

# NEW LEFT NOTES

Let the People Decide

Vol. 1, No. 8

sds

March 11, 1966

## Maine students support strikers

by Ken Kantro and Darrell Hubbs

For three weeks the SDS chapter at the University of Maine has been engaged in strike activities at the Ounegan Woolen Mill in Old Town, Maine. For 22 weeks, workers at the mill, members of the Textile Workers Union of America, were on strike for higher wages and fringe benefits. Their demands

### Days of Protest

MADISON, WISC. (From the National Coordinating Committee) With three weeks of planning and preparation time still remaining, the International Days of Protest scheduled for March 25-26 already looks as though it will surpass the last International Days held last Oct. 15-16.

Demonstrations of various kinds are in the final planning stages from England to New Zealand and from New York to California. So far, about 30 states will be scenes for protest action and we have commitments from around 15 countries. If confirmation concerning activity for the 25-26 Days continues to reach this office at the present rate, there will easily be activities in at least 46 states in this country and perhaps as many as 100 other countries.

The press will try to give us "the silent treatment" on these days at least as far as national coverage is concerned. Unless we can supply them with information about what is going on all over the country and give them an accurate picture of the tremendous magnitude of the protest, the whole idea of national demonstrations in many parts of the country on the same day loses its impact. We (the NCC and SDS) would like press releases with lists of cities and press contacts in these cities. This makes it easier to obtain coverage. Furthermore, we want to show that the days of protest are truly national and international in scope. The address of the NCC is 420 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wisc. 53703. Send a copy also to the N.O.

Start planning publicity now. The NCC staff suggests the following be done in regard to publicity so it, too, can be a kind of national action.

Start letting your campus and community know at least three weeks in advance just why you will be demonstrating on March 25-26.

Raise money for a 1/2 or full page ad in your local paper about a week before March 25-26, explaining why you are going to demonstrate and calling for participation from everyone (also try to cover communities near you who have no committee or chapters). This will coincide with a hoped for ad by the NCC in the N. Y. Times.

Get on radio stations, get speakers to church groups, women's clubs, men's clubs, service groups, etc., and mention the March 25-26 International Days of Protest.

Please consider carefully the suggestions for publicity. We will be competing for coverage with a national demonstration in support of the government policy to be held on March 26th. The papers have been silent about us. We must make them hear us this time and through them, reach all America.

Be sure to notify the National Office and the NCC of your plans. A phone call on the day of your protest concerning your activities would also be very helpful.

included a 25c/ raise from the 1.49 an hour average wage, medical insurance (which had been promised in 1963), and 2 weeks paid vacation after 5 years. These demands were deemed extravagant by management. As a result, a strike was called in October, 1965. Due to extremely poor coverage by local news media students at the University knew little of the worker's plight. Many of those who did took advantage of the situation by scabbing at the mill. News of this situation was finally made available to the student body through an article in the campus newspaper. This article, outlining the entire situation, failed to move the majority of students. The only item which aroused some told of an incident in which a student scab threw pennies to the strikers from inside the mill.

Members of SDS, enraged at the injustice imposed upon the strikers, decided that action had to be taken. Due to the fact that SDS was unpopular on the reactionary campus of the University, a "new" organization was formed to aid the union: The Committee to Support the Ounegan Woolen Mill Strikers. The committee, comprised of two members of the chapter, Ken Kantro and Darrell Hubbs, began its work by taking jobs at the mill. While working at Ounegan, the "committee" crossed a hostile picket line daily (since only the president of the local knew they were union plants.)

Armed with a camera and clumsy workmanship, the two obtained many pictures of the criminal conditions within the mill. With the pictures and an intimate knowledge of the situation, a new article appeared in the campus newspaper. By this time, the "committee" had been fired by management and was on the picket line.

The article, which drew a surprisingly favorable response, helped the committee grow to over 100 members and also drew many members of the faculty into active support. As this new turn of events, namely outside support, began to disturb the tranquility of Old Town, local and statewide news media began to publicize the strike more thoroughly. publicity, highly disturbing to those in power, was a factor in forcing the governor, John Reed, to act. His mediation, however, was futile and unproductive. A union meeting 3 days later registered the disappointment and pessimism of the strikers who were now in the 21st week of the dispute. It was at this time that the committee called for mass picketing of the mill in support of the strikers. Though students had been picketing in small numbers for two weeks, it was realized that a mass demonstration was necessary to boost the morale of the union and force management to act. With news of this, local officials feverishly tried to bring about some sort of quick settlement. When these attempts proved themselves futile, a show of support, in

# DuBois Club Persecution Repulses SDS

call for other youth groups to join in rebuilding office

by Ken McEldowney

Last week's demand by the Justice Department that the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs register as a communist front organization has sparked physical attacks on the organization across the country. Within hours of Attorney General Katzenbach's statement a mob of 150 attacked DuBois Club members in Brooklyn as they left a press conference. In San Francisco, an early morning explosion (estimated 30-40 sticks of dynamite) completely destroyed the groups national headquarters.

Statements issued by the DuBois Club charged that the petition filed by Katzenbach with the Subversive Activities Control Board was a clear attempt to "isolate the DuBois Clubs, intimidate the youth movement and turn the anti-war movement into the purging of itself."

As with the attacks on SDS last fall, the efforts of the administration to isolate and stifle protest have now backfired. Throughout the country peace and civil rights groups have issued statements of solidarity with the DuBois Clubs (among the first: SDS, SCLC, SNCC, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam). SDS National Interim Committee: "As a concrete gesture that we will not tolerate the silencing of dissent . . . SDS is making a contribution of \$100 toward the rebuilding of the DuBois Club's office. We call on every other youth organization . . . to demonstrate a real commitment to free expression by joining us in this act." (complete text of the statement below)

Richard M. Nixon decried yesterday the similarity in the pronouncement of the DuBois Club and the Boys Club of America saying it misled people into confusing one organization with the other.

