

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Proposed By Clark Kissinger

The principal problems addressed by the following suggested Constitutional amendments are (1) removing anachronistic sections and making the Constitution conform to existing reality, (2) creating provisions for the democratic structuring of regions and regional offices, and (3) reducing the size of the National Council to a functional level.

Amendment 1: Repeal of Articles II and IX. Reasons: These articles specify our affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy which was terminated on Oct. 4, 1965.

Amendment 2: Reword Sentence one, Section 3, Article V to read: "Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five members, each delegate to have five votes at the Convention. However, in order to be seated as a delegate with five votes written notice of the delegate's election must be received by the National Office prior to the Convention." Reasons: This one-man-one-vote system was the original wording of the Constitution. It was changed at the 1963 Convention because at that time SDS was very small and one chapter (U. of Mich.) had one third of

all the Convention votes. This situation obviously no longer applies.

Amendment 3: Reword the last sentence of Section 2, Article VI, to read: "The NC shall also be responsible for fiscal and staff policy, appointment of the National Secretary and Assistant National Secretaries, structure and appointment of a National Administrative Committee, and making arrangements for the National Convention." Reasons: The old wording included such things as drafting an annual report, and appointing representatives to the LID.

Amendment 4: Reword the second sentence of Section 4, Article VI, to read: "A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members of whose election the National Council has been notified." Reason: The NC quorum has always been difficult to apply because of uncertainty over what number to take 40% of.

Amendment 5: Delete the last sentence of Section 4, Article VIII. Reason: In June, 1964, when this sentence was introduced, there were only one or two staff members. The problems of staff selection and retention are now much more complicated and must be handled by procedures established by the NC.

Amendment 6: The following new Article shall be introduced into the Constitution:

Section 1. All the chapters and/or members in a given geographical area may constitute themselves a Region of SDS. New regions shall submit their constitutions and be recognized provisionally by the President pending the next regular NC meeting. All disputes over regional boundaries shall be resolved by the NC.

Section 2. Regions of SDS shall hold at least one membership Convention each year, and may establish regional officers as deemed necessary. Regional programs, staff, and offices shall be administered by a Regional Council providing for proportional representation of all chapters and at-large members in the Region.

Section 3. While fundamentally responsible to their regional constituency, Regions are expected to operate with the broad terms of policy set by the National Convention and the National Council. Any points of conflict shall finally be resolved by the National Council.

Amendment 7: Reword Section 2, Article IV, to read:

Section 2. A chapter may be chartered by the Regional Council of the area in which it is organized, or by the National Council in areas which have no organized regions. The chapter shall submit a membership list, a constitution or statement of principles, and notification of election of officers or Regional representatives. Chapters may be provisionally recognized by the President or appropriate regional officer pending the meeting of the N.C. or Regional Council respectively. Decisions of regional Councils on the chartering of new chapters is clearly regional business.

Amendment 8: Section 1, Article VI, shall be replaced by the following two new sections:

Section 1 shall be the same as the previous Section 1 except for the first part of the first sentence which shall read: The National Council shall be composed of (1) elected regional representatives; (2) . . .

Section 2. The membership of each recognized Region shall elect one representative to the National Council for each 100 or fraction thereof members in good standing within its area. All areas not organized into recognized regions shall be divided by the N.C. into electoral regions for the purposes of N.C. representation. Representatives from electoral regions shall be elected by the membership of such regions in a manner and for terms prescribed by the N.C.

Reasons: The present Constitution and structure of SDS was devised in a period when SDS had 1,000 members and 20 chapters. The enormous growth of SDS over the last years stimulated the growth of functioning regions and bloated to an unworkable size the organization's principle executive body. The present theoretical size of the NC is well over 200. Needless to say, this many voting delegates can never get together four times a year (it's a big country). The result is unrepresentative meetings.

At first glance, it would seem that this amendment cuts the N.C. by one fourth (changing the representation scale from 1 for 25 to 1 for each 100). But notice the effect of the amendment is to enfranchise several thousand SDS members-at-large who have never before had representation on the National Council. The goal is the creation of a functioning body of 50 to 100 elected representatives who, representing whole regions, will be present at every NC meeting.

AND MORE

Could you please publish the following proposed amendment to the SDS Constitution:

In Article VI, Section 1, which lists who shall be members of the National Council, add a new subsection, (3) four members of SDS chosen at the close of each annual convention by lot from the whole membership, provided that each of the four shall come from a different region of SDS. Re-number existing subsections (3), (4), and (5) to be (4), (5), and (6) respectively.

The proposal is based on the custom of Athens after it became a radical democracy in the 4th century, B.C., and upon the belief that at least part of the N.C. can be chosen on the assumption that "everyone is qualified." The Athenians chose all but one of their executive officers by lot; they believed that election was pseudo-democratic, since it rewarded the most articulate, the best "connected," etc., and therefore ultimately some sort of oligarchy. To elect four of the N.C. in this fashion would be a useful experiment in discovering whether in fact everyone is qualified, and if we find it so we can move to expand the principle. (To do more at one blow might be dangerous.)

Arthur I. Waskow

new left notes

an internal newspaper of
students for a democratic society

1608 w. madison, rm. 206

chicago, ill. 60612

Vol. 1, No. 26 & 27 let the people decide July 15 & 22, 1966

MAJOR ERRATA:

National SDS New Address is

1608 w. madison, rm. 206

chgo., ill. 60612

REPORT ON CONVENTION

The SDS National Convention, to be held in Clear Lake, Iowa will begin the afternoon of August 27 and last through the evening of September 1.

