

national secretary's report

from PROTEST to RESISTANCE

The quarterly council of SDSers fathered in Berkeley - that showplace of the student revolt - with the ostensible purpose of making policy decisions for the organization. As national secretary, I proposed an agenda which would have begun with a discussion of the 'state of the organization' - I argued, from the peculiarly warped perspective of the national bureaucracy that until we faced the serious problems of structures, staff, and finances in a responsible and disciplined manner we could not possibly discuss program. I lost the agenda debate.

The opposition argued that first priority should be given to a discussion of "politics." In the joint NIC-NAC meeting which took place in a smoke-filled room the evening before the first plenary, it was argued that we "have to discuss politics in order to find out whether we are really a political organization or just a group of people who like each other." The proponents of the "politics-first" position won the agenda debate, but they lost control of the meeting. Though the agenda was reversed, "politics" were not discussed. No matter how you analyze that term - whether "politics" means ideology, the analysis of power and how to take it, or the press-the-ballot-box-and-our-public-image, the National Council did not talk about any of that.

For nineteen hours the National Council debated a resolution on programmatic resistance to the draft - and finally adopted a militant version of that program. That program does not talk about politics or the taking of power. It does not talk about the new society or the democratization of decision-making. It talks about "resistance." And, finally, behind its rhetoric and its programmatic details, it talks about the only thing that has given life and creativity to "the movement." It talks about the kind of struggle which has been most meaningful to the new left - the revolutionary struggle which engages and claims the lives of those involved despite the seeming impossibility of revolutionary social change--the struggle which has the power to transform, to revolutionize human lives whether or not it can revolutionize the societal conditions of human existence. It is the struggle which has offered imprisonment and even death as a way of being free - which says that "this is what a human being must do, no matter what the consequences, because this is what it means to be a human being" - "this is the struggle for freedom in our time" - "this is the revolt of slaves against their masters" - "this is what being a 'crazy nigger' meant in the South and what it now means in the North" - "this is the first act of freedom."

One might dispute the political wisdom of the program. One may decry the lack of analysis. One may be appalled by the lack of direction. But, unless one does not understand what it meant to be a 'crazy nigger' in a world of 'good niggers,' it is impossible to understand what has created and recreated the new radicalism: those individual and collective decisions to live our lives in new ways which may involve a risk to our very existence in order to break through the existing barriers to human life. It is a subjective struggle for individual freedom and meaning thrust up against the "objective" world which denies freedom and self-realization. It offers no clear path to power, no magic formula for success, only struggle and a new life. No promise is made, only the hope that struggle and confrontation with the existing system of inhumanity will create freedom in the midst of a life-destroying society.

We can speculate endlessly about how draft resistance might end the war. However, only talking about how resisting the draft will change peoples' lives can create a draft-resistance movement. Call that "anarchistic," "personalistic," "religious," or "crazy" - you will not have dealt with the reality which created the movement. Talk of "politics" and "ideology" and you will not have plumbed the depths of the motivations. SDS just simply was not interested in talking about organizational problems or about political analysis; it revealed its deepest concern in talking about what people can do

with their lives . . . and with their bodies.

All that should instruct us as to some basic realities about SDS. At its present stage of development, SDS cannot be understood in terms of traditional political organization. Neither ideological clarity (as political analysis) nor organizational stability are fundamentally important to SDSers. What counts is that which creates movement. What counts is that SDS be where the action is. What counts is that SDS be involved in the creation of a cutting-edge in the freedom struggle.

SDS, as a movement, is a wedge into American society. It is involved in the creation of what Carl Oglesby called "space" -- breathing space, living space, freedom space - in a society which increasingly stifles freedom. Those who opposed the draft-resistance program because they considered it "adventuristic" failed to understand the dynamic of "movement sensitivity." If the wedge is to continue to create more and more space in the society, then we cannot recoil from those areas of greatest tension where the risks are most dangerous. We were once desparate: "Trapped in a System." The movement has begun to pry open the jaws of that trap. The necessity which we must deal with involves keeping up the pressure on that trap until it is finally sprung. In the process, new life, new hope, and new freedom are created - but, above all, it engages the lives of people in new ways and that's how revolutionary cadres are built.

Two years ago, Lee Webb and Paul Booth urged SDS to move "From Protest to Politics."

ANTI-DRAFT RESOLUTION

(Adopted by the National Council, Students for a Democratic Society, December 28, 1966, Berkeley, Calif.)

1. SDS reaffirms its opposition to the United States Government's immoral, illegal, and genocidal war against the Vietnamese people in their struggle for self-determination.

2. SDS reaffirms its opposition to conscription in any form. We maintain that all conscription is coercive and anti-democratic, and that it is used by the United States Government to oppress people in the United States and around the world.

3. SDS recognizes that the draft is intimately connected with the requirements of the economic system and the foreign policy of the United States.

4. SDS opposes and will organize against any attempt to legitimize the Selective Service System by reforms. The proposals for a lottery or for compulsory national service would not change the essential purpose of the draft - to abduct young men to fight in aggressive wars.

5. SDS believes that a sense of urgency must be developed that will move people to leave the campus and organize a movement of resistance to the draft and the war, with its base in poor, working class, and middle class communities.

6. SDS therefore encourages all young men to resist the draft. Since individual protest cannot develop the movement needed to end the draft and the war, SDS adopts the following program:

A. SDS members will organize unions of draft resisters. The members of these unions will be united by the common principle that under no circumstances will they allow themselves to be drafted. The local unions will reach out to all young men of draft age by organizing in the high schools, universities, and communities. Courses of action will include (a) direct action during pre-induction physicals and at the time of induction, (b) anti-draft and anti-war education among potential inductees and their families,

(c) demonstrations centering on draft boards and recruiting stations, (d) encouraging young men already in the military to oppose the war, and (e) circulating petitions stating that the signer will refuse to serve in Vietnam or submit to conscription in any form. National SDS will coordinate the local unions on a regional and national level, providing staff (including travelers), supplies, and financial resources.

B. National SDS will assist all efforts to organize, within the armed forces, resistance to United States foreign policy. Towards this end we will publish a periodical newspaper and other literature directed to those already in the armed forces. This is an effort to reach men who, within a system of involuntary servitude, are indoctrinated as well as isolated from open discussion. We seek to break the barriers placed between us and our brothers in uniform.

C. Since the primary task of SDS is that of building a movement for social change in the United States, we do not advocate emigration as an alternative to the draft. Nevertheless, we realize that this option is being considered by many young men. We will thus provide information about emigration, and will encourage those who emigrate to build international support for the draft resistance unions and to work for an end to the war.

7. All chapters and members of SDS are urged to implement this program on the local level and to commit local resources toward its implementation at the national level.

new left notes

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VOL. 2, NO. 2 Let the people decide JANUARY 13, 1967

for a RADICAL CAMPAIGN in '68

Gerald E. Markowitz
Michael Meeropol
Stephen C. Rankin

PROPOSAL FOR A RADICAL
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
IN 1968

INTRODUCTION

If the left is united in any desire, it is in the desire for radical change. The greatest obstacle to radical change in this country is the strangle-hold that the power structure maintains over the minds of the vast majority of the population. Discontent may be widespread but at present it is unconscious and voiceless. The main task before any radical movement is to articulate all discontent, both latent and manifest, and to create understanding of the corruption of our society. From this will come gropings towards solutions. We must emphasize, however, that the all-important first step must be taken. Discontent must be mobilized and a radicalized population must be achieved.

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AMERICAN RADICAL HISTORY: a progress report

Paul Buhle

The following is an attempt to describe faithfully the progress of the REP program, American Radical History and Political Thought, its prospects, and some general lessons I have extrapolated from the experience. It may be in some respects a curiosity, an exception; but in others, it seems to me likely to bear resemblance to most attempts at internal education in SDS. Perhaps the points discussed may aid in the early convening of a National REP Conference (which I would favor as a sub-division of an April NC). Evidently, many of us have learned that internal education is a bit more difficult, or at least considerably different, than we had imagined.

1

American Radical History and Political Thought began only as an effort to rechannel some of those on the REP mailing list toward a smaller, more unique study group. To REP-NO, this meant a slightly lighter load; to myself, an opportunity to implement a program in an area which I considered to be one of the most vital for the New Left to understand - in fact, an utter necessity. (I tend to doubt that SDSers can ever evolve a correct strategy of change until a broad spectrum of the organization understands the virtues and faults of the attempts of previous waves of radicalism; learning our progenitors' errors seems at least as important, to me, as an "objective" study of the society we wish to alter.) The names of potentially or actually interested people were solicited from Ann Arbor. Immediately a factor which seemed at least superficially odd arose: the names were nearly all of graduate students already working in the field, whereas those seeking a basic education (i.e., one would suppose, undergrad activists) were almost entirely absent.

