

NEW LEFT NOTES

Let the People Decide

Vol. 1, No. 5

sds

February 18, 1966

SSOC conference

Report on southern activity

by Jeff Shero

Exciting potentialities emerged from the Southern Student Organizing Committee meeting held in Nashville February 3-6. Due to an increased budget and a growing awareness of the process of change in the south, the SSOC staff was more than doubled and aid was voted for four organizing projects.

To understand the importance of this meeting a brief look at SSOC's background is necessary.

SSOC, founded about two years ago, suffered in its early days from a lack of direction. It was first seen as an organization that would relate solely to students and was initially directed toward liberals and moderates. In this early stage, debate concerned the ways of reaching Negro campuses, channeling students into existing civil rights projects, and in the methodology of developing concern among white students. The gap between civil rights activists and students was at its widest point. The few white liberal and radical students in the south were isolated. As Sue Thrasher, secretary, says, "There was nothing in '63. No communication, -- no anything."

1963 and 1964 were marked by groping and experimentation. SSOC conferences brought together students who discussed their problems and returned to their campuses to take part in moderate activity like human relations clubs and picketing. Others, however, joined the Nashville sit-ins, the Mississippi summer project, or worked for civil rights organizations. Better understanding of southern and

American problems grew, and contacts spread. Still, SSOC's project for the Christmas of 1964 was the rebuilding and repainting of churches burned by racists.

Sue Thrasher argues forcefully that the two years were vital to the growth of SSOC because they provided experience and brought together southern students who had had virtually no experience before. This was the vacuum that SSOC filled. Referring to a staff member who came into SSOC a year ago from a white college in the deep south, Sue emphasizes, "Last year he would have rather been dead than red and now he won't fight in Vietnam.... The repainting of churches was necessary."

SSOC programs

At this meeting of an expanded SSOC executive committee, sixteen staff members were hired, plans were laid for a campus travel program, increased communications via an expanded newsletter, and a folk music caravan, plus aid was voted to four projects and relations were established with two others. There is now an organizer for Tennessee-Kentucky, Virginia, Alabama, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas. There will be an additional traveler hired for Florida.

Gene Guererro is working in North Carolina organizing a conference on Students and Labor. The object of this conference is to explore unionizing as an agent of change in the south, and give practical instruction in how to unionize. The issue of independent unionizing versus organizing within the AFL-CIO will be

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Bryn Mawr

Evaluation of a fast

by Margaret Levi

The Fast which took place on the Bryn Mawr, Haverford and Swarthmore campuses, involving over 200 people, was an eight day period of intensive study of the Vietnam situation and related problems, was an effort to arouse the campuses, and was, although it did not start as such, a protest against U.S. policy in Vietnam. At the evaluation meeting on Friday, Feb. 11, it was discovered that two other institutions had taken part—Pendle Hill and the Friends' World Institute. Also, the administrations of Allegheny State College and of Cornell have called Dean Lyons of Haverford concerning Fast efforts on their campuses.

The Fasters met three times daily for orange juice and discussion. There were no contrary physical effects felt by the majority of the Fasters, and not a single person took advantage of the health and psychiatric services which the colleges offered. Along with the discussions over orange juice was a round of speakers, panels, and movies on Africa, China, Vietnam, war, American economics, and

high school organizing

New NYC group growing

by Mike Klare

I'd like to take this opportunity to introduce SDS members to SPV, an all high school Vietnam peace committee affiliated with the N.Y. Region of SDS. SPV stands for the N.Y. Committee of Students for Peace in Vietnam, an organization formed last September by N.Y. teen-agers to bring the anti-war movement into the context of their high school communities. The organizers and officers of SPV are all high school students. Every Saturday representatives from several dozen high schools in the metropolitan area converge on the SDS office to describe the work they are doing in their own schools

morality. These attracted many non-Fasters and moved many non-committed people to commitment.

The Fast served to create a realization of food, of the possibility and the discomforts of living without it. It was discovered that people can survive on less than the

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Meet your local CIA recruiter

Recruiting teams from the Central Intelligence Agency are visiting about 100 college campuses during the next few weeks.

Usually they move quietly on and off the campuses, true to their trade. However, at Grinnell they were greeted by picket signs which asked what the CIA was doing in Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Dominican Republic. One poster said, "Where there is an invisible government there is no democracy."

More such disturbances can be expected on other campuses where students are on the alert for their appearances.

and to plan city-wide activities against the war.

The tremendous extent of anti-war sentiment in high schools is demonstrated by the fact that SPV already has over 700 members, and is still growing rapidly. SPV chapters have been organized in a score of high schools in the area, and more are being formed.

Besides helping local chapters start programs in their own schools (such as debates, forums, teach-ins, etc.), SPV has also sponsored several city-wide events that have been quite successful. A teach-in held at Columbia University on December 29th attracted a thousand

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Regional conferences analyse activity

Michigan

ANN ARBOR (from Jeff Jones)—On Saturday and Sunday, Feb. 5 & 6, a regional planning conference was held in Ann Arbor for a region to consist of Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana. Discussion of the possibility of a region

consisting of these states began at the December conference. At that time it was decided to wait until February and then hold a conference to determine if a region was possible or desirable.

It was the decision of those at the conference that forming of a region would be useful in helping new

groups to form, and through regional publications to serve as a means of reaching more people.

No office was started. A regional coordinator was appointed. Appointed on a temporary basis until the Regional Council first meets was Jeff Jones from the Antioch College Chapter, (mailing address: 401 S. High St., Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387). A regional worklist will be coordinated by Brian Keleher. Materials for the worklist should be sent to him at P.O. Box 382, East Lansing, Mich. The VOICE Bulletin from the University of Michigan will become the regional bulletin. It will be published by David Bloom, 2534 Student Activities Bldg., Ann Arbor, Mich.