The former Vice President, who is national board chairman of the Boys Club of America, said in a statement that the confusion was "an almost classic example of Communist deception and duplicity."

New York Times  
March 9, 1966

It is imperative that chapters and members counter the effort of the Administration to squash protest; telegrams to Katzenbach demanding that he call off the attempt to force registration of the DuBois Club as a communist front; rallies should be held on local campuses opposing the government's action, expressing solidarity with DuBois Clubs and stressing opposition to the war in Vietnam; financial support should be given to help rebuild the DuBois Club office and resume operations. Contributions should be sent to 954 McAllister, San Francisco, Calif.

(Continued on page 3)

## Texts of press releases

March 7, 1966

Released by the National Office

The recent announcement by the Attorney General invoking the unconstitutional McCarran Act against the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs has moved us to do more than simply reiterate a stand of principle. Katzenbach has issued a license to every so-called patriot to take out his frustration against the DuBois Clubs, as has happened in the bombing of their office yesterday morning, and the vigilante attack in New York.

Every war this century has brought with it persecution of its opponents, and we see in the government's action the reenactment of an old story. The continuation of the war in Vietnam makes the need for free discussion more necessary than

ever -- lives are being lost in an unconstitutional and anti-democratic embroilment and will continue to be lost unless the American people are allowed to express politically their well-founded misgivings about the Administration's foreign policy.

As a concrete gesture that we will not tolerate the silencing of dissent, and in spite of what differences we may have, Students for a Democratic Society is making a contribution of one hundred dollars toward the rebuilding of the DuBois Clubs office. We call on every other youth organization -- the National Student Assn., the U. S. Youth Council, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War, the National Student Christian Federation, the Young

(Continued on page 2)



W.E.B. DuBois Club National Headquarters March 6, 1966

which over 200 students and 6 or 7 professors took part, was staged outside of the mill on Friday, March 4th. This demonstration, which was backed up with threats of bigger and better in the future had, in the eyes of the union, an overpowering effect. At a meeting of union and management, on Sunday, March 6, the union won all of its demands for human dignity. The committee has now been dissolved and SDS is waiting for its next teach-in.

Orange County, Calif.: They provide this week's most interesting statistic: there are now more SDS members in the county than Young Democrat members. Considered by many of its residents to be the most reactionary county in the country, Orange County now has chapters at four of its colleges: Chapman College, Fullerton State, University of California at Irvine, and Santa Ana. Several of those chapters were formed almost directly out of Young Democrat organizations that consequently folded. The Chapman College chapter is entering its own slate of candidates in the next student government election.

San Diego, Calif.: The chapter at San Diego State College is now working on a summer project to do organizing among welfare mothers in San Diego. They have also gotten independent action groups going at four high schools.

Los Angeles, Calif.: The regional office has called for a meeting to discuss the possibility for a summer project to be organized around opposition to the napalm plant at Torrance, Calif. They are asking for correspondence from people who have worked on defense plant projects and have information that could be useful.

San Francisco, Calif.: A demonstration to protest the activities of the Crown Zellerbach Corp. has been called for March 21. Roy Dalburg has the specifics on the demonstration at the regional office.

San Francisco, Calif.: The SDS New School will be opening this Saturday at its new store front location. The "grand opening" will feature an art show, tables of info on the grape strike, local issues, Vietnam, music and a dinner. There will also be an agenda meeting for students to plan the New School seminars.

Los Angeles, Calif.: At Pacific Palisades, a high school in a wealthy section of town, 200 male students were expelled last week for wearing long hair. The following Monday they re-

# National Secretary's Report

by Paul Booth

## NAC minutes

**Staff.** We hired a part-time pro. typist. She is Ellie Calkins, who has been in movement stuff for a healthy number of years, and did clerical and other office work in the early days of the Student Peace Union. She is out of town for a few days and we hope she will accept the offer of \$25/wk.; all we could afford.

Jim Russell announced his interest in leaving the office when a new editor could be found. We have some leads already, but this is notification and advertisement for a replacement. Candidates should send in a description to their journalistic and SDS experience; we are also interested in whether a candidate is interested in staying for a definite length of time.

**New Left Notes.** A number of meetings of the NAC and the staff have observed that despite the explicit reiteration of the highest priority of mailing New Left Notes, people just put other things before it. Poignant example; right now an issue we got 4 days ago is only 4/7ths processed and in the next room while I type this memorandum. Putting that thing out each week is a Big Job. And we are doing something resembling our best, and it isn't half good enough. The best solution would be for some U-C student to do a regular job or recruiting volunteers, although the expectation is that Greg will be meeting some success in bringing people in. We also need a place for a Friday night party that might serve as a lure for the labor. We'll let you know whether the situation is improving.

The last two issues were composed and pasted up in the office due to the collapse of our arrangement with Roosevelt University. Today we succeeded in arranging with The Woodlawn Organization that they would compose for \$75 an issue, and we will have to do paste-up here. This is a break.

**Fundraising.** We are doing an awful job of passing up our possibilities. Money-raising is pretty much the key stumbling-block--the money is there if we could only move ourselves to get it. And the achievements of the movement could be geometrically magnified. For the time being, we divided up immediate jobs as follows: Clark Kissinger will write some letters and take care of the forthcoming ad in the New York Review of Books; Booth will fundraise on the West Coast, arrange Chicago Phil Ochs concerts, and work on the New Republic ad (a proposed joint ad with SNCC). Carl Oglesby will be doing more fund-raising in the coming months.