Thus even before the project was seriously undertaken, the emphasis of the main medium - the worksheets - was altered. The problem was not, it was supposed, to educate people but rather to clarify essential issues. Therefore, an attempt was made to re-orient toward a high-level experimental program. This aroused the interest of some well-known scholars in the field, but the main result (whatever the reasons for it), was another surprise: by and large, the very same graduate students were too busy to make much of a theoretical contribution to the program, being involved in academic or activist pursuits already up to their necks.

Another shift was due, perhaps this time less in logic than in pragmatic searching. This time, there was an effort to combine a continuing experimental program with aid to those just interested in the field - on the chapter more than the individual level. This form, although still in its refinement, seems to be basic to further development. Even if three months spent in experimentation for a constituency are too short to ultimately judge, this is the general direction of the program.

2

The original plans called for a printed magazine in February. In a way, this was Utopian, but practical too: mimeographing is not only hard to read, but seems also indicative of amateurish journalism and probable failure. A printed journal, on the other hand, if the material contained in it is at all useable, is somewhat of a substantive accomplishment whatever the limitations of its circulation and style. In other words: even in a day of proliferating radical magazines, the printed form seems potentially more viable than worksheets which pertain only to individual matters, and are in any case unsightly (a factor which seems, if anything, more potent to the activists who does not have time to burn his eyes out, than to the armchair philosopher). The first issue of *Radical America* will now appear in late February or March, with the greatest priority on reaching chapter-contacts interested in local programs of American Radical History and finding ways to meet their

needs. The high-level and experimental aspects will hardly be forgotten, however. Bibliographies, study-guides, and reports from local programs will be continually present; in the current perspective, high-theoretical level material will occupy about thirty to forty per cent of the space.

What are the ultimate goals? To be optimistic, I think a rather large and rapidly growing constituency is there to be found, and will soon be reached. This constituency can take part in, for instance: the collection of contemporary essays pinpointing the major problems in American Radical History, and their implications for the present; the selection of articles from defunct radical journals which present the scope of American Radical Intellectualism (which has existed, whatever its critics have said); and the proliferation of study guides, bibliographies, and other teaching methods to educate the New Generation of American radicals. American Radical History and Political Thought will then become a hybrid, both experimental and instructive, effectively linking the all-too-often disparate branches of SDS, the "thinkers" and "doers." (In this respect, of course, ARH&PT is a faithful reflection of the general REP understanding of serving the Movement.) *Radical America* will then be less important than the personal communication lines it helps to construct. Even if this outlook is too sanguine, I think we can see for the immediate future a small but growing segment of SDS interested in American Radical History, encouraging and being encouraged by the general academic development of that field.

3

A few things are, I think, all too apparent. First, there is a real schism in SDS among those who are working toward new theories of social change, and those pushing semi-pragmatically toward that change now. The breach is painful; but it is not yet irreparable, whatever the tension induced by sectarianism on both sides. Yet if both are to become first their opposites, and then part of a higher synthesis, more determined efforts must be made at careful examination and full explanation of the problem.

Second, this schism is bound to have an effect on any project concerned with internal education. Dealing with this, in fact, may be the most immediate problem any coordinator faces. The solution is, of course, to get the "scholars" to act in the fields they

have studied as older brothers, aiding younger (or perhaps just less academically involved) activists to come up to their theoretical level *within that field* (the narrowness of this conception, I think, helps to preclude paternalism). But will the "scholars" help? And will the activists accept them? These questions are not yet answered.

Lastly, any attempt at internal education is bound to bring self-doubts to those involved: would they not be better spending their time and money in local activities? Isn't the time spent by teacher and student inevitably diverted from do-something projects? These are questions each participant must answer for himself or herself. I am convinced that action *must* be joined by conscious theory - especially with the possibility of a 1968 Kennedy nomination literally breathing down our necks - and some can make their most worthwhile contribution in the latter line.

At this point, I think there is every reason for optimism. The conditions are more ripe for non-dogmatic, radical education of a generation of the American Left than they ever have been before. Established radical scholars stand, in most cases, willing to help in any way they can. And our own reserves have not yet begun to be tapped. We have only our own infirmities and sectarian prejudices to fear.

Announcing:

American Radical History & Political Thought (REP) Program's Organ: *Radical America*, an informal discussion journal.

Needed: Board of Editors (all fields sought, but particularly need person in New England area with experience in laying out magazine), material contributions (bibliographies; short, informal articles; study guides; progress reports on Chapter study groups in American Radical History; and etc., anything that may be worth printing), Criticism, Suggestions and MONEY

Prospectus and Sample Worksheets Available. For all information write: Paul M. Buhle, #2c Knollwood Acres, Storrs, Conn. 06268 All interested are invited to join our mailing list.

Only independent political action can address the root of the problem rather than its symptoms.



C.I.P.A.

The 49th Ward Citizens for Independent Political Action announced today that they would file petitions for their aldermanic candidate on January 9. CIPA spokesman Arthur Vazquez said the group would submit nominating signatures in excess of three times the required number, but he expects the Democratic Party to again attempt to bar the Independent candidate from the ballot as they did in the November general elections. "There is something about democracy which frightens the Democratic Party," Vazquez said.

CIPA's independent candidate for 49th Ward alderman, Clark Kissinger, listed the most important issues in the campaign as follows: The Daley administration's inability

to handle Chicago's deepening racial crisis, especially in the areas of housing, schools, and employment. The Democratic machine's basic alignment with corporate and business interests in the areas of taxation and city services. Local community issues revolving about zoning, land usage and democratic community planning. And the war in Vietnam which has caused the destruction of Chicago's meager war on poverty.

Kissinger's opponent will be incumbent Paul Wigoda, who received only 9,300 votes in the last election. The 49th Ward has over 46,000 registered voters.

Kissinger's campaign headquarters will be in the offices of the 49th Ward CIPA at 1236 W. Devon Ave.

PROPOSAL

for Broadening
High School

Anti-War Activity

Herman M. Heyn

The aim of this activity would be to bring home the issues of the Vietnam war to larger masses of high school students than heretofore. Its ultimate objective would be to activate as many students as possible to take one step or another in opposition to the war.

The program would center around weekly meetings to be held in some centrally located hall or church. Each week one, possibly two high schools would be leafleted with an announcement that a meeting will be held at a given place and time for the students of that particular school. The leaflet would say that the subject of the meeting was Vietnam, that (where circumstances allow) a film will be shown (ex. - "Time of the Locust") and that serious discussion and debate would follow. This routine would be repeated each week at another school until all the schools in the area had been reached.

The heart of the meeting would be the discussion and debate after the showing of the film. Hopefully, a good discussion, covering all aspects of the situation, would win a certain number of converts to the peace movement at each school or bring those already converted out of the "woodwork".

For those students who indicate more than a passing interest in opposing the war an action program such as the following could be offered:

- Political and religious C.O. (especially for seniors)
- Students could be invited back for another meeting and asked to bring sympathetic friends.
- Formation of school-by-school end the war nuclei which might undertake leafletting of their respective schools, push to show the film in school, leaflet the school at times of city or nationwide wide actions, push for anti-war news in the school paper, etc.

To sustain the student programs leaflets could be provided or drawn up as a mutual endeavour of the students and the organizers. In the maximum program, buttons, bookcovers, membership cards, etc. could be utilized as a means of building esprit de corps and status for the movement.

THANKS!

Many thanks to Don, Leroy, Chuck, and Dorothy for proofreading, pasting up, and mailing the last two issues of New Left Notes while I was basking in the warmth of the Berkely N. C. -Thane

PROVO INFO

Several of us here in Boston are interested in researching the "Provo" phenomenon. Anyone with relevant information please send it to Larry Miller SDS regional office 138 River St. Cambridge or to Stan Haberman, Brandeis Univ., Waltham, Mass.

Reexamination

of the

"We Won't Go" Conference

Heather Tobis

The December 9 copy of New Left Notes carried a very positive article on the "We Won't Go Conference" held earlier that month at the University of Chicago.

There were two points that bothered me about the article, and both are related. The first has to do with the success of the conference. Since there was widespread agreement among the participants on the issues, the people who planned the conference believed that other functions of the conference were paramount:

1) to give more publicity to those who were taking a public stand and thereby jeopardizing the temporary safety of the student deferment in order to stress the seriousness of their intent;

2) to raise those questions that the U of C draft conference would not have raised about the war and a program for fighting the system that we oppose;

3) to encourage people who are of the same mind in wanting to refuse the draft in this war (as the minimal relationship between the participators) so that they may continue with their plans for draft resistance; and,

4) to spread more specific and practical information on draft resistance, its history and its implications, so that those who want to do it understand all of its ramifications as well its potentials.

