

Schenley agrees to talk

Word has just been received as we go to press that Schenley Industries has recognized the National Farm Workers Association as the sole collective bargaining agent for the grape pickers. This is a victory, but only the first step. There still is no contract, only a promise to negotiate. The summer program described elsewhere in this issue will to on; support and boycott activity for NFWA should continue on an increased basis. The growers can be beaten.

Lorman, Miss.: State highway patrolmen used tear gas to break up a demonstration of 500 students demanding reforms at Alcorn A & M, a Negro state college. The students were protesting features of the paternalistic administration and the low wages student employees receive (25 - 50 cents an hour).

The highway patrol was called in after a Chancery Court judge at Natchez had issued a temporary injunction prohibiting marches or demonstrations in Lorman.

Howard Romaine of the Southern Student Organizing Committee who has been in contact with the demonstrators urges SDS chapters to send telegrams and letters expressing solidarity with the aims of their university reform struggle to Joshua Hill, President of the Student Council, Alcorn College, Lorman, Miss. and to the president of the school, J.D. Boyd.

New York, N.Y.: SDS in New York City is mobilizing chapters to walk the picket line of the fired workers at the Sloane House YMCA in Manhattan. Different chapters are taking different days to join the pickets from Local 6, Hotel, Motel & Club Employees Union.

The 70 workers, primarily Puerto Ricans, were fired after they attempted to organize a union. Employees of so-called "charitable, educational, and eleemosynary" establishments are not protected by unemployment compensation, minimum wage and labor standards, and labor relations legislation. Many of them take home less than \$50 a week, to support large families.

Milwaukee, Wisc.: On Friday, April 15, the first Midwest Read-In against the war in Vietnam will be sponsored by the U. of Wisconsin at Milwaukee SDS. The program is part of a national coordinated program by a group called American Writers Against the War in Vietnam. Some of the sponsors of the national effort include Robert, Lowell, Lawrence Ferlinghetti,

John Logan, Kenneth Rexroth, and others.

Lincoln, Neb.: The U. of Nebraska chapter recently held a very successful South Africa program. In a letter to the office, Carl Davidson writes some remarks about the value of South Africa programs: "(1) A good issue for reaching out to and making ties with religious people and moderate civil rights groups. Also good for joint action & involvement with foreign students. (2) An excellent issue for educating ordinary people about the connections between racism, neo-imperialism, corporate liberalism, and the Third World. (3) Ideal for concretely pointing out how our comfort is dependent upon their suffering is related to revolution & wars of liberation.

"We are very successful on all three of these points, mainly because people haven't had their minds twisted, by mass media, into looking at South Africa with anti-communist blinders. Not yet anyway."

Carbondale, Ill.: The Southern Illinois University chapter of SDS is sponsoring April 15-17 a "Conference on Socio-Economic Integration." Speaking at the conference will be Seymour Melman, David Bazelon, and H.F.W. Perk. Speaking via a telephone apparatus will be Marshall McLuhan, R. Buckminster Fuller, and Linus Pauling. The registration fee for students will be \$2, \$5 for faculty. For information contact: SDS- 422 W. Monroe St., Carbondale, Ill. (618) 457-4243.

Lewisburg, Penn.: The Bucknell chapter is planning a demonstration for Mozambican self-determination to be held at the United Nations Plaza in New York on May 7 at 12:30. The program is being planned now. All correspondence should be addressed to R. A. Lobban, Jr. 33 North Sixth Street, Lewisburg, Penn.

Washington, D.C.: Warning, dollar bills with typed messages such as "Bring The Troops Home from Vietnam" have been observed. Putting such messages on currency is strictly prohibited by law and persons doing so are subject to federal prosecution.

Union organizing at Duke

by Harry Boyte and Sara Evans

In the spring of 1965 several janitors at Duke University in Durham, N.C., with the help of several students from Duke SDS formed an employees' association. Last summer the association voted to affiliate with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers, AFL-CIO, whose Durham organizer has worked with Duke SDS in the past.

Duke University comes from the ultraconservative background of most southern schools. With a very large endowment, however, a new president, and a fairly good faculty, Duke has recently adopted a "forward-looking" attitude, picturing itself as a future "great university" in the Ivy League tradition. Many of its trustees, representing tobacco and textile interests, remain unhappy with any change and are bitterly anti-union.

Like most southern schools Duke maintains a highly paternalistic attitude towards its students and employees. White supervisors exercise arbitrary power over Negro employees even classifying them on the wage scale according to a "merit" system based on such subjective criteria as "attitude". The wage scale itself is incredibly low even for Durham -- many workers making well under \$1 per hour -- and working conditions are often harsh.

The union has now won a few grievances and a wage increase in July (which will still leave most people well below the poverty line), but the university has yet to give it official recognition. Because Duke is not covered by the National Labor Relations Act, the union is now asking for an election which would guarantee payroll checkoff of dues. This would be followed by a contract guaranteeing fair wages, retraining, seniority, and a fair grievance procedure. Chances are slim though, for the university has been threatening mass firing and intimidating workers through the supervisors.

Our SDS chapter, with about thirty members, and other students and faculty, have been actively involved this year picketing, leafleting, petitioning, and helping to organize department meetings. At present we are beginning to organize neighborhood meetings to broaden the base of union membership. These neighborhood organizations may later expand their functions to include political and community action.

