

U.S.A.
OR S.D.S.



Counter Pickets in Iowa

STUDENTS for a DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

BULLETIN Vol.4 No.2

Departments:

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LETTERS

FORUM

SPECIAL

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STAFF

Editor.....Jeffrey Shero
Asst.....Don Yost
Printers.....Arnell Douglas
Don Yost
Photographer...D. Gorton
Hero proletariat-Debbie Cohen,
Charlotte Pittman, Jeff Shero,
Dena Clamage, & Honey Williams

The Chapters

Referendum Results

By Jim Russell

The incompleting voting on the draft referendum shows it being defeated 178 for approval, 237 against. The chief reasons of those voting against the proposal appear to be three: 1) People are persuaded that adopting the proposal would put too much emphasis on Vietnam to the detriment of other SDS activities; 2) There is questioning that the draft is not an issue that leads into a broader discussion about the war but rather leads the organization into fighting a side issue; 3) Some areas see no need to endanger the national organization with government prosecution, and are voting against the national draft program, while continuing with energy at a regional or chapter level. People sending in explanations with their affirmative votes state they think the draft program is a key to organizing new constituencies against the war. The other major rationale for affirmative votes is that SDS should not weaken its resolve because of governmental pressure and should force ahead with the program as a symbol of that resolve.

The vote on the Constitutional Amendment to abolish the President and Vice President which requires a two thirds majority is losing 152 votes in favor of abolishment, 215 against. The chief criticism of the Constitutional Amendment was the lack of adequate information, particularly on past SDS experience with the offices, and lack of argumentation to intelligently judge the question. Affirmative voters sighted the need to give SDS coherence and voice in dealing with other organizations and the Communications media. A few thought that decision makers should be identified so that the membership could keep a close watch on them and hold them responsible for decisions that are made. Those voting for the abolishment of President and Vice President generally wished to see a decentralization in decision making.

The wave of anti-war activity on the 15th and 16th and the whirl of subsequent action and reaction has accelerated tendencies of structural change within the organization. Partly due to the growing pains in the anti-war movement, and concomitantly due to the coping with them being determined by the student composition of SDS, the traditional center of SDS, the national office, is becoming decreasingly important as a determinant of this activity.

While not wishing to go into the merits or demerits of this trend, it is interesting to note the demonstrations of the 15th and 16th and how chapters are being formed with that in mind.

Clearly over 60 SDS chapters took part in the demonstrations, varying in their degree of integral importance within the area. At Berkeley the role was obviously one of supporting the VDC while in New York the Committee to End the War, an SDS affiliate, organized the 5th Avenue parade which drew over 25,000. Dave Dellinger points out the importance of the fact that the majority of the people who participated in that parade were not students, which indicates a qualitative change in the movement.

Activity was of course expected there and received the spotlight of the news. What shook the complacent guardians of the status quo most, though, was when the reports came rolling in from such places as Des Moines, Iowa City, Ames, Richmond, Tucson, Albuquerque, Oklahoma City, and on and on with places not noted in recent years for radical political activity. The word is out and SDS chapters are being formed throughout this vast area with little or no prompting from the national organization. Yet there is a strong feeling of identity with the concerns of SDS if not with the formal relations.

Thus you have a situation best illustrated by the discovery by Todd Gitlin of three functioning chapters in

Oklahoma while he was on a speaking tour that had never had any contact with people outside of the state. Yet, again, they felt an amazingly strong identity with SDS.

The whole Iowa experience is likewise indicative. Within two months a chapter of over 100 has been organized indigenously and has gone on to evolve a network of contacts throughout that region around the Steve Smith draft-card burning case.

The perspective of the anti-war movement has further broadened in the probing attempts to reach high school students. Projects in this direction have been instigated in Ann Arbor, Carbondale, New York, and Austin. Meanwhile students from ten different Chicago area high schools have walked into the national office requesting information on how to form chapters at their respective schools.

At this point, though, there are many felt issues which need to be discussed in terms of strategy. Many people have serious questions about the meaning of a draft program that was phrased for the referendum in fantastically vague terms, some people, the Texas chapter being the notable example, abstained in disgust after pointing up the impossibility of voting within the context of its ambiguities.

It has also been pointed out that changes in the objective situation may have forced a change of emphasis on SDS. That is to say, a major allocation of organizational resources to support the SANE march would violate the mandate for educative over demonstrational activity specified by the September NC. The rub is that reality has changed since that meeting and it can be argued that it is of utmost political importance that the march is a success and therefore that SDS should do all it can within its power to insure this success.

These and other considerations have prompted regional meetings to discuss Vietnam strategy in New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Atlanta. It is important that these meetings, along with the "emergency NC"

develop more relevant guidelines and directions for the organization to most valuably expend its resources.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTER NEWS

Chapters have been formed at Michigan State, Bennington, Hunter, University of New Mexico, and University of Illinois Circle College...Boston University chapter is now defunct but efforts are being made to resuscitate it...Vanderbilt SDS dissolved, however a Nashville at-large chapter may be formed in its place...Dr. Wilson Elkins, president of the University of Maryland, admitted Oct. 29th that the FBI is investigating the local SDS...the New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam dissolved itself on the 1st and is now forming an SDS regional office...money has been raised to support Steve Smith's draft card burning case to the Supreme Court ...700 attended and SDS sponsored teach in at Missouri, 300 at Notre Dame, 600 at Southern Illinois University.

Poor Peoples Corporation

The Federal Government's "War on Poverty" has been under a great deal of attack recently because funds are being used by politicians for political purposes; often the poor never see any of the money allocated for them; and because the poor themselves have no voice in the planning of programs. In counterdistinction to this bureaucratic nightmare, people in Mississippi have begun steps to help themselves.

The Poor Peoples Corporation has been formed to organize low-income people into a membership corporation open to those who pay the 25¢ dues per year. The corporation raises money which is held in trust until a membership meeting is held. The entire membership hears requests for funds from self-help groups. The interest-free loan requested is to help form these self-help groups. The membership of the corporation decides what money is to be funded and the amount of each

fund. Control and planning are thereby placed directly into the hands of the poor people. Minutes of these membership meetings will be sent to all contributors. People may contribute to the Poor Peoples Corporation in two ways: 1. General contributions, and 2. Purchasing a "Freedom Bond"--an acknowledgement of a contribution--in denominations of \$10, \$20, \$50, \$100, and \$500. Contributions and requests for further information should be addressed to: Poor Peoples Corporation, PO Box 977, Jackson, Mississippi.

Several of the work cooperatives which have been financed by the Poor Peoples Corporation are marketing their goods through the cooperative Liberty Outlet House which has for sale such items as clothing and fine leather goods. Purchasing items from the Liberty Outlet House helps to provide jobs for local people in Mississippi who cannot make enough on farms or as domestics, or for people who have lost their jobs for participating in strikes or in the Movement. For further information and an illustrated catalogue of articles available, write: Liberty Outlet House, PO Box 3193, Jackson, Mississippi.

Free University Report

By Ron Chiolak

Noticeable and extremely encouraging progress has been made over the past few months in the development of the Free University. These schools have come about with no centralized authority directing them, being developed and established on the initiative of the people concerned with the particular institutions. But even though these schools have emerged with no formalized coordination between each other, there are similarities between courses and the basic concepts that a Free University should embody.

Among the most advanced of these institutions are the Free University of New York, The School in Chicago, and the SDS New School in San Francis-

co. All of these schools offer no accreditation toward a degree, except Monteith College, which is incorporated within Wayne State University. There degree credit is given under a program called Cooperative Self Education.

There is universal agreement that the student should be given a more vital role in the educational system. This view is stated in the Free University of New York's fall catalog: "Students have been systematically dehumanized, deemed incompetent to regulate their own lives, sexually, politically, and academically. They are treated like raw material to be processed for the university's clients -- business, government and military bureaucracies." All of these schools stress the point of a curriculum flexible to the students' wants and needs. Edward Richer, Chancellor of the Free University of Florida, in their catalog says that, "I want to remind those associated with FUF that the curriculum is the property of the scholars, themselves."

The Free University of New York is located in Greenwich Village. Its faculty reflects this location, with such people as Allen Ginsberg and Paul Krassner listed. Barbara Schwartz, a faculty member says of FUNY's curriculum that, "Most of the courses offered . . . have something to say about the vitalization of leftist economic and political interests." A sampling of the courses offered includes Marxist Approaches to the Avant-garde Arts, Life in Mainland China Today, Ethics and revolution, and The Cuban Revolution. The catalog lists 44 courses to be offered this fall. FUNY tries to avoid reliance on any trust fund, foundation, or private benefactor, and seeks to sustain itself by means of low student fees. The first ten-week course in which a student enrolls in a single quarter costs \$24, and each additional course will cost \$8. An interesting fact here is that welfare recipients are enrolled free of charge. The relevance of the concept of Free Univer-

sity to the development of the movement is recognized by FUNY in their college campuses of America. We welcome the protest: we feel the foundation of the Free University is part of it."

SDS NEW SCHOOL

The New School in San Francisco was first established in the spring of 1964, and at that time was not affiliated with SDS. It affiliated with SDS this past summer with its principle aims being the engagement of men and women in a radical dialogue and providing an arena for definitive analysis of society and the world. It also endeavors to initiate research programs that have relevance to SDS and the movement. This is being done so people can unburden themselves of such vagaries as the term "the movement!" The SDS New School this fall offers four courses, Processes of History, Marx and Freud, A Radical Approach to Science, and Agencies of Social Change and the New Movements. It also offers public forums. The forums are open to the public at a \$1 charge and free to students enrolled in the school. The tuition fees are \$25 and \$15, depending on the course to be taken. Carolyn Craven of the SDS New School emphasizes its political nature when she says that, "The New School is attempting to be directly relevant to the movement. There are a huge number of professionals and intellectuals in the Bay Area and a large amount of work to be done for the movement. We hope to be able to meet the needs of both.

The School in Chicago is having its first term this fall. It is located on Chicago's west side and holds classes in a church. It differs from the other schools discussed here in that there is no tuition fee. This term the School offers approximately 10 courses. Examples are Neighborhood Organization and Nonviolence, Purpose of Revolution, and a Performing Arts Workshop. It tries to meet the needs of not only dissatisfied college stu-

dents, but also those of high school drop-outs. For instance, there is now a West-side gang of Chicago youths studying in the Performing Arts Workshop. The emphasis on a more vital student role in education is reiterated in The School's fall catalog: "The objectives of each course, as well as the objectives of The School as a whole, are determined on an ongoing basis by students and instructors together."

FLORIDA

The Free University of Florida was incorporated as a non-profit organization in June of 1965. Its posture toward the existing educational system, and more specifically, its neighbor the University of Florida, is stated in its summary prospectus: "If the university as an American social institution is not as free as it might be, then not until the advantages of a free university are made sharply visible will students, faculty, and administration move in this generation toward significant academic reform." Unlike the SDS New School, FUF's emphasis is not completely on its relevance to a political new left. "FUF os mpt 'slanted' ideologically -- Birchers and Communists, evangelists and atheists, right, middle, left, all are welcome as teachers and students. That is what 'free' means, and that is what a community of scholars must encourage if it means to take freedom seriously." As a corporation, it has a board of trustees whose membership is restricted to and elected by the participating teaching and learning scholars. This fall term, its initial term, FUF offers 34 courses. Included among these are African Government, Sexuality and Freedom, the Young Christian Conscience and Its Problems, and Literature of the Spanish Civil War. The tuition fee is 1\$ per week per course and the fee is the sole source of its regular income. As of August, 1965, FUF had received \$1400 in contributions. Projected activities are

ambitious. FUF is planning ahead toward an FCC licensed educational radio channel, a printing plant, a theater, a cinema society, an art studio, and an arts and crafts plant. FUF's articles of incorporation enable the school to administer acceptance of research grants, and to sub-contract for such projects as the training of VISTA volunteers. In view of this, perhaps people connected with other Free Universities should look into the advantages that might possibly be gained by being incorporated by the state in which they are located.

Ed Richer, FUF Director, was a faculty member of the U. of Florida. His contract was not renewed due to his activity in the Movement. Recently, local landlords have refused to rent it classroom facilities and hotels have refused to rent a room in which to hold registration, on the grounds that it is "too controversial." The mayor of Gainesville has told me that anything associated with my name "can't get off the ground in this town." The Independent, a local right wing paper, refers to the school as a funnel for pro-communist propaganda. Nevertheless, registration is continuing by mail, and classes will be held in teachers' homes.