1) The gaining of publicity to move people who might be persuaded to join the ranks did not really succeed because there was no program in which those people might participate. Statements were not even prepared (for however minimal value they might have) that such people could sign. There was no real jeopardizing of the student deferment because there was no organizing done with sufficient numbers to present a threat to the growing military of the country.

2) There were only two workshops where programmatic planning might have occurred: the women's workshop, which Florence did not discuss, and the general workshop. These discussions, however, were not structured to take programmatic suggestions seriously. The other workshops, to deal with technicalities, were question and answer periods of authorities or celebrities and case studies. This situation did not differ much in organization (it seems) from the U of C draft conference that we chose not to attend because we

thought that we could not have general discussion.

3 & 4) There was factual knowledge exchanged and enough people of similar mind present to encourage the idea of draft resistance. A very small amount of this seems to have been functional, that is, lead on to action (here those few people who themselves may go to Canada might have been helped, etc.).

Mainly, though, there was a sense of frustration that a good many people felt. In being given encouragement to do what we had been doing on draft resistance we were reduced to doing nothing, except serving as moral witnesses. We were still as unclear and troubled as ever as to what was a feasible course of action. In this light, the encouragement that the draft resisters felt had a false base.

The history that Staughton Lynd presented outlining the four stages of French resistance in the Algerian war merited more attention. The first stage was boring from within to change the military system; but that only ended in frustration of protest which was swallowed up (e.g., The Fort Hood Three). The second stage was going to jail instead of serving in the military, which resulted in the isolation of individuals who were swallowed up by jail. The third was "insubordination at home and desertion abroad." The fourth was the formation of an underground with formidable supporters (e.g., list of 121).

Certainly many of the specifics of the Algerian war situation are different from that which we are facing (e.g., there are not thousands of pro-Cong Vietnamese in America organized as were the Algerians and their support committee in France). However, it seems that we are somewhere in stage two. Several of the resisters are being taken away to jail (or will be soon) and once the government has tested out popular reaction to such things as the jailing of Jeff Segal, there will be more arrests.

We all clearly do not want this self-destruction. Yet there is a lack of collective and political responses to such situations which can rightly be termed "apathy." There is no education of the public about the situation; there is only more internal discussion about the horrors of the system, a false encouragement given by hardened sympathizers, and further immobility.

As Florence Howe said in her article, the conference barely raised the questions of "Why go to Canada at all?" "What does effective protest mean?" etc. The We Won't Go Conference has only been another moral witness of people doing "their duty for the future." What actually does a union of draft resisters mean? Is it only a soul-searching session?

The lack of program is not just incidentally unfortunate. A union is meaningless where it cannot act for its members and get its members to act for themselves together. It is misleading and destructive if false confidence is placed in it alone.

It would seem then that every incident that can be picked up and used to point out our protest, should be taken. Picket demonstrations, mass action, letters to editors, support committees of eminent supporters, talking to people in an organizing campaign, etc. Any action now seems appropriate. The inactivity of the anti-draft and/or peace movement seems to breed only more inactivity. It is time to take the plunge into doing something. There must be action if the union members are going to do more than moan when their members are picked off.

This bemoaning as their men are taken off to the battle or jail seems to be the position to which women have been relegated. This is my second point. At the conference there was a women's workshop. This never really got off the ground, but I raise it partly because it was not mentioned in the previous article on the conference, and partly because it grew out of the concern for public education and action around the war. It was designed as a women's workshop (not for the exclusion of men but directed to the role of women in the movement of draft resisters) in order to focus on two specific problems. First, women are socially trained to accept the role of the non-political; therefore, they generally lack confidence, experience and specific knowledge to act effectively politically. Second, the specific issue of the draft has been structured by men for only male action (at least at Chicago). Several follow up meetings on "the woman question and draft resistance" were held where several programmatic suggestions were made. We decided that specific programs of action were essential, so we returned to the draft resisters meetings to suggest programs and then to implement them.

A further concern, which continues beyond the conference, is for the need for women's self-consciousness as women in order to faci-

litate their effectiveness in specific activities. By re-raising this point, we hope that it will lead to more fruitful discussion than the older debates of the "woman question". We understand that at Roosevelt University in the Chicago Loop there is also a group of girls who are planning a conference on abortion. A surprising number of women who are radical on many other issues have accepted the male oriented society's values on this issue. At the university of Chicago we hope to set up a discussion stemming from an introductory debate between Helen Gurly Brown (*Sex and the Single Girl -- how to adapt and love it*) and Betty Friedman (*The Feminine Mystique -- or how to make your way with an occupation in this man's world*) and, we've thought of acting on such issues as the nepotism clause at the University of Chicago which effectively cheats the wife of a professor out of a job (if she is in the same department) though she may be quite an excellent teacher on her own.

The point of all this is just both that a movement is not really existent until it is moving with its men and women. Hopefully, the dilemma about finding exactly the right road will be resolved and some road taken and followed through. Hopefully the hesitations expressed in recent SDS discussions against public actions will be seen in the light of the erosion of a "movement" on those campuses where there was no action and the growth of one on those campuses where something has been created.

LETTERS

to the editor

Dear Editor,

Mr. Marvin Mandell in his December 9 letter concerning the Red Guards depends heavily upon Isaac Deutscher's article in the Nation (Oct. 31). Certainly Deutscher is the greatest historian of Soviet Russia. But even granted that, a too heavy dependence upon Soviet News reports of Red Guard excesses biases the whole picture. Certainly Mr. Mandell would grant that the press of the USSR is hardly the world's most trustworthy (given Mandell's degeneration thesis). But then ought one to accept at face value all the material in the Soviet press about the Red Guard's vituperations against precisely those cultural figures which the Soviet citizens most revere? Unfortunately Deutscher as well as the U. S. press has taken the Soviet news reports about China at face value. Sadly it is now the USSR which is supplying the Western press with the worst lies about China. The U. S. papers don't have even to make up their own any more.

Mandell apparently takes his concluding remarks not from any serious source but from the political cartoon which accompanied the Nation article. He might be interested in knowing that in many of the very same cities in which the Guards were reported to be rampaging, foreign trade fairs were proceeding quietly as usual and the foreign visitors saw none of the rioting vandals who were supposedly ripping up the very neighborhoods where the fairs were proceeding. The "Red Guard posters" about which we have heard so much in the U. S. press (depending upon Soviet reports and unnamed, unidentified Japanese newspapers) are in fact not posters printed by the government but blank sheets posted upon which

the teenagers can write. (And given that most of the youth can write in new China, such writing spaces are open to all).

When students in Paris or Mexico City blow up a statue of some revered cultural authority-figure we shrug off their youthful excess. But when Red Guards (at least supposedly) deface a statue of Pushkin, everyone from the New York Times to Isaac Deutscher cries out in righteous horror.

Yours,

Val Dusek
Durham, New Hampshire

Dear Editor:

Regarding: Paranoid Politics Revisited, December 9, 1966.

If those who claim to represent the youth rebellion in the U.S.A. choose to attack the rebellious youth of China, let them at least respect historical facts.

The followers of Adolph Hitler and the followers of Mao Tze-tung were at opposite ends of the political spectrum before World War II and they still are today.

At that time Hitler used anti-Communism as the pretext to overrun the small nations of Europe while his Japanese allies did the same thing in Asia.

Now Johnson has taken up where Hitler left off. Our enemies of World War II are now our allies, our allies, our enemies.

Russia, which before World War II tried to save itself by an alliance with Hitler, is now trying to repeat the process with his successor.

Heil Mandell! Long live ignorance and stupidity!

--Paul Burke

NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. Phone (312) 666-3874. 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, Cathy Wilkerson

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A National Alternative

TO THE STRIKE

--Vic Berkeley

Mark Kleiman's article in the Dec. 2 issue of NLN provides cogent, and I think, the salient arguments against a national student strike this spring. A strike is in no case a viable means of organizing opposition to the war. Nor is a strike appropriate for educating those students becoming increasingly disturbed by the war, to the realities and relationships which produced and sustain it. In view of the condition of U.S. campuses, both organization and education would seem to take priority to going to the streets, which is what a strike is; and shit man, we've been in the streets. Striking at this time would be more than inappropriate, it would be inane.