For the past few weeks we have been contacting national civil rights and labor groups in order to create national publicity if the university finally refuses the election proposal, as it may this week. A union victory at Duke will be a symbolic victory over entrenched southern anti-unionism and university paternalism.

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National Secretary's Report

Resolutions for the NC

by Paul Booth

NC resolutions. By the time you receive this, the National Council will have resolved most of these questions, but for your information the following resolutions that we know of as we go to press will be offered.

Vietnam

- A national counter-exam on the war to distribute at the draft exams. To be done in coordination with faculty groups; to be a priority for chapters.

- A fast in solidarity with Buddhists & students for elections in Vietnam; to take place soon. (Dick Flacks)

- More activity around the Freedom Draft.

- Summer Vietnam projects to turn the country into a town meeting on the War (Lynd, Hayden)

- A statement on the draft, opposing the war, the draft, 2-S, and calling for resistance (Hayden, J. Rubin)

Summer

- Summer Program for Farm Workers, organized by National Farm Workers Association, asking for SDS endorsement. Would involve several hundred people doing boycott work and working to expand FWA in Southwest and California. (NFWA)

- Summer SDS Coordinators: appointing perhaps 100 people to serve as local coordinators for summer SDS program in different cities, to mobilize the summer student constituency.

Organizational

- Appoint three national fund-raisers immediately. (J. Shero)

- Chapter fund-raising quota system.

- Distribution of responsibility for mimeographing SDS lit. among regional and national offices.

- Convention: proposal for an August convention, planning, etc.

- Bulletin: print monthly bulletin as 4-page New Left Notes insert

- Staff: appointment of National Secretary to begin 6-66.

- Recommendations from the Radical Education Project

Other

- Motion on electoral politics position (Booth)

- Proposal for creation of District (sub-regional) offices to develop SDS beyond present regions (K. McEl-downey)

- Dominican Republic action proposal. Date of April 24th to commemorate crushing of Dominican uprising with teach-ins, demonstrations, etc. Summer program through Fellowship of Reconciliation for workcamps in the Dominican Republic.

Apology. The Beacon Press Anthology was not put together without consultation with the National Office, as reported last issue. In fact, a year ago the editors of the anthology carried on extensive correspondence with the then National Secretary Clark Kissinger. I did not know this which explains the misunderstanding. The editors are friends of the movement and deserve the apologies of the National Office for the misinformation about their book, which includes a wide range of articles by and about the movement.

Farm Workers Association. March 9 and 10, I went to Delano, Calif. at the invitation of the National Farm Workers Association, to discuss summer projects in support of the grape strike. At a meeting between SDS, SNCC, and the FWA, we argued for a political type of boycott organizing, in which student summer workers in various cities would build networks of activists from churches, local unions, civil rights and Spanish-speaking community groups, etc., to build the boycott; these coalitions and networks could be the basis for political action in other issues as well. SNCC and SDS in California would take a heavy responsibility for coordination of that project under the proposal.

After that meeting, the boycott staff of the FWA came up with a proposal for the Summer Project for Farm Workers, which will be coordinated through their Delano office. There will be two kinds of assignments for the 300-400 summer workers: national boycott work on a single-issue basis, and work in California and the Southwest extending the Farm Workers Association. FWA is asking the National Council to endorse the project. For further information, contact FWA, Box 894, Delano, Calif.

FBI in Peace and War. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, an agency of the U. S. Justice Department seems to be conducting an intensive national investigation of SDS. Reports have come in of "FBI" agents visiting Deans recently to ask for names and information of a young person who was asked to report directly to them the activity of one chapter. This is undoubtedly an effort to get a more thorough reading on SDS than they have had in the past.

This fall, when the new left became a matter to the nation, the "FBI" didn't have very detailed records on SDS. A report they issued to select press people (with the inscription on the cover "Do Not Attribute this Source") on the New Left contained several allegations about the SDS convention in Kewadin, Michigan last summer which were later printed in Readers Digest, the New York Daily News, and Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s syndicated column. These claimed that we had held guerrilla training sessions

(continued on page 4)

As we go to press, the financial crisis has by no means eased. We continue to go to press with New Left Notes, but everything else is at a standstill--there is no money to print new Freedom Draft Cards or membership cards, or the new introductory brochure. So we renew our plea for one dollar from every member to pay the debts of the national, regional, and printing offices.

Imperialism

Some people find that word hard to take; it is as if to be called an imperialist is to be insulted. On the contrary, imperialism is a time-honored habit of great and energetic powers. We may not find it an admirable habit; and I think the current American form of it—its roots go back at least to 1900—is an especially virulent strain. But it is a fact that we have an empire that is administered around the world by the business community and guarded by the government. Those who are skeptical should look into the reports of the big banks, the sugar companies, the mining industry, international oil. More to the point, they must explain why we are everywhere against revolution. What concern was it of the West that the Czar should fall, or even Kerensky? What was the Manchu dynasty to America? And these dominoes: What would be so obviously wrong about a Viet-Nam run by Ho Chi Minh, a Cuba by Castro, a Philippines by Taruc, a South Africa by Tabata, a Peru by de la Puente or Blanco?