Monteith College was created within Wayne State University in 1958 as an autonomous unit with experimental programs and began classes in 1959 with substantial foundation assistance. The College has an enrollment of approximately 700 students. Although Monteith is small and does strive to foster the sense of intellectual community, it is not an honors college; students admitted to Wayne are automatically eligible to attend Monteith if they wish. The University has an enrollment in excess of twenty thousand students, and is an urban school; serving students of the Detroit area, it is a commuter school as well. The student is required to take about half his work in basic course sequences in Monteith College, the rest being courses in other colleges of the University or other courses in

the College. The classes take the shape of discussion-seminars and a person who may be a teacher-leader at one time may be a student the next. From this comes the title of the program, Cooperative Self-Education. Among the subjects dealt with are Authority and freedom, Art and the City, Northern Student Movement, and South Africa. One of the manifestations of the existing institution of higher education which led to the development of cooperative Self-education is pointed out in the first year report: "Instead of the university experience becoming a basis for living, for discovering values in life, instead of the university providing a place where 'the worth of mind' is asserted and defended, attempts at self-understanding and self assertion are discouraged, and the degree holder is left as any other person." Monteith College is significant, because it is an example of the main end which the people involved in the Free University movement are working for: a truly radical approach to education done within the existing structural arrangements of a constituted state or private university. Undoubtedly, the initiators of Cooperative Self-Education are dealing with an extremely unique set of university administrators.

The Free University in Austin Texas has been wholly initiated by the SDS chapter. The free university meets in the various student religious centers close to the campus. University students and faculty come together in a more egalitarian and less structured learning situation to explore better methods of stimulating curiosity in learning and freeing people from the usual restraints on imaginative thinking. Among the courses are "Camus and the Philosophy of Rebellion," Anarchism (A discussion group), Experimental Drama Workshop, and Utopian Societies. Started this fall, the classes have been stabilized and are continuing regularly with even attendance.

These six projects which have been cited here are only a small part of the growing Free University movement. They have been discussed so as to avail the entire SDS membership a sampling of what is being done in this area. The National Office hopes that it can assist individuals working on similar endeavors by disseminating this sort of information. The addresses of the six projects discussed are listed below, and the National Office will be glad to provide, upon request, more information and addresses dealing with Free Universities.

Free University of Florida
PO Box 13658
University Station
Gainesville, Florida

Cooperative Self-Education
Monteith College
Wayne State University
Detroit, Mich. 48202

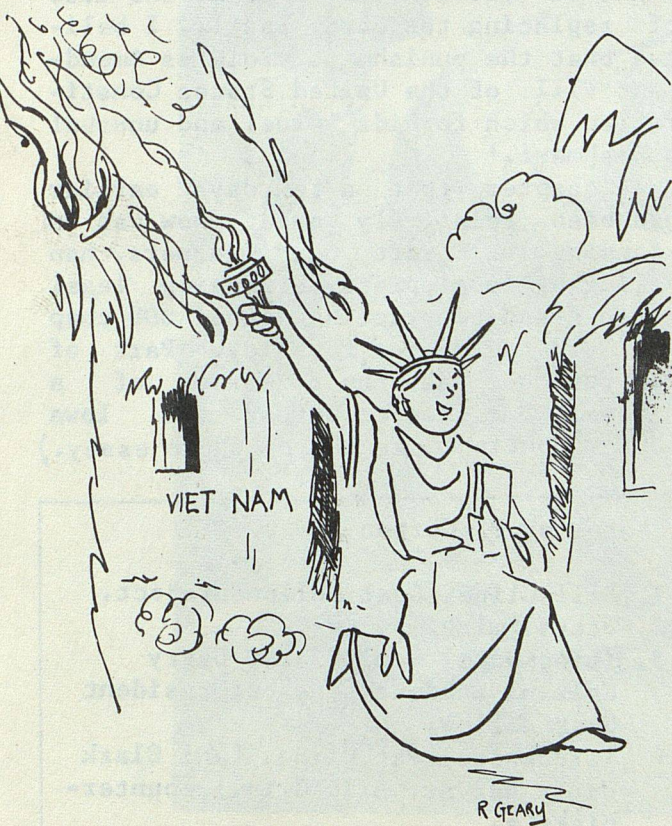
Free University of Texas
C/O SDS
Box 7098
University Station
Austin, Texas

SDS New School
924 Howard
San Francisco 3, Calif.

Free University of New York
20 East 14th St.
New York, N.Y. 10003

The School
1375 E. 54 st.
Chicago, Ill.

WHY?



Kansas Free Press



Arkansas Voice

Iowa SDS

Response to A Crisis

The University of Iowa SDS in Iowa City was a typical chapter situated in a conservative school, in a more conservative locale, and enjoying only moderate success. The main activities has been a Vietnam protest on the International Days of Protest and a fledgling organizing project in Goat Hollow. Paul Clark described the membership as a generally indifferent 20 members.

Then Steve Smith became the second person in the United States to burn his draft card. At the weekly "open forum" in the student union he explained to the crowd that he was protesting the Government's foreign policy in Vietnam. Though not a member of SDS, that night he called the local SDS executive council and asked for aid in his defense.

The executive council met and decided that they couldn't commit the chapter without membership approval, so a membership meeting was called for the following night. Barry Golson called the national office asking for advice, D. Gorton of the national staff decided that he would leave immediately for Iowa to lend a hand and photograph.

The membership meeting the next night attracted 300 people, by far the largest meeting in the chapters history. Everette Frost, a chapter member, reported: "The local chapter of SDS fighting the student senate for its on-campus existence took a unanimous vote at the meeting to 'offer complete support to Steve Smith as he prepares to fight a possible five year jail sentence. Perhaps the burning of draft cards will not help the dirty war in Vietnam, not the suppression of dissent in the United States. But, we applaud the moral courage necessary to confront the massed power of the United States Government. The law was drafted in a spurt of hysteria and we cannot understand how the burning of a scrap of paper would lead to five years in jail...We do not encourage actions like Steve's, yet now we must give him our

support."

Everette continued: "watching that passed (the chapter resolution) was a nice feeling. So was the attendance of the meeting....And people told me that walking around with a sign last weekend was futile. A pox upon them!"

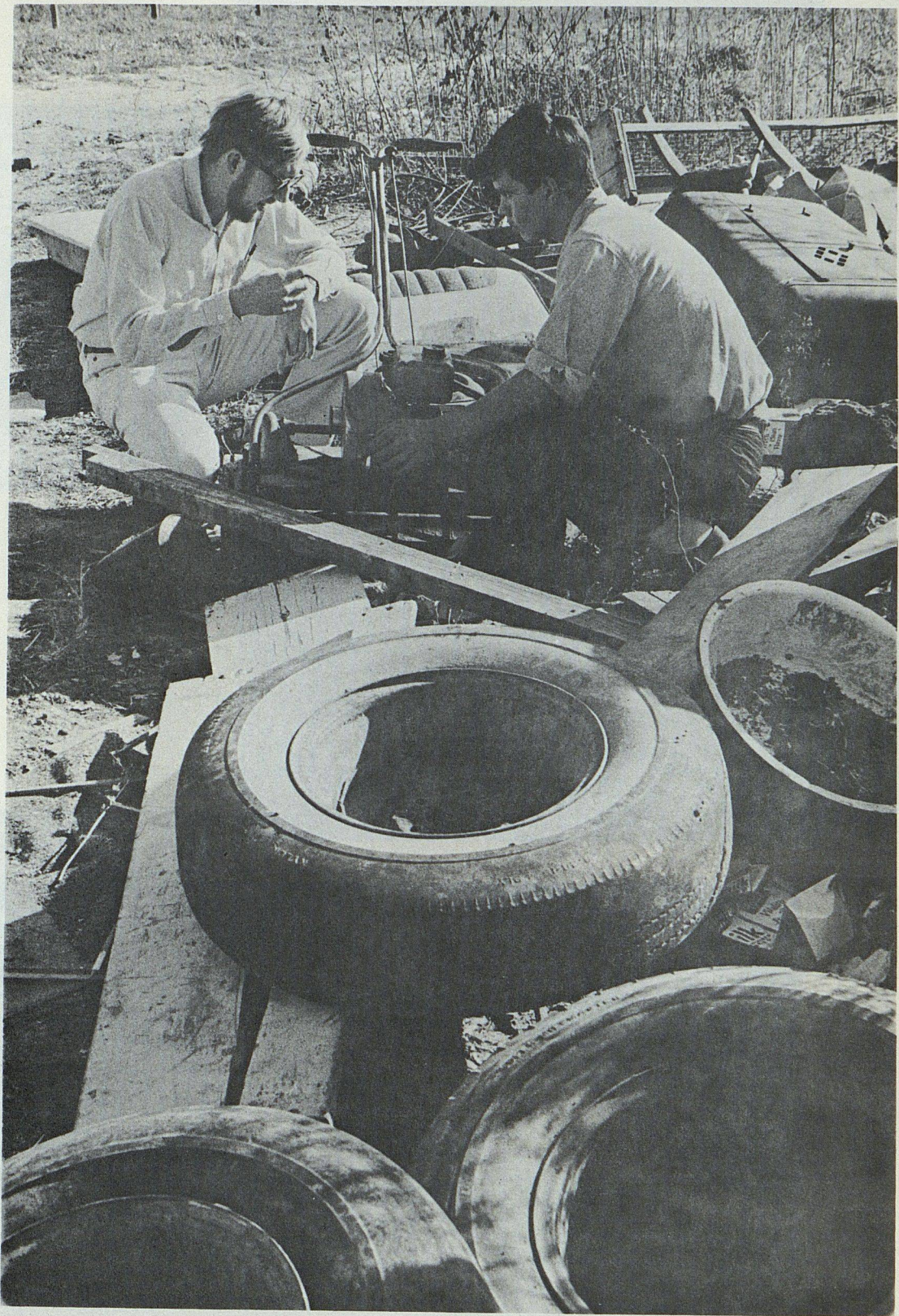
On Friday, Stan Witkowski, married and father of two, burned his draft card in protest of the law. He wrote in part: "I don't believe that a draft card has anything to do with patriotism or love of country. These somewhat hard to define ideas are within a person, if anywhere....To sum up, I believe that Congress has a propensity for doing silly things. Making the burning of a piece of paper punishable by five years imprisonment is certainly one the the silliest. An appropriate punishment might be \$10.00 fine to cover the cost of replacing the card. Lastly, I believe that the punishment violates Amendment VIII of the United States Constitution which forbids 'cruel and unusual punishment.'

A chapter that a few days earlier had been relatively quiet, now was defending two draft card burners, handling national press, arranging legal defense and contracting other SDS chapters in the region for aid. Part of the response was the formation of a broader Committee to Defend the Iowa
(Continued at end of photo essay.)