There is a better means of letting the people's (in this instance: students') voice be heard, I feel. The ground has already been broken, and the way has been shown by the Dearborn Referendum (See NLN, Dec. 2; Nation, Dec. 19).

Given well-worded referendum elections occurring on campuses across the country, sds would become a genuine catalyst in, first, making the specific issues raised (immediate de-escalation, cessation of bombing, direct contact of NLF for cease-fire, etc.) points of widespread discussion and debate; and, second, in enabling many students' voices to be heard in a significant way--one not so easily heard.

Secondarily, such referendum elections would provide the participating chapters with a generalized national structure to anti-war activity and a defined deadline to be met, both desirable to many chapters. Such a national action would be a source of cohesion without coercion.

Its success would depend upon each chapter's ability to obtain the necessary signatures for a place on the ballot, and in the process, to debate and educate the students. Several implications of such nationwide campus elections which are possibly significant to the anti-war movement suggest themselves immediately, but should be left for discussion after the above comes off clean.

NATIONAL

PRESIDENT'S

REPORT

Dear Todd and Nancy --

This letter grew out of discussions we had quite a while back on the nature of our ideology. I am unhappy with it, and would like most to know whether my inability to make certain sections of it concrete come from a faulty conception or from fuzzy thinking.

"We don't have an ideology". For some time now we have been berated by this charge and have ourselves bemoaned what we thought to be this fact. Both those who charge and those who mourn have failed to suggest what an ideology would look like if we had it and, more important, what its substance would be. It is not surprising that in a country as political as ours, and in a radical movement as new, we should be at some loss to know what an ideology is. And it is not surprising that we have overlooked the one we have.

II. First, a substitution of terms: in order to stem a debate over semantics, which might arise after the writings of Mannheim, let us use the words political philosophy instead of ideology. Still what we are talking of is that calculus which would tell us where we are now, what we want to achieve, and how to do it; which would tell us what to think of any political development, actual or proposed.

The first task is to break political philosophy up into its component parts. (This breakdown is based in part on C. W. Mills, *The Marxists Introduction*.) An ideology consists of 1) Values; 2) Goals, 3) Analysis; 4) Agent; and 5) Strategy.

Values: those qualities of human relationships which should exist in the society for which we work.

Goals: that set of institutions which should give shape to society.

Analysis: an accurate description of the basic dynamics of the status quo.

Agents: that group (or those groups) which can act to change society in the desired direction.

Strategy: the large steps between here and there. (tactics/techniques)

In short, to get it all in: Analysis provides the basis for specifying a strategy according to which agents will work to achieve goals by which the values can be realized.

Now we have to look at what we believe about each of these facets of political philosophy. But more must be done. We must ask ourselves what alternatives are offered to us in each category, and whether we reject the alternatives through fear, fuzzy thinking, or reason. Only then can we know whether we have a political philosophy and whether at this point in our history we could have more of one if we reject alternatives through reason, as we do, then we have more of a political position than we usually suspect.

What we believe.

Values 1) Social lives: a) equal power and or equal control of power; b) relatively equal distribution of goods and services; c) equal protection by and from laws; d) equal participation in government (as a value in itself, not just as a means to the other values); 2) personal lives: a) self-determination; b) honesty/openness (or closeness, as you prefer); c) ability to provide for the needs of oneself and one's fellows. (as opposed to the ability to produce or acquire material goods).

Goals: 1) Peoples control of the institutions of government, including control of the means of production of goods and services. Socialism, if you want to define it that way; certainly not capitalism. 2) Decentralism, both of the economy and of government, in order to allow for participation.

Analysis: 1) The government operates without any effective popular control. 2) It acts primarily in the interests of the major economic institutions, the large corporations. The interests of corporations are calculated on the basis of profit, either present or projected. 3) The government sometimes acts in the interests of the military, parti-

cularly in foreign affairs. These interests usually, although not always coincide with the interests of the corporate establishment. 4) This situation has produced internally: a) severe economic deprivation among a large percent of the U. S. population; b) de-politization of people at all levels in the U. S., with a concomitant loss of self worth; c) concentration on material acquisition because it is the one area in which people exercise some control and thus a warping of basic human values; and d) a population which, because it exists in authoritarian, manipulated surroundings, can only understand insurgent movements, domestic or foreign, as other manipulations: externally a) severe deprivation and exploitation of a large part of the underdeveloped world, and a loss in the ability of self-determination b) a large anti-imperialist, anti-US sentiment in most of the rest of the world.

Because of this structure the government has produced primary and secondary schools which teach subservience to the state; universities which mainly train for jobs in the corporate world; welfare institutions which do not help but degrade; police who do not protect but control; a war on poverty which aids business and the city government, not the poor.

Two conditions have made this situation at times difficult to perceive. 1) 4(b) and (d) above, the lack of political involvement, have produced a population which appears to sanction the actions of the government. 2) the country has developed a liberal rhetoric allowing this travesty to proceed in the name of peace, freedom and democracy.

(The situation is further complicated because the advanced position of the U. S. in terms of industrial capacity makes the immediate, material interests of the population antithetical to those of the underdeveloped world)

Agent: For the immediate future we specify the poor, and almost as a separate group the poor Negro population, unorganized poor labor, and students (chiefly as catalysts) as the chief agents of change in the immediate future. We proceed on the hope, but at this point it is no more than a hope, that insurgency in the ranks of organized labor, around issues of control, as well as increasing dissatisfaction among certain unspecified sections of the middle class may in time develop into a force for change. In addition, we find developments among professionals (new groupings among teachers, new definitions of the roles of lawyers, doctors, architects, etc., as aiding the movement.)

Strategy: The strategy for the immediate future is local insurgency: A) Among the poor, to 1) build a new base of power among that group which has the most easily discerned radical demands against the society, and 2) especially in the black community to build that sense of personal dignity essential for an inter-racial movement. Only through the organization of the poor can there ever be hope for future movement, whether it be mass action, electoral candidates, or political coalition. B) Among students, to 1) change the nature of the university so that it can perform a critical rather than a supportive role to the society, 2) build political consciousness among students, so that they will be able to be catalysts for social change, both among the poor and in the professions. C) Among the ranks of unorganized labor. We hope that strategy is evolving to put to radical use the demands for increased control put forward recently by militant rank and file union members. D) Within the professions. Local insurgency, at least in metaphor, must proceed inside the professions. Here, an insurgency of ideas must redefine the roles of teachers, architects, social workers and others so that they support rather than undercut the movement.

This strategy does not depict the complete road to the new society. But if that road exists, this is the first step. What alternatives are there to the statements chosen in each category? Why are they rejected?

(This section done in outline form only)
Values: A) The individual is valuable only as he serves the state. B) Competition (healthy competitive spirit) (reasons for rejection are easy)

Goals: 1) The American System 3) Socialist models (the counter to these is either a) no more specific than we are, or b) centralist).

Analysis: 1) Free enterprise model, 2) Countervailing forces, 3) vulgar Marxist (all rejected as insufficient.)

Agents: A) Negro, B) Working class C) Middle class (start by rejecting the premise there must be one agent.) Reject Negro because of class divisions within the race, reject sections of the working class and middle class as incapable of perceiving their interests as lying outside the system, accept sections of each, as of Negro.

Strategy: A) We'll get there by and by B) New coalition of old forces C) Mass Demonstration D) Cadre development E) organization of the working class. (A and B easy, reject C because assumes minor ills, D because contradicts values, E because of arguments in Agent, above.

(There are several statements we make that seem to be a part of our political philosophy which do not fit neatly within any one category. For instance, we hold, at least in part, that strategy must allow us to act in some measure in accordance with the values we wish to see instituted. Statements of this kind show the relationship of the different parts of political philosophy to each other).

That's as far as I have gotten. As usual I cannot tell whether this exercise gives useful form to ideas we have had for some time, or simply re-arranges our ignorance.

Nick

After I wrote this letter to Todd I read through the Port Huron Statement. Its structure, as might be expected in what was intended as a basic document is along lines similar to the outline of the letter. The PHS

"Fort Hood 3"

Terry Nelson,
College of Emporia;
Bob Coffland,
Kansas State Teachers'
College of Emporia

Despite cold temperatures and blowing winds, a group of Americans numbering 90 to 100 gathered at the gate of Lansing State Penitentiary to begin a six-mile walk which would take them to Fort Leavenworth where three young men are held for refusing to fight in the Vietnamese "conflict."

Five of these people were from the Emporia area, three being residents and two being resident students. It is the desire of this small group to make known to the people the purposes of this demonstration.

For six miles, the march was received with little more than profanity and verbal abuse from the spectating citizens.