A Regional Council was created on the basis of proportional representation and will meet for the first time in April.

The regional planning conference voted to support the University of Michigan students who have been reclassified 1-A for protesting the war. In response to the call from the National Council for petitions to local draft boards asking them not to use reclassifications to suppress dissent. At the regional level, groups are asked to present the petitions on March 2. For information on the Michigan students write to VOICE, 2534 Student Activities Bldg., Ann Arbor, Mich.

After the planning sessions were completed, the conference went into workshop discussions of the California Grape Strike and action to be taken in response to the releasing of class rank of male students to the Selective Service. No decisions were made, and discussion will be carried on through the regional bulletin.

San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO (from Carolyn Craven)—About 65 members of the Northern California Region of SDS crowded into the San Francisco Regional Office for a "regional meeting."

After a slow start and initial confusion about what should be discussed first, there was an attempt to analyze the December conference. Or rather, several attempts. One sensed that people were dissatisfied with the December Conference, but no one seemed

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VISTA Anti-war march planned

NEW YORK (news release)—Antipoverty workers will march on Washington, D.C., Feb. 26, in a national protest against the war in Vietnam.

Members of several New York City groups have joined to sponsor the protest under the title "Poverty Workers for Peace." They include workers and volunteers in federal anti-poverty programs, Social Workers for Peace, and Welfare Workers for Peace. Spokesmen stressed the broad base of the protest,

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NY REGIONAL ORGANIZER SARAH MURPHY talks with picket at St. John's University where SDS members supported a demonstration organized by the National Student Association in behalf of striking members of the American Federation of College Teachers, AFL-CIO. SDS members are planning to support a NSA rally at Hunter College on Feb. 21st in solidarity with the St. Johns fight.

(photo by S. Max)

M2M dissolves 2 suspended at Gainesville

NEW YORK (from the SDS Regional Office)—A week ago, the May Second Movement dissolved. M2M was an anti-imperialist organization which had the slogan "We are a radical peace movement because we choose to call them brothers"—them referring to movements for national liberation.

One of the reasons, according to Jeff Gordon, their national coordinator, was that it had more or less atrophied. It had become a cadre organization and often merely recruited the most sophisticated people from the campus and separated them from the dynamic movement. They feel that SDS is a growing organization reflecting the movement and they want to add a new element to the movement by introducing their perspective.

Their publication, Free Student, is becoming an independent publication, with more or less the same editorial board.

GAINESVILLE, FLA.—Fuel was added to the fire of a civil liberties fight raging at the University of Florida when two SDS members, Lucien Cross and Alan Levin, were suspended for selling and distributing literature on the campus which included Viet-Report and New Left Notes.

The two were singled out from many who had been intentionally violating a university regulation which forbids the sale or distribution of unapproved literature on the campus and brought before a disciplinary committee for the suspension.

In spite of the suspensions, tables selling unapproved literature remain on the campus manned by SDS, CORE, Friends of SNCC, and other groups; an all day teach-in on free speech is planned; and a committee of law school professors has been formed to help them.

South protest small

The Southern Days of Protest Against the War in Vietnam drew little notice in the nation's press. However, the activity, though scattered, was encouraging since it showed an incipient movement among white middle class students.

A full evaluation is not available yet from either of the coordinators of the

demonstrations, the Southern Committee to End the War or the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

Teach-ins were held in Little Rock and Richmond. Demonstrations were also reported in Tougaloo, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Atlanta. At the New Orleans demonstration, speaker Michael O'Hanlon from the VDC was egged.

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Letters

Reply to Gitlin

ANN ARBOR, Mich.

I'm glad that Todd Gitlin has written "Notes on the pathology of the NC." Several comments follow:

1. The "modest" proposals are, of course, major. They require the NC to conceive of itself as a decision-making body and that the membership, national office and "leadership" recognize the need for such a body. Only then would program proposals be prepared in advance, circulated in advance and perhaps even be discussed at the local level.

I think the NC is important and should be given much more emphasis in the organization—as per the constitution. We should insist that NC delegates be named by the chapters (and projects too) as a condition for their initial and continued recognition. We should make use of the associated group and fraternal organization provisions to increase the formal representative character of the NC in relation to the "movement" generally. We should use the NC delegates as the chapter contacts, and program and organizational liaison people. We should develop and make use of the full political functions of the NC, not only in determining program but also in debating and adopting political resolutions in the name of the organization.

Until the NC is treated as an important group and is given important, public political functions, it cannot be expected to operate as a responsible political body.

The pathology Gitlin describes is not unique to the SDS NC. It is a pathology common in any group without a clear sense of its purpose. Workshops to aid people in getting to know one another and clarify broad political issues are only partial remedies. Fundamental and necessary is clarity as to why the group exists, what its functions are and are not, and what is expected of it. It is on these conditions that we are so lacking. To meet these conditions requires more than a rational structuring of a given NC meeting. It requires at least that the NC be treated and respected, consistently, as the political decision-making body of the organization between conventions. (E.g. the N.O. and leadership should not initiate programs, make statements or take actions

which have political "significance" for the organization without seeking approval of the NC. And if decisions are made which the N.O. or leadership types disagree with, the decisions should not be ignored or by-passed—as with the NICNAC report—but efforts should be made to get it changed and if those efforts fail, the decision should be lived with.)