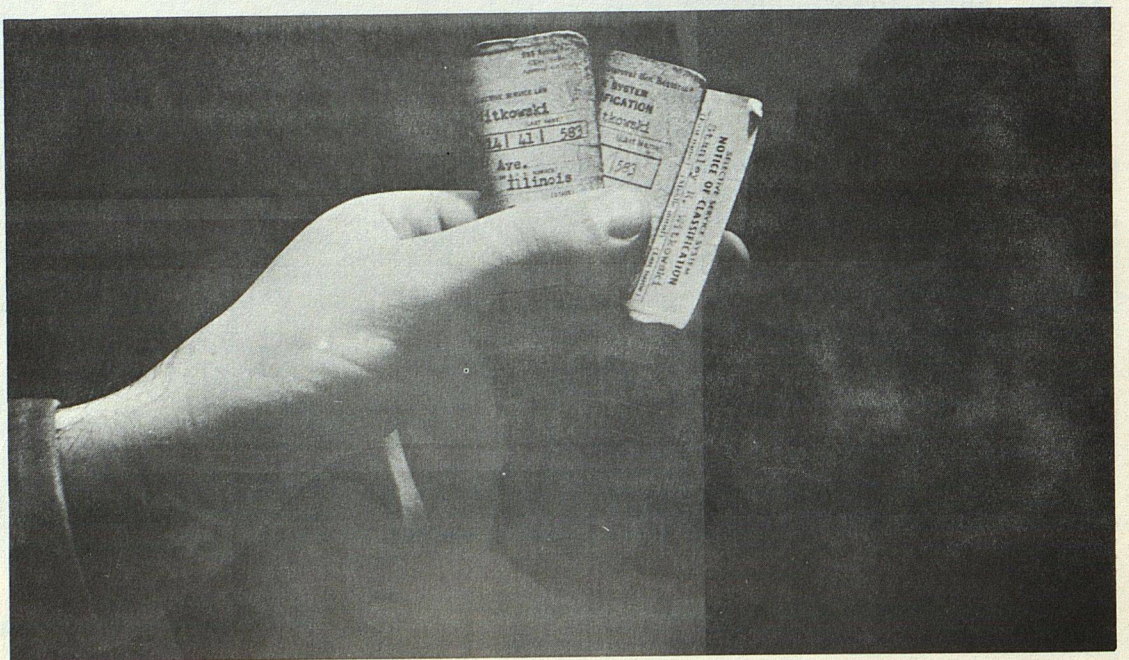
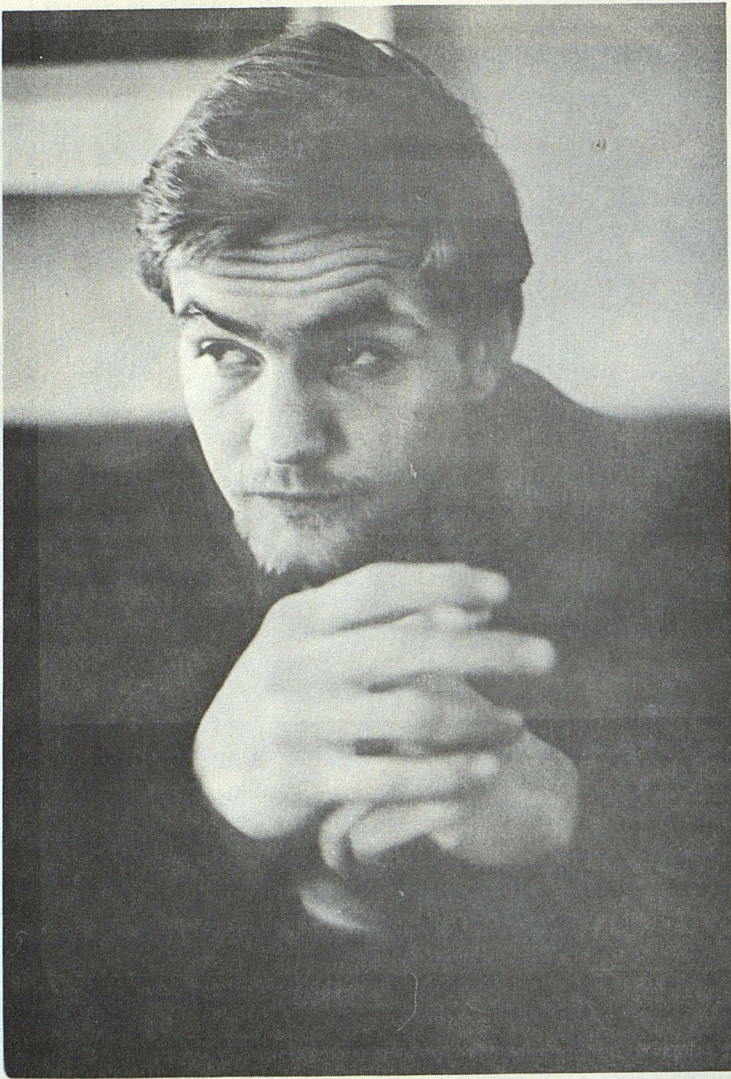
Photos by D. Gorton

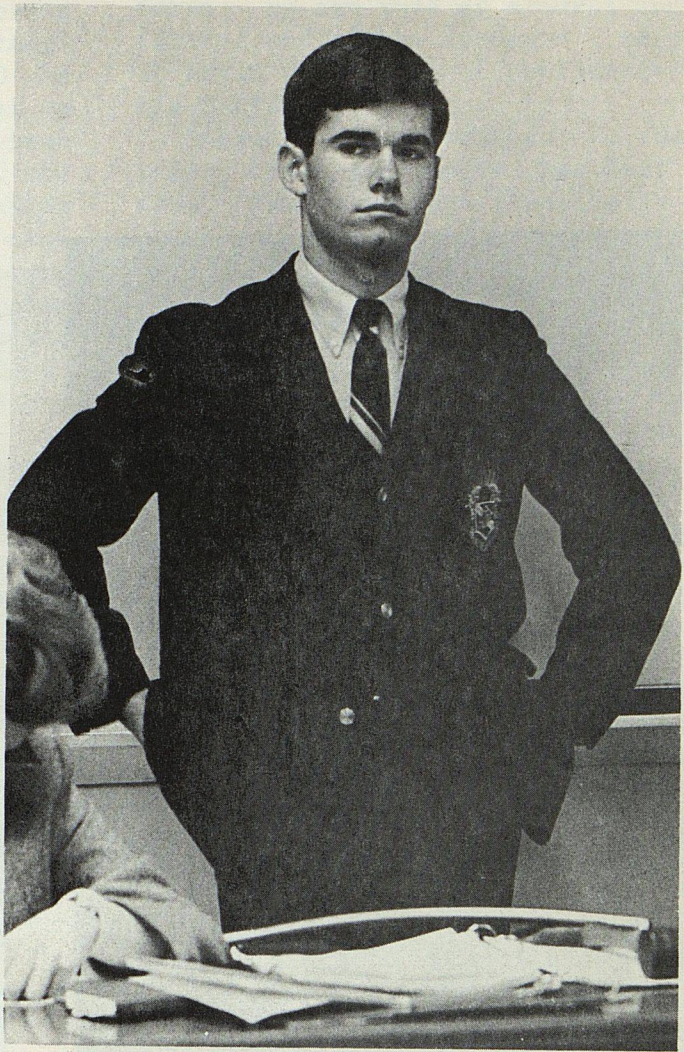
1. Bill Cline, Goat Hollow project.
2. Steve Smith.
3. (clockwise) Paul Clark, Barry Golson; student senator; resident Goat Hollow.
4. (clockwise) Pat Cline, Paul Clark Harry Harvar, Bill Cline; counter-pickets.

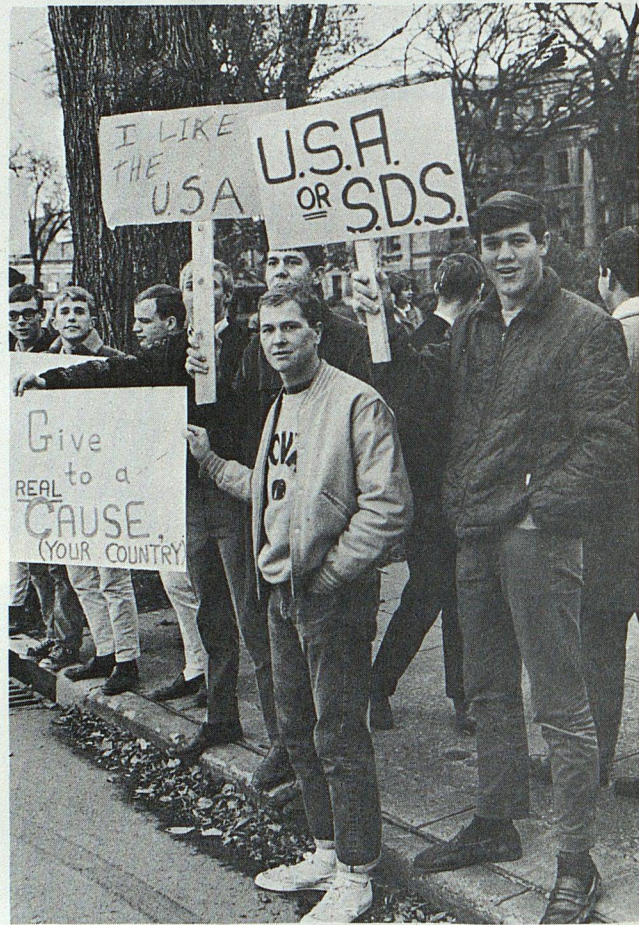
(These pictures are a sample photo display available from the N.O.)



Goat Hollow, Iowa







Iowa cont.

Students, in which people of differing political philosophies could join together. Meanwhile Steve Smith decided he moral support to Stan, trying to get us civilized news coverage (which has been until now, with the exception of the student newspaper, impossible), taping radio broadcasts, talking, arguing, organizing to raise money, bringing hamburgers and making coffee. Its a nice feeling. And you can't help feeling that if LBJ and McNamara are definitions of wise men, then perhaps the fool is often profound."

Saturday was the student senate hearing on the recognition of the SDS chapter. One student senator used his sub-committee as a little HUAC and was bent on getting the recognition defeated. The chapter's response was to refuse to answer questions because they rejected the validity of unrepresentative student government deciding on their right of association. In response to questions, they read the Port Huron Statement as a statement of philosophy rather than grant the assumptions inherent in a red-baiting hearing. Finally in frustration, the hearing was stopped, the SDS representatives resigned as spokesman, a few people in the audience answered questions, and recognition was approved.

The sixty to seventy members of the chapter continued at a high peak of activity. Organizers traveled around the region winning support for the defense and talking to other students about SDS. The attitude was positive and energetic both in talking about the war and in gaining defense support. An interesting development was that some liberals in the area became dissatisfied with the Congressman from the district because he condemned draft card burners. Liberal support had been significant in his last campaign.

Despite the unity found in action, disagreements arose concerning organizational structure. Some complained that there were too few people making decisions for the whole group. The problem of democratic process during a crisis was debated with vigor. The solution was seen as dividing the chapter would stay in jail until the students raised the money for his bail and de-

fense. He saw this as a moral confrontation, and if the students responded it would be a "vote of confidence" in his decisions.

Everette Frost writes: "...he was right, there are people that feel as he does. They have been frantically wandering in and out all evening, offering into committees to handle different functional areas, and leaving committee membership open to anyone who was interested - the committee chairman to be elected by the members of the committee. General chapter policy was to be set by a meeting of the whole.

Since the crisis has calmed, there has been a general deepening in political awareness, and planning for the future. Among the plans is a state-wide meeting, more Vietnam action, and emphasis on the Goat Hollow project. The Goat Hollow project is philosophically similar to the ERAP projects. The area contains about 25 white families that have migrated to Iowa recently and have been unable to find jobs. Many are on welfare. The chief issues that the people are concerned with are a bad sewage problem, and the total lack of street repair, the fact that the school bus does not come into Goat Hollow. Bill and Pat Cline are planning on moving into the area as full time organizers.

The defense work is continuing with support from the American Civil Liberties Union, and defense fund raising is a high priority. The address is Committee to Defend the Iowa Students, 415 E. Washington, apt. 2, Iowa City.

The unique lesson in the Iowa response was their use of a defensive civil liberties issue in a positive manner. Instead of fighting a legalistic battle, the chapter seized initiative during the controversy and organized students, bringing them to a questioning of the war, the government's coercive power through the draft, and awareness of the issues of university reform. The conservatism of the region and the relative isolation coupled with strong attacks from the rightwing did not dampen the mental attitude of the participants. Despite fraternity men and "SDS or the USA" counterpickets, a basic optimism in the rationality of people prevailed.

Letters

A letter recieved expressing appreciation for SDS organizing:

the Ku Klux Klan

WILL BOMB you

Seas and seas of Vietnamese
village gone
Napalm.

Seeking-trees - Vietnamese
foliage gone
Napalm.

Jungle noise:
our boys
Hanoi's
cries of terrible,blinding pain
that language barriers disdain-
Communication on the front at last.

FLASH:

Commie spies and dead G.I.'s
smell the same..bad.
Hungry, hurting Vietnamese
now have U.S. to appease
Our plea is
COME LET US GROW ROTTEN TOGETHER
and await the unctious balm:
Napalm.