The members of the march continued respectfully, cheerfully and orderly toward the Fort despite the jeers and opposition of the respectable citizens who had turned out to "greet" them.

Upon reaching the Fort, the marchers advanced only to the barricade set to keep them out. Songs were sung while accompaniment was provided by the clicking and whirring of camera shutters and music from the sound-track of a do-or-die patriot from the citizen's group.

After setting up our own sound system, speeches and proposals were made by representatives of the various participating groups. As the speeches began, the resistance began cat-calls and egg bombardments.

After hearing the speeches and voting to send a petition to the commanding officer of the Fort, the demonstration officially dispersed.

As a small group of demonstrators attempted

begins with values (p. 5), continues with analysis (pp. 8-36) goes on with a prescription for the U. S. which is a partial statement of goals (pp. 37-53), and ends with a short statement on agent and strategy (pp. 54ff). Parts of the document ring as true today as when they were written, four and a half years ago. Particularly the section on values has retained its ability to communicate what we are about. But many parts of it we have transcended in our everyday political discussions.

Chief among the strategic goals, for instance, the PHS lists the ousting of the Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party and the development of single-issue organizations. The specification of agents puts more stress on the university as a locus of force for ultimate change than we often do now, and stresses the peace movement more than we do now in long range thinking. The analysis section talks of the problems of Negroes, but only in the failure of white America to provide them with the material things it provides for itself. It does not mention the robbing of dignity and culture from a whole people. Similarly the analysis of the ills of white America does not stress sufficiently the wreck our society makes of each of the individual lives of those people who live within it. And the analysis is overconcerned -- for our time, although not for the time it was written -- with the causes of the cold war-fare state, and does not deal sufficiently with the development of a counter-insurgency stance which is our current, most pronounced posture. The goals section does not exist, except in scattered references or in prescription for America, both could easily leave the impression that we seek a reformed and regulated corporate liberalism.

This list of ways we have transcended the PHS is incomplete. I have just tried to illustrate some very specific statements which we now have replaced in our everyday arguments. Some other changes become apparent, the rough outline of our thinking presented in the letter to Todd, for the letter, is just an organization of things I find myself saying all the time.

After I read the PHS I realized that the letter could serve, as a sketch, for the initial work on a new statement. I hope that process will proceed in these pages. If the discussion makes reference to the letter, it should do so as to working notes, not as to an attempt at dictum.

The outline should be altered or fleshed out, not attacked or praised.

to reach their cars, the mob of youngsters, about high school age, attacked the group, resulting in several bruises and two arrests. As the police restored order, cars were brought into the area along with one group's bus to take the remaining demonstrators to the location of their cars.

In evaluation of the day, we, the Emporia group, felt the day worthwhile and accomplishing the projection of a strong voice. It remains puzzling to us as to why these three young men (Pfc. Dennis Mora, Pfc. James Johnson, and P. David Samas) are in prison. We would still question whether one gives up his rights as a citizen when he becomes a part of the military machine. The right of dissent, unique to America, seems to have been prostituted by the Government and the armed services in their refusal to recognize this right in the cases of these three American soldiers.

It also becomes very alarming when we consider the effort of the opposing crowd to suppress that freedom for which they so loudly claim they would fight. Also alarming is the apparent ignorance of issues, indicated by the slogans of the opposition.

It is, we believe, out of a deep and dedicated concern for the world that demonstrations such as this occur. It is the taking seriously of the United States which has rallied people to march in every corner of the world.

We offer our support for the march, now as we did Saturday. We will continue to work for a just end to the Vietnam conflict through any and all means open to us. We will continue to educate people of their rights and protest the infringements of those rights everywhere they occur.

DECEMBER N.C.

NC Delegates

Minutes

Chapter	Delegates
Amherst-Smith	Dave Evans Tom Britt*
Barcelona Rifle & Drinking Club	Clyde Grubbs*
Berkeley	Buddy Stein* Mike Smith* Kris Dymond* Reese Erlich*
Boston U.	Connie Silver* Mike Schriber
Brandeis	John Seeley Ron Shuffler Susan Gefer
Brooklyn College	Jeff Gordon*
U. of Cal., Irvine	Peter Stone*
UCLA	Nancy Rynerson*
U. of Chicago	Steve Goldsmith* Ken Krich* Howard Strange* Stephen Gabel*
Claremont	Martin Rivlin (alt)*
U. of Colorado	Mark Bennett*
Columbia	Nick Gruenberg*
Cornell	Scott Robinson*
Denver	Paul Gaggini*
Foothill College	Grady Rouertson*
Goddard	Nathan (D.S.)*
Harvard-Radcliff	Mike Spiegel* Ron Yank Dave Wofsy* Alan Moonves* John Spitzer
Humboldt State	Jack Sheridan*
U. of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana	Vic Berkey Vincent Hau-Leong Wu*
U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle	Rich Berkowitz*
Illinois Institute of Technology	Carl Stieren*
Iowa State	Toni Pounds
Kansas City at-large	Barbara Bondurant*
Kansas U.	(Mary) Christine Leonard*
U. of Kentucky	Bill Murrell
Los Angeles MDS	Doug Norberg*
Lewis & Clark	Alexandra Pratt
Manhattan Comm. College	Terry Davis
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Philip Alden
U. of Minnesota	Ben McKoy* Keith Tyson (alt)*
U. of Missouri -- Columbia	John Stark
U. of Missouri -- Kansas City	Mike Knitmeyer*

U. of Nevada	Bob Ryrick*
U. of New Mexico	Lilli Sommer (alt)*
New York at-large	Sarah Murphy*
Oberlin	Bob Parker*
U. of Ohio -- Athens	Ed Rothstein*
U. of Oklahoma	John Ratliff*
Roosevelt University	Earl Silbar*
San Diego State	Shari Whitehead* Ray Bierl*
San Fernando Valley State	Tina Brouwer*
San Francisco State	Richard Tewes* Jon McKenney (alt)*
Santa Cruz	Allen Hunter*
U. of Southern Cal.	David Lang*
Stanford	Richard Bogart* Ron Nigh (alt)*
St. Olaf	Jim Fite
SUNY -- Stony Brook	Gene Freott*
Swarthmore	Sue Lynn Gretchen Foy
Syracuse	Bob Tumposky
U. of Texas	Sandra Wilson* David Mahler* Carol Cash (alt)*
Trinity College	Robert Rethy
VOICE	Eric Chester* Rich Gordon* Skip Taube* Rod Rose* Steve Johnson* David Duboff (alt)*
Washington State U.	Larry Dahlkvist*
Washington U. -- St. Louis	Dwight Corrin
U. of Wisconsin	Robert Schwartz* Richard Samson*
U. of Wisconsin -- Milwaukee	Susan Susan McCabe
Wisconsin State U. -- La Crosse	Dennis O'Keefe
National Interim Committee NC Delegates at-large	Bill Hartzog* Nancy Bancroft* Carl Davidson* Jeff Shero* Bob Speck* Mark Kleiman* Mike James* Jane Adams* Carolyn Craven* Tom Condit Carl Oglesby Steve Kindred * plus a few others I forgot who did not attend add to list
Fraternal Organizations Student Religious Liberals	Clyde Grubbs*

Discussion on the draft began the afternoon of December 27, 1966. The first day of the discussion consisted of general remarks on the draft issue and the stand which SDS should take on it. In order to make the discussion more coherent to those who were not there, I will report the remarks in a contextual framework, which will at times vary from the chronological sequence of the speakers.

The first question raised was the seriousness of SDS's intent to actually urge people to "resist" the draft. The national referendum on this question, mandated by the Clear Lake Convention, had passed 104 to 15; the total of 119 votes representing less than 3% of the total SDS membership. Members of the NC were therefore uncertain as to whether or not they had the ability and the mandate to pass a national program which incorporated this element. (The question was voted on at the end of the discussion the following day and it was decided that the NC did have that power.)

Carl Davidson had a proposal for national SDS action on the draft, but said he would withhold it until the NC had clearly decided its intention to advocate draft resistance. After some discussion, the body of delegates decided that it could not finally decide on that until it knew of the context and nature of the draft resistance. Carl was urged to present his proposal.

Davidson prefaced his remarks by observing that in the past, actions against the draft had been individualistically and symbolically oriented. As an attempt to maximize the effectiveness of an anti-draft action he proposed the formation of local unions of draft resisters. The members of these unions would continue to seek various exemptions from the draft, such as C.O., 2S etc., but they would explicitly unite on the common ground of "We Won't Go". These unions would help build a feeling of community and solidarity among those who were seeking to dissent.