The lost of \$142 billion in foreign investments and a golden future, that's what's wrong. We of course explain it differently. We are abroad in the world with our 6000 military bases to combat tyranny. Not Franco's tyranny, not Salazar's, or Trujillo's or Verwoerd's or Smith's or Chiang's or Park's or Ky's or Castello-Branco's—only, it just so happens, these socialist tyrannies that are trying to feed, clothe, house, and cure their people, and that do not easily see how those aims coincide with the aims of the United Fruit Company.

We may rather effectively disguise our imperialist motives from ourselves. These underdeveloped countries, we say, need capital. We have that. An increasing surplus of it, in fact. When we export it, we are only doing these countries a favor. Similarly, we say they need markets for their materials, and we provide such markets. We give and we take, hard-headed angles of moderation. And as if by accident, as if it had nothing to do with this fair-minded giving and taking, we, 5% of the world's people consume over half the world's abundance. Meanwhile, one and a half billion people—less easy to convince of our benevolence—are learning a bit more every day about how it happens that the more outbound cargo ships they load with their bananas, the more tin and copper they sweat to bring up from their countries' mines, the poorer and the sicker and the hungrier and the less free they become.

This is the peace we want. We are not all that selfish, of course: we understand the privileges of power, and are quite able to contemplate a sharing of the spoils. Hold Russia down until she begins to be a status-quo nation, and there will soon be no more of this nonsense about world-wide revolution. Can we repeat this tutorial with the Red Chinese? She no doubt has her lesser place in the firmament if she will only grow responsible. Then the whole north of the world will bed itself down in the fatness of the south.

We may pretend that fair reconciliation is our only aim, or that we only want to see two cars someday in every Vietnamese garage. A lovely dream. Try it on the Brazilian wage slave. He has been hearing rumors of this dream for all his life. What he sees is the manufacture of American warships in Brazilian shipyards, the production in Brazilian factories of special armaments and foods for North American counter-guerrilla fighters. Against whose ports will those warships train their guns? Against what desperate people will these

quence of their speaking truth to power—of their "telling it how it is." With this information comes the appearance of that new and decisive element—a rationalized enemy. This enemy, once identified as such, once flushed by the trial-and-error politics of the desperate, typically reacts with a repressive violence that only intensifies that desperation. The masses now grow critical, and their demands for change, deprived of more moderate expression, will partake of that violence in which the master class was such a good instructor. This joining of the violent with counter violence embodies a supreme commitment—one whose gravest meanings are psychological, one that totally usurps all other claims on the lives of the novices in rebellion, and one whose confirmatory ritual is the act of assassination and terror.

I would add to this very generalized portrait the observation that grievances are multitudinous in type and can of course be lodged anywhere in the social system. They are not restricted to the peasantry. For the intellectual, for example, his nation's colonial status can be an unbearable shame—one that always has most provocative racist components. Or shame can become quite concrete for him in the inability of the colonial system to provide him with work. Just now, for example, the Philippines are graduating 10,000 a year from their colleges, and for a growing number of these, there is no place at home. It is also possible that a national industrial group can appear whose interests rapidly diverge from those of the colonizers and the compradors—as again is evidently the case in the Philippines, and perhaps throughout the Middle East.

That the conditions I have described exist now or show a strong shadow throughout the south or the world ought to be clear to everyone. They exist always, of course, in the particular idiom of the particular country: degrees of social integration and religious factors enter decisively into the configurations. But they are nevertheless there; and it seems to me that the situation in Viet-Nam ought to begin to preoccupy us less now than the less-advertised rice riots in Kerala, the angry self-exile to the Andes of Peruvian Indians, or the 600,000 political refugees in Uruguay, or the napalming of tribal villages in Mozambique.

Did Europe look like this in the post-war years? Ravished and torn it certainly was; but just as certainly, it did not look at all like the southern world.

The insurrections of war-time and post-war Europe, chiefly those in Greece and Yugoslavia, were incubated in the disruptions brought about by Fascist penetration, occupation, and withdrawal: by Fascist conquest and defeat. They gained their power most importantly because they were resistance movements, not because they sought a basic rearrangement of social power. Of course, it is not possible to say this with any certainty, but it is at least imaginable that without the disorders produced by the two-front European war, they might never have taken place. In Europe, at least, there was nothing that at all corresponds to the massive wedge that has been or is even now being driven between many third-world populations and their masters. There was no total exploitation, no national humiliation, and no racism. Beyond these, Europe had something that Asia does not have: an internationally-organized and monolithic Communist Party that was for the most part quite capable of exerting a top-down discipline in state after state. No Sinologist or Kremlinologist that I know of believes that this condition still exists, least of all in Asia.

Part 2: World Revolution and American Containment

by Carl Oglesby

counter-guerrilla fighters erect next time their agrovilles, their strategic hamlets, their refugee centers, their concentration camps? One man's dream becomes another man's nightmare.

This brings me to the most important problem of the Asia-equals-Europe theory. The problem is simply that Asia does not equal Europe. Europe was not revolutionary. Asia is.

History has the habit of violating our most studied definitions; but I want to try, anyway, to describe what I mean by this.