2. The pseudo-ideological issues Gitlin identified as inappropriate disrupters of deliberation are, nonetheless, real issues: decentralization, democracy in the office, regionalization, bureaucracy, political controls, leaders, etc. Their disruptive persistence suggests that we have not developed an organizational "ideology" and form appropriate for our political program and strategy. To treat these issues as nuisance questions, to be met pragmatically in accord with individual program needs, as is your implicit recommendation, is merely to perpetuate the underlying problem. The kind of organization we have, or at least want, should be rationally determined. I think we need explicit policy resolutions on the issues of leadership, elitism, bureaucracy, internal democracy, decentralization, etc.—statements that are clearly formulated and well argued, that can be distributed, debated and amended and then, once adopted, followed. The models that would probably be in contention are democratic centralism, pragmatism and anarchism—granting that those labels are about equally pejorative. If "participatory democracy" has real organizational implications, perhaps we could come up with a blend—something new. But in any case, the contest between the alternatives would be a political-ideological debate. And that debate is what we desperately need.

Perhaps the above is what Gitlin means when he says there should be workshops on elitism. If so, where we differ is on the method of problem resolution. I don't think workshops resolve anything. It may be that workshops are a necessary step in coming to rational decisions. But it is decisions that we need—explicit, clear statements with which people can agree or disagree; and if they disagree, can formulate alternatives as amendments to be voted on. And

decisions that once made, can be followed. Workshops don't make decisions; they don't come to conclusions that can serve as understood guides for action.

3. On the pre-convention conference proposal, I have two reactions:

First I think the convention should be in early September, not June. The reasons are not new.

A. The April-June priority of the N.O. should not be preparing a conference. It should be building the organization: (1) assisting local organizations, education and action programs; (2) insuring that the organization's mechanisms are finally in order—Membership, summer address lists, staff for summer projects, etc.; (3) probably working on some national action program.

B. The convention makes more sense in the fall as impetus to the next year's work, an assembly of the people who will actually be playing local leadership roles in the next year, a large public affair of publicity value aiding campus organizing to immediately follow, etc.

C. Summer is more of a slack period which could be used for preparing the convention without seriously restricting other priority organizational work. Preparation includes writing and distributing papers and planning work panels which are self-consciously designed for a purpose rather than ad hoc fabrications. None of that will happen in the spring. Maybe it should, but it won't. The April NC won't have time to really deal with it. People will be too pressed with school or other obligations, etc. A June NC and the summer would allow time to really plan a convention. All that must happen in the spring is to set the date and find the place—so people can know when and where and so those who think they will come will be sure to give the office a summer address.

D. People probably have more freedom or flexibility in their time planning at the end of the summer than at the beginning.

I will make this proposal at the April NC.

Second as obvious from point "2" above, I think pre-convention workshops should be more structured and more political in the preparation and content than was the case at the December conference. General discussions on elitism, women, etc. are fine, but what makes discussions productive are not small size, grass, sunshine and time but challenging material (content) and a feeling of urgency about the topic. And that required preparation—a quality notably absent from the December conference.

Al Haber

Lens didleywack

NEW YORK, N. Y.

...That Lens didleywack ("The New Left and the Establishment" by Sidney Lens, a paper available from the N.O., ed.) was written in a civil tone and I thought that his stuff on democracy in the third world was close to the mark. The only problem with it is that while it is

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Air base invaded by poor people

TO: Friends and Supporters of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
FROM: Mrs. Victoria J. Gray, Washington Office MFDP
RE: Situation in the Mississippi Delta

The plight of the Mississippi Delta sharecropper and farm worker was graphically illustrated last week by a move of 100 of these people onto the deactivated Air Force Base at Greenville, Mississippi. Many of the people who moved onto the base have been displaced by the mechanization of agriculture and cutbacks in cotton allotments. It is estimated that by the spring between 10,000 and 12,000 agricultural workers and sharecroppers will be without jobs. Not only do those being displaced find no aid forthcoming from the state of Mississippi, but continue to find the state actively working against their interests.

The federal government has proved to be as deaf to the plight of these evicted people as the state government of Mississippi. An OEO grant, announced last November 23, for the purpose of distributing surplus food, has still not gone into effect. Other poverty programs in the state consistently denied poor Negroes positions on their advisory boards and staffs. The single poverty program which reached the poor Negro—the much talked about Headstart—has been waiting to be re-funded since last September. Federal policies have done nothing but reinforce the inadequacies of the state welfare programs because of federal insistence on working through state structures rather than involving the poor.

Seeing that the present programs of the state and federal government were not dealing with their needs, the evicted and poor undertook an action that illustrated their drastic situation. On Monday, January 24th, a call was sent out to the poor people of Mississippi from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Delta Ministry, and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union to come to a conference to discuss food, land, money, and jobs. By Thursday night, 500 people had arrived at the Mt. Boulah Conference Center. By late Sunday, approximately 1,000 people had come to discuss these problems. But there was little reason to discuss people's needs; the question was—how to get the basics of life. Understanding that they had no weapons except their physical presence, the dispossessed of Mississippi decided to move onto federal land.

On Monday, January 31st, a group of 50 people moved onto the deactivated Air Force Base at Greenville. That evening, they issued a list of their demands, which is enclosed. By Tuesday, the number at Greenville had doubled. When asked why he was at the Base, one man answered, "The man don't want me no mo'," and that he had been put out of his home. Then when asked where he lived, he answered simply, "here," indicating the Greenville barracks. Another woman who came to the Base with her children remarked that it was warmer in the abandoned building than in the home from which she had come.