The 27th will be primarily a day for people to arrive, meet each other, and get situated. The afternoon will be left open for informal, spontaneous workshops on any relevant topic. The evening will be occupied by some sort of dance, party, or whatever. The convention planning committee has concluded that it would like to avoid beginning with a major agenda debate in plenary so, at this point, sees the morning of the 28th as occupied with workshops on the purpose of the convention. These workshops would discuss what should come out of the convention and what would be the best way to accomplish it. The workshops would elect delegates to a steering committee that would meet over breakfast and work out daily schedules of events. As the format of the convention itself will have little bearing on the content of most of the workshops, the steering committee's primary job will be to decide the amount of time spent in plenary debate on specific policy resolutions, on the election of officers and delineation of their duties, and on constitutional amendments. The steering committee will also convene new workshops linking together related questions or conclusions deriving from previously held workshops.

Workshops on specific topics will be held throughout the convention, serving both as educational bodies and as resolutions committees. Hopefully workshops can be structured around topics previously discussed in working papers (HINT!!) or proposed policy documents. We will try to work closely with the REP in setting up workshops and finding people to lead them, but to do this we will need to know what topics people want to have discussed in workshops (again HINT!!) People should send up topic suggestions with a short note explaining the need for such

a workshop. Also people should try to include working or position papers on the topic. Needless to say, the sooner we get 'em, the sooner we can stick 'em into NLN so we can all know what the convention will discuss, and, as y'all know, the only REAL democracy is one that's informed.

The importance of this convention cannot be overstressed. If SDS is to become a cohesive national organization, its members must create a real political dialogue among themselves. People around the country face many of the same kinds of problems and are experimenting with a variety of different solutions. Many people are developing analyses of American domestic and imperial real politik. These people should begin to systematically exchange experiences and ideas. While we all realize the need to build locally, things learned in Buffalo may well be valuable to those of us trying to overthrow the San Diego oligarchy. Secondly, we're few in number and susceptible to discouragement. We're all, whether in New York or Topeka or Seattle, isolated and we need the intellectual and spiritual encouragement of knowing that, yes Virginia, there is a movement.

The registration fee for the convention will be \$20, on which a hard line is to be taken. That is to say, there will be two groups of people at the convention; a big one and a little one. The big one will consist of those people who came with \$20 and gave it to us at registration, and the little one of those few folk that wrote to us in advance explaining why they couldn't afford the \$20 and were notified, in advance, that special arrangements had been made for them. (These people will have demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt, that they could not beg, borrow, steal, counterfeit, or roll a drunk for the money.) A third group will doubtlessly be those who trekked across mountain and desert, swam lakes and fought off roving bands of capitalists and got to the

(continued on page 2)

NAC Minutes - July 18

NAC meeting Monday 18 July 1966 7:00 pm.

Agenda: 1. Editor of New Left Notes, 2. Student strike proposal, 3. Assignments for conferences and meetings, 4. Fraternal relations, 5. Finances - postage meter, etc. 6. Office procedures, 7. Convention program.

People attending: NAC members - LeBlanc, Lauter, Calvert, Adams, Speck, Weissman. **Absent:** James (JOIN). **Alternate:** Condit. **Others:** Dahlberg.

1. Speck announced his intention to leave for personal reasons July 25 or 26. Leaves open job of editing NLN and Assistant National Secretary. Speck emphasized the need for a replacement who could do the job of office manager and keeping up on supplies and who also has the authority and information connected with office of Asst. Nat. Sec. Among the problems discussed: putting out sufficient number of issues of NLN to retain 2nd class permit and other postal matters; establishing priorities for resources available, etc. Greg Calvert was appointed Acting Asst. Nat. Sec. with primary responsibility for jobs of office manager and editor for NLN. Understood that a new editor for NLN would be sought out to replace him after the Convention.

2. Student strike: Adams read tentative call for student strike planned for Nov. 4 proposed by Bettina Aptheker. Adams has been asked to be among the signatories to the call. Discussion centered on the need to use such events both for building the organization and for conveying the perspectives SDS holds.

Motion: To write up the discussion of the subject before NAC and to send out that discussion to NIC and NC delegates immediately with understanding that NIC would deal with the problem. **Motion carried.** (See

accompanying article.)

3. Assignments for conferences and meetings: Several calls for representation at meetings were discussed and delegates were designated. Greg Calvert delegated to attend NCC meeting in Pittsburgh July 30-31 with specific instructions to communicate the NIC decision on the strike proposal and to deal with our position on representative problems of meeting and needs for democratic alternatives. Concerning an international conference in Japan on anti-war movement in August, it was suggested that we should be represented in a joint way with SNCC person should go. Lauter requested SNCC person should go. Lauter requested to check on funds. DuBois steering committee for August 27-28 event: Greg to attend and make clear our position with Stan Teplek as second. Speck to go to SUPA federal council meeting in Edmonton, Alberta, July 30-31. There will be a conference of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace in London in August; we have been invited to send delegate. Speck proposed that the following people be contacted to attend the National Student Association meeting August 20-25 in Urbana: Kim Moody, Charlie Kapper, John Furst, Bob Gottlieb, Quentin Basset, John Maher, Jack Weinberg, Mike Davis, Clark Kissinger, Sue Robbins, Carl Davidson, Jeff Shero, Al Haber Barry Bluestone, Rennie Davis, Carol McEldowney. Further suggested that these people meet together beforehand and submit a collective report afterwards and that they be commissioned to sell literature and buttons. It was decided that a letter would be sent to all of these people informing them of the wish of the NAC.

Meeting adjourned because of late hour (12:45 a.m.).

See Article - Page Four

by Everett C. Frost.

President Lyndon B. Johnson has said that peaceniks "only give him a pain in the stomach" when they protest the war in Vietnam. If it is true, then the more than 600 American citizens who marched on their embassy in Paris on July 4th to demand an end to the Vietnam war can only have added to his chagrin. The demonstration was unique to Paris in that it was planned and organized by a group of Americans living or touring in Paris and was designed primarily to remind the nearly 25,000 Americans touring in Paris for the holidays that there is no place they can go to be free from the questions that Vietnam poses.