Action would be oriented around the specific place where the draft touches the lives of the union members, i.e. the Induction Centers. Members would use resourceful tactics, such as the handing out of Duncan's article, at the induction Center to make their point collectively and to extend their organization. The union would create a collective confrontation of the Selective Service System; therefore, when one of the members was being harassed or persecuted, the union would have a collective response to his dilemma.

Queries from the floor then clarified other aspects of the proposal. The purpose of the unions would be both collective disruption of the system and also a positive attempt to build a community of resistance. If adopted, Carl saw the program becoming a major priority for SDS resources.

In the following discussion, delegates referred to their local situations to evaluate the desirability of the draft program. Three basic concerns dominated the discussion. First, was a national SDS program the solution at this point? What would be the role and implications of a national program? Second, if we were to adopt a national program, what content and focus should it have? Alternatives and additions to Carl's program were suggested. And third, were SDS members and enough people in local communities ready and capable of acting on a nationally coordinated program? The particulars of Carl's program dominated the discussion on this question.

(Continued on page 8)

*--Asterisk denotes delegate attendance and registration. If a delegate failed to attend NC or did not register at NC, asterisk will not appear next to name.

A RADICAL CAMPAIGN

in '68

(Continued from page 1)

Because of the regional and other diversities of the United States combined with the federal system of government, the only way to really achieve radicalization on a national level is first to radicalize the community. There are problems facing almost every community in the United States which demand radical analysis and radical alternatives. City, state and regional issues must be faced to demonstrate the relevance of a radical approach to the problems of today. Radicals should advance solutions to such problems as air and water pollution, and urban transportation. The work-a-day issues that seem irrelevant to radical politics are basic preludes to more radical activity. A perfect example is the development of a strong radical sense among students at Berkeley and recently in the population at large in the Bay Area.

First, there was a long struggle about the basic American right enshrined in the First Amendment, Free Speech. Because the Free Speech Movement challenged the University's bureaucracy, the people who participated learned the truth about our "democracy". The next step was the large Vietnam Day Committee. The radical spirit that made the VDC as large as it is was conceived during the Free Speech Movement's struggles. The next step in radicalization has been the enthusiastic support for Scheer by radical students who took the issues to Oakland's Ghetto and in fact, produced a majority for Scheer in that section of his district. The Bay Area is on the way to being radicalized, and it all started with the unblushing unradical demand for Free Speech.

This example illustrates a point that can be demonstrated again and again from the history of American radicalism. The American people have only responded well to radicals when the issues appeared close at hand. Radicalism that has succeeded in capturing the hearts and minds of many people has been rooted in American experience and dealt with the local and regional issues which were important to people every day of their lives. Examples such as Populism, Industrial Unionism, and today's Freedom movement are good examples.

Thus, we are left with a proposition with which all people seriously interested in radicalizing America (not reforming it) must agree: The only hope for success by American radicals is a start at the grass roots by presenting intelligent solutions to local problems and organizing around these issues in the community. From small issues will come larger issues; as the community radicalizes it will attain a new level of consciousness and will begin to see the connections between what is denied to it and what is denied to other people. Thus, the Negro people in the South can make the connection between their struggle and the struggle of the Vietnamese people as some women did with these words, "Maybe they call me 'eg-ister, too.'"

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

We propose to link this idea of local organization on local issues to the national political arena. We propose a national campaign in 1968, not for the purpose of winning the election but for the purpose of facilitating organizing work on the local level. We suggest that every local organization that so desires, and especially local groups who have already run peace candidates, attend a convention to be held in 1967 to nominate a national slate.

The coalition supporting these candidates may be as diverse as the New York Parade Committee. We should not expect to win power through these elections; therefore, we need not be united on all counts. Since the national campaign should function primarily to enhance and coordinate the efforts of the various groups operating on the local level and because the left is still divided on fundamental questions, we propose that the convention skirt the stumbling block of ideology. Instead, it should respect individual differences and reach agreement on broad (short-run) demands. Only basic agreement in this respect is required.

Three possible ones would be Immediate Withdrawal from Vietnam (Bring the Troops Home Now, Alive), Jobs or Income Now, and an explicit support for Black Power.

These demands should be broad enough to keep SDS, the Du Bois Clubs, the WSP, SNCC, CORE, SWP, etc., together while being radical enough to keep SANE and Bobby Kennedy out. The principle in the campaigns should be local autonomy though local groups should probably (tacitly at least) support the three demands. The positive proposals dealing with these demands will be sufficient to indicate the importance of radical change. Therefore, there is little need for the national campaign to be unified upon a broad and encompassing ideology.

The purpose of this campaign will be to let local movements join each other, giving their own efforts in their own communities a national focus. It will provide for communication and exchange of ideas between local movements. It will also provide publicity and help the education campaigns so vital to building the movements. For instance, the presidential or vice-presidential candidate (of national stature) might provide much needed publicity and drawing power for local groups' meetings where they will expound their local radical alternatives. Even without the presence of the national personalities, the enthusiasm and interest generated by a national campaign could help stimulate concern with local issues on the part of people who might otherwise ignore them. In other words, the group that is reachable with a radical critique will be expanded by the heightened political interest which surrounds a national campaign. Each local group should, of course, have complete autonomy, and it goes without saying that they should stay together after the election and keep working, organizing and educating.

The recent meeting of California groups (*National Guardian*, Oct. 15) seems to have followed this prescription on a regional level. It is not surprising that California should have advanced to this stage since the Scheer and other campaigns though nominally for democratic nomination were really directed towards establishing strong bases within the community. Even had Scheer been elected, his main job would have been to continue organizing his community and to use his office in Washington to spread the radical message to other Congressional districts. The Connecticut campaigns of Bob Cook and Fred Harris are on the verge of achieving the kind of unity that Scheer brought to his Oakland-Berkeley campaign. One is also struck with the resolution of peace candidates in other areas to continue organizing after the election.

The national campaign should in no way detract from other forms of protest and education, be they Teach-Ins, demonstrations, civil disobedience, rent strikes, or door-to-door canvassing. All radical people in any area of the United States will have an opportunity to devote time and energy on any level of activity they care to. The way to victory, given the American federal system and the divergence of regions, is the grassroots up, separately. There will be unity for certain actions or on certain issues only; but there should always be contact. If it is done correctly, the national campaign in 1968 could be an important beginning. It could result in many well grounded local organizations and a vast amount of publicity for the movement.

THE POSITIVE PROGRAM

The three issues we have suggested as the basis for the national campaign are not the only three possible. We believe in total flexibility as far as this program is concerned. We do think that certain modifications of these demands to make them more acceptable to a broader group of people might be dangerous.

For instance: the demand to withdraw from Vietnam immediately. The war is not the root of all the evil in the United States; it is a result of the great rottenness of our society which is why a radical change is necessary. Staughton Lynd has summarized the "contradictions" of American society aptly:

American capitalism is not a permanent or stable system. It cannot provide constructive and remunerative work for all its citizens. It refuses to support those without such work at a level of life consistent with human dignity. The technological progress to which it is driven by corporate competition for profits puts more men out of work by automation. The only public works it is willing to undertake which alleviate unemployment significantly are war and the preparation for war.... (*National Guardian*, April 16, 1966, p. 8)

In his speech to the *Guardian* dinner last year Professor William A. Williams said, succinctly: "We cannot dismantle the empire abroad until we dismantle the empire at home."

Our job as radicals is to consistently attempt to increase the number of people who desire a basic change in American society. A demand for immediate withdrawal meets the basic phenomenon of American society as it functions in the international sphere: international anti-communism leading to anti-nationalism and military and para-military adventurism. We must show the average American that foreign revolutions will not hurt him, that the Vietnamese are fighting one such revolution, and that contrary to the president's hypocritical intonations there is nothing to negotiate since the Geneva Agreements of 1954 already have stated that Vietnam is to belong to the Vietnamese. All more compromising approaches to the Administration will run the risk of co-optation.

Jobs or Income Now is something the economy is physically capable of providing for everyone. The overhaul in the political economy required before this will occur is nothing short of a radical revolution. The trade union's demand for shorter hours with the same pay do not touch our most immediate constituents who are unemployed and often unemployable. The local movement of welfare recipients indicate how timely this political demand would be in some community organization projects.