After the evicted were removed from the Base by the Air Police, they went to Tribbett (Tent City) to join people who had been evicted from the plantations last spring during the Freedom Labor Union strike. The population at Tribbett grew from 40 to 200 in a few days. The people at Tribbett represent many more because many of the adults had left their families behind with relatives. At present, men are building floors for two new tents and the women are starting a volunteer Headstart. There are many other people across the Delta of Mississippi who wish to join those at Tribbett. They see no future for themselves and their children in their present situation. They hope that by coming together with other people in the same condition, they can find some solutions.

Tribbett can no longer hold or feed all of those displaced by the state of Mississippi. Land and food are still needed. Those who came together at the Poor People's Conference are discussing programs to meet their needs but none can be accomplished until the bare necessities of life are supplied.

In Washington, Congressman Joseph Resnick has uncovered the fact that not only does the federal government refuse to face this "national disaster" by housing people on federal land, but now they intend

to turn over the 13 million dollar Greenville Air Force Base to the City of Greenville. Resnick, yesterday on the floor of the House, called upon the government to turn the land and barracks over to the poor people of Mississippi and, since the state of Mississippi has already demonstrated its unwillingness to distribute government food surplus fairly, the Department of Agriculture to undertake the distribution program directly.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED NOW

1. Funds are needed for food and tents. (Make checks out to MFDP, 802 G. St., S.E., Washington, D.C.)

2. Funds are needed to purchase land since the government has to date refused to make federal lands available.

3. Telegrams and letters should be sent to the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, Sargent Shriver, Speaker McCormick, Senator Mansfield, and your own congressman, calling upon the federal government to make all federal lands in Mississippi available to the poor and to administer directly an emergency food program to meet the present crisis.

Booth reports that there is considerable turmoil and embarrassment about this in the Executive Branch. The Administration is seriously considering opening the base to housing for the people who need it.

Statement issued from the Greenville Air Force Base:

Why we are here at the Greenville Air Force Base

We are here because we are hungry and cold and have no jobs or land. We don't want charity. We are willing to work for ourselves if given a chance.

We are at the Greenville Air Force Base because it is federal property and there are hundreds of empty houses and buildings. We need those houses and the land. We could be trained for jobs in the buildings.

What are we demanding?

1. WE DEMAND FOOD. We are here because we are hungry. Our children can't be taught in school because they are hungry. They can't even get the food in school because they have to buy it and don't have the money.

2. WE DEMAND JOBS. We are here because we have no jobs. Many of us have been thrown off the plantations where we worked for nothing all our lives. We don't want charity. We demand our rights to jobs, so that we can do something with our lives and build us a future.

3. WE DEMAND JOB TRAINING. We demand that people be trained for things that they want to do and that they be paid while they are being trained.

4. WE DEMAND INCOME. We demand that poor people be given an income instead of handouts and food commodities. Until we get an income for our families, we want commodities that are fit to eat. We want fresh vegetables, fruits, and meat. The federal government tells us to go directly to the state and county for help, but when we go there, they don't know what we're talking about.

5. WE DEMAND LAND. We are here because we don't have land. There are thousands of acres here that the government owns. We say we are supposed to be part of that government. We want the clear and the unclear land, and we'll clear the unclear land ourselves.

6. WE WANT "OPERATION HELP" TO BE STOPPED. We don't want the Mississippi county boards of supervisors to have another chance to decide whether the poor people should get food. We don't recognize these county boards because they don't represent us. We want the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Department of Agriculture to hire poor people we say represent us. We, the poor people, want to distribute the food.

7. WE DEMAND THAT PROJECT HEADSTART SCHOOLS BE STARTED NOW. We demand that the Office of Economic Opportunity give us the money they promised us last September so that our children can be taught in the Headstart schools.

We are ready now to ask of President Johnson whose side are you on—the poor people's or the millionaires'?

National Secretary's Report

by Paul Booth

Another chapter in the ill-starred history of the National Secretary's relations to the working press was recorded this weekend. A telephone interview with a gentleman from the Associated Press resulted in a front-page article in the Daily Californian giving an utterly wrong account of the particular situation, complete with quotes from Booth.

The particular situation is the primary campaign of Bob Scheer for Congress in Oakland against "liberal" Jeffrey Coehland. Berkeley SDS is not supporting Scheer, and a number of criticisms of his campaign are shared widely. These are criticisms of the whole strategy of running within the Democratic Party to build a base of support. The quotes in the article give the exact opposite impression of "SDS" strategy.

The article was occasioned by a series of attacks in the Evans-Novak syndicated column "exposing" a new national organization of liberals and radicals which is raising money to support electoral politics in 1966. Booth has participated in the discussions to bring about this new organization, and sits on several of its committees. The most vicious attack got everything wrong, including a description of the Scheer campaign as an independent campaign, a description of the Chicago Committee for Independent Action as launching Sid Lens as a Senatorial candidate, and some other inaccuracies.

When the AP guy called, I mostly gave him the names of local people to call for further information. I told him that Steve Weissman of SDS and others were playing an important role in the Scheer campaign and this came out as "While its organizers said the conference has not yet pinpointed its election day targets, Booth said his organization is already backing the Scheer candidacy."

I explained that the Scheer strategy was not an Independent one, as explained in Evans-Novak, and this came out as the SDS strategy: "It's more important to raise these political issues, to build an organization. Maybe Scheer won't win, but within two years we'll be stronger within the Party."

The following letter was sent to the editors of the Daily Californian.

"I wish to correct and clarify statements attributed to me in the AP story you ran this morning.

