july 4th - europe

PARIS, May 20th, 1966

An independent group of Americans living in Paris is organizing 4th of July demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, to take place across Europe. We believe that the 4th of July, being the anniversary of our Declaration of Independence, is the perfect occasion for a protest in the best American tradition. On this day we must reassert our historical position in favor of the right of all nations to self-determination and to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which is today being denied to the Vietnamese people.

We have the backing of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), the organization to which the CND in England, SANE in America, MCAA (Mouvement Contre les Armaments Atomiques) in France and about fifty other non-aligned peace groups belong. We also have the cooperation of the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France, the French student organization, similar to NSA, which has connections with other student groups all over Europe.

At the very least, there will be peaceful demonstrations in front of every American embassy and consulate in Europe, and, at least in some capitals, such as Paris, we plan more elaborate manifestations such as Protest-Picnics, folk-singing, etc.

What we want you to do, as the date is very late, is to contact as many student tour groups to which the SDS has access, on campuses across the country, who are coming to Europe this summer, to tell them to celebrate the 4th of July by going to their nearest American embassy or consulate. We cannot emphasize too strongly the point that manifestations and demonstrations in Europe will have double repercussions, as both the European and American press will take note.

In a few days, we will have the names of UNEF or equivalent representatives (non-political national student organizations) in cities all over Europe, so that American students will have a name and address of a student representative in these cities to contact upon arrival. In this way, more detailed plans may be made and American students can make contact with European students who wish to join them on this occasion, for though the 4th of July is an American holiday, the war in Vietnam is of the gravest concern to people a

Finally, if you can give me names and addresses so as to put me in touch with student tour groups who are coming to Europe this summer, I can contact them directly as our plans develop further.

Time is short; we need and ask for your immediate cooperation.

Sandra Adickes
79, avenue de Segur
Paris 7e, France

nac minutes

The national Administrative Committee meeting of May 29th turned down an invitation (with free plane ticket) to attend the meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Sofia, Bulgaria during June.

The invitation from WFDY asked for a "delegate", and as SDS is not a member of the WFDY, and considering the decision of the spring N.C. meeting to postpone any decisions about international affiliations pending organization of the REP International committee, we felt we couldn't send anyone. Had WFDY asked for an observer, we might have felt differently. The Spring NC decision came out of a discussion of affiliation with the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace – a group in which SDS political views would be much less out of place.

The NAC also instructed Speck to move ahead on purchasing printing presses for regional offices and clusters. Seven machines have been located and placed with regions; the regions will be sending printing trainees to the office this summer to be given thorough instruction in their machines.

The NO urgently needs a car or truck. We also could use typewriters (we would prefer electric but will accept manual typewriters), a industrial camera – for shooting the negatives used in making offset plates, a commercial paper cutter (for that matter, we could us a office size paper cutter), staplers (electric, side-saddle, or table size), printing equipment, file cabinets, etc.

A small number of SDS members have responded to the national council's call for a voluntary $1 a head contribution. Some sent more; a few people stuff a few dollars into an envilope whenever they can. As a result we are cleaning a backlog of literature orders, putting out 8-page New Left Notes, paying the postage due on New Left Notes returned because you didn't send in your change-of-address. The exact number of $1 a head contributions is 268, and we renew our plea for this support, especially during the summer when very few new members join, and when we hope to print mountains of literature.

16 chapters have responded to the chapter-quota assignments ($2/member). These are: Wisconsin, Bryn Mawr, Trinity, Penn State, Kentucky, M.I.T., Wayne State, North Carolina, Illinois State (Normal), Florida, NYU Uptown, Earlham, Washington State, U. Washington, Newton High School, Harvard-Radcliffe for a total of $376.25.

This means about 450 members, or about 10%, have responded to the Emergency Fund Raising Drive. Approximately $1,900 has been received in this period, showing that a few members are more than pulling their weight. This is 19% of the goal of the internal fund-raising campaign.

A new phase of the campaign begins with the beginning of June. We're asking each member with a summer job to pledge 1% of his income.

proposed boycott

We are sick and tired of the What about the poor people under the bombs and fiery killing?

This torturing and killing has got to be stopped now! What can we do?

Thousands of ministers and millions of others say, "In the name of God, Stop it!" But our "leaders" who claim to be Christian are unmoved.

They print on their money, "In God we trust" but maybe the true wording is "In THIS God we trust." Every time there is even a hint of peace, Wall Street has a tail-spin.

Lets see who their "god" really is!

"STOP THE KILLING– BOYCOTT U.S.A.!"

Should we not therefore organize an international boycott against American goods and services until the killing stops? Here in America we can also help by giving preference to imported goods. -"Buy imports to stop the killing?" American financiers are already having a very hard time keeping up a balance of payments in international trade so that such a boycott at this could have an unusually powerful effect. Even the financiers are blaming the war for their trouble.

Shall we then risk the wrath of the powers that be by such a boycott?

Since it is not the function of national staff members to formulate policy I would like to hear from all of you on this question.

Yours for peace,
Art Rosenblum

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students for a democratic society
1103 e. 63rd st. chicago, ill. 60637

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comments on rep

Washington, D.C.

I have a good number of relatively minor comments on the draft – small intellectual points – which I'll not make, I think. Instead, I'd like to emphasize the fundamental things which I think are of most importance.

First: to have the importance that it deserves, REP must have a strong organizational commitment from SDS.

Second: It seems to me that REP has two main functions. The first is to contribute heavily to the education of SDS members – that is, of young people who, during college years, are particularly susceptible to having their weltanschauung shaped by us radicals. To this end, there must be a strong emphasis within REP toward getting the stuff to SDS members and toward helping them set up a internal education programs. Frankly, I see very little of the latter; also, I fear there's something of a sort of elitist bias in the draft. For instance, the study groups which seem to be the core of the whole Program seem to me to be too 'in-group-y', not to allow enough latitude for people who aren't, so to speak, high-powered intellectuals in a particular area but who would like to participate. (I'm thinking, for instance, of the area of China: I've met a good number of people in SDS who know a certain amount about China but wouldn't participate actively (that is, by actually writing) in one of these study groups unless it was made very easy for them to do so.) And, as I indicated in the thing I wrote for the Dec. Conf., I think that this internal education is the most important single thing which SDS can do – this in turn means it's very important to get the activity from the "lowest" possible levels among SDS members. As I indicated in the Dec Conf piece, I think there's an awful lot of implicit elitism in SDS (a legacy, to be sure, of our profoundly undemocratic and anti-human society), and we've got to be very careful indeed about it.