## Press Conference

After the bombing of the DuBois office, a number of SDS people started calling in (Carl Oglesby most heatedly) urging a more substantial response than a statement. We formulated by NIC phone consensus the idea of initiating a drive to rebuild the DuBois office; a very successful press conference was held by Clark Kissinger and Hugh Fowler of the DBC. They are putting a milquetoast civil liberties ad in the Times that I agreed to sign. I expressed a caution about the likelihood that the C.P. will want to start a big defense HooHa and got the feeling from Joe Popper the DBC NYC coordinator that they wouldn't let that eventuate. The SF office opened

its doors to them. Lee Webb advanced the thesis last night that a crisis response was not called for. Since it is ultimately my job to decide whether to call up the NIC or not, I cogitated and decided in favor of doing it. For one thing, it seemed possible to capitalize on the newsworthiness of the moment. This we did (30 working press came, including 4 TV cameras). And I felt the need to do something significant to satisfy the real needs felt by SDS people to show "where they stand". One alternative presented and unanimously rejected by the NIC was a symbolic "everybody join". It was felt that this would obscure the point about dissent by introducing the wrong impression that there isn't any reason why we are in SDS instead of the DBC.

## SANE voters Pledge

John Maher went to a meeting in N. Y. today as the SDS representative -- it was a conclave of peace leaders called by SANE. He went primarily to argue against committing the movement to the voters pledge and the April March on DC. No report yet on the meeting.

## Letter from Jeff Shero

"The New Left Notes has been good. If we aren't having a bulletin I think you should try to find more articles of debate. People that aren't in the core of the organization like to feel that they are current and a little bit on the inside on the debates going on within SDS. Anyway that's what they tell me. Everywhere I've been traveling members ask who holds what position on differing issues like Coalition politics, Vietnam tactics, and the amount of ideology the movement should have."

Next Sunday the NAC will discuss Jeff's proposal on NLN content.

## Summer projects proposal

**Goals:** 1. To provide political experience for large numbers of members of SDS. The emphasis here is on political experience rather than movement experience; the problem today is not principally that people need to strengthen their identification with the movement. They need learning experiences in a wide range of political contexts so they can be more effective radicals. Thus, summer is not to be seen so much as an occasion for radicalizing people as an occasion for giving them the opportunity to learn a great deal. In that context, of course, "movement" activity can be deemed the most valuable as we must believe that the activities we engage in as full-time organizers teach us more about the society and change than we would learn if we were constricted by, say, a job in the poverty war.

2. To contribute to the broadening and deepening of radicalism in a wide range of localities throughout the country. It is critically important that the political activity which has begun in the past months by chapters be sustained, nurtured, and expanded by the presence of full-time organizers this summer. A chapter project in conjunction with local unions on the grape strike should be continued this summer with one or two people going full-time. A chapter project researching into the university power structure should be continued and one of the group should be sustained through the summer. A Vietnam speakers program that has been limited by people's commitments to exams can proceed on a much more adequate basis. And, where SDS people are working full time politically in one arena or another, they can (if full-

time) pay more attention than ever before to weaving together the strands of activism that continue to emerge in the community, on new campuses, as never before.

## Proposed standard operating procedure

I envisage summer work being made possible in two ways. First, where there is an ongoing program, the problem is a recruiting one. If some ministers and unionists have been working on the grape strike boycott, they should be persuaded to provide for a full-time person or two during the summer. Community organizing projects, whether started by SDS-ERAP or by some similar group, should be asked whether they can be responsible for a summer project or for a few summer people. New community movements that have sprung up to contest City Hall for control of the war on poverty might be approached with the offer of an enthusiastic person. Left-wing electoral ventures can be approached in a similar basis, although some of these campaigns will be very large scale ventures, and the question will not so much be "can you use a couple of people?" as "if we provide a few dozen organizers, how will we make sure that their work is fruitful?" Generally we are asking another organization to be host, and to provide either subsistence or a contact for a part-time job in the community or some other firm basis for work.

The second model is that units of SDS, on the basis of priorities determined by them, specifically move to launch summer projects. I want to make this division very clear; for two reasons. In the first place, it doesn't seem to me that regional and national offices should have to have anything more than a blanket mandate to arrange summer opportunities for SDS members in political activity of one kind or another. If we aren't paying the bill, we shouldn't have any reluctance about SDS recruiting and channeling people to activities like political campaigns, staff work for civil rights groups, etc. etc. Especially because we can't create out of our own resources a whole summer program with decent and useful work for everybody in SDS who wants to give his summer. In fact, past summer projects have had more people in them than they ought to have. The second reason for maintaining this distinction is that chapters, regions, and the N.C. can then focus their attention on which areas of action are sufficiently important to warrant us going out, fund-raising, and otherwise doing what it takes to launch summer projects. The criterion here is organizational priority (as distinct from the related criterion of the priorities of learning experience of individual members). Here I will be content to propose some instances and arguments.

I do not mean to imply that the N.C. has to resolve all these deep political questions before allocating its precious resources. Many of these ideas can be done locally or regionally -- but I think that the discussion must go on at any level. For the National Council, it seems to me that people must have a political view to place relative emphasis among new ERAP style community projects, a Vietnam splurge, a national campaign in behalf of the Schenley boycott, SDS organizing -- sending staff around to bring out summer projects, and carrying on special kinds of publishing, etc., from the various SDS offices for parochial SDS purposes.

After the N. C., chapters, and national and regional staff, can be more or less single-minded about summer projects. The only competing priority

on the horizon would be a national educational effort (one-shot) in conjunction with the draft exam (I discuss that in NLN 6).

## Some thoughts on the N.C.

I propose a business meeting, and an agenda streamlined for business. Several key decisions have to be made. One is on the Convention; if we are to have a convention do we want to produce a statement or statements of organizational perspective? This will involve the debate about specificity that has been going on some months now. Also, when? and where?