"I was attempting to clarify to the AP the totally erroneous and scurrilous columns recently run by Evans and Novak. They had claimed among other smears and distortions that Scheer was running in Oakland as an Independent to cause the election of the Republican in the November election. This, of course, is false, and is an attempt to explain to the AP writer that Scheer is running as a Democratic primary candidate, the AP writer assumed that this is the SDS strategy. This is not the case—SDS has not committed itself to that course

of action this year. His assumption was further reinforced when I told him that some SDS folks including Steve Weissman are working in the Scheer campaign. This came out in the story as 'Booth said his organization' is backing Scheer.

"This misrepresentation of SDS' position, and by implication of the position of the Berkeley chapter, is most unfortunate and damaging. I suggest in the future that you consult the Berkeley chapter when carrying a story such as that one in order to get their comments and possible to keep inaccurate accounts from appearing in your paper."

Background on the "New Politics" Group

As has been reported previously, a group of people more or less representing the movement and "the best of the liberal" political movements have been discussing coordinating action and fund-raising for 1966 campaigns. These groups have included SDS, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (Ala.), the Detroit Wednesday Evening Club, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Massachusetts Political Action for Peace, the Committees for Independent Political Action in Chicago and New York, some New York Reform Democrats and the Californians for Liberal Representation. Also, some liberal peaceniks from Colorado and Connecticut have participated.

This collection of people has formed the National Conference for New Politics, and is in the process of hiring new staff for the principal purpose of fund-raising. A healthy contingent of SDS people are on the committees that will disburse funds. Booth is in charge of working toward the arrangement of summer projects for student

volunteers.

Along this line, it is very important for chapters and organizing projects that intend to engage in electoral action of any kind to get into contact with the group, and get on the mailing list for its magazine INTER/CHANGE, which will be published at 1808 Wyoming Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Further, regional offices, chapters, and projects that are going to be involved in campaigns this summer should take responsibility for structuring summer projects in which students from other chapters and other parts of the country could take part. One helpful suggestion that has been made is that the "hosts" should arrange part-time employment openings for the volunteers to fill—these would provide enough money to take care of the volunteers' expenses and would give them a role in the community and a perspective from which to gain an understanding of it.

The formal announcement of the Conference's existence has not yet been made, and will be run when it does appear. As mentioned above, Evans and Novak are carrying on a deliberate campaign of distortion, including red-baiting and various down right erroneous information aimed at convincing upstanding liberals that independent political action is dangerous and unwise.

In light of this journalistic campaign, and the unhappy results of one attempt to "set the record straight", national office policy from here on in will be to give no comment on electoral action around the nation, and merely to refer press to local offices and chapters for their position on local candidates.

that it would be alright.

Schmiechen and Russell will finish the leaflet and copies will be sent out for chapters to order.

Other leaflets

Mention of the Duncan leaflet reminded people that there still isn't a basic brochure out on SDS. This was seen as deplorable. The National Secretary was mandated to begin rolling on production of one.

Also several people are beginning to work on producing a short "straight facts" leaflet on the war that will give the history in capsule form and our criticisms. Joice Bennet is coordinating that project.

NAC minutes

submitted by Jim Russell

Mailing of New Left Notes

The regular Sunday afternoon National Administrative Committee meeting was attended by only three of its seven members (Steve Goldsmith, Judy Kissinger, and Joice Bennet). Those not putting in appearances were Lee Webb, Paul Booth, Harriet Stullman, and Bob Ross.

Chicago Region

Greg Kaslo, Chicago regional organizer, had been hired under the stipulation that he would raise his salary from the region's chapters and eventually go off salary from the N.O. His salary was reduced several weeks ago for that reason. Unfortunately Greg has been able to dredge very little funds from the region with the result that he has less money to live on than N.O. staff members.

The topic of the discussion was whether to insure a salary for him equal to that of N.O. staff members with N.O. funds since he lives, eats, works, etc. with N.O. staff people and is thus in all but title an equal worker. There was hesitance in doing that because it might be unfair to regional organizers in other offices. But the point was raised that, even if the region could not support him he should be kept in that capacity in order to deal with the inevitable problems of relations within the city and the national offices (e.g., 7 chapters who pour into the N.O. to use the machines and preparations for the March 26 Chicago parade against the war that we are expected to relate to). Without someone dealing with the local Chicago stuff, N.O. workers would be sucked into it. Thus Greg in a sense is working directly for the N.O. and should be subsidized to an extent. Thus went the reasoning.

• Proposal: That Greg Kaslo be paid the difference between what the region can pay and the \$30/wk. salary for N.O. staff; in turn he will handle chapter correspondence for the N.O. Passed.

Also he is mandated to report to the NAC in two weeks whether the region can afford to pay him and a separate office can continue to exist. If the answers are negative, Chicago area work will become a secondary responsibility for him.

National Secretary's Report

Russell complained that Booth was not putting as much information and effort into his National Secretary's Report as he could. Since he has his hands on a great deal of information that is of interest to the members, it was felt that that should be sent out in New Left Notes.

• Proposal: Booth must write a report comparable to the old Worklist for the membership for each issue of New Left Notes. Passed.

Many problems to be ironed out. It is very slow getting to members after it is gotten from the printers. Part of the problem is a lack of coordination and lack of definition of responsibility within the staff. Office manager Jeff Segal was strongly urged to organize the whole procedure.

Another problem is that the operation requires running back and forth across town (to the printers, post office, etc.) and we do not have a full time car to use. The discussion of the mailing digressed on this matter since it was seen as a major hang-up hampering the operation of the National Office. We need a car for office use and are actively seeking such a donation.