The cultural base of revolution, it seems clear, is ordinary human wretchedness, a deep sickness in the social order that might be seen as the widespread incapacitation of the means of production and distribution of wealth. Or simply the nonexistence of such means. But suffering alone, I think, however extensive, is not enough. One of the first things we learn from even a casual acquaintance with the impoverished is that they are ingenious at finding ways to make their condition somehow acceptable. Or that their condition itself in fact includes the near impossibility of their imagining life otherwise. It is simply a matter of measures: what dimensions do people use for situating and evaluating the lives they lead? And we very well know that sorrow can be transfigured and contained via the many poetries that the poor invent for themselves: the poetry of a certain kind of religiousness, or of a very special social indifference, or of the otherwise pointless violence that is so acutely organized in ghetto gangs.

It is part of the matrix of revolution, then, that people see their sorrow as a result of something else—of failures which they cannot trace back to themselves, or of a system that is seen as somehow an arbitrary and changeable one. The sufferer must know that his condition is caused, and he must believe that the cause can be removed. If a man thinks that the wealthy absentee landlord and the corrupt and brutal tax collector are permanent features of his world, then he can only become a down-side pluralist philosopher. But once he is convinced that his agony comes directly from them instead of through them from a divinely-or-dained emperor or from the God himself, then the color of his landscape changes. His fate begins to return to his own hands in the form of the tax-collector's neck.

But even with this, the matrix is not complete. This landlord's cruelty is at first believed to be an entirely local perturbation of a system that is generally a good one—a hardship that the social power system did not intend to inflict and that it will in fact extirpate if only it finds out about it. Thus, we meet the logic of the petition to the king or the tsar or the president—one of the recurring and I imagine more poignant of the social phenomena of our time. Instances are numerous. Such a faith in the system's general goodness and willingness to correct its lapses lay behind the 1905 peasant massacre in Kremlin Square; or the Manifesto of the Eighteen Notables in 1960; or the 1962 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. For that matter, anti-war demonstrations in our own country are not different. Over and over again, the poor, the dispossessed, and the excluded dissident minorities reveal themselves to be among history's most loyal conservatives.

All too often, however, they are disabused of their faith. They discover that redress of the most appalling grievances is far from an automatic conse-

Above is the second and concluding part of a recent speech by SDS President Carl Oglesby. The first part was printed in the preceding issue. Copyright © 1966, Carl Oglesby. All rights reserved. Permission given to SDS chapters to reproduce.

Asian Communism

This is not by any means to say that Communism is not present in Asia. That people with an awakening revolutionary consciousness might think of themselves as Communists ought to be the least surprising fact about them. Marxist-Leninism, after all addresses itself to their condition with a good deal more power and intimacy than the free-enterprise pluralism of Bell and Lipsett ever could. Nor is it to say that revolutionary movements are innocent of all foreign connections. Why should they be? They almost never have been, and this has been true since the American revolution. You will recall that the French cooperated with our founding revolutionary fathers in providing diplomatic and propaganda services, in sinking about 3000 British freighters, and in having more footsoldiers on hand at Yorktown than we Americans did. What might properly shock us more than North Viet-Nam's aid to the NLF is in fact the tardiness of that aid and its relative paucity. There is even reason to suppose that Hanoi preferred not to see an uprising in the south at all. As late as 1957, the Lao Dong Party Congress resolved on a Stalinist "Socialism-in-one-country" course, which essentially said to their southern brothers that they must fend for themselves. Burchett tells us of those years that the Viet-minh cadres who settled in the south used every persuasion at their command to still the restlessness of the people and to work for parliamentary redress. It was the people who recommenced the armed struggle, it was the disciplined cadres who followed reluctantly behind.

Thus, when I say that Asia is revolutionary, I mean only to point to what everyone has very well heard; namely, that in the backwards world, growing national aspirations are combining with accumulated national resentments to produce a demand for change that cannot be negotiated in the same way, for example, in which the Greek uprising was negotiated—that is, via a third party.

We are dealing not with leaders and armies so much as with cultures and populations. An army can be beaten; a population can only be murdered. And even murder may not work, as the French experience with Algeria might suggest. There, by 1962, a French army of half a million regulars had chopped to bits an FLN that was never larger than 50,000—and still the French lost the because they had lost the people: it had become culturally impossible to "pacify" Algeria.

We have to note, however, that all guerrilla actions are not revolutions. Successful opposition to the Malayan and Filipino insurrections is much too often cited as proof that revolutions can be stopped militarily. But only look at the circumstances. The Malayan insurrection was moved by left-wing Malayan Chinese who, as Chinese, were held in great distrust by the native Malays. The rebels could never identify themselves with the people. And what stopped the Huks in the Philippines was not nearly so much General Lansdale's modern jungle warfare techniques, as it was the great charisma of Romon Magsaysay, who was able to convince the people that his government was their government, and that if what they were fighting for was land and justice, then they would come over to his side.