If we decide in favor of aiming for a better definition of SDS coming out of the Convention, then we have to pay attention to how to prepare for that. In this we need to be realistic, so we have to structure the discussion to find out what the level of political discussion is currently being attained in the organization -- and therefore what point should new work commence at? I think this means a subcommittee meeting during the N.C. to draw up a plan for convention preparations.

Third, we should determine national summer projects on the basis of political priorities. In order to accomplish this (and for other reasons as well that should be easily deduced) I propose that we handle the ideological end by reports as opposed to workshops, soul sessions, or debates. I would propose that the whole N.C. hear a report on current critiques on the New Left; very specifically what are the key points being made. Another report I would call for is an overview on political trends in the left -- this should clarify in a factual style what is going on in SNCC, in the peace movement, among reform democrats, in community unions, in the labor movement; obviously this will be colored by the perspective of the presenter, but I think, for example, that I could give an extremely informative and valuable overview, and contribute much more to the N.C. than would be contributed if we had a panel of people from those elements of the left; our experience with such panels is that the speakers take that opportunity to tell us what they most want to tell us.

Fourth, we should handle internal organizational crises in a systematic way. For instance, there should be a report clarifying the fund-raising and money crises, and an intense discussion (as opposed to debate) of how to deal with this should take place. I'm hoping that N. C. people will go away with a deeper understanding of the crisis nature of the situation. Similarly there should be a report on literature production, and some proposals and decisions (if necessary). And a Bulletin debate at which the N. C. hears any proposals for making it happen that come into being.

The existence of regions makes one thing possible: we can easily obtain three state-of-the-organization reports from different regions that can inform the N.C. of the level and quality of activity. I'm thinking of asking Sarah Murphy, Quentin Bassett, and Ken McEldowney to present reports at the beginning of the N.C.

I'm sorry this isn't more systematic, it isn't even coherent or argued. I am very tired and unable to do more than sketch out a vision of some things that I know must go on. I am so fully immersed in the business of the organization that I "know" the need for business meetings to handle things. I might be able to make that argument more rational and less intuitive if I had a sense of other ways people conceive the coming N.C. That is a thinly veiled plea for immediate responses to this train-of-thought that I have unloaded.

been created, with the text: "I want to work for democracy. I do not want to fight in Vietnam,

because the war is destroying our hopes for democracy both there and at home. I want to build, not burn. The efforts of many young Americans in civil rights and community organizing are prime examples of what I want to do."

The campaign is intended to expose a critical dilemma in the headlong war policy of the Johnson Administration -- by forcing young people into the military to burn villages with napalm in Vietnam, it is at the same time saying to the very young people who have taken a leading role in the fight for civil rights and an end to poverty at home: No, America wants you carrying a gun more than it wants you to fight for democracy at home. SDS believes that this dilemma is poignantly felt

by young people in and out of school.

The Freedom Draft affords a positive alternative, by allowing young people to state their positive commitment to constructing a decent and democratic society in America and their conviction that the war in Vietnam is forestalling that hope.

March 7, 1966

Released by the National Office

The following message in accordance with instructions from the National Interim Committee of Students for a Democratic Society has been sent to Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States:

"As young Americans working

for democracy and freedom in our land and in the world, we are outraged by the action of the Soviet government in jailing the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel. The punishment of belief and free expression is contrary to the principles of justice and democracy, but as radicals we are familiar with repression. We oppose it wherever it occurs, and express our sympathy with the Russian students who demonstrated against the actions of your government. We are appalled that any nation could hold its creative artists so cheaply, and fear that the world has not yet learned the awful lessons of Stalinism and McCarthyism."

Americans for Freedom, Young Democrats, Young Republicans, and Campus Americans for Democratic Action to demonstrate a real commitment to free expression by joining us in this act. An injury to one is an injury to all.

March 7, 1966

Released by the National Office

Students for a Democratic Society has launched a new program to demonstrate the opposition of young people to the war in Vietnam. Called the Freedom Draft, the program consists of a sign-up campaign aimed at enlisting tens of thousands of draft-age men.

A Freedom Draft Card has



Hugh Fowler (left) of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, and C. Clark Kissinger, Students for a Democratic Society, at press conference

## Prospectus for NCUP poor people's radio station

The Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), an independent neighborhood group started 20 months ago by Students for a Democratic Society, will launch a non-commercial radio station 500 N. The station will be heard in a lower-class, predominantly Negro section which has been the focus of NCUP's organizing efforts. The station is viewed by NCUP as an innovation in the strategy of community organization as well as a model for low-cost, decentralized radio communication.

### Statement of Purpose

The student organizers who came to Newark in the summer of '64 went house-to-house talking with people about problems the community shared. From this organizing sprang block groups which successfully resisted an "urban renewal" scheme, withheld rent from a slumlord, insisted on a community center and demanded -- in the Mayor's own office -- that city hall provide a traffic light for a dangerous corner. This experience has refuted the common assumption that "lower-class apathy" will defeat community organization in the ghetto.

Now, many people in the NCUP neighborhood are working to create a permanent medium through which to express the insights and grievances which usually get no further than the street corner, the kitchen and the front stoop.

The community radio station will fill a void created by the indifference of the large newspapers and radio stations to the problems and interest of poor Negroes. While the national press has encouraged the peace movement and the civil rights movement in the South simply by acknowledging that they are being heard, local newspapers and radio stations tend to ignore or distort demands from below which disturb local political and economic power holders.

Rather than simply substitute "spokesmen for the poor" for "spokes-

men for the rich and powerful," the station will invite people to speak for themselves, to draw their own conclusions. In this way, it is felt, the kind of social change NCUP is trying to promote can best be achieved. If poor people can operate their own radio stations, they will be less tolerant of others controlling their schools, their housing authority and their city hall.

