that the movement must expect to be isolated from the status quo elements as it carries its democratic commitment to its logical

conclusions and thereby becomes more and more radical in tactics. This will dry up funds and the movement must be prepared to operate with other resources.

Oglesby, speaking third, addressed his opening comments to the speech Mondale read by dismissing the implicit assumptions of the references to the demonstrators as being cooptable because of their "idealism" by VISTA, the Peace Corps, etc. Movement people are sophisticated enough to see through extensions of the welfare state and the reality of the thrust of American foreign policy. Oglesby went on to outline the dilemma of humanist liberals in the face of this War and crises that were facing the government.

Perhaps the most important indication of the demonstration and program was that student organizing may at last be starting in Chicago. There were students there from many city universities and high schools in addition to the University of Chicago. The last group to try to organize the anti-war sentiments in the city was the Chicago Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

It met with little success though as the climax of its efforts, the Oct. 15-16 Demonstrations only turned out a meager 300 in this city of 6 million inhabitants. The real work of organizing may be getting off the ground with the establishment of an SDS regional office by the city's chapters.

Oklahoma

On January 9, 14 University of Oklahoma students, including 3 SDS members, were arrested as police raided a private party and found 4 marijuana cigarettes.

The raid resulted in a barrage of publicity over the state that intimately connected the SDS, marijuana, and anti-war protests. One typical headline in the state's largest newspaper, The Daily Oklahoman, read: "11 OU Students Arrested, Drugs Seized as Officers Raid Campus Apartment -- Search Yields Large Quantity of Marijuana--Anti-Viet Nam War Literature Uncovered, Too."

SDS was mentioned in the lead paragraph and a total of 6 times in the accompanying story. Also the front page featured a 5x7 photograph purporting to show a mixture of peyote, marijuana, a "home-made opium pipe," amphetamines, and anti-war buttons. (It was later admitted by the police and

press that the picture was a phony. They have emptied all of the ash trays in the house to represent marijuana cigarettes, collected the prescription pills for the amphetamines, the peyote was nonexistent, and the "home-made opium pipe" upon examination by the State Crime Bureau turned out to be a water pipe that can be bought in any drug store. So went the publicity.

Those arrested have now been released on \$3,000 bonds each except for two who were ordered placed in the state mental hospital for three months' "observation" by the district judge. Attempts to reach them by the chapter have been rebuffed as communication has only been allowed with their parents and a minister.

A civil liberties defense is now forming with local law school professors and lawyers because of the lack of due process. Some of the points that will be made are the following: (1) The police and press cooperated in arranging the lurid photos to accompany the front page news stories that misrepresented the tale. (2) The police and press cooperated in arranging the lurid photos to accompany the front page news stories that misrepresented the tale. (3) The police confiscated "political propaganda" which had nothing to do with their case and publicized this to

bias public opinion. (4) The whole take of "narcotics" to be a net of less than enough to fill a penny matchbox. (5) Excessive bond was required for the 14 and there is considerable doubt about the constitutionality of arbitrarily confining people for three months in a mental hospital especially since the main considerations seemed to be their political views and that they had long hair. (See letter from Norman that arrived before this incident.)

Chapter people are now exploring the possibility of holding an open meeting to answer questions from the university community. They will bring up the university administration's complicity in the frame-up inasmuch as it publicized widely that it was responsible for the information leading to the raid from its network of "informers" who keep them posted on all such activities and since it was quick to throw the burden of the biased publicity on the chapter in public comments. It is hoped that the incident can be used positively to evaluate the present role of the university administration vis-a-vis the outside society.

There are indications that this kind of smear tactic will be used more and more inasmuch as marijuana raids are being stepped up on campuses and every attempt will be made to link them with the anti-war protests.

LETTERS

NORMAN, OKLA.

The article regarding the mental hospital was rather mild--no mention of the everpresent, concious, active sadism toward patients. The sadism is usually emotional--but quite often physical. The physical sadism is of course in the non-psychiatric wards.