The second thing which REP should do is not (as indicated toward the top of p. 2) to provide a forum for radicals not "in" the movement. Rather, what is needed is a

(Con't. on p. 3)

"TURN AMERICA INTO A TOWN MEETING"

"He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears."

PROBERBS 26:17

CALIFORNIA:

Los Angeles Summer Project, 1332 Miramar, Los Angeles. 466-2466
San Francisco Summer Project, 924 Howard, San Francisco. 362-7922
Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam, Box 2684, Stanford. 323-2300 x 4341

EAST COAST:

SDS, c/o Vermont, 2801 N. Calvert, Baltimore. 235-4634
SDS, c/o Bowers, 622 23rd St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 365-0319
New Jersey Project, c/o Wittman, 327 Adams, Hoboken, N. J. 653-8685
Philadelphia Area SDS, c/o Popper, 1525 Shaw Terrace, Chester, Pa. TR 2-2549

MIDWEST:

Dayton Area Coordinating Committee, 234 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio. 767-2421
Milwaukee Organizing Committee, 226 N. Prospect Ave., Milwaukee. 273-7263
SDS, 2059 N. Larabee, Chicago. 944-3624
Detroit Committee to End the War, 1101 W. Warren, Detroit. 832-5700
Committee for Independent Political Action, 6306 N. Lakewood, Chicago. 338-5872
SDS, c/o Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union, U. of Ind., Bloomington.
SDS, c/o Davidson, 2202 T. Lincoln, Nebraska. 477-4697
SDS, Box 78, Toledo, Ohio. 536-7045
VOICE, rm. 2534 Student Activities Building, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor. 663-6610

NEW ENGLAND:

Boston Project (SDS reg. office), 2076 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 547-5457
Independent Political Action Committee, 241 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 787-0123

NEW YORK:

Committee for Independent Political Action, 388 Amsterdam Ave, New York City. 874-6078
SDS, 49 W. 27th St., New York City. 889-5793
Amer. Friends Service Comm. Caravan, 841 University Bldg., Syracuse. HA 2-5316
Niagra Regional Committee, 112 Orchard, Ithaca. 273-7158

NORTHWEST:

SDS, 1305 S. E. Main, Portland, Oregon. 236-7735

SOUTH:

Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War, 980 Harwell St. NW, Atlanta, Ga. 522-1420
Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1703 Portland Ave., Nashville, Tennessee. 291-3537
SDS, Box 7098 University Station, Austin, Texas.

NATIONAL COORDINATION:

National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 420 W. Washington, Madison, Wisconsin. 608/257-7141
Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 E. 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois. 312/667-6050.

There will be an NBC-TV Special on the new left, SDS, etc., on Sunday, June 12th, from 7:30 to 8:30.

new party?

One sure sign of the return of spring every year is that SDS people start talking about a new political party. In a recent issue of New Left Notes, Stanley Aronowitz mentions the eventual need for a new socialist party, and in my recent travels I have picked up similar rumbles from various parts of the country.

I wasn't as big as Stan was in 1948, but I dare say that pound for pound I did as much for Henry Wallace and the local Progressive Party candidates as anyone else that year. Ever since then I have had considerable interest in the question of a new party. While I certainly agree that in the long run a parliamentary socialist party is necessary, I don't think that discussing it, planning it, or doing initial organizing for it is the order of the day for the new left AT THIS TIME. Rather than laying out the arguments behind this position as I do every spring, let me rather set the scene for the discussion by asking the third party enthusiasts – what's new? What's new, either in their perspective or in the country, or what will have to be new in order to make the question of a new party relevant? What is or could be present that was absent in the national and local campaigns of the Progressive Party in 1948, the off-year P.P. campaigns of 1950, the Hallinan and local campaigns of 1952, the united socialist slate led by Jack McManus in New York City and State in 1954, the Dave McReynolds campaign against Farbstein in 1958, the peace campaigns of Hughes, Hefner and Boardman in Massachusetts, O'Connel in California, Porter in Oregon, Lens and Cosby in Illinois, Freeman and Dwarkis in New York State, Bliss in N.H. Meyer in Vt., in 1960, '62, and '64? What new types of organizations are being spoken of now that are different from the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Freedom Now Party, the Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party, or the Socialist Labor Party?

The point, of course, is not that the idea has to be new to be valid; I would merely like to save us all the rehashing of old campaigns and parties if the advocates of the independent electoral activity position feel that they are discussing something qualitatively new or different.

Steve Max

SSOC bitches

Nashville, Tenn. May 31, 1966

We wish to protest what, to us, are two very significant oversights on the part of the National Office of SDS. The first has to do with the Vietnam Draft Exam. In the May 20 issue of NLN there are two articles dealing specifically with the distribution of the Exam, the first on page one by Booth and the second on page seven by Speck. In neither is the Southern Student Organizing Committee mentioned. SSOC is not an SDS regional arm; it is a fraternal organization. Were it not for SSOC's decision to push the program, we believe that we can say with some assurance that the exam would not have been distributed at approximately eighty of the 250 southern centers (excluding Texas). At least eight of ten full-time staff members devoted part of their time to the program. We did not request that our name and address be added to the exam as southern sponsors. We did not ask that you pay for our staff member's trip to Chicago to use the WATS line. We spent nearly $400.00 on the program, not including salaries, and this came from our operating budget – not from a grant from some sugar daddy earmarked for this program. To date we have received a check for $100.00 – from the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy (which also is not mentioned in either article), NOT from SDS. Furthermore, those at the University of Florida who had the exam commercially printed, and who were told they would be reimbursed by you guys who are taking all the credit, have now been told that there is no more money. They simply don't have $200.00 to spare in Gainesville.