But *Paix au Vietnam* (peace in Vietnam) is very much a French concern as well, and runs a close second to the attempt to halt recently-begun French nuclear tests in the Polynesian islands. In any casual wandering in any portion of Paris one is frequently confronted by anti-U. S. or pro-Vietnam slogans scrawled on the walls. Often, in fact, they are scrawled over slogans of a similar kind about Algeria -- for the French see the travesties in Vietnam as a United States version of the French travesties in Algeria. And these result in very much the same feelings of outrage, impotence, and annoyance. Thus it is no surprise that French students and peace movements were willing to cooperate with Americans in organizing and participating in the demonstration. Nearly 1,000 French joined the 600 Americans.

Also participating in the demonstration was Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Buddhist monk and Director of the Institute of Social Studies of the Buddhist University of Saigon; his wife, and various representatives of South Vietnamese student groups.

The demonstration was originally to have proceeded to the American Embassy where a petition would be signed and delivered.

July 4 - Paris

But it was directed by police to the West end of the *Place de la Concorde* (the Embassy is at the East end) where the petition was signed by approximately 500 American citizens. It reads: Paris peace demonstration--

Today, July 4, 1966, the undersigned Americans are petitioning their government through its Paris Embassy, in the hope that their demonstration in Paris, together with other similar demonstrations in the United States and throughout the world, will show our government that the slaughter in Vietnam must be stopped, and that the Vietnamese people must be allowed, through immediate negotiations, to gain peace and independence.

We respectfully demand:

That the murderous bombing raids against North and South Vietnam and its almost defenseless people be immediately halted;

That the United States recognize the real representatives of the people of South Vietnam -- principally the National Liberation Front and the United Buddhist Church, and negotiate with them;

That an immediate cease-fire be called, support to the Ky "government" be ended, and a sincere peace mission be convoked, either under the auspices of the Geneva agreements or the United Nations or an ad hoc international committee.

As Americans we are particularly concerned with the fact that our countrymen are being forced to kill and be killed in an undeclared war for a constantly shifting purpose. We are equally concerned by the pious

lip-service being paid to the American principles of just revolution and independence on Independence Day, while such documents as the egalitarian, neutralist, and pacifist ten-point declaration of the National Liberation Front (1960) are ignored. It is only by opposing true principles of peace to the repeated distortions of our democratic heritage which emanate from the spokesmen of the American government that independence for the Vietnamese people can be obtained.

While Americans were signing the petition, an American flag was set afire in front of the near-at-hand CBS cameras, thereby inevitably altering the press coverage the demonstration would get. The remaining flags (topped by an ND symbol rather than the more archaic eagle) were quickly furled and kept from harm. Nonetheless, the press

predictably made this incident the center of their coverage; and thus the impetus of the demonstration was shifted from the main issue of Vietnam to side issues of patriotism.

The French students, meanwhile, divided themselves into two groups: one shouting "John-son, Assassin," and the other, "Paix au Vietnam." Shouting each other down (and displaying a great deal more exuberance than the Americans) they began a march of their own on the embassy. They were immediately cordoned off by police and riot wagons. In the melee that ensued several were arrested, and some hurt.

After the petition was signed by 500 Americans, Paris police permitted a delegation of twenty-five to take it to the Embassy. (The *Herald Tribune* international edition, July 5, selected this for their story and billed it as a March by 25 Americans on their Embassy.) Only five of the twenty-five were permitted to enter the Embassy itself. They were: Lawrence Bensky and Sandra Adickes, (the march organizers), Thich Nhat Hanh, his wife, and a representative of the South Vietnamese students. Inside they were confronted by two U. S. Marines with whom they left the petition. We hope that somebody read it before they turned it over to the CIA.



photos by Peter Sutheim

Corner of rue Royale and rue St. Honore: the march begins under the polite but watchful eye of Paris police. Some 600 Americans were joined by 1,000 French in the march, which began at the *Place de la Madeleine*

and rallied at the *Place de la Concorde*. From there a delegation of 25 Americans walked to the Embassy to deliver their petition.

Some NIC Nominations

by Paul Booth N.C. at-Large

There is a need for rejuvenation of the National Council. At the 1965 convention, the national officers were elected kind of as honorific symbols of meritorious service. The average age may have been 27; only one undergraduate (Nick Egleson from Swarthmore) was elected.

During the year, the National Interim Committee (those NC members elected at large at the convention) functioned poorly. Its interim decision-making function was assumed at times by the National Administrative Committee, the National Council by mail ballot, the National Secretary by informal consultation, or by drift. In order that this situation not persist, we must turn serious attention to the caliber of representation on the N.I.C.

Finally, we should recognize the existence of a whole new leadership stratum, fully capable of replacing the "old elite" who are now on the NIC. This stratum is very deep in SDS, and has gained self-confidence through its involvement in building regional offices, and in leading protest against the draft.

The following are my nominations, all of whom have at least one year's experience in some leadership role in local or regional SDS. Generally these are people who founded or led their chapter. Jane Adams: Southern Illinois chapter, Mississippi SNCC staff, national SDS staff, Iowa regional traveller, current National Secretary.

Mike Ansara: Harvard-Radcliffe SDS, regional fundraiser, Boston ERAP project, campaign manager Adams for Senate.

John Bancroft: Swarthmore SDS, Chester movement, editor *ERAP Newsletter*.

Tom Bell: Buffalo SDS, Cornell SDS, will be regional secretary Niagara region this fall.

Judi Bernstein: Harpur College SDS, JOIN staff.

Norm Berzon: Rutgers SDS, New Jersey end the war movement.

Barry Bluestone: VOICE (Michigan), founder U-M Student Employees Union, Radical Education Project director this summer.