Parallel with rebellion in America

We can learn much about revolution from study of Asia. But my despair would be much deeper if I thought such study was our only hope. It seems to me that America has a much better chance to understand these matters than did England or France, because America, uniquely, has a third-world nation within herself: the community of American Negroes. When we read of Bull

Connor, we can learn something about Ngo Dinh Diem and Nguyen Cao Ky. When we read of Julian Bond, we can learn something about Ahmed Ben Bella. White Americans have an unparalleled opportunity to learn first-hand about the origins of this turbulence that vexes us in the world. We can learn that revolution comes from the casting off of slavery, and that slavery comes from masters; that it is not the rebels who produce the troubles of the world, but those troubles that produce the rebels. We just may be able to get it through our heads that men do not take up arms for stupid reasons learned from a Marxist handbook. Only try to grasp in your imagination the violence that takes hold of the rebel's life. Everything is surrendered to the cause, and his life becomes an hallucination of terror and brutality--and not just that of his foes, but his own as well. If we want to know why a man will do this to himself, we must ask why Mrs. Fanny Lou Hammer still struggles for human rights, after all the churches bombed, all the children murdered, all the men lynched, after all the night-riders and the horrifying midnight telephone calls. Is it because she is a fool? A dupe of some far-flung conspiracy? Some think so, of course. They do not know Mrs. Hamer, or Bob Parris, or John Lewis. To know them is to understand that revolution--even non-violent--is incredibly expensive--so expensive, in fact, that only the very poor can afford it. To get rid of it, you must first get rid of those poor. One way to do that is to kill them. Another way is to kill their poverty and their social exclusion.

We speak quite knowingly, still, of the export of revolution. The only effective exporters of revolution in our time are none other than the great imperial powers themselves. It was England that exported Jomo Kenyatta to Kenya, France that exported Ahmed Ben Bella to Algeria, the United States that exported Fidel Castro to Cuba. And it is the United States that now revives the old French-made Vietminh in the form of the NLF, and reincarnates Ho Chi Minh in the person of Nguyen Huu Tho. And the harder we work to obliterate this monster, the more we feed it the anger that it needs to live and grow larger.

Thus, the centerpiece of the Cold War solution we are trying to maneuver toward in Southeast Asia is hopelessly flawed. If China were 30 years from her revolution, and if Asia were made up of modern Western-type states with regimented social systems in disrepair, and if there were an Asian Comintern, and if there had been no colonialism, then it would at least be a worthy hypothesis that the guerrilla in Nam-Bo was under the discipline of Peking. But modern China is a bare 15 harrassed years old, Viet-Nam is a collapsing feudal society on the base of an awakening neolithic culture, there is no Asian Comintern, colonialism did happen -- and our assumption is wrong root and branch.

Do our policy intellectuals simply deny this? Not at all. They first assert it. They seem to be aware of history. They win our confidence. Then they deny it. They perform this magic--the trick of the vanishing revolution--via the theory of the Communist as universal alien. No matter where he is, this theory goes, the Communist is one who has arrived from someplace else. No matter where he was born, no matter how fiercely he fights in the service of the revolution, he is a purchased, nameless man without a country or a claim, and his allegiance always lies elsewhere. So the Cuban revolution may have been--once--a noble affair; then the Reds came in and took it over. Same with the Dominican Republic. Same with Viet-Nam. These people, we say, these Cubans and Dominicans and Vietnamese, are really Russians or Chinese in disguise; and they will not be happy with Havana or Santa Domingo or Saigon, their ultimate destination is Topeka, Kansas. (If not Cambridge). In this way, all revolutions are linked into the Great Conspiracy and are therefore, however just originally, to be condemned. For Walt Whitman Rostow, our Operations chief in the State Department and sometime academic, Cuba, the Congo, Laos, and Viet-Nam "each represented a successful Communist breaching... of the Cold War truce lines which had emerged from the Second World War and its aftermath." Not Cuban or Congolese or Laotian or Vietnamese attempts to liberate themselves from Batista or Tshombe or Souvanna Vong or My-Diem, but Communist attempts to sabotage the Cold War truce. Communist? What nationality is that?

Russian for a while and now Chinese, none other. They are hired gun-slingers trained in the theft of revolutions, and the nobility they touch becomes, in Rostow's phrase, a "disease of transition."

As Conor Cruise O'Brien has quite lucidly put it, "The 'anti-communist' doctrine is designed to blur the vitally important distinction between telling the Russians that you will fight if they attack your allies--a valid and clear-cut non-ideological position--and telling the Vietnamese and others that you will fight to stop them from 'going communist'--an outwardly ideological commitment of uncontrollable scope." (Ecco, *Writers and Politics*, p. 181)

If the perception of the Asian Cold War that I have described were only mistaken, that would of course be bad. But the case is worse. It is also dangerous, and in three particular points.

Danger of U.S. Cold War perception

First, its belief that China controls what China does not control forces us to make demands that China cannot satisfy, and prepares us always to attach the worst of motives to China's conduct. Our government practices now a game-theory politics: We describe the political future in terms of options and responses. If we do A, they can respond 1, 2, or 3. If 1, we respond alpha; if 2, beta; and so on. It is obvious that such a politics can only work if we have accurately described the range of choices open to the opponent. We bomb Hanoi. They can respond with peace or with not-peace. If not-peace, we declare war--or as Tom Lehrer has it, Johnson practices on the Vietnamese one more round of escalation. But if peace were not a Hanoi option, if they really had no such power over the NLF, then we have only murdered the innocent. There is no way for this procedure to correct its mistakes. For even when Hanoi lies dead, the logic of its most basic beliefs about the existence of an Oriental Red chain of command can lead us computer-ridden people straight to nuclear war with China.