### Community Participation

Neighborhood people will participate in every phase of the operation from broadcasting and technical supervision to sewing curtains for the studio and holding cake sales. Women have volunteered to go from store to store armed with notebook and pencil to gather information for subsequent broadcast. High school boys and girls are planning programs about school and extra-curricular activities. People throughout the neighborhood will serve as block representatives encouraging their friends to talk on the air and to become part of the radio station organization. These neighborhood representatives will meet together regularly along with anyone else who is interested to review station practices and to make policy decisions as they become necessary. There are, then, numerous and varied roles essential to the operation which can be filled by people with little or no professional experience.

About three individuals with radio or newspaper experience will work on programming and will familiarize the rest of the staff with the skills of radio journalism. NCUP wants to pay apprentice salaries to the men and women who find radio work more satisfying than the jobs and schooling normally available to lower-class Negroes in Newark.

### Programming

Programming falls into four broad areas, the last three of which overlap: entertainment, community service, news and feature and agitation.

**Entertainment:** The programming will reflect the interest of the listening audience. One preference is for rhythm and blues, jazz and gospel music. NCUP believes, however, that the station would not survive nor be meaningful if it restricted itself to top-40 programs. There are so many polished top-40 stations in the area that another is hardly needed. Thus, talk programs are considered preferable to recorded music shows. Present staff limitations will necessitate a substantial amount of music programming. The long-range expectation is that listeners will tune in a top-40 station when they want music and NCUP Radio when they want to hear their neighbors.

**Community Service:** Some programs will be devoted to ways by which poor people can better cope with their immediate situation. Consumer advice (including exposés of unfair business practices) and suggestions leading to more efficient utilization of public services will be scheduled. Community service programming (listing neighborhood events, announcements about missing dogs, etc.) greatly expands the number of participants in the station's programming. In addition, it substantiates the independent, non-exploitative character of the station.

**News and Feature:** The news and feature department will depart from the conventional practice of focusing on news manufactured by the established political and economic groups in the community. Instead of minute expositions of what happened last night at the city council meeting or PTA, priority will be given to coverage of news which most concerns the listening audience.

It is the case that public agencies are indifferent to the sentiments of the poor. Poor people rarely consulted or considered when municipal government makes decisions which alter the face of the city. Accordingly, the station will concentrate on the city agencies which impinge on the poor. Two examples which would have received

prime coverage: the recent and unreported failure of Newark police to search for a missing eight-year-old Negro, later found dead; the decision to lacerate Newark with still another highway, thereby exacerbating the intolerable housing density problem.

News from other cities and countries will be reported through tape exchanges with other stations and by monitoring short-wave broadcasts. Covering non-Newark news should help local people understand how their problems contrast with difficulties poor people face elsewhere. Whenever the station interprets news, it will welcome rebuttals.

In accordance with the community character of the station, at least one hour a day of social notes and obituaries is planned.

**Agitation:** The station will seek out individuals and groups who wish to express an opinion or grievance and propose a strategy for action. For example, the mother of the lost boy might have asked people to go to the local police precinct and sit there until the cops searched for her child.

One woman who is involved in planning the station observed, "Some people think their house is so bad, they're ashamed to let anybody see it. Why if we had a radio station, maybe those people would find out there are lots of others like themselves," and perhaps they will find out that there are others who, like themselves, would like to do something about it.

### Technical Aspects

NCUP Radio will broadcast on the AM band and will be heard by approximately 40,000 people on any conventional radio receiver. The station, known as a "carrier current" station, will use the public utility power lines to radiate within the delimited area. No FCC license is needed. The station, of course, must not interfere with other stations and must observe standards of propriety in broadcasting. The quality of sound produced is as high as any licensed station.

## NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Phone (312) 667-6050. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for nonmembers. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor, James Russell.

Students for a Democratic Society

Carl Oglesby, president; Jeffrey Shero, vice-president; and Paul Booth, national secretary.

National Office: 1103 E. 63rd., Chicago, Ill. 60637  
New York: 49 W. 27th St., New York, N. Y. 10001  
New Eng.: 1785 Cambridge St. (Rm. 199) Cambridge, Mass.  
Chicago: 1103 E. 63rd., Chicago, Ill. 60637  
N. Calif.: 924 Howard St., San Francisco 3, Calif.  
S. Calif.: 702 W. 27th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Vol. 1, No. 8

March 11, 1966

Continued from page 1

**Flushing, N. Y.:** A recent rally at John Browne High School drew 200 anti-war demonstrators. The demonstration started at the Flushing draft board to protest the Michigan reclassifications and ended with a rally at the high school.

A petition campaign has started for Queens College students and faculty to sign the following: "We, the undersigned, faculty and student members of Queens College, hereby express our indignation at the disclosure by Registrar Oettinger that student grades will be released to Selective Service Boards. Such action would violate the confidential relationship existing between student and faculty, and would provide a means through which the military could enter into and disrupt the educational process. We hope that you will decide to follow the precedents of Dean Hamalian of CCNY, and Dean Munro of Harvard in honoring that relationship, and thus recind the Registrar's plans." The petition, which has already 400 signatures, is to be presented to the president of Queens College.

**Yellow Springs, Ohio:** A petition, signed by 186 people, was presented to the Antioch College administration asking that the college issue a statement in opposition to the war and refuse to cooperate in the ranking of male students.

**Ottawa, Ontario:** New Democratic Youth (youth group of the social democratic New Democratic Party which has an impressive base in the Canadian labor movement) has called for a march on Ottawa for peace and stability in Vietnam through negotiations and free elections; and to demand that Canada act as a responsible member of the International Control Commission.

**Columbia, Missouri:** In conjunction with the Columbia Citizens Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a week-long vigil was staged in front of one of the local post offices. In addition to the picketers who marched every day, open seminars were held in various homes of university professors.