--Frances Stofflet

DAMNATION from Texas

October 27, 1965
Austin, Texas (Pineywoods)

Obsequious greetings to omnipotent bulletin:

Congratulations for a well done and aesthetically pleasing cover and half back-page; we forgive you for the second half of the back cover because it obviously served a functional purpose (it reached us).

Being uninitiated in the various forms of gobbledegook, we would like to be enlightened as to the mysterious meaning of the dark and forbidding interior of this occult document.

Re: VOTE! MEMBERSHIP REFERENDUM:

We were under the impression that in order to have a dialogue between, "two sides of the membership" one would have to go beyond the sacrosanct boundaries of the National Office. However, we are much relieved to find that such dialogue can occur during midnight bull-sessions in the hallowed bowels of the staff apartment. We humbly submit that the first half of the "membership dialogue" presented arguments so subtle that they escaped our ephemeral intellects. The second part however was joyously to the point, but we shamefully admit that, try as we might, we have yet to ascertain that point. For instance, Mr. Shero complains that "We have continued to elect them (the officers) without examining their functional roles." In addition, he states, "I think we need to re-examine these offices...." Though we are dumbfounded with the brilliance of the idea of "examination" and "re-examining," we, upon a thorough examination of the article, were embodied in Mr. Shero's statement "that democracy is not only a good ideal, but also a workable one." We were relieved to read that this "democracy" recognized the need for totalitarian printers in the area of printing, fund raisers in the area of fund raising, campus travellers in the

area of campus travelling, and organizers in the area of organizing, and of course, by extrapolation, National Secretaries in the area of National Secretarying is pertinent to democracy in the organization. We are happy to note that by voting for the amendment we will signify either that we approve or disapprove of the office of National Secretary. By such brilliant phrasing of this national question members are saved agonizing indecision over this most pressing problem: and an easy consensus is obtained. Mr. Booth, the other half of the membership, presented further astute arguments that clinched our befuddlement. For instance: the social intercourse of our president with ladies garden clubs and also with campuses (we would wonder how many campuses) provides him with a true grasp of the organization "at its grass roots". While this argument is obviously the product of a superior intellect, we fail to see relevance though we are sure it must exist. Though we are pleased that the second half of the membership recognizes the existence of grass roots in the organization, it is surprising non-the-less that the office of president is such that its occupant is given exclusive domain over the ability "to come up with an informed view of what is needed" in the organization. We are pleased to see that the wisdom of Messrs. Shero and Booth is mutually re-enforcing. We presume that if no-one possesses the title of "President" then no-one will "be able to come up with an informed view of what's needed." We infer from this that Mr. Booth, like Mr. Shero, thinks that only the president can competently function in the area of Presidencying, like printers in the area of printing..

....etc. In light of our obvious inability to cope with the "membership dialogue", we are forced to abstain from voting in this most pressing matter.

NATIONAL COUNCIL REPORT

Though we are much indebted to the National Office for its most entertaining synopsis of the National Council meeting--and must admit it saved us from

the tedious task of having to look at all the arguments and even the actual programs that were set by that body-- may we suggest that perhaps the interpretation of that meeting would be best left to the membership? This could be facilitated (we humbly submit) by publishing the minutes of that meeting and making it available to the members who, like us, are a bit dense.

The next six pages of this most illuminating document we will refrain from commenting on, as even our intellects were able to grasp and enjoy them.

VOTE! MEMBERSHIP DRAFT REFERENDUM

The word Vote! set our little democratic souls into a frenzy of cogitation. Though we realize that we are the people, and we now have a chance to decide on another national issue, again we find ourselves struck dumb by the subtleties of this most illuminating enchiridion. We were post impressed with the thoroughness of the exposition given of the draft program, but one small fact yet is lacking to allow us to vote with total confidence: What is the proposed draft program? We are presently engaged in a super scientific resolution to this dilemma by examining the pages of this missal to make sure that they aren't stuck together. So far, we have used steam, acid, and electro-static methods and still find we are faced with the same number of pages. It is a testament to the wisdom of the National Office that, anticipating this dilemma, they have already embarked on said draft program by preparing a draft booklet and sending Oglesby and Booth to Washington to confer with liberal congressmen on the matter.

The latest work from the N.O. is most comforting in that it proves that the NAC indeed has the knack for telepathy. This was revealed to us in their calling an emergency National Council meeting to deal with the draft program without having to wait for the completion of the time-consuming voting process. Since we do not know what the draft program is, and since, even if we

did know, NAC, through their anticipation of our thought processes has made our vote unnecessary, we again abstain. Our admiration for the National Organization knows no bounds. S.D.S. must possess an efficiency unparalled by any other group on the left, right, middle, top, or bottom in the U.S. Ah! Sweet quivering quim!, to imagine that "dialogue" between "the two sides of the membership" can occur in the twinkling of an eye within that pantheon of SDSism, the N.O.; that the NAC (that most august assemblage of clairvoyants) anticipates and acts on our votes, relieving us of the necessity of voting.

Yes!! Virginia, there is a God.

Ever Awed,

Brethern of the Pineywoods
 Scott Pittman, Gary L. Thiher,
 Alice Embree, Richard C. Howard,
 Salli Mann, Nanci Yost,
 Larry Freudiger, R. Paul Pipkin,
 Arthur D. Row, Al Shahi,
 Speck, Robert Pardun, Judy Pardun,
 Thorne Webb Dreyer, Rick Rubottom,
 Kenny Parker, Nancy Lee Hawkins,
 Bruce Schmiechen

Alienation and the N.O.

Dear N.O. People,

For some reason I feel like my opinion doesn't count in national S.D.S. Last year our Texas chapter was a real "community"--we treated one another as people, with affection and respect. We felt that we could do important things, that we had important things to say. And we were excited--we were constantly involved in something that mattered; we had a real alternative to the present American society. This wasn't a structural thing; it wasn't even an ideology--it was a feeling toward people. Without verbalizing it, somehow we all felt it was necessary to treat people as individuals, not things; that in order to achieve our goals we had to, as much as possible, live them as we were fighting for them. If we couldn't do this, it seemed to us our

goals were suspect, needed reconsideration; because if we couldn't live lovingly with our friends, how could we build a whole society on love?

This past summer I worked in the N.O. where I was told I had to sacrifice myself "for the Movement." I was totally alienated--if the movement itself couldn't treat people as human beings, I couldn't understand how it could expect to miraculously transform America. In other words, it seems to me that one's means must be consistent with one's ends: if the means totally reject those ends, and if effect accept the alienating aspects of American society, how is the movement any different from the society it is supposedly working to change?

Why are we called Students for a Democratic Society? I don't think the national organization is very democratic at all. Specifically, why did Booth in his press-release challenge to Johnson assert our continued national draft focus before the results on the draft referendum had even come in? Second, why did the ballot on whether there should be an N.C. November 12th through 13th say that even if a membership referendum on the draft showed majority opposition, the N.C. should perhaps consider action on some draft program anyway? It appears to me that the N.O. is making national S.D.S. policy. Further, it seems to me that those most responsible for this are not even elected officers of the organization.

Why aren't we told more in detail about N.A.C. decisions? Why aren't we given some of the reasoning behind these decisions?

If I am an S.D.S. member I want my opinion considered. If it isn't, why should I be a member at all? What value is my membership either to the national organization or to me personally?

Please answer some of these questions for me. I realize some of this letter is emotional and vague, but I think all of you in the N.O. know what I'm talking about.

Peace,
Judy Pardun

Member Voices Distress

ED. Note: The December Conference planning meeting will be held in Washington D.C. during the Thanksgiving holiday.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SDS COMMUNITY:

I have become very upset about the events of the past few months: the increased attention to the draft program and the corresponding decrease of concern over SDS-ERAP or LID, for example. Just recently I've felt downright sick because of this single issue trend; the collapse of the emergency N.C. at a time when I thought it was most needed. Needed, if for nothing more than communication - I learn more about SDS happenings from the Times and the Nation than I do from the Bulletin or the Work list mailings. The specific even which triggered this letter and mood was that I heard from Dicki Magidoff that the December Conference was being called off.

Just what the hell is happening to us? We accept hundreds of new members almost monthly - into what? What (or who) is ERAP? Didn't I hear some exciting ideas for the free university this summer? I heard rumors that the Oakland project closed down and then reopened. Huh!? Are we building a community of draft card burners or what? I'm scared as hell that Paul Booth or Tom Hayden will pick up their projects and walk out of SDS. And why shouldn't they? How many people can offer a convincing answer in less than 2,500 words or even - 25,000 words.

I'm not mouthing accusations: I'm voicing concerns. Can't we please all of us sit and talk, and soon? Is it too much for a family reunion more than once a year? A reunion where more than first cousins show up? On six hours notice I will begin driving to any city fo the United States or Canada for a membership conference.

David Stamps
Antioch Chapter SDS

SDS Recipes for the Famished

Jeb Carter is a poet. His wife, Susan, is a potter. They live in southern Indiana, taking occasional jobs that don't detract from their work, and get by on the simple necessities, except for the purchase of large numbers of books. Susan sends the following two recipes to share with other impoverished sorts. They are guaranteed to be filling, wholesome, and economical.

Fasculada (Greek Bean Soup)-- What the Greeks live on in winter.

Soak one pound of dry white beans in cold water overnight. Cover with two quarts water. Bring to a boil and simmer about two hours. When beans are almost tender, add one cup each of dried celery and carrots, two cups chopped onions, one half cup minced parsley along with one quarter cup oil (olive or vegetable) and one half can tomato paste and salt and pepper. Continue cooking until vegetables are soft. --Very easy to make hearty, filling and nourishing.

French, Italian, Greek (?) Bread.
4 Loaves

Put 10 cups flour in large bowl. Add 2 tablespoons salt and 2 packages powdered yeast. Mix. Add 4 cups lukewarm water. Roll up your sleeves, clean your fingernails, and dig in. Mix thoroughly. Allow to rise in a warm place until double (2-3 hrs.) or at room temp. overnight. Knead again and divide into four. Form into long loaves; cut 4 or 5 slashes. Allow to rise again. Bake in 450° oven 15 minutes, and 350° oven about 15 minutes. Place loaves on cookie sheet sprinkled with corn meal. Brush or spread with fingers, melted butter or salad oil.

An Ounce of Prevention...

University of California
Office of Public Affairs
Sproul Hall
Berkeley, California

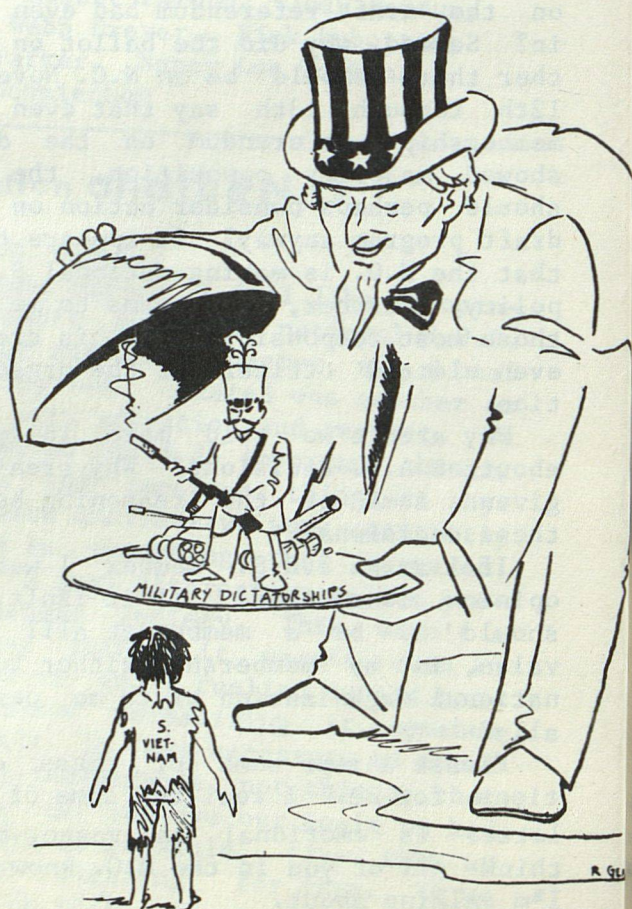
Gentlemen:

Would you kindly send me five copies each of the following publications by your organization. Enclosed is \$1.00 to cover cost for same.