But just as important is the second danger, which is that our insistence on maintaining the Cold War status quo limits-- if it does not nearly obliterate the third world's already remote chances for non-violent social change. We talk about dominoes that fall. I think we should talk instead about dominoes that stand up. The Brazilian domino, for example, should stand up and remove from power Castello-Branco and the oligarchic system that he administers--and the sooner the better. He has to be removed for the same reasons that Batista and Trujillo had to be removed, and he should be replaced not by our Marines--who should be at home in offices, factories, farms, and schools--but by Brazilian leftists who will break up foreign-controlled monopolies, raise wages, redistribute land, and trade freely with all nations. It is clear to me--of course--that these same imaginary leftists might also decide that they must establish another totalitarianism in order to effect these aims. But this possibility, far from morally destroying them in advance, only deepens the case against the sustained and coherent violence against which they struggle.

Understanding the causes of violence

May I make it absolutely clear that I am no advocate of violence: when I observed in my speech at Washington last November that "nuns will be raped

and bureaucrats disemboweled" unless the global power system changes. I did not make this easy prophecy with delight, but with a lump in my throat and a shiver of fear. But as an American, as one therefore who need only choose the rich life in order to have it, I cannot presume to judge those whose condition forces violence upon them. I do not find it hard to understand that certain cultural settings create violence as surely as the master's whip creates outcries of pain and rage. I can no more condemn the Andean tribesmen who assassinate tax collectors than I can condemn the rioters in Watts or Harlem or the Deacons for Defense and Justice. Their violence is reactive and provoked, and it remains culturally beyond guilt at the very same moment that its victim's personal innocence is most appallingly present in our imaginations. Is it not in fact, almost the name of our time that good men can die bravely in bad causes, that good causes can raise bad men to power, and that history can reach with its very cold hand into the most intimate parts of our lives, tear out our ambivalences, reduce us to the cards that we do or do not carry, force us in spite of ourselves to become partisans--someone's ally, someone else's enemy.

The right mission of the compassionate is not to weep about this, but to take apart the matrix from which social violence is so steadily swelling an issue. Imagine that this leftist Brazilian government comes to power. Imagine that our military forces do not intervene. Imagine that our government then proceeds to recognize and deal with it. If it were even thinkable that our government would behave in such a way, the Castello-Branco's of the world would seat them a thousand times less sure. Perhaps they would even begin to pay attention to the needs of their people. And perhaps there would then be no need for violence. But because Johnson fights in Viet-Nam to prove to other countries--to prove, for example, to this self-same Brazil--that we "keep our commitments," the Brazilian oligarchy is only all the more secure in its indifference to the people's needs. Certain of the support of the American Marines, it is only all the less inclined to effect even the most modest social reforms. And when reform is imperative, this means simply that there will be violence, and that the people who make it will be all the more proud to call themselves Communists.

The third danger is closest to my own life, and I will not dwell on it. I only ask: What does this national capacity for computerized slaughter make of us? For a while, we were all safely insulated against the realities of this Viet-Nam war. But no semi-literate American with a television set can now be unaware of the effects of saturation bombing. I can understand the nation that chooses danger for itself in the name of an idea, even a bad one. But for the people that chooses death for others in the name of its own dubious views of history and its unquestioning self-righteousness, there begins to be only lamentation or exile left. How many of us have wondered what the decent Germans were doing when the Stukas raked Madrid and when the punctilious Eichmanns carried out the orders at Auschwitz? Or where the lovers of the common man were when the revolutionary hangman was teaching his socialism to the Kulaks? A great puzzle, one that begins to lose its distance. I want to finish with a few suggestions--however pathetic a thing it may be for a grown man to make suggestions now.

Suggestions

Withdraw

The first is that the world would be a brighter and less haunted one if we should leave Viet-Nam at once. Nothing that could possibly result from our departure could exceed the horror of our continued stay. I have nothing to say about the peace movement's negotiate vs. withdraw controversy, except that it seems to me to be let's-pretend politics and entirely idle. Someone who is not a policy bureaucrat should not try to behave like one. Let the diplomatic technicians be handed the problem of how and under what disguises we can depart. Will we lose face? I have always suspected that our president, when he talks of this nation's prestige, is really talking about his own political career. And that has been long enough and noble enough by now to be ended without regrets.

Reparations

Second, we should make immediate reparations to both halves of Viet-Nam, to Laos, and to Cambodia.

Those reparations should be immense--perhaps as much as one-tenth what we have spent to destroy all those "structures."

Non-intervention

Third, we should promise never again to intervene in a revolutionary struggle. And if such a promise strikes fear into some dictator's heart, all the better.

Remove necessity of revolution; end exploitation

Fourth, we should openly proclaim our understanding that the only effective way to resist revolutions is by making them less necessary. One way to do that is to restore the principle of no-aid-to-tyrants that was originally the heart of the Alliance for Progress. Another is by cracking the power of the big international corporations. For quite moderate starting points, we might get behind Walter Reuther's proposal for equivalent wage scales for all workers employed by an international firm. We can call for the termination of the present governmental insurance policies against foreign expropriation. We can call for massive tax increases on American profits taken in the underdeveloped world, the taxes thus raised to be returned to the producing countries as repatriated capital, and returned with the proviso that this capital must be internally invested for the good of the people.