**Missouri University employees** are now organizing a union in accordance with a new Senate Bill allowing such action. There are about 1,000 university employees who are members of the new union. Some SDS people are officers.

**Lexington, Kentucky:** In addition to publishing a new newsletter, the Bourbon & Tobacco Gazette, the University of Kentucky chapter has sponsored a demonstration prior to a recent speech by Ambassador Arthur Goldberg. Twenty-five persons picketed and at one point were pelted by eggs emanating from a group of 200 on-lookers.

## Comments

### Replies to Haber

PORTLAND, OREGON

Re. Al Haber's letter in NLN on the N. C. The cry arises once more "that we have not developed an organizational 'ideology' appropriate for our political program and strategy"; that our 'organization' should be rationally determined; that we need to define ourselves on the issues of leadership, elitism, bureaucracy, internal democracy, etc.; that democratic centralism, pragmatism, and anarchism are 'alternative' organizational forms; that we must be explicit about which form we are.

**Norman, Oklahoma:** Plans are underway to develop an ERAP project that will work with the state's impoverished Indians. The specifics as to location, staffing, etc. have not been worked out yet, however they have recruited the help of an anthropologist who is well acquainted with problems of Oklahoma Indians to work out the details with them.

**Normal, Illinois:** The Illinois State chapter held a silent vigil to protest the war. Twenty persons participated and at one point were attacked by pro-war people who broke four of their signs.

**Boston, Mass.:** SDS students who leafleted Packinghouse Workers as they picked up the checks were met with mixed reactions. The leafleting was about the war. Some of the reaction was quite ugly as some of the Packinghouse Workers raised meat hooks to show their anger. However sympathy was shown by about 1/3 of the workers, especially those who were Negroes. Those who were willing to listen were engaged in discussion. There are now plans to continue the leafleting at this opportune time and place when all of the Packinghouse Workers are gathered at one place to pick up their checks. It will culminate in a rally on March 25 that has been endorsed by individual union members.

The question that must be asked is what is the value of raising these questions? What purpose should the asking serve? For instance, suppose SDS decided it was anarchistic -- my bias -- passed a structural resolution to the effect that everybody who came into the organization could do what he wanted to do, would be considered equally qualified and responsible to himself, and thus to the group, and that there would be no organizational directives or representatives, that e.g., a newsletter would be published not because people thought there should be one but because people wanted to put one out -- a distinction that is clear every day in everything we do.

If we voted on what the organizational form of SDS should be, even after full and rational discussion, I envision one of two results; either people would not let that vote alter the way they had been carrying on -- they would be just as tolerant or intolerant of differences within the movement -- or it really would open the Pandora's box basic differences of opinion within SDS.

The form of SDS should reflect, not determine, its content. And its content includes anarchy, pragmatism and democratic centralism. If we adopt one of these, after thorough debate, and reorganize ourselves according to the logical conclusions that follow from it, it will be the same mistake SNCC made, as near as I can tell, when it established the "committee", and centralized its operations; many SNCC people who had been doing valuable work felt forced out of SNCC.

We don't need 'clear statement with which people can agree or disagree.' If you disagree, then what? I hardly need remind you that this is our problem with the establishment -- cracy, internal democracy, defile if you disagree there is no room for you; you are excluded. The establishment can't allow us articulated. I want to talk about how decisions are made and why things happen a little. Decisions don't occur because people vote. And that either pragmatism, anar-

chism, or democratic centralism is the 'correct' form for SDS. Which is why there are strains of each of these within SDS. Which is why debate should occur, it seems to me, in order that we understand that these different forms contribute to SDS, what they mean in terms of how we operate and relate to each other, what values and what decisions adopting one or the other would entail. But this debate, essentially one of internal education, should not occur in the context of the different positions vying for power. Don't forget Dick Flack's analysis of ERAP-COALITION debates, how positions got characterized, and how people just like us were alienated from SDS. If I may reminisce further, consider the tolerance of different groups in the augmented ERAP meeting in December of '64, and in the JOIN-GROIN dispute. If we want to grow we must profit from past experiences.

Since it is so obvious to me that the demand for 'ideology' is destructive and may lead to an internal battle between different existant ideologies, I get the feeling that the caller for SDS as an ideological entity not only has chosen one, but also feels that his ideology will win. Maybe this is unfair, and what Haber is really concerned about is the defining of ideology (as opposed to the choosing of an ideology). If so, I agree wholeheartedly, and hope we can create something new. Defining what we mean by the different terms we use might help to eliminate the endless jargon, might help people to see 'false' ideology (or non-ideology) clearly, might destroy rationalizations for doing things and demand real reasoning behind program. In other words, the underlying problem is not that we have not resolved the issues of leadership, elitism, bureaucracy, internal democracy, defile if you disagree there is no room for you; you are excluded. The establishment can't allow us articulated.

I want to talk about how decisions are made and why things happen a little. Decisions don't occur because people vote. And that either pragmatism, anar-

action doesn't follow logically from mandates. People do things because they want to. And it is best for people to do things when they have thought about a problem and decide freely what to do about it. In fact, if people don't decide freely - in radical circles - they probably won't act. Why do so many people leave community action projects, and does that have to happen? People talk about freedom to a large degree because that is what they want for themselves, and they join the movement because maybe it exists there. It is not workshops that don't make decisions, it's people that don't.

**Movement**

SDS is and should be a movement. Movement is an anthropomorphic concept. Movements have spirit, life, energy, motion. They have no defined form. They grow spontaneously and creatively. They die when people in them try to channel them instead of participate in them, try to get others to express personalities alien to them, instead of their own. Movements are uncontrolled, by things, by people, the present, or the past. Movements are subjective realities, and derive their substance from how they are seen by people and how people feel about them. Movements are free-floating ideas being expressed but not competing with each other, ideas that enter into symbiotic relationship with people.