A Strategy for University Reform
The University and the Cold War

Many thanks,

Sincerely,
Cecilia McCarry



MY OWN SPECIAL RECIPE - FOR FIGHTING COMMUNISM

Kansas Free

Late Chapter News

BROWN SDS

President Keeney of Brown University told a Freshmen Convocation that SDS was "frankly revolutionary". Two SDS members had been circulating a petition independent of the chapter, in support of a former Dean charged with reckless driving. The President while attacking SDS suggested that the students had ulterior motives in supporting the Dean. He produced a sample draft of the Chapter Organizers Handbook written by Clark Kissenger and proved the devious subterfuge of SDS by reading the following: "The student should be approached to join SDS on the issues of interest to him, even though these issues may not be the ones SDS is most interested in at the moment."

Edward Cole of the Brown chapter called the N.O. to obtain a copy of the nefarious handbook to learn further of their manipulative plans. Up until that time the university President was the only person with a copy in his possession.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

The forming UND chapter had been cooperating with the Dean of Women, who stressed the need of carefully investigating SDS before joining. Reportedly, she exuded friendly helpfulness.

The members submitted several articles to the school newspaper on the war in Vietnam which were "pressured out". In response they mimeographed a paper called the Missing Leaf containing the expurgated articles. They called an organizational meeting which attracted fifty, though half were observers. Several professors were backing the students.

The Dean of Women, obviously irate at these developments, retaliated by placing the following posters in girl's dorms, which read in part: "GIRLS?!?! BEWARE of joining any new organizations on campus or signing any petitions unless you're sure of what you're doing, or know that they have been approved by the Dean of Women. Dean Randolph is presently checking into organizations and movements to be sure they are not Communist front organizations or headed by Communist sympathizers." (Numerous arrows pointing at the Missing Leaf)

The President at North Dakota has made a statement in behalf of academic freedom. The chapter organizers are planning to bypass the intrepid Dean of Women, sleuth that she is, and with the professors take their request for recognition to the student government.

NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE

The New York Committee to End the War in Vietnam has formally disbanded and members are starting an SDS regional office. The establishment of a regional office arises in part from the committee's success in organizing grass roots local groups this summer, and now being faced with coordination of many divergent independent groups. The decision was that it would be better to work at deepening the protests by relating Vietnam to the US's foreign policy and other national issues, through SDS.

FREEDOM DRAFT

Swarthmore SDS is promoting a Freedom Draft campaign in which students would be asked to sign a card which reads: "I am willing to work and risk my life for liberty as many many citizens have done in Alabama and Mississippi, but I oppose the continuation of the war in Vietnam. It is immoral, illegal, and unjust. I want to build not burn; to heal, not torture; to mend, not kill." One part of the card would be kept by the student, one part sent to President Johnson, and the third sent to a Freedom Draft headquarters. These cards could be used then to contact people to work in ERAP, SNCC, or other organizing projects.

(THE FOLLOWING LETTER WAS SENT TO THE QUAKER MEETING OF NORMAN MORRISON BY THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF SDS.)

Dear Stony Run Friends,

We did not know Norman Morrison as a man, yet his sorrow has touched and become a part of us. Few of us can realize the meaning of America's agony as he, but all of us must understand as he, the meaning of that realization.

To feel closer to Norman Morrison because he was an American and we are Americans is wrong; the people of Vietnam are as much our brothers and sisters as they were his. Rather we feel more sharply the terrifying desperation of moral urgency and guilt as Americans untouched by the brutal violence our nation is waging against the Vietnamese people.

We can offer no condolences for we have been burned more deeply by what it means to be human. It is now that we know more fully why we must commit our lives to building a society where Norman Morrison would not have to say no.

In peace,
 Jeffrey Shero
 for
 Students for a Democratic Society

Statesville, North Carolina
 November 3, 1965

Gentlemen:

In response to the forceful stand taken by Students for a Democratic Society in opposing the war in Viet Nam and managing to turn the fact of an investigation of the loyalty of said organization into more attention to the fact of the organization's opposition to the war, I formally request membership in your organization, as a means, however paltry, of demonstrating my support of your position and my desire to share in whatever persecution of the organiza-

tion that position may incur. Having refrained for these many years from taking a membership card in SDS, I hope you will recognize that I am much in favor of your activities.

Since I haven't got the membership fee, I hope you will send me a card if it isn't enclosed, and bill me in the future when I may have some money.

Your comrade,

Sandra Cason Hayden
 Anarchist

ps: Also Mendy Samstein would like to join but doesn't have money, so if you can send him a card, do, but if you can't, count him as a member anyhow.

WATTS

Thoughts on a Rebellion

by Jimmy Garrett

(from *The Movement of*

California SNCC 1316

Masonic ave., San Francisco)

On Wednesday, August 11 in the Watts area of the Negro ghetto, a relatively usual and minor altercation took place between two young men (one a drunk driving suspect), their mother and the police (Highway Patrol), which touched off what could, at least for Wednesday, Thursday, and part of Friday, be called a major riot - a traditional riot - and which turned into a very untraditional civil revolt against authority and an expression of some of the deepest feelings about what one group of people feel about this country.

As far as Wednesday's incident is concerned, from what I could gather, the police accosted a woman's sons for drunk driving, in front of their house. The sons protested. Their mother ran out to protect her sons (how many mothers reading this article would not try to protect their sons from what they felt was impending danger, and in the black community the police mean danger.) The mother was choked and beaten for her protests. (I remember in 1960 my mother sitting in a corner of our house yelling and cursing at the police who were roughly arresting me for gang fighting. I wonder what would have happened had she physically protested those cops kneeling me in the sides and twisting my arms so hard behind me that the pain blinded me.)

As a result of seeing the altercation people began to throw bricks and bottles at the police. The police called for help. The burning of cars, breaking windows, brawling with police, beating white people ensued. A riot!

By Friday afternoon though, the action took what I consider to be a

different turn - what I call a civil revolt. This was before the air became putrid with burned-out buildings and blown-off heads. Negroes began to spot those businesses which had traditionally exploited them and they began to loot and burn their buildings, shops, stores, etc.

By Friday night the National Guard had moved in and the murders, which police had been committing, took a spurt. People were killed while standing and watching, walking down streets, while looting, throwing bricks and bottles, or, particularly Saturday night, while shooting at the police. Fires were started all over the south central area. 103rd Street between Compton and Wilmington Blvds. was almost completely burned out. One Marine Recruiting Office was burned down, though it was between two Negro businesses which had signs of "Negro" and "Colored" and "Brother". Few Negro businesses were burned or looted.

Comments from the People

On Saturday morning as I walked down Vernon toward Central during the looting I got these quotes on vandalism:

"We ain't vandalizing. We're returning to them what they did to us. The white man vandalized our history by lying and telling us we're supposed to be slaves, and by jipping us every chance he gets."

"Preachers vandalized our souls by telling us we're supposed to be down and out and we'd get ours in heaven!"

"Politicians vandalized our hopes by making promises they never keep, by driving Buick Rivieras and Continentals while our children go hungry and by having blue taillights on their cars so the police don't treat them like the dogs they treat us."

On Death:

"Man I've been seen for the first

time. I've been seen, seen by the whole world. I don't mind dying now. I'm happy."

On Merchants:

"Them Jews sell us merchandise they wouldn't take to their own neighborhoods to wash cars with. And they'll come back next month saying: "Why?" Just let a Negro open a business in Beverly Hills. They they'll see why."

On Children:

"Man, I gotta 1 year old boy and before I'd let him go through the same hell that I've gone through the passed 19 years I'd burn this whole damn place down. I want him to live, not die."

On the riot:

"If I put a pillow over your face, and try to smother you and you want to live bad enough you've got to come up breathing quick and fighting hard. That's just what we're doing.

"White cops been rapin' black women for years and then beat our heads if we protest. Now we're standing up and looking up and there ain't going to be that shit no more."

Scene: Young man leaning over a fence talking to me. (Actual quote.)

"You know I make forty-two dollars a week after taxes working on garment row. I got off early Friday to pay a traffic ticket and buy some clothes. When I got to the traffic court everyone was talking about a riot and how kids were throwing bricks and beating up white folks. So I pay my \$15 that leaves me \$27. I drive down to Rom's on Vermont, buy two pairs of pants \$11.95 each. That don't leave me enough for a half-pint of Scotch. I drive home to my mother's house. I'm driving down 103rd and I see people going in and out of stores like it was Christmas eve. One cat had so many coats and suits till he couldn't even walk. What'd you think of that, man. The man took nearly every dime I had today. I got that ticket for doing the same thing they wouldn't even stop a white man for. My

third ticket. I bought pants from them Jews that probably their brothers make on 12th and Los Angeles Street for a dollar a pair - maybe less the way them jive them Mexican women. Then I come home and cats like me were having Christmas in August. And them cats can't even get jobs. I was so disgusted I came home and cried."

Philosophic 15 year old after seeing a friend's head being blown up by police while looting:

"Man, I know that some of us have to get it. When cops are around somebody has to get it. I've seen it happen too many times to get too bugged by it.

His friend was shot while looting a department store of commodities which through television and movies, this country says everyone in this country should have.

"They expect us to fight and die for a country that's not even ours. But that's the only way to get outta here - see if the rest of the world is better than this.

When 18 year old men feel that their only escape from the ghetto is to accept military service; their interest is not to protect America from communism, it is, for example, the Vietnamese against them; little man versus little man. There is no way to fight the big man.

The risk of death in the services is not as great and not as intense and constant as in Watts. There is or was until recently the possibility of survival in Vietnam. In Watts there are the streets and the law - always the Law.

"They expect us to fight and die for a country that's not even ours."

That I feel is the clearest statement on what young Negroes feel about serving in the armed forces in this country. At least in that regard, they are more realistically intelligent than most of the white teenagers' feelings about the same issue.

During Saturday the police were travelling in three or four car loads shooting and beating people wherever

they congregated. Saturday afternoon was perhaps the most vicious regarding police brutality.

Saturday Night

I had the eerie feeling Saturday night of being on the inside of a combat zone. My parents' apartment is located in the middle of the riot area on Vernon between Central and Broadway. Saturday night was the first of the 8:00 curfew nights. There were no lights anywhere within a ten block radius. It was very hot as the darkness rolled over blanketing everything except the red flairs located at each intersection both east and west of the front porch. Occasionally a civilian car passed. Incessantly fire trucks and police cars and military jeeps passed. The jeeps were equipped with machine guns. I sat on the porch in the darkness listening to the news reports by transistor radio until about 9:30. I became hungry and restless. There was no food in the house. I got into the car, drove one block west, then two blocks south to 43rd Place. Then left across Broadway and a freeway overpass back up to Vernon. As I approached Vernon, a tall thin white trooper said "Turn left". So, I turned left and onto the freeway going north. I wondered how many hungry and restless young people had done what I had done and had ended up in jail or dead.

I got back home at about 11:00 - once again slipping in through police lines - and sat on the porch again. Firing began to the west near Vernon and Broadway. Machine gun fire in quick, short bursts, then shots which seemed to come from a small caliber gun, then machine gun fire. Silence.

The radio newscast began reports of snipers being killed by police and National Guardsmen. I looked down the streets and, seeing a police car driving toward me, turned the radio low. As they approached and passed, one yelled, "Get your black ass back into your house." I scooted back into the shadows and kicked my door open with my foot. They drove back. I saw the long

barrel shot gun being lifted as I stood to enter the house. Three quick thunderous bursts as I scampered up the stairs slamming the door behind me. I dropped the radio in mid-flight and left it to bounce down the stairs. I ran to my parents' empty bedroom and lay shaking on my back for the rest of the night like the spider in Kafka's Metamorphosis.