In addition, the post office is slow in delivery for its part (Time mag. goes much faster even though we are on the same second class permit.) The slow deliveries were thought to be a function of the feebie's copying down the addresses though and to be expected for the first few issues. So, take heart, as soon as we and super sleuths get organized, you will receive your copies more swiftly.

NAC minutes

Consensus that they were very dull in each issue of New Left Notes. Russell asked permission to edit out some of the more trivial items. Got sympathy but also a refusal since it was felt that that would go against a specific mandate of the NC. • Proposal: Each week a different person should write the minutes for New Left Notes rather than Booth each week. Passed.

Billing system

Judy Kissinger reported chaos as her initial impression of the billing system of the office. In general, people have been getting screwed who ordered literature from the office because there has not been an adequate method of giving them credit for literature ordered and paid for that is out of stock. It will take time to clear up.

Finances

The picture is very bleak. We are broke with major expenses upon us for office rent, salaries, and New Left Notes. We are hoping that the mails will bring good fortune.

Don Duncan Leaflet

Staff members Schmiechen and Russell approached the NAC with a proposal to print 100,000 copies of a throwaway leaflet that they had designed. The leaflet would

be a reprint of the very sympathetic interview with former special forces man Don Duncan in the Feb. 10 New York Times. Their purposes were: (1) to introduce Duncan who is going on a speaking tour; (2) to give chapters a leaflet that had impeccable sources for their case against the war (the Times and a special forces man); and (3) to provide a leaflet for chapter preparation for the March 25-26 Demonstrations.

NAC members questioned whether a sentence urging people to take part in the demonstrations would be violating the NC mandate which forbids the use of National Office resources for the demonstrations. It was resolved that such a sentence was only a secondary purpose of the leaflet and since it required no further resources

Fast

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3000 calories which most Americans demand. It created an almost existential empathy with those who hardly ever have anything to eat.

Some of the Fasters did feel that it turned into an endurance contest instead of a move to concentrate on the issues and to empathize with the hungry. Others felt that their mental powers had been greatly stimulated during this period.

There was very little press coverage, two short articles in The New York Times and some local newspaper and radio stories. This made some of the Fasters realize the shortcomings of U.S. democracy—if it doesn't show up in the papers, it didn't happen.

There was a great deal of discussion on whether or not the Fast was "effective." Undoubtedly, the campuses involved were affected; new people were brought into the movement or began to re-analyze accepted notions, and old people were re-committed more intensely. However, the effect on the public or the government is moot. It was argued that we should use the Fast as a basis for proselytizing the community, but others felt that the answer lay in concentrating on vulnerable pressure points within the system.

SPV

(Continued from page 1)

teen-agers from all over N.Y., who spent a whole afternoon of the Christmas vacation to listen to a detailed analysis of the Vietnam war and its impact on American society. Speakers included Stanley Millet, Seymour Melman, Christopher Koch, Marvin Gettleman and Paul Goodman. The teach-in received extensive publicity in the press and on television. The hysterical tone of some of this coverage indicated that some of the adults present had been terrified by the vision of a generation that had not succumbed to the brainwashing that is dished out in our high schools.

There were a few technical suggestions such as starting the Fast several days after the discussions had gotten under way in order to build momentum as the week went on. It was also felt that better communication between the campuses was necessary. For instance, Bryn Mawr and Haverford jointly published a mimeographed opinion and discussion bulletin called "Fast News", and Swarthmore knew nothing about it until the evaluation meeting.

As follow-up, there are several suggestions in the air. Increased demonstrations, a repeated Fast in the spring, and community organizing around the issue of Vietnam are under discussion. A letter describing the Fast was sent to Ho Chi Minh, and there are plans for a conference on "The Origins and History of the Cold War."

It was discovered at the evaluation meeting that the Institute for Cooperative Research, a group working on defoliation methods, is moving its base from the University of Pennsylvania to a science research group sponsored by Bryn Mawr, Haverford, Swarthmore (maybe), and Penn. It is not certain that the colleges will allow this to happen as Haverford, for one, has a policy against supporting anything backed by the Defense Department which this almost certainly is. Research about the involvement of the colleges is now under way.

Recently, SPV has cooperated with High School SNCC in N.Y. to arrange a march and rally in support of the Feb. 12th anti-war demonstrations in the south. About 400 high school students participated in a march down Sixth Ave. which culminated in a rally at St. Mark's Church which was addressed by Julian Bond and others. We are now planning for massive high school participation in the March 25-26 activities against the war.

SPV has recently set up a National Corresponding Secretariat to establish communications with all high school anti-war groups in the U.S. Anyone who would like more information about SPV should write to: Students for Peace in Vietnam, c/o SDS, (Room 206), 49 West 27th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

SSOC

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argued with representatives of both positions. If this conference is a success, another, possibly in Louisiana, will likely be held to reach into the other part of the south. Also in North Carolina, Cecil Butler was hired to continue working with restaurant employees in unionizing attempts that have utilized students in the Durham-Greensboro-Chapel Hill area.

In Mississippi Sue Thrasher is organizing an integrated conference entitled "Mississippi 1966: The Student Perspective". This conference is one of the first bringing together black and white Mississippians who are not in the civil rights movement. The students will discuss five areas of Mississippi life: the church, civil rights, politics, economics, and university reform.

Ann Romaine is coordinating a southern folk music caravan. The principal purpose of the caravan is to "reintroduce the musical tradition of the black belt and the mountain regions of the south as well as show how old forms have been adapted to the new ideas by this generation's topical and folk singers." At each stop workshops will be held to let local folksingers and interested people discuss musical techniques and traditions involved in songs, and to discuss issues such as civil rights, war, and poverty that are raised in them. The tour will be southwide.