Finally, in the article that appeared in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Booth talked about how many centers were covered in the South – this was billed as a real coup – a stellar accomplishment. Then down at the bottom of the article, SSOC was mentioned along with about five other organizations. When I inquired about this by phone, I was told by a person in the sds office that sds had nothing to do with the GUARDIAN article. Perhaps they just made the whole thing up in New York? Are we to infer that no press releases went out? We should thank the GUARDIAN for giving attention where due, when SDS does not.

The second bitch has also to do with NLN. In the same issue mentioned above, an article by Richard Robbins entitled "Negro Colleges – What Is Their Future?" appeared. This was "lifted" from the April issue of the NEW SOUTH STUDENT, the newsletter of the Southern Student Organizing Committee. We were happy to have it used. However, Mr. Robbins was not consulted, nor was SSOC; but this was not really necessary. All we ask is that THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT be given credit, but this small matter was not even attended to. We have now learned that another article from the NSS appeared in a subsequent issue of NLN, and no credit is given in this case either, we are told. Again, SSOC is not SDS-South.

Finally, a smaller gripe: We went to the bus station the other day to pick up a package from Chicago-SDS. It was sent collect. We assumed that it was literature ordered two months ago which was finally arriving, or perhaps more draft exams. No, we were 'pleasantly' surprised to find that it was 500 copies of NLN. We were virtually ecstatic when we learned that we had gotten them at 1/2 price – $25.00 instead of $50.00 – a tremendous deal. Frankly, we are pressed to discover who in our office ordered 500 old newspapers.

In the two years of its existence, SSOC has been pleased to work closely with SDS. The SSOC staff has encouraged some of the more active groups of southern students to affiliate with SDS. At least two SDS chapters came out of a tour by Steve Weissman which was sponsored by, coordinated by, and paid for by SSOC. That was fine. Additionally, as our written work continues to improve, we hope other groups will feel free to reprint it. We hope that we can continue to work closely with SDS; certainly, incidents such as those cited above will not result in our refusal to do so. On the other hand, things like these do not encourage us to love SDS more and more every day, nor do they coincide with the picture we have in our minds of the northern leader of the New Left. (SNICK continues to lead in the South, and perhaps in the nation.) A little organizational chauvinism is certainly not a bad thing, but if it crosses the line to become the "arrogance of power," that is another matter. We trust that SDS does not aspire to the position in the New Left that some leaders in the United States aspire to in the world.

With Fraternal concern,

Ed Hamlett, SSOC campus traveller, At-large SDS NC member (for the SSOC staff)

Ed Note: The bill for Gainsville is in the process of being paid. This action was taken before we received the above letter. I have no excuse for not reporting on the role of SSOC in distributing the draft test, it was an oversight.

In the case of the lifted articles, I can only say that it was an error which will not be repeated and happened because I am not the best (or for that matter even technically competent) editor for NLN's. I am only doing the job because no one else was willing to do the job when it had to be done (see next issue of NLN's for a NC proposal in part dealing with the selection of an editor for NLN's). The truth of the matter is that not only am I not organizationaly chauvinistic, but it would never normally occur to me that other people were orientated in such a way that they would want the members of SDS to recognise that some other organization first printed an article which I felt should be reprinted in order to further discussion. I understand that this entire mix-up happened only because I am not a good editor and do not understand the polite niceities which a good editor should understand.

NEW LEFT NOTES

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Editor, Speck

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Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.; (415) 362-7922

Vol. 1, No. 20 let the people decide June 3, 1966

wind in the fields

Across the San Joaquin Valley, across California, across the entire Southwest of the United States, wherever there are Mexican people, wherever there are farm workers, our movement is spreading like flames across a dry plain.

Plan of Delano

Sometime, somewhere, during the first Grapenik tour, we could have summarized the dominant feeling of our experience with the expression: A change is gonna' come. It would be difficult to say where, or how, or when, but, after a point, it became very difficult to justify going on to the next town. We already knew what we were going to line out, namely, hope, apprehension, determination, even commitment. And even though we knew there was a movement in the making, we could not decide to return to San Francisco and face the inevitable questions and the thankless task of writing reports. That is, we did not know if we had words to explain our own hope, and apprehension, determination, and, maybe our commitment.

We have spent hours talking to one another, often it was like listening to a recording of a precious session with roles switched around, sometimes smiling to ourselves because any one could have said what we all felt and thought, a few times having to take a break from each other because no communication was possible on a crucial, or trivial, topic. The difficulties encountered in trying to reach consensus should be obvious. We spent three weeks talking to dozens of people who have been concerned with farm labor since the twenties. Rank and file, fruit tramps, organizers and ex-organizers, burned out and sell-out ex-militants, official or private do-gooders, insurgents and reformers, residents and migrants, the despondent and the hopeful,—everybody we could get ahold of.

So far, we can agree wholeheartedly only to the observation that there is a movement in the making. What puzzles us is the direction, timing, and institutional forms this movement is taking. Also, where this movement fits in the spectrum of the civil rights, peace, and economic reform movements. We can see the task of describing and interpreting the farm labor movement as an on-going process which will be influenced largely by the degree of our involvement in that movement, and, more importantly, by the degree of commitment to radical change that develops within the movement itself. It will take plenty of work in the months and maybe years ahead, before we can come up with definitive statements about the movement, at present we can only expect to make partial evaluations.

We found many cases of traditional "uplift" programs in which selected farm workers are helped, educationally or otherwise, to overcome the most obvious disadvantages of their poverty. At Oxnard, a projected six hundred farm workers are being given (or will be given) basic English training under O.E.O. auspices. Of those we spoke with, many expressed a desire to become foremen or to get out of farm labor. Again, in San Jose, a very well-intentioned worker for the O.E.O. said she was very hopeful, because before when she worked with church groups, she was only doing band-aid work, but now the government allowed her to do for hundreds what she did before for only two or three at a time. In other words, the band-aids were bigger and longer.