Understanding Chinese position

Finally, a suggestion about China. Those who grieve for the millions who are "yoked to the Communist tyranny" might reflect on the role that our own foreign policy has played in hardening that tyranny. Those who are angered by China's anger toward the West might more carefully study what the West did to China from the 18th Century onwards; should read again the story of the Opium Wars, the Taipeng Rebellion, the Boxer Rebellion, the most-favored-nation clauses and the Open Door policy. Those who see proof of capitalism's virtues in China's economic difficulties should try to imagine the legacy of a 25-year-long revolution and the 10-years war with Japan. Those who see in China's relative present weakness the opportunity for risk-free provocation might ponder the fact that we are now creating Chinese memories of the West which will by no means fade with the increase of her power; might consider that to risk peaceful ways while she is weak is to risk nothing but peace itself.

If such a risk failed, we would surely have time for regroupment. And if it paid off, what would the world become? Perhaps one in which the American century and the age of permanent revolution could exist together without violence--a world in which, as a matter of fact, they might become one and the same.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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sds

April 8, 1966

NAC MINUTES

submitted by Judy Kissinger

NAC members present at the April 3 meeting were Paul Booth, Joyce Bennett and Judy Kissinger.

Finances. We are even worse off than last week -- several companies are threatening to sue. We owe a couple of printers enough that we must pay before doing more printing (this does not involve New Left Notes).

Robbery. Four typewriters were stolen from the N.O. last week -- two good electrics, one broken electric and a portable. Later in the day the police arrested a man carrying one of the electrics. The man has been informed that we will not press charges if he'll help us recover the others. Meanwhile he's in jail, court appearance on April 12.

Contributions. The first contributions from the National Guardian ad are coming in. The ad was well placed

and there was no "competition" in the issue.

Phil Ochs concerts. The concerts for May 20-22 are set. Friday in Ann Arbor, Saturday at Northwestern, and Sunday in Champaign. We split the profits 50-50 with Ochs.

Ad. Clark Kissinger talked to Jules Feiffer about helping us with an ad for the New York Review of Books and/or Ramparts. He's favorable -- details yet to be ironed out.

Tax matters. We are almost ready to file the reams of forms required for exempting us from paying income tax and for beginning withholding taxes from salaries. Judy Kissinger will consult with an accountant in a few days before sending them.

Paul Booth will try to get a lawyer to give us an expert opinion on incorporation vs. non-incorporation.

the South through "pacification" by John McDermott. The appreciated rates are 9¢ each for over 100 copies, 16¢ each for over 15, and 25¢ each for smaller orders.

Los Angeles. The Los Angeles regional office has moved to 1332 Miramar, in that city.

Dominican Republic. April 24th is the anniversary of the Dominican Republic uprising. Plans are already underway in New York to commemorate that event with some kind of demonstration.

Mike Locker of Ann Arbor has written a paper exposing the interlocking of U.S. sugar interests and U.S. Policy-makers on the Dominican Republic; this we hope to publish in the next New Left Notes.

A proposal will be made at the NC urging SDS action on April 24th. Another proposal will be made urging SDS participation in a summer project (organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation) in the Dominican Republic working with the youth of the PRD (left-wing party) in reconstruction. For SDS, the specific aims would be to build a constituency of young Americans interested in action on U.S. Latin American policy, and in contact with each other. To a great extent, such a network has been built by our South Africa program.

Cleveland Project. Cleveland Community Project has issued a brochure describing their summer project on the Near West Side. The program includes work in welfare, housing and urban renewal, community theater, law, community psychiatry, journalism, work with children, photography, and the Lakeview - Linn Drive Community Union. For a copy of the brochure, write to the Cleveland Community Union, 2908 Jay Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44113.

electoral politics

CHICAGO, ILL.

While New Left Notes is not the place for a full discussion of the merits of electoral politics, we believe the participation of (according to Paul Booth) "a healthy contingent of SDS people" in the newly formed National Conference for New Politics raises serious immediate questions about the proper role of the National Office and about our conception of politically valid electoral politics. Electoral activity can be very productive. The Julian Bond campaign, the Black Panther Party, the MFDP, the NFWA's activity at the city council level and ERAP efforts raise issues, organize people, and reveal the strength of organized solidarity of exploited people against their rulers. They "im not at the immediate creation of a national coalition but at the organization of a solid democratic base thru which they can act and speak, consistent with their political principles. This kind of effort deserves all the support we can give. Participation can begin to establish the connections among those groups who eventually will form the coalition of people who, aware of their common interests and power, will

affect revolutionary (oops, basic) change in the social structure of the United States. Participation will expand our ability to understand the needs and interests of other groups in struggle. If our orientation is not quick success and congressional reform, but democratic organization of the people and confrontation which reveals the forces of the status quo, their methods and weaknesses, then even our failure will help us understand what we are doing wrong and where we must go next.

There are other electoral efforts about which we are less sure: Californians for Liberal Representation, CIPA, etc. While we are personally skeptical of these efforts we wouldn't criticize anyone for having a go at these sorts of things. For, while it seems to us that the lessons of liberal elitist-labor bureaucracy coalitions and clever Democratic Party infiltrations have been abundantly demonstrated, we certainly wouldn't begrudge anyone the opportunity to get smashed first hand. What is essential for us to realize in this situation is that these decisions can only really be made by the local people who are considering participation and aid. Berkeley SDS has decided not to work for Bob Scheer; fine. If other

people in sds feel that the Berkeley people made a mistake, then we'd better have positions presented, debate and vote. Then the National Office could legitimately issue statements about and act in support of that campaign. Until then any activity in support (direct or indirect) of that campaign or any other by the National Office and officers should stop. The next Secretary's report should describe in detail what has been the activity of "SDS people" (who?) until now, and what has been done to make absolutely clear that SDS members, projects or chapters who are involved in campaigns and sit on committees represent only themselves and in no way represent national SDS policy.