Office staff will work on the spring conference scheduled for the Easter weekend. The SSOC conference will concentrate on workshops rather than on name speakers and will include discussions of urban and rural organizing, South Africa, university reform, and southern politics. The prime purpose of the conference is to reflect on the methods of how the movement and students can bring about a good society in the south. The conference will also deal with problems of best organizing SSOC to be a part of the forces for change.

While in the past SSOC has been primarily a coordinating organization, in this meeting it moved toward greater involvement in community projects. Herman Carter ("Slick") was hired as a staff member and is establishing the Afro-American library and a community project in Scotlandville, a Negro slum outside New Orleans. Another urban project in vine city Atlanta is being organized. Close to the old SNCC headquarters on Raymond Street, this project headed by Ray Payne has established a community center and is reorganizing a community block organization for local improvements. Students from the University of Texas headed by SDS member Dick Reaves have been given some financial aid for their summer tutorial project in Demopolis, Alabama. Also, aid was voted for the Virginia project which is established in the rural Virginia black belt. Two projects in Mississippi have members of the SSOC staff.

Perspective on the south

It strikes me that the importance of this meeting is that SSOC people are engaging the immediate and most difficult problems in the southern movement for the first time.

The civil rights movement in the south has faced almost crushing pressures, not only from the racists, the sparse operating budgets, and the incredible concentrations of wealth, but also from liberal allies advising more moderate approaches (and sometimes withholding contributions when their counsel is not followed), and from the lack of support from the Federal government. The notable successes have been in rural areas; urban movements have often generated great publicity but have achieved little real change. For instance, in the smaller towns SNCC has best been able to organize, while in cities like Birmingham there have been organizing attempts and such publicity of incidents like the Birmingham church bombing (note: there have been over 80 bombings in Birmingham; the FBI has solved none), but the development of the big city organization has yet to take place.

An analysis of where the power lies in the south has arisen and prompted new questioning. Organizers not only talk about political power now, but increasingly about the structure of economic power, and the power gained from the knowledge of how the system works. Growing from this, the Black Panther Party has been begun in the Alabama black belt, and people debate if

this is the best direction for future organizing. Unionizing as a means of achieving economic power is posed. The speeding trend of people moving from rural areas to the cities is recognized so the necessity of mastering urban organizing is being faced. Farm cooperatives, Poor Peoples' corporations, cotton worker strikes, the organizing of poor whites, the use of poverty funds are all being tried as ways to meet the increasingly subtle and effective ways of debilitating movements concerned with basic change. The vision of the southern city advancing to the stage of the northern ghetto with its black sell-out politicians, the supposed equal opportunities, and the liberal phraseology which masks a more strongly entrenched system of segregation is advanced by many thoughtful activists.

Through organizing projects in Atlanta and Scotlandville, unionizing efforts in North Carolina, and the interconnection of students throughout the south, SSOC has reached the stage where it can contribute practical experience and hybrid dialogue to the search for new methods of stimulating positive improvements in southern society.

While SSOC is not a membership organization, it now appears broad enough to attract people at different levels of awareness into its community. This, plus its multi-issue orientation, solvent financial status, and experienced staff are likely to make it an influential movement voice in the near future.

Letters

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true that there is a hell of a lot more democracy in Communist countries now than there was before there was Communism, one can also make the same argument for the USA. More democracy now than before 1776. More now than before the Civil War. More now than before universal suffrage, more now than before the organization of mass production industries. More now than before the Supreme Court decision, etc. and what has it gotten us? That line of argument just won't do. The question is, is there any good reason for lack of democracy? (sometimes there is but rarely), and what is the direction of the drift. Lens is right that its more important to see where a country was and where it came from than simple to see where it is now. It is just as important to see where it is going and how fast. Is democracy being consciously expanded or is the regime becoming more subtle as it is here?

Steve Max

New SDS document

NEWTONVILLE, MASS.— SDS needs to produce a new major statement of its ideology as an organization. People both in and outside of the organization need to know more about its beliefs, its analysis and its goals as an organization. The Port Huron Statement and America and the New Era are both somewhat out of date; the world we live in and SDS have both changed significantly since they were written. SDS now does work in community organizing, activist protest, intellectual study, free university, etc. It has separated from the LID and now sees a need for an adult movement which fits in with what it has become. SDS is more than ten times as big and infinitely more noticed than it was in 1962. It has had to re-evaluate the meaning of participatory democracy when one is working in an organiza-

tion of 5000 rather than 400 members and spread through campuses and communities all over the country. Regions have developed, and SDS has been confronted with the question of decentralization and the question of whether to have national programs or only to have national communications about locally run and coordinated programs.

As well as the need SDS has to bring itself up to date there is also a need for the members to clarify as much as possible what it is we want as individuals and as members of an organization. At the December Conference a lot of people said that it was time to start thinking and developing an ideology. It is. People ought to start writing papers in which they explain their own ideas and send them to be published in the SDS Bulletin or in local and regional bulletins. And we should begin to consider mechanisms for producing a major paper as an organization.

Stephen Kaufman

Leaders in SDS

SCARSDALE, N.Y.

Although I was not part of either the Texas or Kansas delegations to the Urbana Conference, I was in favor of their attempts to decentralize the National Office. I have no specific objections to New Left Notes per se, except for the blatantly obvious fact that I—as a member—and other members did not know it was planned in the first place. A member from Watts in Los Angeles told me that the centralization of the Atlanta SNCC office (with a consequent de-militantizing of it—though unnoticed on the outside by more establishment-oriented people) was repeated at the SDS convention.