There is no question in our minds about the honesty of those engaged in such programs. However, it is difficult to see how the increased status of a few will modify fundamentally the conditions in which over three hundred thousand farm workers throughout California suffer economic, social, and political disenfranchisement. The real fault with such programs is that something is being done for some farmworkers, who, in turn had little to do with the structure and content of the projects. These types of programs must be thoroughly analyzed to show their ineffectiveness in the context of a real movement for social change; only then will we be able to do political work with their staffs and, hopefully, with the farm workers.

More harmful, because they promise much more, are the so-called leadership training programs. Project Buenaventura, in Oxnard, (O.E.O.), is supposedly training 12 farm workers for leadership positions. We were never able to get a clear explanation of how recruitment was conducted, the content of the training program, or the social context where that leadership was to be applied. Yet these are crucial questions and will determine the direction of that program. Some of the trainees are involved in community organizing in a group called Citizens Against Poverty, CAP, with a block-by-block organizing structure in the Mexican colonies. The groups seemed to have no specific labor orientation; neither did it seem to have a clear program. It may become a militant community union; but it does not appear to lead into labor unionism. Still, such a development might make the leadership training program more meaningful and relevant to future political work.

Similarly, we found some self-help programs which open up some possibilities. Notably, the American Friends Service Committee-initiated self-help housing projects. Under these projects, interested farm workers in a community are helped to find whether they qualify for government loans, and then are organized in a group which will see through the building of the homes, using their own labor. In this way, an equity is established in their labor. The number of people who benefit from these is rather small and their advancement is limited to one or three steps up the ladder of the grape society. However, once having seen the value of group action, some of the people involved in those projects have gone on to do civil rights or political work.

The potential militance and political education of many farm workers is handicapped in a series of organizations we refer to as holding operations. Basically, these programs try to keep industrial peace by emphasizing the short term gains which can be made through political pressure, moral appeal, etc. In the long run, however, they leave political and economic power in the hands of the growers and their allies. Sometimes, holding operations are organized by churches, trying to minimize the potential struggle between the poor and the mighty within their membership. Their slogan might be: practice charity on the poor, but don't block sources of funds. On occassion, concerned citizens of the middle class will engage in organizing holding programs to avoid class strife within their communities (though this is seldom the express purpose of their work). There is political capital to be made in this, as well. Often enough, labor unions will make jurisdictional claims to establish their holding position. These are made in the form of organizing committees, offices for future locals, or quickie, localized strikes, and are made often without the intention of becoming involved in a serious organizing drive.

Holding programs should not be discounted because of the conservative motivations behind them. It is quite common for these types of programs to create difficulties for their organizers, once the people have a framework within which militancy can be expressed. The experiences of urban war-on-poverty programs have frequently substantiated this. Tentatively, we would say that the Community Service Organization, The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AF of L-CIO), and United Farm Workers function, or have functioned, often as holding programs. (Further study of these groups would be valuable, and we are interested in hearing from anyone who wants to do, or is doing, that.)

Of special interest to SDS members are those programs which could be considered part of the movement. *Movements* give a high priority to membership participation in decision making, allow for the positive development of militancy in achieving their goals, and represent broad alligments of viewpoints (internally) and support. We found three groups in which these elements are operative: the Migrant Ministry, the Cursillos de Christiandad, and National Farm Workers Association.

The Migrant Ministry, after years of band-aid and soup-and-water projects, has become engaged in grass-roots organizing of many kinds. Most important, yet, is that the Migrant Ministry has become engaged in a theological dialogue, within the church, which might bring about the first socially-relevant transformation of the protestant churches since social gospel days. The Student Christian Movement (SCM) and similar groups should become available to political debate and action within the student left. The Cursillo de Cristiandad are the least known and most remarkable of developments within the Catholic Church. Organized by the church, the cursillos represent a brotherhood of lay people deeply committed to bringing doctrine to bear on social issues. Within the Mexican-American community, it plays a role similar to that some protestant groups have played in the South. You are bound to hear more about the cursillos. Both the Migrant Ministry and the Cursillos have already helped to modify the attitude of the churches towards mass social action.

The other group doing movement-type work is the National Farm Workers' Association. In the four years of its existence, it has used elements of self-help, uplift, and holding operations. During the same period, FWA has constantly increased its membership; it has shown potential for militant action; it is training secondary leadership in the process of increased organizing activity; and it has enlisted wide-spread public support. Maybe the most important aspect of NFWA's style of organizing (small house meetings, co-operative businesses, the politically sharp Teatro) may help safeguard against bread-and-butter unionism. In the FWA's approach, the civil rights problems of the agricultural labor force are highlighted as the need for real economic reform.

The overall farm labor situation in California is very flexibel at present, and most groups are in the process of rapid change and modification. All symptoms indicate that more and more people are beginning to demand social justice, in their lifetimes. There are innumerable opportunities of research and action which should not be allowed to go unused.

Eliezer Risco

FARM LABOR, STUDENTS, AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In this paper we have considered what we feel should be the guidelines for student action in building a movement of farm workers—we have made few recommendations for specific projects. But there is one role that students can take this summer to significantly support the unionization of farm labor which deserves special attention. We are talking about civil disobedience.

Everyone is aware that the law operates to exclude farm workers from collective bargaining rights and other protection, but few commentators have drawn attention to the way in which the law and the courts directly challenge the rights of the workers to organize.' Those workers who live on the property of labor ,contractors, growers, or grower associations, are deprived routinely of basic human rights established for the rest of the population over thirty years ago. The rights of free speech and assembly, free movement, free association and communication, don't exist, at the present time, for those communities of farm workers who live in today's agricultural "company towns."