Property Before Lives

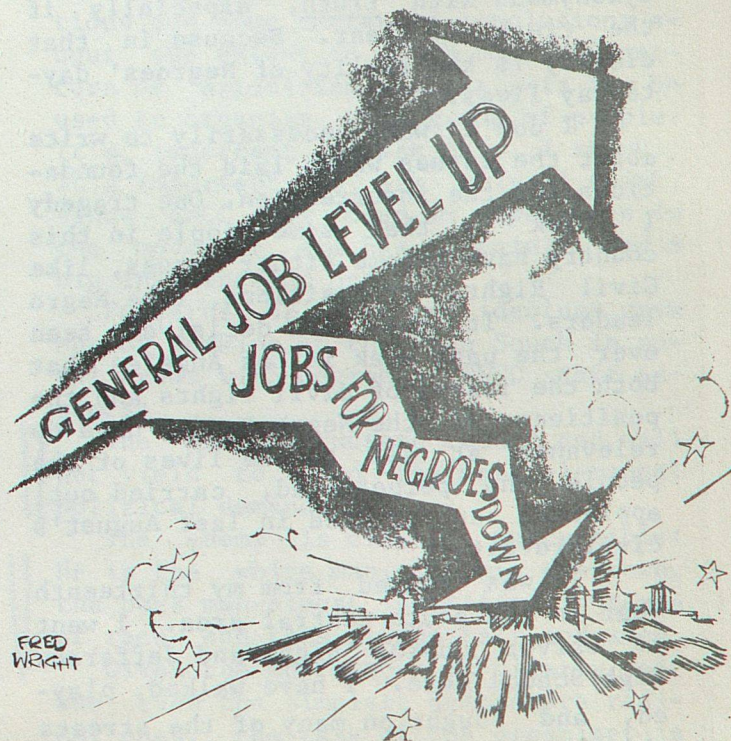
These were working-class Negroes and young people. They had no leaders except those which always exist in any group - no more than those who lead in church choirs.

People didn't need leaders to tell them who was destroying them.

As a result of the five days of insurrection, 37 people are dead, more than one thousand injured, and more than 4000 jailed.

This was done to protect property, not to save lives. This is how the country is set up. Must people are su-

STORM WARNING!



NEWS NOTE

JOBLESS RATE FOR ALL WORKERS DECREASES TO 4.5% WHILE NON-WHITE RATE INCREASES TO 9.1%

THE NEWS SERVICE

NEW YORK TIMES - AUGUST 6 - 1965

bordinate to property. The only people who will be protected at all costs are those who control the property. It is significant that the first buildings protected by police and National Guard were not stores or pawn shops (where guns were plentiful), or even the police stations (one was set afire.) The banks were the first buildings to have guards surrounding them.

If one says in public that Negroes in America live under Fascism and are constantly in a state of siege, he is alternately called crazy or bitter. If one is general in his statements, he is considered crazy, because no one in this country has the right to call the greatest most democratic country in the world fascist. And if one is specific - I'm not speaking of the 1920's or 1930's, I'm speaking of the last five years, of today, of the Harlem, Rochester and Philadelphia riots, of Birmingham and Selma and Jackson, Mississippi, and today of Los Angeles - then he is called bitter. I have decided that, at least as far as I am concerned regarding the attitudes of the bulk of the American people, that bitterness is synonymous with truth, especially if the truth is clear. Because in that clarity is the reality of Negroes' day-to-day lives.

I don't want necessarily to write about the issues which laid the foundations for the insurrection. One tragedy I think is that some people in this country have become either issues, like Civil Rights, or positions, like Negro leaders. It has been decisively seen over the past week in Los Angeles that both the issues of civil rights and the positions of the Negro Leader have no relevance at all to the lives of the people who perpetrated, carried out, applauded and/or died in last August's civil revolt.

I was reared from my thirteenth year in the south central area. I went to Carver Junior High and Jefferson High School here. I have walked, played, and fought on many of the streets which are now littered with glass and soot and blood.

The police were then, and still

are, the direct enemy. Children at ten can sense their presence. They can by "instinct" discern a policeman, black or white, by the way he walks, and talks, the car he drives, his shoes. Most children have seen police beat or harass their friends, relatives, or neighbors.

Contradictions of Black in White

One of the great contradictions of my life in the Los Angeles ghetto school was having to begin the morning by saluting the flag of this country, then to spend the remainder of the day being taught that I played no part in its development, that I was a slave - a parasite, a blight of blackness - that my only possibility of contribution to this society would be by becoming white or expressing rage. There was no middle ground.

The becoming white has to do with both physically and psychologically accepting the standards set by the majority of the people in this society - a society which is, by the way, lingering on this side of death.

The psychological acceptance has to come first. It is initially imposed by everything which surrounds - schools in which standards of education are set on the other side of town. Those children who don't fit into those standards are called culturally deprived. Of course the "culture" is that of the middle class, and anyone outside of the school who accuses teachers of being culturally deprived is considered "radical." Those who do fit into the standards are projected as being better than the others.

The physical acceptance pervades the whole black community. Those who fit the standard, psychologically, emulate the speech of whites - that is called good English. The misfits emulate through hairdos, face creams, etc. - an emulation which is just as caricatured as the bleached hair nature boys who walk the beaches during summer.

Rage and Unity

Rage comes easily. All you have to do is bring a jazz album to a high school music appreciation class and have a white teacher tell you Charlie Parker and Eric Dolphy were narcotic addicts and that jazz is lewd and unmusical. That the only appreciable music is that of Bach or Beethoven or the Tone Poems of Color by Jackie Gleason. And you hit the teachers.

Or rage comes when you're roused by the police three times while walking home from a school dance. And on the third time you're tired of putting your hand on the car roof while the police rub your behind and make jokes to each other about your sexual prowess. You tell one of them to leave you alone and he beats you with his club or black jack. You swing back and the other policeman rips open your kidney with his club.

Or rage comes when you see an old movie on television in which Stephan Fechet shuffles around Shirley Temple or a recent movie in the theater which portrays Sidney Poitier teaching the word "amen" to a group of pro-Western German nuns, when to the same tune Negroes in the south were shouting "Freedom!"

During the revolt in the Negro ghetto there was a unity unprecedented in Los Angeles among black people. This was not the unity of a contract or the imposed unity of the fraternities and sororities. This was a much deeper unity embodied in cooperation and honesty.

The unity expressed itself in the words "Burn baby, burn." It expressed itself Friday night in 42nd Street and Avalon Blvd. when a young Negro stood in front of a Negro business shouting, "Don't bother this one. He's a brother. He's a brother." It expressed itself when another young Negro who politely asked a woman her size, then stepped through a broken window of a dress shop to pick out ten or twelve dresses. Unity expressed itself in seeing people with their heads up and smiles on their faces. (I recognized here that to many people, an outward expression of happi-

ness is a sign of ignorance and depravity. I project that the "looting" which took place throughout the revolt was the only intelligent and SANE action the people were allowed to take.)

In any case the unity has lasted throughout the arrest, beatings, curfews and general suppression of rights—perhaps the internal feelings of unity have been enhanced.

Organizing Chicago's Southern Whites

by Casey Hayden

A summer's work with white migrants in Chicago left me with numerous questions and some tentative conclusions about the extent to which the SNCC pattern of organizing and analysis can be used to organize this group of people. It's important to ask this, I think, since SNCC has been my experience in the movement and has certainly had a big influence on others.

Patterns of work and ideology grew out of working in the Deep South in rural areas with Negroes. SNCC staff assumes:

The power structure cannot and will not yield to even the most elemental political demands.

The enemy is clearly perceptible: He is the white man, the man downtown, the boss man—almost identified in terms of race and thus always felt and seen.

Given the oppressor is clearly felt and even the simplest demand are radical ones, the task of the organizer is simply to get people together to voice their feelings and demands and to sup-

port whatever action people want to take.

Deepening and broadening political awareness is not difficult as people learn from the actions in which they become involved and can begin to see and understand "the power structure" rapidly.

The power structure's reaction is nearly always one of oppression: programs can be developed indefinitely simply in response to this clear oppression. Increased political awareness will happen more rapidly than concessions will come, so that people will reject tokenism.

There are no allies to be trusted finally. Often organizing will involve overturning established leadership in the community so that masses can be mobilized. Allies in any national sense are political pressure around given programs if the support can be mobilized. SNCC's task is to organize, not to build coalitions.

Some of these assumptions have proven wrong in specific situations, but they are the working basis of day to day activity in community organizing.

In applying these assumptions to work in Chicago the major problem, I think, is that of identifying an enemy and finding a basis for solidarity. For instance, instead of identifying an oppressor, people identify problems: "Teenagers drink. The neighborhood is dirty. Cops don't give protection." Then people blame each other: "Anyone can make it who really tries. Hillbillies (or spicks or Indians or niggers) are to blame." What is a basis for identifying with each other, around which people can be organized: Class ethnic group, neighborhood, people with similar problems?

Because this seems to me to be the crucial question in community organizing and because none seems to have any answers, I confined my work to one group I felt I could understand best: women, mostly on welfare, mostly southern. In this particular group I think there is real potential although we need to meet particular problems they have by searching for ways to pull them

out of their homes and away from the kids, setting up centers of operation in their immediate neighborhoods which they seldom leave, building a group based initially on their immediate felt need for help. Nearly all of them have some other woman to whom they can turn for help when some guy beats them up, the kids are sick, the check is late. They can understand the need to enlarge that group, pool resources, stand together. And because they really are on the bottom in this community and know they are perceived that way, they are not so ready to blame others for the condition of people who are down. They are tied to the state through the welfare system, and thus their gripes are easily politicized.

I don't have any real knowledge of any other group, but my general impression from scattered conversations with adult men and teenagers is that their needs, activities, and perceptions of causes for their condition differ enough from each other and from the women's that work with different groups will have to be somewhat specialized. A community union framework may be adequate, if the basis for the building of the union is clearly problems that adhere to different groups rather than problems of the neighborhood as a community area. I found, I think, that it was only as I organized around the problems of women and welfare people on any other broader basis in any way that made sense to them.

Lack of a Model

Another problem in the general area of identity and organizing basis is that the people we've been working with don't have any reference point for organizing: no movement that can be pointed to, no group experience of working together on problems. Thus people initially consider JOIN a charity group --their only reference point for dealing with problems. My feeling is that starting with people where they are will allow us to build on their initial perception. That is, service actions can create strong ties: getting food for someone whose husband just left her

getting someone on welfare, will bring someone to a meeting perhaps and will certainly open her up to continued conversation and introduction to friends with similar problems. Key to one who area was servicing one person in this way this summer. Given this, however, the problem of building an organization rather than a staff who service people remains. The need is to find reference points for helping people understand organizing themselves. The existing ties in the community can be used. Another is to talk in terms of backing each other up, a term used to refer to fist fights when one guy will step in if his buddy starts getting beaten. The Dorothy Perez People went to jail with her and went down and picketed with her and backing her up in this way got her demands. (This is a very different use of arrests than is often made of them in the South, where a community can sometimes be mobilized around unjust arrests. That can happen, I think, only when there is already a sense of identity with each other.)

Given that people have no sense of identity or oppression clearly focused and that they don't have experience with organized effort of any kind, there is a real need to find patterns in the community through which people already relate to each other and to build on those. For instance, one woman's husband works at a charity store. There are lots of these little second hand stores around which give things away and sell enough on the side to make an income for several people. This woman is interested in having JOIN start such a store, as they are widely used by really down and out people in the neighborhood. This notion grows from her viewing us as trying to help people on a very elementary level, but the store could well be used to introduce us to people, provide some income for the project, involve community people in working with it. It is at least seriously considering whether we can utilize this way people try to solve immediate problems for what we want to do. Another instance is that people continually ask for membership cards. The

idea that people who do work are members certainly fits our values, but it doesn't answer people's needs. People in this area don't belong to anything and nothing belongs to them, but one way they can understand being a part of something is a card or something that says they're "in." If this helps them see the organization as theirs rather than ours, then it should be seriously considered. Another instance: The leadership question. The SNCC position on leadership grew from pragmatic considerations about how to build a movement. One of the things that was to be done to build a movement was to free people from uncle tom leaders. Another was to create a sense among people that they could do and act, to battle inferiority feelings. Pragmatically, poor Southern whites need one of themselves who can be seen as heading up the organization, as a leader. That is, there are plenty of white leaders, but none who express their class and ethnic group in any positive way. It may be that instead of titular heads and spokesmen, potential leaders in the community can become organizers. At any rate, the "we have no leaders" position does not seem to me helpful in organizing with Southern whites. I am less sure what to do about that.