Dena Clamage: national office Viet Nam staff, Wayne SDS, Detroit Committee to End the War staff.

Carl Davidson: Penn State, then U. Nebraska SDS, leader Great Plains Region.

Mike Davis: organizer Chase Manhattan South Africa demonstration, Oakland ERAP project, director Los Angeles regional office.

Peter Dawidowicz: Johns Hopkins SDS, Baltimore ERAP whites project.

Nick Egleson: Swarthmore, Chester improvement, Philadelphia ERAP project, National Council member 65-66.

Melva Fager: Northwestern, transfer to Antioch.

John Fuerst: Columbia, New York office direction this summer.

Nanci Gitlin: VOICE, JOIN staff.

Steve Goldsmith: U. of Chicago, JOIN. Bob Gottlieb, CCNY, organizer draft protest, Chelsea CIPA.

Peter Henig: Toledo SDS, formerly Earlham, attended Port Huron.

Mike James: Berkeley SDS, FSM Graduate Coordinating Committee, Oakland ERAP, currently JOIN staff.

Steve Kindred: U. of Chicago, organizer draft protest.

Jack Kittredge: upper midwest traveller SDS and National Student Christian Federation 1965-1967, Carleton College, JOIN staff.

Paul Le Blanc: Pittsburgh SDS, national office fundraiser.

Walt Lively: Baltimore U-JOIN staff currently.

Mike Locker: REP staff, previously Earlham Political Issues Committee, VOICE, attended 1961 SDS reorganization meeting.

John Maher: MIT, former Harvard, represented SDS at some national meetings, Cambridge CIPA organizing group.

Sarah Murphy: New York regional director 65-66, returning to U. of Chicago, active since 1961.

Paul Millman: Antioch, JOIN staff 1964, New York regional staff 1965-66.

Walt Olson: Antioch, Cleveland East Side project 1965, organizer spring NC meeting.

Jim Russell: Oklahoma chapter, national office staff 1965, first New Left Notes editor.

Rick Salter: Buffalo, upstate New York traveller.

Mike Sharon: Berkeley SDS, staff *The Movement* California SNCC newspaper, Freedom House San Francisco community organizer.

Bob Speck: Texas chapter, Assistant National Secretary, New Left Notes editor, currently South Side Chicago chapter.

Steve Weissman: Berkeley SDS, FSM steering Committee, leader FSM Graduate Coordinating Committee, campus traveller South, REP staff, editor *The New Left Papers*.

Peter Webbe: Wayne SDS, Detroit Committee to End the War.

Leni Zeiger: Berkeley SDS, national ERAP staff 1965, JOIN 1965, currently Cleveland West Side project.

Who Are Our Fraternal Organizations?

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT --

"NSM believes that the basic issue in achieving full equality is not a class problem, as we have increasingly tended to treat it (abolish the slums and their sick families and we will have it licked), but a caste problem. Only a Negro political power base will change the situation, in its judgement. It recognizes the need for a white movement to parallel the black one -- to stay in touch with it, interpret it to the white community, in every way to be an ally...."

Robert W. Spike
former Director, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches.

The Northern Student Movement (NSM) is an educational and social action organization staffed by Negro students and residents of urban black communities of the North. NSM originated the tutorial projects in most of the major Northern cities through which thousands of Negro students have been tutored; NSM has organized community projects which have mobilized black people in the ghettos of the North to fight against poor housing, bad food, unfair hiring practices, inferior education. Since its creation in 1961, well over 17,000 volunteers and staff have participated in various NSM programs.

In Hartford, Conn. -- the NSM affiliate "NECAP" created a neighborhood preschool in the North End ghetto which was staffed by the mothers of the children.

In Boston, Mass. -- the NSM affiliate "BAG" agitated successfully for the institution of the surplus food program.

In Detroit, Mich. -- the NSM affiliate "ACME" has been one of the major forces on Detroit's East-side and has

fought continually for the end of police brutality.

And these are only a few. NSM has had many "successes", but from the many years of work in ghettos from Chicago to Philadelphia to Baltimore we have discovered that the ONLY way that Negroes can get freedom is to get power.

NSM has a two-pronged program which is designed to help unify black people so that we can build that "Negro political base" that is spoken of in the quotation. We have an Afro-American Youth Movement which works with teen-agers in Detroit. In Philadelphia, we have a pre-school and an adult Black People's Unity Movement. NSM in connection with black student groups at Yale, Bronx Community College, Lincoln University, Hunter College held an Afro-Student Conference in Philadelphia this past May. Black students from colleges and universities in eight states and the District of Columbia came together to discuss and debate the role of the black middle class in the movement. Thus we have programs going on the campus and in the community.

STUDENT RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

STUDENT RELIGIOUS LIBERALS is a student-run organization, affiliated with the Unitarian Universalist Association, which seeks to unite liberal religious students throughout North America. It is the position of SRL that individual concerns and commitments can best be developed and explored through communication, dialogue, and sharing with others. It is also a basic principle of SRL that a liberal religious position, in order to be meaningful, must be relevant to the world in which we now live.

The basic objective of SRL is the coordination of an ultimately personal search with a program of continental and local group organization. We attempt to serve the personal concerns of liberal religious students

(continued on page 4)

Convention Proposal

The history of the failures of political "movements" shows that the scope of most movements begins at one level and doesn't broaden. The history of the New Left is basically one of change brought in Theoretical Economics and Politics. These changes have been carried out by writing about the theories and "Organizing" around them. On a practical and intellectual plain we have worked with the slogan LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE. But there is a spirit inherent in that slogan to which we have not directed enough attention.

I cannot speak for painters, musicians, or critics in these two arts. But as a writer I sense a direction for man as the root of the New Left. It seems to me that a participatory society is essentially expansive, making each individual reach for his relation within the entire universe. This spirit is not naive. It accepts the terror of seeking and war. It feels the pain of an individual who knows that he must create the world in which he lives, yet does that creating inside the prison of the world as it has already been created.