For the members of these camps, the possession of shelter is directly dependent on their ability to maintain employment. Like the braceros, who could be "repatriated" instantly if they spoke out for better wages or working conditions, the domestic worker who lives in company housing can be evicted instantly from his shelter for the same actions. Like the braceros, the camp workers provide growers with a captive labor system. Now that the bracero program has ended, the percentage of domestic farm workers who live in such camps will be increased. Many of those camps which formerly held Mexican nationals will now hold domestic workers, under essentially the same kind of intimidation. New camps are being built as growers are forced to deal with the reality of workers with families. It is possible that such grower-sponsored family housing will be built with government subsidies, and yet the issue of free speech within these camps has yet to be dealt with by government agencies.

A year ago, the Monterey County Board of Supervisors forecasted that mobile homes built by growers would be part of the answer to the loss of the bracero. One grower who quickly realized the potential for maintaining a captive labor system without imported labor was Harden Farms of California. Harden has built, initially, a twenty-nine unit mobile trailer park, and plans to get the bulk of his six hundred to seven hundread peak labor force *from* trailer camps he will own and operate. The *California Farmer* frankly boasts that tenancy in the camps will be used to intimidate workers from bargaining: "Thinking runs toward using housing in some form of an incentive program both to *keep* labor and to have them take better care of the units. This could take the form of a payroll housing deduction, all or part of which could be returned if workers complete the contract."

The Salinas Strawberry Association has completed construction of a two hundred fifty unit trailer park built by MobiLodge; is building another two hundred fifty unit; and has had its plans for a third facility of five hundred units stalled by the Salinas Board of Supervisors. The Strawberry Association is planning to recruit tenant-workers from out of state. They will provide transportation from other states to Salinas, and will pick up the farm workers as they arrive at the bus depot. Such workers, most of them with families averaging five to eight members, will lose much more than a job if they attempt to bargain with the employer. They will lose the refunded portion of the one hundred dollars a month they pay, they will be evicted from their shelter, and they will have no transportation to see work elsewhere. The system is foolproof. Behind the color and landscape of the casual, carefree, comfortable trailer park operates a system of economic compulsion no less rigorous than the kraals of South Africa.

Those who thought that the death of Public Law 78 would free California growers from their plantation mentality will resist having to concede that the battle has not yet been won. The New Abolitionist movement that Henry Anderson of Citizens for Farm Labor called for several years ago, to fight the bracero system, never really emerged.* There is a chance that the events of Delano may stir enough people to see that the building of such a movement is imperative if we are to eliminate captive labor systems in all of their guises.

One tool that could strike at the compulsiveness of such camps as Hardens is civil disobedience. The workers in such camps will not be members of a free labor system until they are free to exercise their rights of free speech and assembly without fear of reprisal. It is necessary that workers establish the independence of housing from employment, that there be a separate renter's contract that guarantees protection from eviction for the exercising of constitutional rights, and that the practice of indenturing the worker through exorbitant monthly deposits (that are returned only if the worker satisfactorily fulfills his employment contract) be declared illegal.

Since the rent is almost always deducted from the worker's paycheck, a simple rent strike is impossible. The workers would have to conduct a work stoppage as well. One possibility is that the workers would refuse to leave the camp for work until a renters contract guaranteeing constitutional rights was agreed to by the management. There is at least a good possibility that the Department of Employment would not view such action as a valid labor dispute, and that local law enforcement and courts would regard it as illegal. Growers might respond by attempting to physically evict the trailer residents, by trying to move the trailers to another area, or by arresting the tenants for trespassing. Such moves would be met by a sit-in of the tenants and hundreds of supporters, by an attempt to enjoin the camp owner from disturbing, vacating, moving, or re-renting the trailer units, and by an attempt to prove in the courts that evictions had taken place in the past of tenant-workers who had attempted to exercise their constitutional rights, and that the only way to guarantee such rights is through rent contracts and the abolition of rent-indentures.

Such a project would, of course, consist of much more than civil disobedience. Provisions would have to be made for feeding the strikers, for court costs, and possibly for liabilities. In addition, the project could be seen only as a middle step in the long-range organizing of the trailer camp residents. It requires the building of a movement – as Anderson called it, a New Abolitionist movement – to implement this proposal or any others concerned with the new patterns of captivity that seem to be emerging. When the bracero program was in effect, growers were well insured against tenant-workers demanding their rights. To preserve the same characteristics of this system now will require more vigilance by the growers.

Section 602(n) of the California Penal Code is the criminal tresspass statute. Among other things, it establishes that labor camps are private property and prohibits unauthorized entry into such compounds. Through this law, large sections of the farm labor force – communities of hundreds or thousands of domestic workers – are rendered incommunicado. Although laws prohibiting unauthorized entry, soliciting, pamphleting, assembly, or speech within company towns have been struck down as unconstitutional, the inviolability of farm labor camps remains. It is an inviolability that also must be challenged by civil disobedience – and court action.

The only recent court challenge to the Trespassing Statute's applicability to farm labor camps took place in the closing years of the bracero program. In October, 1961, volunteer organizers working with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee tried to distribute handbills to braceros housed at the Leduca & Perry (labor contractors) camp. The braceros there had previously expressed grievances about food, medical care, and other conditions and had expressed a wish to be represented by A.W.O.C.

As the volunteers appeared at the gate of the camp after notifying the management of their intention, the managers closed the gates. The braceros in the compound approached the fence and began accepting and reading the leaflets that the volunteers passed through the fence. The volunteers were ordered to leave, and then an owner and a body guard attacked the volunteers. They knocked one to the ground and kicked him. They were then dragged inside the compound while an owner phoned the county sheriff. The volunteers were charged with trespassing, and a charge of disturbing the peace was dropped later.'

The Northern California branch of the ACLU decided to take the case, arguing that the arrest was a violation of free speech and that, because of the nature of the operation conducted at the Perry & Leduca camp, the property, although originally private in nature, had assumed a public or quasi-public character. In January, 1962, the defendent was found guilty. The judges opinion, "This is in essence an attempt to compel the employer, whose views may be in sharp conflict with the non-employee organizer, to accept the weapons of economic strife selected by the advocate of collective representation." The ACLU then appealed to the County Superior Court, but the three judges involved (one of whom was a grower and all three of whom had a record of ruling against A.W.O.C. in all previous cases) affirmed the decision. In 1963, the ACLU petitioned the United States Supreme Court to review the records of the case. The petition was ultimately denied, apparently because the court thought the Congressional decision to abolish P. L. 78 made further decisions unnecessary.