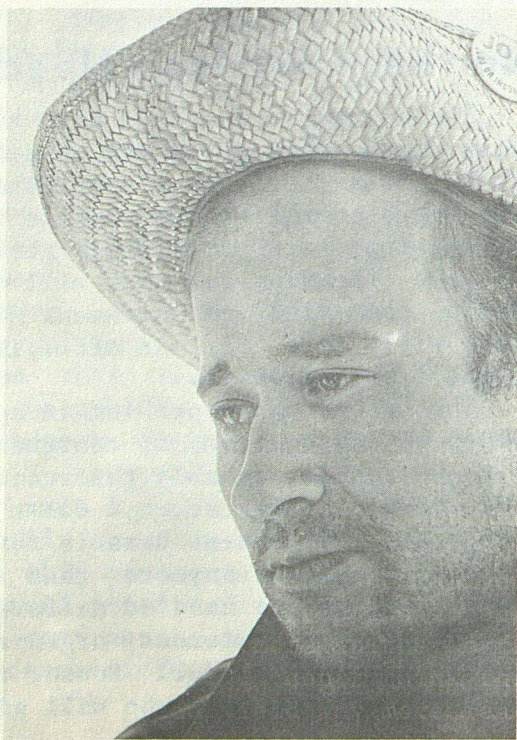
Northern Analysis Needed

The above is to say that forms of work among this group may be different than those forms that were useful in the Negro community and people who are organizing have to spend a great deal of time figuring out what will work to build the kind of movement we want, that will take the lid off...imposing ideas from somewhere.

The second major problem in applying Southern assumption to Northern work with whites is probably the reaction of the power structure. I don't really doubt that the intent here is to stifle radical politics anymore than in the South, but we are handled differently:

There are numerous organizations providing "help": Hull House, the War on Poverty, officials who will give au-

diences, precinct captains, etc. This differs from the South largely in that in areas where SNCC has the most experience there are literally no institutions to provide relief to Negroes. That means that numerous institutions in the North must be learned about and coped with. We should at least understand the politics of the area--who are the potential allies (if any) who are the real enemies to be avoided, who has real power (ie, who do people go to for help), what institutions are operative. While the system is attempting to accommodate poor people more in the North than in the South, I don't think the power structure can yield any more readily to radical demands here than in the South. As in the South, radical demands are those which ask power for a dispossessed group---real power over their leves. It seems fairly clear to me that the welfare bureaucracy is too screwed up and anti-democratic to meet demands for fair treatment to recipients, the hospitals are too overcrowded to provide decent emergency care to the poor, the police are too corrupt to provide protection without payoffs or decent treatment to people arrested. I don't think the issue is which demands are radical, but how we organize people to make demands.



High fines, false arrests can suppress activity rather than providing a mobilizing issue as they do in the South where there is already a group organized. Besides the fact that the community doubts us more than in the South in a Negro community, here is the fact that we have no source of funds and moral support "up North." Besides oppressive fines in the Perez case and the false arrests, organizers in Chicago are already having to deal with red baiting in the community. The need for any help that could be obtained in Southern communities and the clarity of the issues SNCC was raising delayed redbaiting for SNCC, and now that it is coming it is coming from outside communities being worked. In Chicago, questions are already being raised in the community, probably indicating among other things that people can't understand who we are and what we're doing and have no other way to identify us. In addition, there is the question of harrassment of community people who identify with JOIN (evictions, questioning by welfare offices), without the initial support in the community for the newly recruited community people any more than for the organizers. I don't know what the implications of all this are, but probably the most positive attitude to take is simply that we have to organize faster than they can get us.

The question of allies and coalition building is more complicated in the North largely, I think, because the liberals who give money to the removed Southern movement are right there in Chicago, judging and periodically threatened by our work. Aside from this, however, the SNCC position on coalition is probably fairly true for us. This is not because there are no liberal groups around, but because we probably have as much real power against the Daly machine and the prevailing politics as any of them, (or so it seemed in view of the lack of help any of them were able to give in the Perez and other arrests.) It is probably more important to think of help from them. A political movement in Chicago

will eventually involve working relationships with other groups, especially the civil rights movement, but for the time being organizing where we are seems much higher priority.

Demands on Organizers

The role of the organizer requires more real writing than has been done on it. Somebody should try to do a long essay on community organizing that goes beyond slogans themselves. I feel fairly certain that the organizer working with poor whites must be much more active and directing, at least initially, and probably more persuasive than the organizer in rural Southern Negro areas. This is the result of the problems of identity outlined above. Another difference in the poor white neighborhood is that students there are not viewed, as in the Negro community, as an elite educated group which should be expected to provide leadership and are thus accepted. Traditionally, mountain people are suspicious of outsiders, although this breaks down somewhat when they enter the urban environment, I think. But that factor, combined with the fact that it's very hard for the people to understand what we're doing there causes me to question whether students can organize on a large scale in poor white areas on the pattern of Southern movement work.

Certainly I don't think anything like a summer project should be considered for Chicago again unless full time staff is willing to spend a great deal of time planning for how to use students and training them when they arrive. Middle class college educated non-Southern people have a hard enough time understanding and relating to Southern poor without the added complication of youth, I think. However, even if students are to be used, it is crucial to find and train community people to come on staff. That seems to me to be a very high priority activity in the initial stages of organizing, certainly higher priority than training additional non-community organizers. This means serious thoughts about fund-

raising, as community people have to be subsidized in some way if they're going to work full time.

One other problem occurs in organizing with Southern poor whites that is not thus far a question in the Negro areas of the South. Violence is much a part of life for these people, and the organizer has to be ready to receive it and deal with it. Nonviolence as a tactic is even further from these people than from the Negro and the violence in the community is directed against organizers as well as anyone else around.

Based on my experience with women, I think Southern poor whites can be organized, but it will require much more openness to organizing forms and much more work to build leadership from within that group than I had expected. Sure ain't easy.

Amendments Proposed

Ed. Note: An amendment to the SDS Constitution must be approved by a two-thirds majority in a membership referendum, and goes into effect immediately upon adoption. Constitutional Amendments may also be passed at the convention by a two-thirds vote when distributed to the membership one month in advance. A membership referendum may be initiated by any two chapters or by one-third of the national council.

Hello out there!!!

As movements grow, their forms change. Therefore, it seems desirable to keep the organizational form of sds up to date with the needs of a mass movement which we are quickly becoming. Constitutional amendments can perform such a change if and when desirable. I am submitting below two constitutional amendments for discussion. No immedi-

ate action is desirable before the proposed December conference. Since my legal style leaves much to be desired, rewriting of these amendments might be welcome. Substantive amendments to the amendments are definitely in place.

The amendment dealing with the convention comes to do justice to a scattered membership which already relies too heavily on the judgments of a participatory minority. There should be nothing to prevent any member from participating in the convention as an observer. The revised system would also simplify vote counting and will eliminate much confusion and ill will. Participatory democracy is fine where the participants decide their own fate. Where this high ideal is not feasible, we should use honest representative democracy, despite all its shortcomings. This would be better than minority rule by those who can make it to the national convention.

The amendment dealing with regional institutions should clarify and encourage what is presently becoming a fact in selected areas. Such a form of decentralization is necessary to keep the chapters related to a bigger movement without creating an all-powerful and too cumbersome National Office.

Similar amendments should be presented concerning the National Council, the National Office, the powers and functions of the National Convention, the Membership Referendum, and the National Administrative Committee.

With fraternal greetings,
Itzhak Epstein
Norman, Oklahoma

Like one amendment:

Where it says:

Article V, Section 3. Representation.
Chapters shall elect convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five SDS members in the chapter, each delegate to have two votes at the convention. Individual SDS members shall have the right to attend the convention with one vote each.

Change it to:

... Chapters shall elect convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five SDS members in the chapter.

Like another amendment:

Where Article IV which is called CHAPTERS AND AFFILIATES should be called CHAPTERS, REGIONS, AND AFFILIATES; Sections 4, 5, and 6 should be numbered sections 7, 8, and 9 respectively; and the following sections should be inserted. Section 4. Any group of three or more chapters with a total of a hundred or more members, situated in relative spacial proximity to each other, may apply for a charter as a region. Procedures of application and standards of affiliation shall be the same as for chapters.

Section 5. Regional organizations may elect officers and regional councils, establish regional and subregional offices, initiate projects and engage staff members. The regional offices, though bound by national SDS policy, shall be responsible to their regional membership rather than to the NO.

Section 6. The regional offices shall assist local chapters, maintain detailed membership records, and help to develop new chapters. For an area not served by a regional office, the NO shall perform the above services.

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In A Psychiatric Ward

By Carl Wittman

Episodes:

One evening I came on at midnight, and John, who had been on the ward over the last three weeks, came up to me, demanding the keys so he could leave. He attempted to take the keys to the ward, he wasn't very persistent though and wandered away when I made it clear he wasn't to leave. I went to the nurses station. "What's wrong with John tonight?", I asked. "Oh", said the nurse, "he's just confused. He began shock treatment today." "Oh", I replied.

During the weeks before "treatment", John had been a pretty nice guy. He could do everything for himself, was always socializing with the other guys, and talking a lot. He slept regularly and seemed pretty o.k., or at least operative. He had been signed in by his family after some "abberant" activity with heavy sexual overtones. He complained to me a lot in those first few weeks about working at his plant, a big electrical plant, where he had worked for some time. He hadn't wanted to get ahead, or at least that was his view now, and was pretty sick and tired of his job. That had a lot to do with his commitment.

John had shock therapy for a month. The month was pretty rough on John, and he took it out on us: up all night every night, urinating in odd places, continually trying every door to get out, being strapped down sometimes, wetting his bed regularly, disassembling the air conditioner, visiting the women's ward, disarranging the neat order of the nurses station. And always asking to leave. Any value of the group character of the ward was lost because he stopped communicating.

After a month the nurse mentioned that the "treatment" wasn't working well, and that John might have to be committed permanently

"B--- wants some medicine for his stomach, He says it's upset", I reported to the nurse.

"Give him some milk."

"I'm not sure he wants that. I think he wants some medicine."

"Give him some milk - tell him that the doctor ordered it. He'll take it then. They all think the doctor's God." "I'm not so sure that people should think anybody is God." (look of disbelief)

The following case made the nurse think twice (an unusual scene on the ward). She was easily the most sensitive of the regular nurses there. She looked troubled as she explained:

"This girl is 19. Family is over-protective. A Jewish family from a middle-class section of town. Domineering mother. She's small and young looking - felt she had to prove her independence and womanhood - so she got pregnant by her Negro boyfriend."

"Do they love each other?", I asked.

"Yes. The parents put her here. They are going to abort the child and continue treatment of her."

"For what?" "Schizophrenia." "Oh."

"Why don't they just get married and have the kid?"

The nurse, really grappling with the problem, said, "It's hard enough to bring up a kid with bi-racial parents when you are well; the child is bound to end up mentally ill."

"Maybe you shouldn't make their own decisions for them."

"I just don't know about these things."

(The girl is still there, and about to be treated.)

"Why is R still here... he certainly seems to be OK to me."

"Oh yes, he really is much better. The doctors are trying to keep him here to see what effects certain diets have."

"You mean he could leave here if he wanted to?"

"Yes. But that research is important!"

Patient: "I'm leaving tomorrow. I'm going up on the liver floor. I got to talking with T last night. She oughta be in a bed herself. She fon't know what to do, she's nuts. Pushing you around. I told her, 'Lady, you're making me mentally ill,' I'm getting out. I can leave any time I want.....These other guys could too, but they don't know their rights. Come in here for a rest, they give you shock and push you around. I'm going up to the liver floor!"

Patient: "Lemme out of these straps. Damn it, I've been in these straps for six days. I'm OK now, lemme out."

Nurse: "Yes, Mr. N., as soon as the day doctor comes on he'll have them taken off. You're feeling better, why don't you go back to sleep?"

Patient: "I want to leave tomorrow. This place is driving me nuts."

Nurse: "The doctor will probably let you go home tomorrow. Go to sleep now. (The nurse turns to me) Mr. N. still is confused."

H: "Could you do me a favor when you go off this morning?"

Me: "Sure, what is it?"

H: "Make a phone call for me. I've been trying to reach my wife for a week now, and they won;t let me use a telephone. I have to reach her. Tell her that she should come here today and try to get me out. Tell her to bring my cloths and that it's very important."

Suggested Readings:

Carl Soloman: "Report from the Asylum" in The Beat Generation and the Angry Young Men, ed. by G. Feldman and M. Gartenberg. Dell.