Something like the vision just outlined lurks in the silences which keep the New Left community divided. A few of us here in Iowa City feel that the commitment of our writing is to discover and articulate these particular silences. We imagine there are others like us. We have communicated with a few such people in India and Africa. We would like to suggest that the SDS national convention consider the following proposals as a means of giving voice to the inner force which will keep the dynamic of the New Left growing in society.

1. That the new Left Notes, as the information organ of what National movement we have, carry a literary-artistic page once each month. (The presence of a number of revolutionary writers and critics, both American and foreign, in the Iowa Writer's Workshop, make Iowa City an ideal place for the editing of such a page.)

2. That an editorial policy be drawn up and submitted to a vote of the National membership. This policy could also be used

for expanded literary and artistic publications issued by the New Left Presses.

3. That the SDS call a national convention of artists from all fields. The purposes would be to establish friendly communications on a non-competitive plain among young artists, and to discuss the possible formation of a National New Left Artists guild. The proposal for such a guild should be presented to the National SDS and voted upon by the artists involved.

4. That the SDS organize a National traveling theater for the presentation of plays and sketches relevant to New Left thinking. Such organization should take place through the National. Scheduling and money should be handled by the region in which the players are working.

5. That the SDS should encourage the composition of New Left folk songs and other music which reflects the drive of a people working to build a participatory society. The New Left Presses should print such music.

6. That the SDS should encourage Art Critics and Art Historians to publish analyses of the themes, analogies, myths, etc. which abound in contemporary art. This endeavor would be comparable to power-structure analysis for other social situations. The artistic establishment should be exposed.

7. That the SDS and SNCC should discuss the possibility of consolidating the scheduling and name of the New Left Presses. In this manner the operations of the press could be expanded to the publishing of small books in many fields. A price and content list could be made up and sent to book stores in the cities and universities of the Nation (and abroad). A discount price would have to be worked out. But such an expansion should pay for the operation of the presses, and bring needed funds to the movement.

It is the conviction of some of us that a political movement must be able to sustain itself for a number of years if it is to make significant changes in the society. This is perhaps the driving reason why each individual within the New Left should consider, and support in some fashion, the use of the talent which we have stated above.

Publications Received

South Africa: Information and analysis (104, Blvd Haussmann, Bris 8, France) is a bulletin of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, edited by Lewis Nkosi. The May issue reviews the House hearings on South Africa and the loss of vitality in Afrikaans literature.

The June-July *Spartacist* (Box 1377, G.P.O., NYC 10001; 6 issues 50 cents) has articles on the war in Vietnam, the fight of N.Y. public workers for the right to strike, the imprisonment of Polish and Mexican Trotskyists and the failure of unity negotiations between the Spartacists and the American Committee for the Fourth International.

The July *Ramparts* (301 Broadway, San Francisco, Calif., 94133; monthly; 6 mo. trial sub: \$2.67) has an interview with Sgt. George E. Smith; an article on the nature of the Viet Cong by Jean Lacouture; a selection from *The Torture of Mothers* by Truman Nelson; interviews with activists in the grape strike (& some great color photos); an article on "black power" by Christopher Jencks and Milton Kotler; and notes on "El Teatro Campesino" by Luis Miguel Valdez.

The June *Scientific American* (Monthly; 415 Madison ave., NYC 10017; \$7 per yr.) has an article on "The Health of the American People" which points out the statistical correlations between ill-health and such factors as sex, race, income and place of residence. The article points up the direct ratio of income to use of "optional services" (physicals, etc.) and dental care.

The July-August *Minority of One* (P.O. Box 544, Passaic, N J 07055; \$7 per yr.; \$5 student sub) has an article on the Cuban missile crisis by Victor Perlo, one on Spanish fascism by Moe Fishman, a piece on export of U.S. capital to Europe, and a rather incoherent attack on the "new left" by Curtis Zahn, the main point of which seems to be that he doesn't like surfboards and thinks that Larry Lipton and Evergreen are our main spokesmen. Very weird, and definitely not worth the price.

AICD Press Research (Ass'n for Int'l Co-operation and Disarmament, 17 Parker st., Sydney, Australia; \$4 per yr.) is a fortnightly compilation of events relating to the Vietnam war, with selected extracts from the Australian, British and American press.

American Civil Liberties Union Feature Press Service (156 Fifth ave., NYC 10010) is a periodic bulletin on civil liberties problems. Editors of school papers and other publications should write about getting it.

Love, organ (no pun intended) of the Sexual Freedom League, appears periodically from P.O. Box 1276, Berkeley, Calif. 94701. Its contents are primarily in-group gossip, but you can find out where to buy some groovy buttons thru it. Send 10 cents.

The July 4 issue of the *Nation* (133 Sixth ave., NYC 10014; \$10 per yr.) has articles on French Canadian separatism, the urban transit crisis and the Weltner "conspiracy" bill. A new feature is a regular "Letter from Britain", by Raymond Williams.

The *National Guardian* (weekly; 197 E. 4th st., NYC 10009) \$3.50 student sub-name school; \$1 for 10-week trial sub) has articles on the Communist party convention and the Mississippi march in its July 2 issue.

Anti-Apartheid News (89 Charlotte st., London WC 1, U.K.; \$1 per yr.) is the best single source of news on the struggles in Southern Africa, altho it concentrates a bit overmuch on events in England (being, as it is, an English paper). The July issue has a scathing denunciation of Bobby Kennedy's opposition to sanctions, "arguing the case, long discredited as sheer hypocrisy, that sanctions would bring harm to the African population of South Africa. This is a line which has long been peddled by the apologists of apartheid, especially the vested interests who fear that their investments will be harmed. . . (Kennedy's) vague protests against apartheid are seen as little more than a smokescreen to hide the American \$1,000 million investment interest in apartheid and in the stability of Dr. Verwoerd's dictatorial rule.