The law has not been tested since. One union tried to arrange a test by having an employee within the camp send a letter to the union asking that a representative call on him "at his home." No employee could be found, however, who would accept the reprisals for sending such a letter.

A test of the law could be made again by students this summer in essentially the same fashion as that conducted by AWOC volunteers. Or such a test might be conceived of as part of longer range organizing projects. That test would attempt both to challenge the law which makes labor camp communities preserves from civil liberties, and to organize the farm labor force in making that challenge.

These examples are meant only to initiate thinking about the possibility of combining organizing work with civil disobediance etc. Transforming such ideas into reality requires patience, skill, and long-term commitment.

Walt Sheasby

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*Henry P. Anderson, **Fields of Bondage**. Berkeley, 1963 (mimeo)

roosevelt university's draft sit-in

In the April 29 issue of *New Left Notes*, I presented an analysis of the political and moral reasons why SDS should organize against University co-operation with the SSS in terms of ranking and college deferment tests. Since then, based on opposition to ranking and the SRA tests, 450 students seized the administration building at U of C. At U of Wisconsin over 1,000 sat in, at CCNY Buffalo and Brooklyn hundreds more sat in.

The movement against Ranking and the College Deferment Tests started at Roosevelt U. early February. On Thursday, May 26, a total of 60 students and faculty had been arrested while sitting in at the administration area. Our demands were — (1) That the University refuse to co-operate with SSS by refusing to make class ranks available to local draft boards. (2) That no further SRA draft deferment exams be given at Roosevelt U. (3) That students and faculty have the controlling voice in decision making. It was the first time since 1964 (at Berkely) that students have been arrested on their own university.

It was decided that instead of organizing under the name of SDS, we would broaden the scope and call ourselves Students for Self Determination; thus, trying to involve the largest coalition possible. The coalitions, however, were not undefined politically. We took a position that the self-determination of the Vietnamese people was being violated; thus, we opposed the war in Vietnam and called for its end.

We also called for the abolition of the II-S deferment as it discriminates against people from different social and economic backgrounds and sets students apart from the rest of society as an elite group.

We also felt that the students self-determination at R.U. was being violated because, as students, we had no part in the decision making concerning ranking and the SRA tests given on campus.

On May 19, the first day of the demonstration, over 100 students were sitting in the Presidents office, the Deans office, Registration offices and Admissions offices. The Dean of Students stated that "demonstrators will not be permitted to stay in the building past the closing time," and "whatever steps are necessary will be taken." Thus, at 10:30, fifty city police arrested twenty-five students including the president elect and two senators of the Student Senate. The reason given by the administration for the arrests was that they could not protect the administration' offices.

The next day we received from the administration a document stating that if we would stop our sit-in, they would drop charges against us and begin negotiations. The group unanomously turned down the administration offer feeling that our three demands had not been met.

For the next 6 days arrests were made every night at 10:30 when the building closed. The number of people arrested ranged from 2 a night to 25. During the period of arrests, we entered into negotiations with the administration. It was obvious from the beginning of the negotiations that the administration was trying to stall us into final exams; therefore, we decided that the sit-ins must continue until our demands were met and until we were allowed to non-violently protest day and night on our University.

The sit-ins and especially the arrests lasting 5 days caused political divisions all the way from the Board of Trustees down to parents of Roosevelt students. One member of the Board of Trustees, Patrick Gorman, President of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmens Union, sent a telegram to the University President stating the student deferment and ranking system set up a near autocracy in society which discriminated against working people. Gorman further stated that R.U. should not cooperate with SSS by ranking male students. A petition signed by over 25 faculty members deplored the actions of the administration for arresting students who were non-violently protesting; and said that they would act as security guards in the building. The petition also called for an emergency session of the Faculty Senate to decide on the question of ranking. At this time the Student Senate passed a resolution opposing the University computing class ranks for SSS and appropriated $50.00 for bail money. Then to even further intensify the situation, a mother of one of the students who was incensed by the arrests and the ranking system, committed civil disobedience and went to jail with her daughter.

Final exams ended what the administration and city police could not achieve–stepping our sit-ins. Sixteen students were arrested the day before finals; thus, ending our demonstration with unity and strength.

We sent a letter to the administration stating that we were going to contact all alumni concerning a financial boycott, talk to the faculty and the Board of Trustees, develop outside support from the Church, Civil Rights and Labor movements, and continue our demonstrations into the summer, until our demands were met.

We learned that the Administrative Council would make the final decision on ranking sometime during the summer; so, there is a possibility that if we keep up the pressure our demands will be met.

It is becoming very clear that we have the beginnings of a National Student Movement around the questions of the War, the draft, and University co-operation. It is essential on June 16, (The day before the National Council at Ann Arbor) that all universities that have had or are planning action against ranking and SRA tests meet to discuss tactics and strategy for the fall and the possibilities of a new SDS National Program.

Steve Baum Regional Coordinator,
Chicago Region SDS

rep comments...

(Con't. from p. 1)

redefinition of the movement to include all radicals. I can too easily see REP turning into a bunch of people talking to themselves but still basically feeling alienated from and not part of the movement. Precisely the problem with SDS members in college is that so many of them will not in the future be doing things which are now defined as part of the movement (whether it be in the professions, or being bureaucrats, or being housewives, or whatever). Unless we find a way to truly welcome them into the movement, and make them feel a part of the movement – while at the same time retaining a radical criticism of the institutions in which they work, which is no small and possibly contradictory task unless we can do that, most of those people will drift away from the movement, and indeed from radicalism itself. Again, the problem is not with those who are really dedicated but have difficulty finding a niche defined as part of the movement (for instance, myself), but with "ordinary" SDS members whose sense and amount of dedication will depend to no small degree on how open the movement is to them.