The support (either tacit or active) for the Black Power demands of SNCC and CORE is a must for any radical movement serious about itself. We support Professor Genovese's observation that

"For American Socialism, the black revolt opens an opportunity for relevance that has been missing for decades. What we do with that opportunity, as the leaders of SNCC have rather rudely reminded us, is our problem, not theirs." (*National Guardian*, October 1, p. 2)

The national campaign must get the support of SNCC and CORE both for the local political support this will give it in places like Alabama and Mississippi, and because Negroes are the most immediate constituency of a radical movement bent on organizing the community. Following the advice of Stokely Carmichael, the national party should be the place where Negro and white community organizations can meet as equals and share experiences. We are not opposed to integrated community organizations, but they must be in integrated communities. Scheer's campaign solicited votes both from the ghetto Negroes in Oakland and the white middle class intellectuals in the Berkeley areas. Here as always, local autonomy should be the rule. The largest possible radical constituency for the campaign will be generated by keeping to this rule and accepting the three suggestions as the lowest common denominator for the attendance at the convention in 1967.

THE CONVENTION AND AFTER

The convention itself can produce, through the sharing of the experiences of different local organizations, a massive well-documented indictment of the Johnson administration. The "war" on poverty can be exposed on the testimony of expert opinion, people

who have worked in it, and its own publications. The fact can be driven home to our future constituents that the war on poverty has systematically excluded the communities it is supposedly aiding from any direction of the program. The experiences in Syracuse and elsewhere can be cited in support of this well-known fact among radicals. The fact that a true war on poverty is impossible within the political economy of the United States could also be driven home. Each local organization can lay down a challenge to the power structures in the form of a demand that each local community act to make the war on poverty a reality. The specific proposals will almost certainly step on the toes of many vested interests and the communities will be taught important facts of life about what is possible in America. The illusion of civil rights "progress" can be shattered once and for all with special documentation of the half-hearted moves towards full integration of schools, not to mention the decidedly unequal opportunities that persist for southern and northern ghetto-dwelling Negroes. The power structure's fears of Black Power can be explained in terms of the apprehension on their part that they will not be able to buy off the new leadership. The results of the War Crime's Tribunal run by Bertrand Russel can be used to full advantage re Vietnam. Also, we can publish new material about the course of the war, the "elections" in South Vietnam, and the growing disaffection within the armed forces. The manifesto can be an island of truth in a political mainstream of lies.

The national headquarters that will coordinate the national campaign can remain in existence after the election just as local organizations should remain in existence. The headquarters can act as a clearing house to provide local groups with experts on various problems and as a focal point of communication to share experiences. It should have at its disposal a pool of willing specialists. These might include city planners, economists, agronomists, lawyers, etc. These people would be available as consultants for community organizations to aid in the pursuit of well thought out radical solutions to whatever problems may exist in the community being radicalized. This pool need not consist of paid staff. Interested specialists would notify the national headquarters that they are willing to serve local organizations desiring the specialist aid they are capable of giving. Requests from local organizations can be sent through the national headquarters to the kind of specialists requested. It is hoped that the numbers will be great enough to guarantee that at least one will have enough time to answer the call. At a later date, the national headquarters might want to maintain a staff, these contacts and their own experiences, local communities will produce their own experts not only well-versed in the mechanics of a radical solution to particular problems but also experienced in the area of political struggle for these solutions. As similar problems are faced by the various local, state, or regional groups, the national headquarters would serve as an ideal meeting ground to compare experiences and share solutions. In addition to the enthusiasm generated by the realization that one's efforts are part of a greater whole, the chance to pool resources and discuss common problems could lead to more imaginative and firmer solutions to the problems faced in each individual area.

Every local movement will be enhanced and the movements will proceed at their own paces slowly or quickly radicalizing the communities. State-wide and even national political union will occur when the time is ripe. Since we are not near that stage, no further speculation is necessary. Until that day, we should get to work at the grassroots and adopt the national campaign idea as a way to push all that much harder in the community. No one should mis-interpret this call; it is not a call to a political campaign to radicalize the community. Victory in 1968 should be measured only in terms of how many individuals have been reached in the local areas and in terms of the expansion of the local movements.

NAC Minutes

NAC Members present: Greg Calvert, Dee Jacobsen, Jane Adams, Steve Goldsmith, Earl Silbar, Cathy Wilkerson.

NAC members absent: Rich Berkowitz, Jean Tepperman.

Others present: Don Tylke, Leslie Osem, Tom Condit, Wayne Dresden, Thane Croston.

AGENDA:

1. Draft Resistance Resolution And Its Ramifications
2. Staff (Field and N.O.)
3. San Francisco Regional Office
4. Literature
5. Membership Files
6. NLN

1. Draft Resistance Resolution
A. The NAC decided to print several hundred copies of the Anti-Draft resolution and the National Secretaries' cover letter for distribution to other organizations and interested parties.

Earl Silbar requested information on regional reactions to the Draft Resistance resolution. The National Secretary read a letter from the New England Regional Office which cautioned the N.O. on the dangers of adopting such a resolution (the letter was rather jocular in content). Other reactions were reviewed, but it was concluded that no significant measure of chapters' reactions has yet been seen.

B. Greg Calvert suggested that the NAC should discuss the problem of implementing the Draft-Resistance resolution. At this point Earl Silbar discussed his recent anti-draft activities, which included the writing of several letters to people around the country in which he urged the establishment of regional communication (possibly a news letter) around the draft issue.

At this point Greg presented an agenda item from Rich Berkowitz (absent) which suggested hiring a National Draft-Resistance Coordinator. Rich nominated Mendy Samstein for the job. This item was discussed in relation to the problem of hiring a dynamic organizer who could move people from the level of individual commitment to organized resistance. A brief discussion on the level of anti-draft commitment on the national level was also aired with specific references made to high school and junior college organizing. During the interchange the NAC considered several persons for the job of National Draft-Resistance Coordinator, and it was decided that the National Secretary should contact these people and investigate their availability for the position.

2. Staff: The question of hiring additional Field Secretaries was raised. Greg indicated that applications for these positions have been received from the following persons:

A. Doug Norberg: Doug has been traveling and organizing in Southern California. He has suggested that he would work on internal education and draft-resistance. The NAC approved Doug's application and agreed to provide support in the form of literature.

B. A second application from Bill Hartzog, who has been organizing in Kansas and Missouri, was reviewed. The NAC approved Bill's appointment and agreed to pay him \$100 per month provided that Bill meets N.O. standards for a Field Secretary (consistent travel and report writing).

C. The NAC examined an application received from Jane Adams. Jane plans to organize around a projected educational conference on the war. Her area would encompass Illinois, Indiana, and Northern Mis-

souri. Jane's application was approved provided that adequate funding can be provided.

D. The NAC approved the hiring of John Venezia as the new Chapter Correspondant.

E. Greg noted that Marty Tandler from Madison (U. of Wisconsin) has expressed a desire to organize a new region which would be supported by free literature from the N.O. Greg indicated that he would travel to Madison in the near future to discuss the potential of forming a region. The NAC decided (at least temporarily) to provide Marty with the literature he has requested.

The NAC suggested that if any chapters in the regions where the new Field Secretaries will be working object to the Secretaries, they should inform the N.O. The suggestion was also made that the Field Secretaries should work toward the development of financially responsible regions which would be capable of supporting their own Field Secretaries.

3. The San Francisco Region:

A. The question of the San Francisco Region was discussed. Greg reviewed the dysfunctional history of the Regional Office. He then pointed out that Walt Sheasby has resigned as Regional Coordinator. Bob Speck and Eric Chester have moved into the office (on the basis of a meeting held at the Berkeley NC at which three or four Regional Chapters were present). This development has resulted in some confusion regarding the relationship of the N.O. to the San Francisco Office. This situation was discussed and Steve Goldsmith proposed that the NAC urge the chapters in the San Francisco Region to hold a Regional Conference at which the internal politics of the region and its relationship to the N.O. would be worked out. The NAC unanimously approved this suggestion.

B. Tom Condit, who is leaving the NO for San Francisco, suggested that he be appointed as half-time bulk-order Literature Secretary for the West Coast area. This suggestion was discussed and the NAC decided that brother Condit should evaluate the Regional situation and submit a report to the N.O. before any final decision is made regarding his appointment.

4. Literature: Wayne Dresden (N.O. Lit. Sec.) suggested ordering more copies of "Atrocities in Viet Nam". He also informed the NAC that he is negotiating a literature (war) exchange with AFSC. At this point, the NAC discussed the need for a good pamphlet on Black Power, and the body approved the production of such a pamphlet.

5. Jane Adams informed the NAC that representatives (Max Primack and Paul Booth) organizing a conference to discuss new politics have requested permission to mail an announcement of the conference to the SDS membership. The NAC approved the use of the membership files for a single mailing.