TRICAT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

From: Students for a Democratic Society, Gainesville, Florida, P.O. Box 13636
To: SDS-National Office, SSOC, Selected Media, Anti-war & Anti-imperialist Movement Groups
Re: Extraordinary Summer Presence of Military on University Campuses-- 1. Civil Affairs 2. TRICAT 3. Protest

1. This month at least one and possibly as many as 40 or more American universities will train civil affairs groups of the U. S. Army Reserve on the government, politics, history, transportation, culture, and industry of one or another presumably allied country. The civil affairs groups are sometimes called military government. They are the people who run an occupied country when the necessities of our "global defense posture" make that unhappy measure necessary, as for example, in Germany, Japan, Italy, French North Africa and elsewhere during and following the Second World War. In their personnel the reserve units of the civil affairs branch are the most distinguished in the Army. They consist almost exclusively of corporation executives, public officials, university administrators, prominent lawyers, etc.

In recent years the mission of the civil affairs branch has trended sharply toward counter-insurgency, and its personnel are located, at least in the initial stages of American involvement, primarily in Military Assistance Groups, in the Philippines, Brazil, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, Korea, Thailand, Iran, Jordan, and, of course, Viet Nam. Its current mission is neatly described by Lieutenant Colonel Irvin M. Kent in *Civil Affairs Trends* as "to avert large scale war by preventing subversive elements from toppling friendly governments." And he adds: "You are familiar with this overall program under the name of Cold War." Elsewhere and in a more theoretical vein Kent defines the civil affairs of an army as "the totality of its relationships with its civil environment." Civil affairs personnel are the political specialists of the Army.

Their function is to spell out the political objectives of an occupying American army or the army of a "friendly" government, to promote those objectives by civic action, and to see to it that military action also promotes them.

2. Although we have made strenuous efforts to find out more about this summer's program, our information is still fragmentary. We know that a "Greece Institute" will be held in July at the University of Florida for civil affairs groups from Miami and Pensacola. We also know from a clipping in the *Army Reserve Magazine*, December 1965, p. 6, that the Army initiated a new civil affairs program called TRICAT--for triennial civil affairs training--in 1965. TRICAT 65 was held at various headquarter areas of the civil affairs branch and was "designed to improve and strengthen the participating units' military skills as provisional government administrators in time of warfare or national disaster."

"The second phase of this specialized three-year program, to be held during ANACDU-TRA (annual active duty training) 66, will be conducted for the entire CA composite headquarters at a college or university. Selected representatives of college faculties, experts in CA areas of operation, will serve as lecturers and consultants. Campus libraries will provide needed source materials for research.

"TRICAT 67 will complete the cycle with a two-week CPX (command post exercise). It is intended that this exercise will utilize the specialized knowledge gained during the previous two periods of training."

The U. S. Army Civil Affairs School is located at Fort Gordon, Georgia. In response to an inquiry from us we were told that the school "has no knowledge of this program (TRICAT)." Attempts to learn more about the program from the civil affairs branch in Washington came to nothing. All we know, therefore, is that the TRICAT program was in the works as of eight months ago and that a program which meets the description is to be held at the University

of Florida this summer. We do not know what other universities are participating in the program or the countries with which they will deal.

3. A necessary preliminary to holding a civil affairs program is the collection and preparation of materials. Campus groups who are interested in the possibility that a program under TRICAT 66 is being held at their university this summer might check with the university library.

University involvement in the Cold War is an old story, but rarely has it been as gross or as rich in campus-centered protest possibilities as in this instance. We urge anti-war and anti-imperialist campus groups immediately to investigate their "territories" for the presence of this invading, non-academic power. In the event they find "institutes" for civil affairs reservists being held in especially sensitive areas-- such as France, Great Britain, Iran, Turkey, etc.--we recommend that they protest it by using counter-courses, demonstrations, outside specialists on the "target area," or any other means they think appropriate. Further, it is our judgment that the skein of civil affairs-- which interconnects with civil defense, Special Forces, the CIA, the mysterious Office of Emergency Planning, etc.--once unwound

will expose, dramatically and tellingly, a hard, unpublicized core of the Cold War power structure.

References:

1. Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg. *Civil Affairs: Soldiers become Governors.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1964.
2. *Civil Affairs Trends.* U.S. Army Civil Affairs School, Fort Gordon, Georgia, August, 1964.
3. *The Army Reserve Magazine, December, 1965.*

Letter to Condit

I have a comment, short enough to print, on Tom Condit's Position Paper.

There is only one anti-imperialist movement in the world.

It is led by the Chinese Communists. If you are going to discuss the Chinese position on world revolution you must state their position honestly.

Then when you have the facts you can decide whether to oppose or to support the anti-imperialist revolution now sweeping the world.

Paul Burke

NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Phone (312) 667-6050. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for non-members. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the Editor, Speck.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Carl Oglesby, president; Jeffery Shero, vice-president; and Jane Adams, national secretary.
National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312) 666-3874
New York City: 49 West 27th St., NYC, NY 10001; (212) 889-5793
Niagara Region: 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY
Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif; (415) 362-7922
Southern California: 1347-1/2 Riviera Ave., Venice, Calif.
New England: 2076 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. (617) 547-5457
Chicago Region: 2059 N. Larrabee, Chicago, Ill. (312) 944-3624
Radical Education Project: C/O Voice, SAB, Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich.