Don McKelvey

san francisco summer project previewed

Educational Program

Faculty are beginning to come together in the six areas mentioned in the brochure: Electoral Politics, Imperialism and Its Responses, Agencies of Change, Freedom and Alienation, Ideology, Strategy and Tactics. Bibliographies, reading lists and syllabi are being prepared and will be sent to applicants as they are completed.

Seminars and lectures are scheduled to begin on June 27. An orientation session will begin one week earlier on June 20.

Work Program

The RESEARCH area of the project will have groups of five to ten involved in study of foreign policy, labor, small liberal arts colleges and farm labor in California:

*We have an extensive library dealing with Southeast Asia with an emphasis on Vietnam available. Resource people have been contacted in these and other areas such as Latin America and South Africa. We also have access to a library dealing with Latin America with an emphasis on Cuba.

*Research facilities of several unions will be available as well as the opportunity for personal contact with individuals within the labor movement now and in the thirties.

*There will be a research seminar on the problems of "progressive" small liberal arts colleges. The group will produce a paper around these questions: Is the college "community" a realistic idea? Is it built through structure? Why are progressive programs institutionalized? Is the individual professor more important that the structure of the class he teaches? Participants will examine the positions of the small college in the American college system and try to define

*Citizens for a Democratic Society, an adult group which indentifies with SDS politics and style needs people to work with its recently approved auto boycott project and to help CDS to expand into other parts of the Bay Area.

People are needed to work in the RO on the newsletter, the publications program, conferences and educational programs for people in the project and other students working in California.

The RADICAL THEATRE project will be involved in two or three areas, depending on the interests of the group: children's theatre and puppet shows working out of the SDS Storefront in Haight-Ashbury and hopefully expanding into other communities; development of a satirical review; possibilities in agit-prop and improvisation; and maybe a seminar in radical playwrights (Brecht, Becket, Albee, etc.)

CIVIL RIGHTS activity will involve research, publicity and contacting community groups for JOBART (Justice on the Bay Area Rapid Transit District) which is working on the problems growing out of scheduled destruction of lower class neighborhoods and discriminatory hiring by BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit).

Much of the summer work with LIBERAL CHURCH GROUPS, BOYCOTT COMMITTEES, and NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS will be co-ordinated through the SF State Associated Students Community Involvement Program. People working in Haight-Ashbury will work closely with the Neighborhood Council, a group formed to work on that community's problems (freeways, politics, etc.); the Haight-Ashbury Vietnam Committee; and two churches in the area which have youth programs and a coffee house.

Five to ten people will be working with the collective personal experienced -- e.g. the drug scene, constant pressure, etc. The seminar will involve 5-10 people.

*The direction of the research seminar on farm labor organizing in California will be decided largely by those people involved. But the general emphasis will probably attempt to research union drives in California farm labor from about 1905 and the *IWW* to 1946, with several papers coming out of that. The work on the period from 1946 to the present should be aimed at filling gaps in Walt Sheasby's paper, "Farm Workers and Organized Labor" in *Wind in the Fields* (a paper just written by five RO staff people after a tour of the California valley.) The structure will be seminar and original research.

ORGANIZING work will occur primarily within two SDS-initiated projects, the form which that work takes being largely determined by the people involved. The two areas are:

*The SDS Storefront is located in Haight-Ashbury, a neighborhood with a large student concentration on the edge of one of SF's worst ghettoes. This means that people will have the opportunity to organize students around community rather than campus issues. The Storefront has a real potential for becoming a community center. Already a number of high school, college and adult groups have been using the building for meetings, functions and informal discussion, but really intensive and consistant work has never been done there. Libraries on Southeast Asia and Farm Labor are housed in the Storefront, as well as darkroom facilities and a move projector. People working in the radical theatre project probably will also be using the Storefront for rehearsals and plays.

LABOR UNIONS. Examples are the AFT's organizing campaign, working on the Dispatcher (ILWU newspaper), organizing civil service people in mental hospitals for the Civil Service Employee's union, working with striking printer's union, etc.

POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS such as the Friends Committee on Legislation need people for lobbying work, interviewing candidates, research on bills to come before the state legislature and U. S. Congress.

People will work in the five or six PEACE CAMPAIGNS in the Bay Area which will continue during the summer. Work will include publicity, community work, education and research.

People will also be placed with several community-based VIETNAM PROTEST GROUPS in San Francisco. Some are little more than organizing committees while others have been in existence for a year and have fairly highly developed program and constituency.

There will be work on the June 24 DRAFT exam and following up the new contacts made in Northern California campuses with the goal of expanding the war protest into the Junior Colleges and four year colleges.

Some people will work across the Bay in Oakland with several GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS that have been active around issues of welfare, school lunches, and housing. (Also see Civil Rights.)

for information OR APPLICATIONS WRITE: 924 HOWARD STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94103 or call (415-362-7922).

corporate agriculture in california

by Ken Blum

The Delano Grape Strike of 1965-1966 cannot be understood without realizing the power of agribusiness in California. This paper is an attempt to evaluate the strike in terms of the context of Corporate Agriculture in this state.

Since *The Grapes of Wrath* the oppressed condition of the farm worker has been popularly recognized as a particularly Californian problem. There is a reason for this: the average California farm is about four times more valuable than the average farm nationally, with the average farm in California being more than 400 acres and worth about $200,000 whereas the average farm elsewhere is worth about $50,000. Since the initial division of land at the time of California's admission to the Union when the corrupt Mexican Land Grants produced tremendous land holdings, the land has changed hands but has essentially retained its original distribution. One present day land holder, The Kern County Land Company, acquired over 400,000 acres of California land by getting Congress to pass the Desert Land law during the administration of President Grant and by using all kinds of fraud. The result was that California became the domain of what is today called agribusiness.

Ed Note: We are printing several articles from *Wind in the Fields*, a pamphlet put out by the SF regional office. The complete phamplet can be obtained by sending 25 cents to: SDS, 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.