6. Dee Jacobsen informed the NAC that bids for the commercial mailing of NLN have been solicited. He pointed out the multitudinous advantages that would accrue to the organization if NLN were commercially handled. The NAC approved the mailing of NLN by a commercial mailing house if the total annual cost does not exceed \$3,500.

Minutes submitted by
Dee Jacobsen

"...we'll just blow their minds!"

Mario Savio

FREEDOM NOW
sds
WITHDRAW NOW
25¢

NOT WITH
MY LIFE
YOU DON'T!
sds
25¢

LET THE
PEOPLE
DECIDE
sds
25¢

sds
10¢

resist
15¢

Buttons! Buttons! Buttons!
Big Buttons, Little Buttons,
Green Buttons, Red Buttons,
Black Buttons,
and White Buttons
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Room 205

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Thoughts on the free universities

"The current intellectual fashion in social matters calls for simplicity and activism. The subtleties, complexities and ambiguities that . . . have been the mark of serious thought are now taken to signify a failure of nerve, a compromise with evil, and evasion of responsibility".

G. Himmelfarb, NY Review of Books, May 6, 1965

"One premise for life and another for science is prima facie a falsehood."

K. Marx

Thus are the Free Universities challenged, "our problems are of action, not of thought!" Yet Free Universities stubbornly crop up around the country. They clearly respond to some felt needs.

The specific nature of these needs depends upon specific critiques of existing Universities.

"In the schools that were such a source of pride to the last Century, it has been found impossible to do more than instruct the masses in the techniques of modern life; it has been found impossible to educate them."

Oretega y Gasset, *Revolt of the masses*.

If one's critique agrees with Ortega's, he'll tend to lament the unchosen social involvement and to seek isolation in Academic Freedom.

But Free schools didn't arise in the abstract. Born in frustration, they only succeed when they convert anger into an attack on the old schools. Present Universities are the nurseries of the social system; if we wish to change it, we must change them. Free Schools offer a place for organizing strategy and attacks on the heart of the present schools -- the *subject matter* of the courses.

Born in concern over social issues (of art as well as politics), the Free Universities must maintain contact with other dissenters. In addition to maintaining a fighting attitude towards Universities, they must offer to the movement the space for research, debates, and self-criticism.

Education comes through struggle. This is especially clear with current political activity. Political actors must be familiar with issues; they must learn to work with others in serious, rather than ritualized, organizations; they must grope with social realities -- revealed in ways that words cannot, through confrontations.

Free Universities arise in response to these needs. Battles rage within them between short- and long-range tactics, between isolation and involvement, and between reflective and direct action.

Perhaps for these reasons, many assert, Free Universities are not really free."

PROV., R.I.:
The Evening Bulletin
Thursday, Dec. 15, 1966

A representative of Dow Chemical Co., who will be at Brown University tomorrow to interview candidates for employment, will be met by pickets and pamphleteers protesting the company's manufacture of napalm for use in Vietnam.

An ad in the Brown Daily Herald today reminded students "if you really want to do something, you've got a date with the man from Dow."

The ad, signed by 18 persons, has been placed in the campus newspaper by a newly organized committee called the Rhode Island Chapter of the Citizens Committee Against Napalm.

Mark Rogovin, a junior at the Rhode Island School of Design, a spokesman for the chapter, said it has about 30 members and is affiliated with the national committee which has headquarters in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Rogovin said pickets holding a six foot by four foot sign will stand at the Faunce House Arch on Waterman Street from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. tomorrow to call attention to the protest.

The sign, he said, will have a large arrow pointing to the university placement office and will read "Interviews for Dow Chemical Co."

Mr. Rogovin said, "I think it's important to mention the few things people can do who are interested. Quit buying Saran Wrap, Handy Wrap, and write to the Dow Chemical Co. in Midlands, Michigan and tell them your feelings about napalm."



The ad in the Herald showed a picture of bodies that have burned by napalm. Some of the protestors reportedly are trying to arrange interviews with the Dow representative so they can express their objections to napalm.

ADVERTISEMENT

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REMINDER: "IF YOU REALLY WANT TO DO SOMETHING YOU'VE GOT A DATE WITH THE MAN FROM DOW"

INTERVIEWS TOMORROW AT PLACEMENT OFFICE

THE DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY



NAPALM DID THIS DOW CHEMICAL CO., the makers of SARAN WRAP, manufacture NAPALM

Providence Chapter of the Citizens' Campaign Against Napalm:

Tom Sanders
Rev. Philip McKean
Carlyle Thayer
Mark Rogovin
Stanley Griffith

Stuart Farber
David Speltz
Stanley Davis
Stefan Ostrach

Laurence Leavitt
David Kertzer
Pam Clifford
Elsie Michie
Francie Ricks

Mark Davis
Scott Dyer
Cathy Lochner

DECEMBER NC MINUTES

(Continued from page 5)

1) Proponents of a national program used two main arguments. Greg Calvert advised seeing the potential effects of a national program in the same lights as those of the Black Power concept, which served as an explicit challenge to popular conceptions of American society. A national draft resistance program would promote a similar break of consciousness and force a reexamination of the assumptions that support the current system. Although it has potentially dangerous consequences because of the unpredictability of the national news media, if used creatively, this model can be of great value.

The second argument was that used by Pat Popkin of Berkeley and many others: that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the draft and many feel that they cannot cooperate, but they have no program into which to channel their protest and thereby to organize others. Others commented that immediate results were not the only criteria

to organize others. Others commented that immediate results were not the only criteria for success, but that merely the existence of a program would start building a cohesiveness among protesters which could later lead to more coordinated and concerted action.

Those opposed to a national program were primarily concerned with the effects of such on their local SDS chapters. Many felt that a nationally determined directive to illegally advocate resistance would intimidate many of the newer members who did not yet feel completely familiar with the radical analysis which necessitated such action.

Others challenged the feasibility of Carl's program. They held that the possible consequences of advocating resistance in a national program would pose serious risks to its leaders.

2) In the discussion evolving around the particular form which a national program should take, several delegates had additional suggestions to Carl's program. These included promoting resistance from within the armed services, helping people go to Canada, setting up a national "We Won't Go" petition, organizing series of local referendums on the question, and protesting only the ranking and 2S deferment policy. Some of these suggestions were posed as alternatives by those who doubted the feasibility of Carl's proposal.

Others wanted to structure the protest of the draft in the context of our foreign policy and the war in Viet Nam. Mike Parker thought that the primary need was to broaden and integrate the opposition to both the war and the draft and thereby include housewives picketing food markets and trade unionists who could not strike because they were employed in industries vital to the national interest.

3) The third debate focused on the question of the ability of local chapters to handle the program and the receptivity of local individuals to the idea. Here the question was raised as to what effect a concentration on the draft question would have on other radical activities. At one point Carl expressed a desire to withdraw his proposal (though

it was determined that this was parliamentarily impossible) as he concluded from the discussion that SDS was not able to handle the program. He suggested that perhaps only a staff oriented group, such as SNCC, could handle it effectively.

Others, however, responded that it was essential at this point to at least experimentally make the effort. Mike Smith pointed out that the nature of the draft question, in that it effected a wide spectrum of individuals, necessitated an ambitious program of protest if there was to be any program at all. Others, such as Bill Taub, restressed

the point that some program was essential now because of the mounting frustration.

Because the meeting hall had to be vacated, John Jacobs moved that the body adopt Carl's proposal. Nathan of Goddard College proposed an amendment that "as another alternative SDS give information to people on getting landed immigrant status in Canada. We encourage people to go to Canada." The second part of the motion, "to encourage people to go to Canada" failed; but the main motion passed. A further amendment was passed which stated that a positive vote for Carl's proposal would send it to a styles committee and it would then be finally voted on the following day. The motion was then passed.

The Second Day

The NC reconvened the morning of Dec. 28. Written copies of Carl's proposal were distributed. It was decided that the various sections should be discussed and voted upon in the order in which they appeared.

The major point of the discussion involved Section 2: Reese Ehrlich proposed an amendment to change the first sentence to "SDS reaffirms its opposition to the draft in any form in the current context of American Foreign Policy." There was then debate on whether or not we opposed the draft (or conscription, which was voted to be a synonymous term) in any context, or merely in the current context. It was decided that the system of administering and planning conscription, the Selective Service System, was intrinsically oppressive and anti-democratic. The system has far-reaching ramifications and goals in the social and economic systems of a nation as well as in the areas of the military and foreign policy. The amendment to change the first sentence was defeated.

Further discussion focused on the particular wording of certain sections, but made no substantial changes in the original content. An amendment by Steve Goldsmith was adopted and became section 5.

At the completion of debate, the entire proposal was passed: 53 - 10 - 3.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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