Regarding Booth's handling of the situation, we can understand his distress at the lack of discussion at the December NC. However, all those sessions on coalition politics at the December conference seemed to us to conclude with an unequivocal "consensus" against coalition politics at this point. If he was dissatisfied with this, an NC ballot presenting the facts and various positions could have been sent out. If democracy is anything its damn hard work.

Steve Kindred, Ron Tabor, Miles Mogulescu, Bernard Tuchman, and Stan Teplick

more directly relevant, than anything which is part of the Soviet domestic society. Therefore, I choose to demonstrate my desire to see these conditions changed by working full time to organize movements for change in this country against institutions and structures which perpetuate these conditions. No matter how hard I try I don't see how organizing to force (if such a thing were possible, by the way) the Soviet Union to release these writers shows how appalled one is by the conditions in this country and in countries such as Vietnam and South Africa, our system is responsible, at least in part, for the conditions. Nor do I see how such action helps change anything here.

Now, maybe the San Diego chapter really has the time to do all these things to try and free the Soviet writers. Maybe they have done all they could for the Grape Strikers; maybe they're exhausted with anti-Vietnam war activity maybe they've already helped organize in Watts or in any other poverty area in Southern California. O.K., but I'm still curious as to why they chose this issue to try and organize on. Recently, the neo-Nazi party in Germany received twice the vote as they did in the last election, getting almost 8% of the vote in parts of Bavaria, and even the Christian Democrats are worried. If I had nothing else to do, I might begin looking into ways of removing U.S. military equipment from the German Army. Or what about the overcrowded political prisons in Spain? Some

real organizing is needed on those issues, because unlike the Soviet writers issue, you won't have a chance to link up with the American Legion, the Young Americans for Freedom and all the Eastern European Freedom Fighting Groups.

One part of the San Diego letter reads, "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 CP is that they seem to be hyper-conservative." How in the hell are we going to make the news media write up such a campaign as we want it written? We couldn't even get them to explain what SDS is during the anti-draft actions and the subsequent attack by Katzenbach. What kind of analysis is the San Diego chapter working from?

If we in SDS are serious radicals -- if we are deadly serious about changing this country, then we have to break out of the hangups this country fosters. If straightening out the domestic affairs of the Communist and Socialist nations is your main pre-occupation, then I question whether you fully understand the analysis SDS puts forward. I further question just how serious you are about spending the better part of your energy in creating a new society.

David Strauss

Booth

(continued from page 1)

sions (false) and had signed people up for the Viet Cong (false). It is likely that the Bureau would want to get a more complete dossier on SDS, including some facts.

Another Justice Dept. investigation of SDS, announced by Attorney General Katzenbach last October, has apparently been shelved. That one was assigned to the Internal Security Division; reporters have informed us that recent phone calls to the Justice Dept. have yielded the news that that investigation was quickly terminated.

The "FBI" can be investigated in Fred J. Cook's book of that title. Its local chapter activity can be investigated by inquiring of local Deans whether they've been approached.

Technician needed. Advertisement is herewith made for a trustworthy SDS member with electronics background, who could identify and neutralize illegal "wiretap" and "room pickup" equipment on the premises of the National Office. Write to department 007, SDS, 1103 E. 63rd, Chicago 60637.

Viet-Report. The three recent issues of Viet-Report are available in bulk to chapters from the National Office. Vol. 1, No. 4 includes reports on the Japanese press and the war, a piece by McDermott on Chinese policy toward Vietnam; Vol. 2, No. 1 has the report from Tom Hayden and Staughton Lynd on their trip, an article by Phillippe Devillers on independence, an article on "presidential war", and a Mark Twain item. The National Office would appreciate being reimbursed at the rate of 7¢ each for over 100 copies, 11¢ each for over 15 copies, and 7¢ each for smaller orders. Vol. 2, No. 2 includes an expose by Martin Nicolaus of Michigan State's role in Vietnam, the programs of the NLF, and an analysis of General Lansdale's program for

NEW LEFT NOTES

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San Diego proposal

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Re: Letter in issue #8 from the San Diego SDS steering committee calling for action to free the imprisoned Soviet writers Sinyavski and Daniel.

This call to action raises in my mind a number of serious questions: why is it imperative at this time to gather signatures on petitions, promote demonstrations, and call for active organization to try and obtain the release of the imprisoned writers? Are the promoters of this campaign aware of the implications of such an effort? Is the letter from the San Diego chapter in fact a joke which somehow came across to me as a serious undertaking?

It seems to me that no one likes to see writers, artists, teachers, etc. imprisoned in any country. I personally do not care for the lack of civil liberties which exist in the Soviet Union today. I think most people in SDS agree with me on this. I also think 99.999% of the people of America agree with me on this. I do not care for the persecution of the American Communist Party which has gone on and is still going on in this country. I am appalled by the conditions of the poor people of this country and by the racism and militarism and corporatism that are the underpinnings of this society. Many people in SDS are in agreement with me on this. Very few of my countrymen are in agreement with me on this. Further, I consider these atrocities to be much