People all over the country eat Del Monte foods, usually unaware of the involvements of the company that produces them, the California Packing Corporation or, as it is commonly called, Cal Pak. This company, the largest canned fruit company in the U.S., has subsidiaries in Alaska, the Philippines, Canada, Mexico, South Africa, Venezuela, Japan, Puerto Rico and Italy. It sells more than $400,000,000 worth of Del Monte products a year and has interlocking directorates with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Bank of California, Wells Fargo Bank, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, New York Life Insurance Co., and Stanford University, to name a very few.

The Anderson-Clayton Company owns 15 cotton gins in Tulare County alone (one of the two counties where the grape strike is going on), out of a total of 51 gins, each installed at the cost of a quarter-million dollars. In California these gins go under the name of the San Joaquin Cotton Oil Co. Anderson-Clayton also owns great numbers of gins in Mississippi, which fact struggling Negroes in the South have found out. It owns plants in Latin America and even one in the Communist world.

The Transamerica Company actually owned over half of Northern and Central California in 1939 when the last governmental hearing was held. It also owns Occidental Life Insurance Company, Transamerica Title Insurance Company, General Metal Corporation (with foundries in Oakland, Los Angeles and Houston, and aircraft and missile part plants in Southern California and West Virginia), and the Transamerica Development Company with 400,000 acres of productive and prospective oil land plus interest in development projects in Palos Verdes, Concord, Hayward, Moraga and Sacramento, California, and on and on. Transamerica, until it was liquidated in 1952, owned the Bank of America outright. There is reason to believe it still owns Bank of America, through its subsidiary General Metals.

Other powerful forces in Agribusiness include Libby-McNeil and Libby -- giant food distributor, Safeway Stores, Hegglblade-Marguleas of San Francisco, California Fruit Exchange, Liberty Farms, and the Southern Pacific Land Company (which according to the president's son owns 5,000,000 acres of land in the west). Other large corporations with a direct interest in agriculture are Pacific Gas and Electric which supplies growers with power, the Bank of America which supplies them with credit, Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads which bring their produce to market, International Harvester which sells them farm machinery and Crown Zellerbach which supplies them with wrappers for their produce.

Supporters of the Delano Grape Strike throughout the nation knew about the success of the boycott of Schenley liquors in bringing them to the bargaining table. Schenley is one of the nation's big three wine producers along with Gallo and United Vintners. Schenley Industries made $17,700,000 in profits last year, but this does not indicate what its salaried officials got. In 1961 Lewis Rosenstiel, the president of Schenley, made $2,600,000 in salary. Schlenley owns 53% of the Buckingham Corp. which produces Cutty Sark, the nation's number two whiskey.

The grape pickers of Delano are now concentrating their forces against the Di Giorgio Corporation, often called the nation's largest grower. Its sales were $132,000,000 in 1964. It owns S&W Fine Foods, a national line, Treesweet Products, a lumber and box company, and controls three auction terminals. It has four interlocking directorships with the Bank of America, and others with Pacific Gas and Electric, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Bank of California, Union Oil Company and Broadway-Hale Stores.

Even the so-called "family" farmers being struck against are the most powerful in the Tulare-Kern County area. Whereas Di Giorgio of the Earl Fruit Company where the strike is going on produces 115 freight cars a year, all the Zaninovich Brothers produce 758 freight cars, Caratan produces 70, Lucich 55, Ed Merzoian 750 (apparently the greatest production in Tulare County), Divizich 375, Pandol 140, J. Bodovich 50 and G. Radovich 50, for a total of 1590 freight cars. In Tulare County the average cold storage plant holds 93 cars, while the last seven ranchers named whom the strike is against average 227 freight cars apiece.

It is against this background that the strike must be seen to have a coherent picture of its importance to radicals throughout the nation.

who reads the n.i.c.'s & n.a.c.'s ?

SDS and Students Against the Rank (U. of Chicago) have issued a joint call for a one-day institute of campus anti-draft movements to meet in Ann Arbor, Michigan, Thursday June 16.

In issuing the call, Jackie Goldberg (leader of the University of Chicago movement) and Paul Booth (SDS National Secretary) said: "We anticipate heightened activity in the fall. The demonstrations against university cooperation with the Selective Service system that took place this Spring are merely a prelude to the activity that will take place this fall."

The one-day workshop will bring together activists from at least eight campuses which saw sit-ins or other direct action protests: Chicago Roosevelt, Wisconsin Cornell, New Platz (N.Y.), Stanford, City College, and Brooklyn College. It will be an occasion for evaluation of what has taken place thus far, both on the campuses and in public responses such as Secretary of Defense McNamara's call for universal national service. As well, the meeting will discuss guidelines for action in the fall.

Students Against the Rank at the University of Chicago staged the sit-in protest that triggered much of the national activity. Students for a Democratic Society carried on during May a protest of the draft tests and passed out its own "national Vietnam examination" at over 800 campuses, "putting college administrations all over the country on notice" it said "of the breadth of student discontent with the voluntary participation of their universities in conscripting manpower for the war in Vietnam."

Paul Booth

Regional coordination for great plains region (Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri) will be carried on by Pam Smith, 4340 Campbell, Kansas City, Missouri JE 1-8951.

The Niagara Region of SDS will open its office on July 1st. The address is 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, New York. Tom Bell will be working as full-time regional secretary come fall.

SDS CONFERENCE on POLITICAL ORGANIZING, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 15, 16.

An opportunity for reflection on recent experience in political organizing, in community projects, in electoral campaigns, in independent political action committees.

The SDS conference on Political Organizing is an effort to compare these experiences and clarify their lessons for our theory of social change.

Discussions led by experienced organizers from ERAP, CIPA, SNCC; several 1966 electoral candidates will be present.

Registration: VOICE, rm. 2534 Student Activities Building, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor (313) 663-6610, pre-registration: SDS, 1103 E. 63rd, Chicago (312) 667-6050.

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