The motto of SDS, "Let the People Decide," is unfortunately compromised by the present character

of SDS; from reading C. Wright Mills, we know that the entrenchment of any "leaders" tends to make for apathy and discourage independent action among people. The "old guard" of Chicago (though in no sense is this meant to imply they are conservative politically; I think my meaning is clear) and the decadent attitude of maintaining a national office have merely combined to perpetuate in SDS what we're trying to get rid of in society — "establishmentarianism," with its exclusion of masses of people from making the decisions. It is most unfortunate.

Allan Greene

Communication received

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.

To Whom It May Concern: The following statement is intended to correct an erroneous impression given in a previous Y.C.S. (Young Christian Students—ed.) Fact Sheet sent to you concerning Kathy Sullivan. In the section discussing "the responses by students and other concerned individuals" the College of New Rochelle is referred to. The first sentence states, "Students, faculty and administration have sent a letter supporting Kathy in her fast and protesting with her — the silencing of priests."

No such letter was ever sent from the College of New Rochelle and we think it important that this be made clear. A verbal message from an individual student assuring her of prayers was communicated to her in such a way that she evidently received the impression that we were supporting her. On the contrary, it was intended only to assure her that some people on this campus were concerned about the same kind of thing that she was concerned about, but it was in no way intended to indicate approval of her avowed intention to fast "until death if necessary."

Mother Mary Alice Gallin, O.S.U. Director of Students

San Francisco

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able to pinpoint the source of the dissatisfaction. Perhaps it lost vitality and direction through oversized discussion groups. And then there was talk of alienation and elitism, of now knowing other people and being given no chance to meet them, of a lack of serious discussion.

When it became apparent that whatever went wrong at the December conference was going to remain a mystery, the topic was moved to the Grape strike. People expressed concern about the role of SDS.

There was immediate questioning of the strike's chances for success. What are the chances that the strike will be coopted? Doesn't it look as though the AFL-CIO might somehow obtain recognition for AWOC (Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, the AFL-CIO baby which has sold workers down the drain before) as the farm workers' union rather than the Farm Workers Association (with whom we identify, if, indeed, we identify with either group). Is Cesar Chavez really a radical? Or only a good liberal, with good liberal

demands for his oppressed people? Everyone conjectured; no one knew the answers. Those who have been to Delano or who have been working with the strike defended FWA and said that FWA will win. Others thought that, at least in our terms, it looks as if the strike may fail, which means it's being coopted by the AFL-CIO and AWOC. Many do not want SDS to work on support work, such as boycott activity or sending money and clothes, contending that the liberals are handling this very well themselves. Is there any way in which SDS might become involved in some major fashion that would have a radicalizing influence on FWA and the strike? We talked about the possibility of summer organizing projects in the Valley, an excellent opportunity to discover if it is possible to build a new kind of union and if students can do that type of organizing. No decision on this could be reached for lack of information or FWA's reaction to student projects and the degree of autonomy (which is an important consideration) the projects

VISTA march

which includes members of all social agencies whose work is related to the War on Poverty.

The demonstrators will meet at the Sylvan Theater at noon, hear speakers (to be announced later), then march to the White House. There they will picket the President, while a delegation presents President LBJ with petitions signed by persons working throughout the country. A petition from the Welfare Workers for Peace has been signed by over 1,000 people.

A general petition, now being circulated, states that "The War on Poverty is absurd when it is accompanied by a war on Vietnam. The War on Poverty, a program designed to help realize political rights and to create social and economic opportunities for all people of this country, is not consistent with the war on Vietnam, a war

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which prohibits the Vietnamese people from realizing their very same rights and opportunities. It is unjust to seek the enfranchisement of all the people of the United States and to deny the right to vote to the people of Vietnam."

The petition goes on to state, "The foundations of the Great Society crumble with the loss of every life in Vietnam."

(editor's note: This protest seems to be gaining strength as 1,000 to 3,000 poverty workers are expected to participate. It is also expected that 10 to 15 VISTA workers will be fired for making public statements as VISTAs against the war. They are actively seeking contact with poverty workers throughout the country. For information write to: Poverty Workers for Peace, 221 East 124th St., Apt. 2-C, New York, N.Y. 10035. Phone 312-831-3721.)

might have. We'll have more information on these questions after RO staff member Norm Potter's trip to Delano this week.

Vietnam was the next topic, the longest and only other discussion which took place with the full body present. Dialogue came primarily from Berkeley people, for whom the war is the major concern. The talk revolved around problems of program and the war. Some felt that the split in the liberal consensus, (Fulbright et al) should be supported, used as an effective means for ending the war. Activities along that line might include mass telegrams and support of peace candidates. Others felt strongly, however, that our goal is to develop an independent radical movement ("Our concern, of course, includes this war, but even more our concern must rest with not just this war, or the next, but with the seventh war from now."), and that though dissident liberals might be used in connection with this war, we should not concentrate on working with or for liberals. The major program connected to this idea was for a student strike with resumption of bombing in the North, an activity which was being resumed at almost that very moment. Also discussed was picketing on Charter Day at Berkeley, at which time Goldberg will be speaking and receiving an honorary degree from the university.

Publications

Dick Gilpin from Liberation magazine has offered a special deal to chapters who want to order copies. The price of the February issue is 75¢. A 50% discount will be given for 10-99 copies. The price for 100 or more copies is 30¢ each. Write to Dick Gilpin, Liberation, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y.

The San Francisco Regional Office is producing periodically a Grape Strike Report. #2 is now available from the office, 924 Howard, San Francisco, Calif.