Peter and Stevie Freedman

**CHICAGO, ILL.**

Re Al Haber's letter in NLN 5, I agree with most of what he says; in particular, with the proposal for a September Convention. But I want to comment on several other things:

(1) I didn't at all mean that decentralization, democracy, regionalization, leadership, political control, etc., were phony issues. I only wanted to say that they arise at NCS in a debased form, sometimes inappropriately, and almost always without the rich content that should adhere to them. My implication was and is that they are very real issues - all the more reason for treating them seriously, not as sloganistic appendages to the trivial.

(2) On explicit policy resolutions on these matters: I'm skeptical, still. But do you mean sweeping agreed-upon attitudes toward these issues as social concepts, or only insofar as they apply to the functioning of the organization? Or both? It seems to me that an attempt to settle these matters at this time might be premature - unless kept within manageable boundaries, viz., as they relate to the organizational. For the rest, I think we are and should be in the debating, clarifying stage, to which a statement-oriented ap-

proach would signal only a forced conclusion without benefit of a democratic (widespread, considered) multilogue. That's why I'm for workshops. Precisely what made the workshops on women fruitful was their urgency. If decisions are needed, let participants be the judges.

(3) I agree that challenging (salient) material and urgency are decisive in determining the value of a workshop. I wanted only to suggest that the issues of elitism as well as of ideology were of that nature to a large hunk of the organization. I don't feel strongly about structure one way or the other.

Todd Gitlin

**Soviet writers**

**San Diego, Calif.**

Andrei Sinyavski and Yuli Daniel are in jail in the Soviet Union. They were sentenced under a section of the Soviet Law forbidding the publishing of literature "slandering to the Communist Party, to the Soviet Union, or to the Soviet People." Sinyavski is supposed to be the cat who published, under the pseudonym of Abram Tertz, three fine novels, one collection of stories, and a critical essay both in the U.S. and in England. Daniel is a well-known poet in the USSR, but to my knowledge the only thing he has published abroad is a piece of criticism which was published in Paris under the name of Nikolai Arzhak. Both must be considered members of the "new wave" of Soviet writers, and this "new wave" is virtually the only force for meaningful, direct social change in Russia today.

It is manifestly in the interest of SDS to act whenever it can against the repression of freedom, and perhaps especially in cases such as this, where the freedoms involved are minimal, first amendment rights. Certainly it is in the interest of SDS to support freedom in the USSR, since closed societies are causes, as well as products, of the Cold War. But most important is the Stalinist demonstration that it is futile to work for the revolution in one country alone.

We propose action. First, it would be an excellent idea to collect signatures on petitions from students throughout the country, the petitions to be sent to Moscow. Second, we propose large-scale demonstrations at the Russian Embassy, at the U. N., and at the various Russian Consulates. Third, we propose that this project be coordinated with radical foreign student groups, such as the Waseda University fraction of the Zengakuren in Tokyo. We in San Diego will support a demonstration at the USSR consulate in L. A.

We could be effective in this in a big way, and this would

be tremendously important to the world revolution. But we must not try to make this project into a PR stunt to promote an anti-communist "image" for SDS. We must at all times make it clear to the news media that this is just another action project initiated by a radical organization. This project might put over one of the major points of the new left: that our main objection to the USSR, and to the C.P., is that they seem to be hyper-conservative. In Chicago, comparisons could be made between the Russian repression and that of the Chicago police. But the main object of the action should be a sincere effort to get Sinyavski and Daniel out of jail, or at least to raise enough of a stink that the Russians wouldn't let this sort of shit happen again.

ratified by the SDS San Diego steering committee

**"VIETNAM: A READ-IN"** Published in England by Eyre and Spottiswoode and distributed in North America by Ed Matheson, Methuen Publications, 45 Adelaide St., Toronto 1, Canada. 70 cents each. 224 pages illustrated with maps and photographs.

The editors write that the aim of the book is to present a "written teach-in". It presents the issues of the war through the words of people on both sides and is produced in the format of a large magazine.

**CALLS AND BUTTONS FOR MARCH 25th AND 26th.** Available from the National Coordinating Committee, 420 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wisc. Calls free for the postage and a self-addressed manilla envelope. Buttons are 15 cents each; 25 for \$3.25; 100 for \$12.

**CONTEST.** Focus/Midwest magazine and Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis have invited university personnel and other interested persons to participate in a national study to evaluate premises and conclusions of the controversial "Report on the Triple Revolution". Articles and essays are invited and there will be awards of \$1,000; \$500; and \$100 for the most significant contributions. For information write to Jake McCarthy or Joann Herbst, Teamsters Union, Public Relations, 1641 South Kingshighway, St. Louis, Mo. 63110.

**IRAN REPORT,** a new monthly magazine published by the Confederation of Iranian Students, P. O. Box 252, Cambridge, Mass. 02138. \$3 yr.

The purpose of the publication is to give readers information about the activities of the Confederation as well as the current conditions in Iran. The Confederation is made up of Iranian students in the U. S. who oppose the Shah.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**"A PROFILE OF VIETNAMESE HISTORY"** by John McDermott. 36pp., 3 maps, bibliography. Available from the New York SDS office (rm. 206, 49 W. 27th St., New York City 10001). 40 cents each; 10-99 copies, 25 cents each; 100 or more, 20 cents each.

N. Y. SDS and Students for Peace in Vietnam have reprinted John McDermott's articles from the first 3 issues of Viet-Report, together with a 4 page annotated bibliography and crucial sections of the Geneva agreements. The pamphlet divides into 3 parts: The first is a review of French Colonial history in Indochina, the second deals with American sponsored "reform" in the Diem period, and finally there is a review of current American military and diplomatic policies in Vietnam. It is thus the most comprehensive pamphlet on Vietnam presently available.