Of course the assumption that mental hospitals are for the good of the patients is a rather new and rather naive one and does not carry any more than mere token weight among those individuals which comprise the "institution".

All of our useless, bothersome beings are pitched into these places to keep them out of "our"

way. A large percentage of inmates in mental hospitals are old people who are not actually crazy but ies, which kills the brain.

I say there can be no mental hospital reform, because the whole idea of locking up non-productive, bothersome, ugly, dirty, loud human beings is odious to me. But our orderly, neat, Listerine gargling, deodorant using, insurance policied, yes--there-can-be-security sayers don't want to be reminded of how tenuous all that clean orderly livin' is.

Sooo---everybody that laughs too much, folks that cry at nothing, people that don't make "good sense", ladies that won't keep their dresses down, old folks that see the Indians coming every day about 4 o'clock, guys who insist on singing

all the nasty verses to "Red Wing" all day and all night long--all these cats get locked up and put out of the way.

The people that commit a person imply: "See what he does? Now either make him quit it, or keep him locked up."

Of course, since we live in an enlightened age, there has to be some token of good care, honest concern, rehabilitation efforts. That's because, I suppose, we live in a democracy--which is (as it now stands) a very subtle means of domination. Each man is his own FBI.

MB

CHICAGO, ILL.

Dr. J. Stamler, Mrs. Yolander Hall, and myself, Milton Cohen, are challenging the constitutionality of the House Unamerican Activities Committee. In the May Chicago HUAC hearings, we walked out

and didn't take the Fifth Amendment.

We have a case in the Federal courts challenging the Committee. Last week HUAC recommended to the House of Representatives contempt citations for us. A national movement is developing to delay, postpone, or table these contempt citations so that the Federal Court can act on the matter instead.

Letters, telegrams, or visits to your congressmen to have them support this effort to delay the hearing are urged. It is hoped this are urged. It is hoped that a blow against HUAC will be achieved by this effort. Please act now as the case is coming up by February 1st. For further information, contact the National Committee to Abolish the House Unamerican Activities Committee, P.O. Box 74757, Los Angeles 4, California.

Milton Cohen

INTRODUCTION

This paper should be seen as a means to better internal sds communication. For that reason it will not style itself like a regular newspaper by presenting an image of sds written for the outside world. Rather, this should be seen as a replacement of the worklist that will go to every member in a more readable and flexible form.

How good the paper is will depend on the degree to which people use it as an internal organ for communication. Copy will be mainly in the form of news and letters. That is, the bulk of the paper will be news of chapter activities, outside events that are of interest to the whole organization, and news of the workings of the National Administrative Committee, National Interim Committee, and National Council. Also, a forum for connecting letters will be in each issue. It will take a while to see how feasible this outline is. Of course alterations will be made where demanded and

necessary. Suggestions will always be welcome.

In order for the wealth of news that is in sds to be utilized through this paper, it is imperative that chapter people see as one of their primary responsibilities the reporting of sds news in their locality. Deadlines for the Friday issues will be Wednesdays. If you don't have time to write your own copy, then, at the very least, send in clippings from the local papers. Photographs that you think will be good for running should be sent in with any story or independently.

It is hard to predict how this venture will go as this is only the first issue. One thing is clear though and that is that the sds community needs a forum for exchanging information and notes. We will do our best to implement that need and beg you to bear with us as we try to get it going.

Special credit for setting up the paper and getting out this issue goes to Jeff Segal whose help and knowledge was invaluable.

NEW LEFT NOTICE

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Friday, January 21, 1966

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As some of you know from the mail you have been getting, the national office is in the process of a mammoth overhaul of both the membership and chapter files. Streamline systemization is setting in so that you no longer will have to wait months for your membership card, bulletin, mailings, etc.

To keep the files up to date so that everyone will receive sds mailings such as this publication will require your help. Chapters and individuals should keep the office regularly informed of changed addresses. Also, members whose names have not yet made it through the gamut to the neatly typed addressograph plate should try again. This is a good time to do such because Bob Speck, a super efficient anarchist from Texas, is bringing the files up-to-date with a vengeance.