(continued from page 1)

convention with only beer money and who were then ruthlessly refused admission to the convention by the Gestapo-like people's sergeants-at-arms. (We've been reading Herr Goebbels-masterful little pamphlet, "A Manual for Interrogation")

Accommodations at the camp are bunk-house-style. There are beds, but no bedding, so people should bring sleeping bags or blankets. In a moment of sadistic madness, we arranged for a coffee and donuts breakfast to be served in the convention hall at 9:30 a.m., repeat, in the convention hall at 9:30 a.m. The camp has a large dining hall wherein hot, nutritionally balanced meals will be served by competent personnel at lunch and dinner.

There are some facts about the Clear Lake camp that should be made clear and public. Steve Kindred of the Chicago region is from Mason City, ten miles from the camp, and when his name appeared in a News-week article for being part of the U of C anti-draft demonstrations, the indigenous Mason Cityites, in a very grass-rootsy manner, staged a pro-war demonstration just to show the nation-state that Mason City wasn't fully infiltrated. The following is a quote from a letter from Steve, who has been up in Clear Lake looking over the situation:

"Two other notes should go into nics and nacs as often as there is space. One is . . . about Iowa liquor laws so that every one will remember to bring his or her ID. The second is that the camp does prohibit drinking . . . so that people should prepare themselves for a fairly temperate convention. We really have a problem here in that there is no crowd in which to lose ourselves. Every single resident will know we are coming and who we are, so we will quite simply have to on our best behavior. Also I imagine there will be some petty agents provocateur from the FBI (ed. note: Faggoty Bureau of Intimidation) stirring up the patriotism of the local cops. "Sorry Roy, but unless you can provide me with a counter-bribe for the cops, we really are going to have to watch

it . . . The 'married couple problem' will, I'm afraid, remain just that, a problem to be handled with discretion; I'm afraid Iowa law has a fairly tough statutory rape law too. Oh, what fun. God!!! How can you do this to me?"

(Steve's father is a Methodist minister in Mason City. He is well settled and would not like to have to move. In a word, cool it!)

The town of Mason city is a big local resort town, sort of the Lauderdale of the rural Midwest, and will probably be full of Freddie and Sally types. So that while those seeking entertainment will have plenty of Stank-a-go-go places wherein to find it, you will have to have a mind to stay out of trouble some.

The following are the travel instructions Steve has sent us:

HITCHHIKING: Beautiful hitch all the way from NY on interstate 80 Hwys. 6, 30 and 20 are also good. Hwy. 18 is closed east of Clear Lake and should be avoided. Coming across on any of these roads come north on hwy. 69 to Garner. If hitching try to come into the town of Clear Lake, but if you can't, call us at FL 7-3539 and we'll try to pick you up. When you hitch into Clear Lake, call us; it's impossible to hitch around to the camp.

DRIVING: On your map the camp is near the little green tree (designating a state park) on the south side of the lake, on hwy. 106. If you're coming from the west, come part Garner on 18 until in Ventura you see a sign reading "Open Bible Stud. Churches Conferences Grounds"; turn right there and continue thru and beyond Ventura until you see a little green sign reading "Bayside"; turn left and follow the surfaced road around several turns until you see on your left stone aget posts marked Methodist Camp. You're there. If you're coming from the East, ask someone in Clear Lake where hwy. 106 is and follow it south and west around the lake until you see the gateposts, now on your right.

PLANE: Mason City and Clear Lake are served by Ozark Airlines with connections in Omaha, Des Moines and Chicago.

duals, with no official sponsorship by groups. The committee would meet in early September to formulate final plans. SDS national secretary Jane Adams was asked to be one of the sponsors.)

The student strike proposal of Bettina Aptheker raises a number of crucial questions for SDS which the NAC felt should be brought immediately to the attention of SDS members -- particularly the NIC and NC delegates.

First and foremost, the NAC was concerned with the way in which the call is proposed. The history of the anti-Vietnam protest movement has been marked by a long series of calls to action (marches, vigils, fasts, etc) under the sponsorship of prominent individuals who have formed ad hoc committees for the purpose of directing the particular demonstration of the moment. Such an approach to the conduct of the anti-war movement is not only organizationally inadequate (particularly in terms of involving individuals in the decision-making process), it is also in direct opposition to the ideals and goals of SDS. The emphasis on appeals to personalities, rather than programmatic decision-making from a broad and democratic base, is clearly in violation of the principles of SDS. The structure of steering committees established after-the-fact is highly elitist in actual practice and precludes the possibility of democratic discussion by concerned groups of participants. Finally, the "big-name" approach neither builds nor strengthens the radical multi-issue constituency which SDS believes is the only way to change American policy.

Secondly, and as a corollary of the above discussion, NAC members pointed to the absence of substantive political dialogue as a serious weakness of the proposed call. A program which is launched without political discussion is unlikely to produce such discussion in the course of its elaboration -- though it may produce political statements undemocratically arrived at and totally unrepresentative in character.

Thirdly, the proposal highlights the ambiguity of our own situation and necessitates a serious discussion of our position. SDS must realize that it does represent the thrust of

REPORT ON CONVENTION

TRAIN: Coming from Chicago, there's a fairly slow night train which will get you to Iowa Falls, a mere sixty miles away. Give us some warning and we'll try to meet you, but please, give us some warning; it gets in at 5 in the morning. Coming from the east and west connections can be made with a fairly fast Rock Island train which goes from someplace in Texas, thru Kansas City and Des Moines; your stop is Mason City, Iowa.

BUS: Steve's comment was, and I quote, "Taking a bus? Hitch!"

That's it at the moment. Progress reports will appear in the next few issues of NLN. See y'all in August, your comments and working papers much, much sooner.

Roy Dahlberg

Convention committee is:

Roy Dahlberg -- coordinator, Jane Adams, Todd Gitlin, Mike James, Clark Kissinger, Paul Lauter, Bob Ross, Bob Speck, REP people, and others who write us.