**THE SAN FRANCISCO MIME TROUPE,** under the auspices of the Tulane Drama Review, will be traveling to New Orleans

**Angry letter**

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Listen you sons of bitches, if I had wanted my letter on the Sid Lens piece printed I would have asked to have it printed. Unlike some people in SDS, there is nothing wrong with my



Brother Max

toilet training and I don't feel the need to communicate my every thought to the entire world.

When I write

for publication I try to write in a bit more reasoned and careful way than when I dash off a note to you screwups. I have repeatedly asked not to have my communications to the NAC printed unless I say that they are for publication. It was bad enough when you stuck my letters unbidden into the NAC mailings, but to print sections of them in N. L. Notes is inexcusable.

March 8, 1966  
Released by the New York office

Paul Millman, Program Director of the New York Regional Office of the Students for a Democratic Society, today denied rumors that SDS had urged its members to join, or would merge with, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, a student group just cited as "subversive" under the McCarran Internal Security Act by Attorney General Nicholas B. deKatzbach.

"SDS has a long history of defending the civil liberties of all; political beliefs are not the proper province of governmental investigation or control", Millman stated. "We therefore condemn this infringement on the political and civil liberties of the DuBois Clubs and their members."

"However, we categorically deny rumors of our merger with the DuBois Clubs," Millman added. "A rumor that the SDS National Office was urging all SDS members to join the DuBois Clubs is entirely false and without foundation."

"We shall continue to fight for free speech of all Americans and against such anti democratic laws as the McCarran Act, which is being used in an attempt to destroy the DuBois Clubs," Millman said.

As you well know, the portion of the letter which you printed in no way covers the full extent of my thinking on the subject of democracy in the Third World or in the United States. Unfortunately the editors of New Left Notes are unable to recognize a few half hatched ideas scribbled in haste, and mistook the letter for work prepared for publication, a problem that reoccurs throughout New Left Notes.

I must apologize to Brother Lens for my unfortunate use of the word "didleywack", and hasten to add that the context of my letter from which the N. L. Notes "letter" was lifted, commended his article, among others, for distribution in SDS, my differences notwithstanding.

Let me warn you editors of New Left Notes that if you print any more of my correspondence without authorization, I shall send you a letter for publication which I guarantee will involve you in an obscenity suit. Should you decline to print such a letter I will hold you up before the scorn of the National Council for selling out to the misguided Victorian morality of the Postal Establishment.

Steve Max

**REPLY**

(1) Neither this letter nor the previous one referred to in it was published with the intention of embarrassing Steve Max. The reason for publishing the first was that both Paul Booth and I thought that it was an interesting comment on the Lens article; the reason for publishing the above letter was that Steve insisted that it be published "in the next issue."

(2) The controversial letter to the office from Steve had written after section reprinted, "print this if you like," although the letter was prefaced by the statement "do not print this (in general)." Thus we assumed the "in general" released the part marked "print this if you like." Apparently he only wanted that to go in the NAC mailing. There was no further mention in the letter of literature distribution, thus it is mystifying to try to understand what is meant by the statement being "lifted" from its context.

(3) The "selling out to the misguided Victorian morality" refers to a phrase I used in a letter attacking Brother Max's suggestion that he be empowered by the NAC to look into suspending the Oklahoma chapter after several of its members were arrested in a marijuana raid.

(4) The style of writing in New Left Notes will, I hope, continue to be informal as we are writing to and for each other; not the world or history or whatever.

Jim Russell

Camilo Torres was recently killed when his guerrilla unit engaged a Colombian Army force. Torres, a priest and Colombia's leading sociologist, quit his university post to join the guerrilla fight for a revolution. Students and progressives in Colombia feel the same

sense of loss as their U.S. brothers did when C. Wright Mills died. The fact that Torres was moved to give up his comfortable post as sociologist and critic should make us re-examine our own commitment to justice and social change.

Saul Landau

**NEW LEFT NOTES**

SDS  
1103 E. 63rd  
Chicago, Ill.  
60637  
Return Requested

Application to mail at Second Class postage rates pending in Chicago, Ill.

St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

**"HIGH SCHOOL REFORM: Towards a Student Movement"** by Mark Kleiman. 10 page printed pamphlet available from the National Office. 10 cents each, 50% off on bulk orders.

"What I remember most about my school is that there is a 10 foot fence around it... What concerns me most about the fence is not that it keeps me in --but that it keeps the rest of the world out, only admitting those portions of 'reality' which the administration deems safe for us to view..." A perceptive analysis of the American High School by a Southern California high school student which discusses course content, petty regulations, etc. and proposes methods for organizing from within the high school.

**FREEDOM DRAFT CARDS.** Have just been delivered from the printer. Send in orders to the N. O. with a self-addressed manilla envelope. Contributions to pay for printing and mailing costs appreciated (say 1 cent per card).

to perform at the TDR Theatre Festival from April 14 to April 20, 1966. Their productions will include a Minstrel Show called "Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel" and two one-act plays. The Minstrel Show is an original creation by Saul Landau (of Studies) and R. G. Davis, the mime troupe director. After fulfilling the New Orleans commitment, they will fly to St. Louis and from there plan to perform at various colleges, community theatres, etc. across the country under the sponsorship of such groups as VDC, SDS and SNCC, or, if they can find a strong enough radical/liberal element, directly through a school or its student body. If they are able to obtain sufficient bookings, they will gladly veer to the North and East. Davis says, "Would you be interested in sponsoring a 'benefit' performance or our troupe as a fund-raiser? We'll supply the show, you sell the tickets, and we'll both split the profits. The date would, of course, have to be sometime after April 20th." Inquires to R. G. Davis, The San Francisco Mime Troupe, Inc., 924 Howard