Those of us on the convention committee, and others who we have dragged into the discussion, are finding ourselves not quite knowing how to approach the planning for the convention. Partly, that's because we just have too many different issues that must be discussed that don't seem to fit into a coherent format: elections of officers, constitutional amendments, setting of broad programmatic guidelines, plus the long discussed need for in-depth discussions of ideology and strategy.

How, in five days, do you bring 500 to 1000 people of diverse views and experience into coherent discussion and decision-making?

Let me outline the purposes of a national convention as I see them:

1. People meet, form friendships, develop sense of comradeship.
2. Share experiences, discuss common problems, different approaches, etc. -- break out of the isolation common to most chapters.
3. Talk about what we're up against in trying to change society and build a movement -- move towards an analysis of the society. (Very important if we're going to continue

for a good number of years.)

4. Talk about how we can be most effective -- tactics, strategy, constituencies, style.

5. Make functional decisions: election of officers, change the constitution, make broad programmatic decisions.

We (the convention committee) will try to work this into as coherent a format as possible. However, no matter how well the convention is structured we will not be able to talk about any of these things satisfactorily unless people are deeply involved in them. That means that we are not playing intellectual games with each other, but sense that in some way the discussions are vitally important to our lives and the building of a movement.

I'm doubtful that we are able to do this. We have received few working papers, except from the old reliables, and only from a few of them.

We are scattered for the summer and, as far as I can tell, have been holding few meetings which discuss more than immediate business.

For the most part, we have not been reading very much. Nor have we been doing much in depth thinking. In fact, our thinking has been sloppy . . . we ain't been doin' our homework.

We hope that the discussion at the convention will not only be the outgrowth of the things we have been doing, but will also motivate continued thought, reading, and action.

We don't get the feeling here in the N.O. that people are serious about the things that should be talked about. That may not be true -- hopefully it isn't. But we haven't been getting working papers, letters . . . response.

Before the convention, maybe it would be good if people jotted down the problems they've encountered, trying to point to where we should go. Then, in small meetings, talk about those things. And WRITE US -- let us know what you're thinking; let other people in other chapters and projects know what you're thinking.

See y'all at Clear Lake.

Jane Adams

NOV. 4 PROPOSAL

SEE NAC MINUTES

- Aptheker student strike proposal
- SDS Nat'l Admin. Comm. reactions

Proposal for a National Student Strike for Peace, Nov. 4, 1966 --Bettina Aptheker

Toward ending the war in Vietnam
Toward ending the draft
Toward ending campus participation in the war effort

Why strike?

Out of the protests and teachins on the campuses of America's colleges and universities has grown abroad and overwhelming sentiment among young people that the war in Vietnam must be ended. A national student strike will unite these sentiments into a powerful statement for peace.

A strike will serve notice on campus military recruiters and CIA researchers that the nation's campuses are "off limits" for their activities--that American institutions of learning must not be the centers for the recruitment of cannon fodder, the development of new "humane" chemicals and gasses, or the training of pacification troops to be used on our neighbors.

A strike on Nov. 4, three days before the national elections, will have international significance, as it will illustrate to the nation and the world that many thousands of U.S. students refuse to associate themselves with the war effort.

Who should strike?

Students in high schools, junior colleges, and colleges should call on their teachers and professors to join them on Nov. 4 in some form of anti-war action. Although much of the peace activities have centered around the college communities, the war has special effects on high school students, especially those who attend ghetto schools. Education for these young people leaves them with little alternative to military service after graduation. For the first time students across the land have an opportunity to participate in one unified action against the war, the draft, and the intrusion of the military into their daily lives.

(Bettina proposed that the strike be sponsored by a committee of prominent individuals,

the radical student movement in the north and the largest organizational expression of new left politics, particularly in relation to the anti-war movement. This places on SDS the responsibility for assuming the leadership and active direction of that movement. SDS has been providing most of the troops for everyone else's demonstrations. In effect, we have been used to make other people's political points and to help build others' organizations. For example, most of the people at International Days of Protest demonstrations have been SDS people or have been brought out by SDS, yet the actions were neither given direction and tone by SDS nor were the events useful for building the organization. If a student strike Nov. 4 will in fact provide visibility for our programs, we ought to direct the event, make it useful in building SDS and gaining visibility for our programs, and for making the political points which the individualistic approach omits. SDS must cease reacting to the initiative on its own. SDS has real power and a democratic organization. It also has a sense of truly radical politics. Both our power and our political insight will be lost if we simply tag along on others' initiatives.

The NAC did not feel competent to deal with the question of launching a call for a strike. That should be a Convention decision. But if the Convention is to move on such a program, it must be developed and discussed beforehand. It was for this reason that the NAC felt that the situation should be communicated as quickly as possible to both the NIC and NC delegates.

Do SDS people feel that:

- 1) the National Secretary as an individual -- but obviously identified as SDS -- should be

one of the signatories to the call,

2) we should issue our own call, either now or tentatively pending Convention action,

3) we should forget the whole deal, or

4) we should advise a different event, opposing the idea of a student strike?

WRITE OR PHONE THE NATIONAL OFFICE, 1608 W. Madison, rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Area code 312/666-3874 or your nearest NIC member

--Greg Calvert

FRATERNAL ORG. (CONT.)

(continued from page 2)

through the institutional process, taking care not to pervert those concerns. The continental SRL organization works to disseminate worth-while local materials and to facilitate communication between local elements.

The 1965 Continental Conference voted to send a letter of support to: American Civil Liberties Union, Collegiate Council on the United Nations, Encampment for Citizenship, United World Federalists, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, Turn Toward Peace, and World University Service. SRL also sponsors a European and a Russian Study Trip and this year has initiated an Interns in Civil Rights project. In addition, many local groups are actively working in the areas of civil rights, and other social action and service projects.

This series cont. next week

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
Return Requested

Second-Class postage rates paid in Chicago, Illinois

Edward J LESSIN
223½ Peal st
East Lansing MICH 48823