Allan Ginsberg: Kaddish, City Lights Books.

Ken Kesey: One Flew Over the Cookoo's Nest.

Szasz: (Any of his books)

Internal Contradictions

The above notes are observations made while working nightshift for 10 weeks in a psychiatric ward of a large municipal hospital in an inner-core city. They are, of course, some of the more arbotrary and extream incidents which occurred on the ward during that time. But I assume that similar things occur during the two day shifts, and that this ward is not significantly worse than the others. If these assumptions are true, it seems unwise that we, as people concerned about authoritarianism and oppression, should continue to try to build a movement of the poor and powerless without also addressing ourselves to this whole world of nightmares, in which a significant part of the population is affected.

After a couple of weeks, one's view of the community and its problems becomes somewhat sharper as a result of seeing the steady stream of patients. The real problems are those which press on people, and where they press hard enough, people crack. One nearby factory was the workplace and primary cause of the breakdown of a number of the patients-especially the long hours, work repetition, and arbitrary nature of the bosses. Cramped living conditions and lack of a secure future were also influincing factors.

However, that's only a part of it. The other is the remarkable feature of many of the patients with whom I became friends: They were there, not because the conditions of city life here are that much worse on them, but because they had revolted against the society in some way. Lots of people work on an assembly line, but a guy after 35 years says, what the hell, it couldn't be worse in a nut house. A guy who can't find a job, probably because he's not aggressive enough, says he'd just come there for a rest; the girl-about to be aborted for her "immaturity" action. Almost every week one can read about a guy who "went berserk" and hit or shot his employer or cop.

These two aspects of the patients

are aggravated by the ward officialdom: the head nurse, the doctors, the nurses and the aides. The first aspect - inability to put up with extreme stress - there is an occasional attempt to help. But the inadequate staffing, the overcrowding, the petrification of procedure, the regimentation, the extensive and frightening use of shock therapy, and the callousness of nurses and doctors for whom it is just a job - all these factors make it more likely that the effect on the patient is neutral, at best, and more likely negative.

The second aspect - the rebellion and defiance of authority and domination - evokes policing power from the ward. As Ken Kesey has put it, the police power is there to instill new machinery into the heads of those who rebel so that they can be fed back into the "combine" (i.e. the society). The straps may sometimes be used for the safety of the patient, but too often for the convenience of the nurse. The hypodermic needle - lacking only a holster - is not so often used for medication, as it is a weapon for the nurse to still the troublemaker. Some nights more than half the patients get "shot", sometimes for something so minor as disturbing her. The times I most wanted to quit was when I felt like a cop.

In thinking about the two aspects of the ward, my interest in the second is greater. A reform movement, unrelated to the other problems of society and unrelated to the issue of power or control, could correct certain deficiencies. More staff, more money, and muckraking publicity on shock treatment could make the obvious evils of these hospitals greatly diminished.

The second problem is more intriguing, because it deals with the question of authority. Who makes decisions regarding the fate of patients, and who should make them? What is sickness? Who are the sick if the more sensitive human beings in the society rebel and are put away?

It is along these lines that a protest literature has grown. Ken Kesey's book talks about the direct challenge

of the hospital staff by its patients. Much of the "beat generation" is concerned with mental institutions: they find themselves in a halfway house, rebelling and being called crazy, but only being "prosecuted" for their protest in extreme cases.

Can Patients Organize ?

Is it possible (as I understand some in Britain have suggested) that those patients who have since left the institution organize themselves, not merely for the reform of the mental institution, but also challenge the whole premise of the society: that "knowledge", the power of the society, is vested in the hands of one class and used to destroy challenges to it, and those who fit into it are labeled crazy.

A whole unique line of thinking came out of my experience: the frightening uses to which formal education are put without the restraints of democratic control. The doctor is a professional without restraints: he works for no one except an impersonal hospital which can't be selective, and for patients who have no say. In the field of psychiatry this seems to be even worse: since it is not at all clear that mental "illness" is a physically identifiable defect at all, but merely an observed deviation from society's view of what people ought to act like. Hardly any "scientific" criteria are used by the ward doctors at all. Night after night they would, after a cursory interview, label the patient sociopathic, manic-depressive-manic, or depressed, or (if nothing else fit), schizophrenic. Then they would prescribe shock treatment for most, perhaps some small bit of psychotherapy, and then ship him home, to another institution or to a medical ward.

After a patient was "diagnosed", the doctor, other doctors, the nurses and anyone else in contact with the patient (except the orderlies, who are ordinarily deprived of such information and are thereby forced to deal with each patient as a human being, rather than a

label) treat him as if he were the stereotype put forth in their training. "A sociopath is...don't trust him... he'll charm you" comes out of everyone and consequently they treat B, for example, as a sociopath. Perhaps B comes out more like the stereotype than when he went in, for such behavior patterns are practically demanded.

This all seems to me to be a particularly acute case of how textbooks and formal liberal arts education is misused: the facile abstractions without the backing of personal experience is used not only to others' detriment by the powers that be, but also lack the perception of new information.

I would like to know the following information from others:

1) What information on this subject is available, aside from my brief and purely accidental put-together bibliography?

2) Whether there have been any experiments in bringing together the victims of "psychiatric care", especially poor people, to analyze their experiences and relate to others, and even to form reform or protest groups.

3) To what extent do other experiences with mental hospitals, either as patients or employees, in hospitals or clinics, private or municipal confirm my findings?

Traveling Theater

Editor's Note:

The National Administrative Council voted to accept Jerome and Jeriann's proposals outlined in the following letters. At the time of this writing they have sold their possessions, bought a VW bus, and are raising money reading poetry. They plan to tour upperstate New York, testing their plan, prior to coming to Ann Arbor.

Sept. 14, 1965

Dear Carl:

Two Propositions for S.D.S.

1) Theater Workshop

That Jeriann, with my assistance, will set up a theater workshop (perhaps as part of a Free University) in Ann Arbor. The workshop will train and work with students with the goal of performing plays and skits in Slum areas (Cleveland Project) and on various campuses. It will be interested in a large variety of theater-plays skits (using perhaps local people--as the Southern Freedom Theatre of West Tennessee does), pantomimes, puppet plays (The Bread and Puppet Theatre has shown how powerful this can be), using many visual effects, music, pagentry, etc., reading of poems. Jeriann has been working on pantomimes (she has one in which an American worker and a Vietnamese girl meet -- through dance and gesture -- at the site of a travelling truck-theater -- fall in love--and finally drive away in the truck, while a cop tramples on the flowers left behind --in other words -- they themselves are the play--it is well done and exciting) and the other skits -- all quite class conscious. An S.D.S. Northern Freedom Theatre. The project will require a truck and a place in Ann Arbor, in which to hold the workshop.

We hope to be able to finance it in the following ways: First of all, by selling our loft and all possessions in it and also the return of our rent securities--we should have easily \$500-\$600. Also we can fund raise some money by having a poetry reading to which I will invite 50-60 people who I know would be interested in contributing to an S.D.S. sponsored Theatre and free university. Perhaps another \$200. With this money we will buy a suitable truck (probably about \$300, from what I have found out) and start out for Ann Arbor; still with a few hundred dollars left. Also, possibly we can raise some money along the way. We will, of course, need a place of our own to live (perhaps a 2 room apartment), and enough money for basic needs. We will expect S.D.S. to cooperate in this. I hope we can keep raising money

so that there is even some left for other S.D.S. needs, instead of the other way around.

Other ways of raising money are connected to another project in which I am particularly interested. The money raising part of this would be through poetry readings that I and other poets would give, on various campuses etc. This would be an integral part of an idea I have been thinking and dreaming about for a long time now. Namely, to give our poets an opportunity to finally become involved in the Movement. Because, whether they know it now or not, they are our people, and their involvement would be beneficial and honorable, both for themselves, and for the Movement. The readings would give me an opportunity to make contact with these poets, most of whom are now asleep in University towns all through the country. I think I can do the job. Also, the students all over need poetry need to know that poetry is not divorced from the realities of our lives, from the great class struggle, from the ideals and dreams of the new left. At its most successful, this project would enable us (by giving us enough money) to put out a magazine (either in regular magazine format or perhaps more like the format of the May 2 Free Student), a magazine of poets printing their poems, and encouraging them to write other types of statements (political statements) to be printed. I think there are poets all over this continent who would welcome a magazine where they could, along with their colleagues, make statements of commitment, I think the poets in this country want the chance to redeem themselves. I think the time for poets to group themselves into aesthetic factions (surrealism, imagism, etc.) has passed, I think the time has come for social groupings--as in Europe--America's left wing poets. It is time for American poets to mature. They will be a great asset. I know this in my heart, and in many ways I can't even tell of--I have proof of it, just from the sad tones of their poems, and because I too am a poet and cannot escape Vietnam--and I

know there are others--or there are no poets at all. I think of the magazine as a publication of the Poets' Union (which of course doesn't exist, as yet).

I wrote in my Journal recently:

"I am, as I have already said, a wounded creature. But no longer am I satisfied with the holding of that thought (or am I?). No longer do I want merely to record my own humanity nor my own love nor my own pain--because of what avail to the victims? Metaphor enables us to see, but, also, it has enabled us to satisfy ourselves by giving form to our wounds--without changing, or trying to change, the cause. We must be for change, even when change begins. Poets cannot play games and still be poets."

I add to that now that I do believe that poets must feel free to record their own humanity, but also they should not escape their need to be involved, as men, in a political vision that struggles to change the causes of darkness.

Please answer immediately, so we can get started (we are already getting started, anyway.) We must know that the commitment is mutual, we must know that there will be an interdependence, especially in the smallest details that can make or break this--such as, how do we live daily? I have given as many details and ideas about these things I could think of now. Please answer, likewise.

Toward the overcoming of the darkness through a great coalition of brute love,

Jerome

I have many and great poems left in me, and so do the others, and they will emerge. Jeriann is full, a theatre blossoms within her, as have her sculptures.

Question of the Month:
Why is Vietnam
A Conservationist's
Nightmare ?

SDS

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A Short History of ERAP

By Richard Rothstein

Perhaps the chief virtue of SDS in the last few years has been its insistence on relevance. Always idealistic, it nonetheless revelled from inflexible dogmatism and reminded itself that a program for social change was inseparable from a sincere committment to democratic values.

In 1963, SDS had the reputation of being the "intellect of the student left." It was high on analysis, low on action. Though hard to believe from our present vantage point, it had more members in graduate school than college drop-outs. And it had a common intellectual history (C. Wright Mills, Camus, Paul Goodman) and a preoccupation with socio-economic-political analysis. The Port Huron Statement of a year past was actively being revised; when The Triple Revolution statement of adult social analysts appeared in March of 1964, insisting that the race revolution was inextricably bound up with automation, poverty, and the arms race, it could be legitimately said that the adults were only getting around to saying what SDS had long ago proclaimed.

With close ties in the activist SNCC and NSM, SDS began preaching the necessity for the civil rights movement to confront the issue of poverty as the central fact of Negro oppression; but preaching didn't (and couldn't) work --- SDS now faced the necessity of beginning its own projects aimed at organizing an 'interracial movement of the poor.' The Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) of SDS was born in September, 1963.

The history of ERAP has been one of the most exciting annals of our movement. Constantly forced to revise strategy, constantly learning from the ghetto residents who really know what they need, ERAP organizers have been among the few in SDS who have tested theories of 'participatory democracy' in reality.

It is perhaps useful to look again at ERAP at this juncture: a time when elements in SDS show signs of increasing ideological dogmatism about "decentralism," "participatory democracy," etc. --- the clear result of an insulation from political reality and the very danger, the immunity from which has been our chief virtue.

ERAP had a 'triple revolution' beginning. SDS was convinced in 1963 that it knew what social change must be. A redistribution of power was important, but how that related to a redistribution of resources was not clearly known. But the latter was clearly seen as an overriding necessity. This was the year of the 'discovery of poverty:' Harrington's book, The Other America was the rage, and we were convinced that the ultimate problems of racism could largely be solved if more money could be put in the hands of Negroes. We were also convinced that this was becoming increasingly impossible as automation and consequent unemployment increased. A paper by Ray Brown, published by SDS, predicted that there would be

massive, depression-scale unemployment by the winter of 1964.

So the first ERAP organizer ventured into Chicago in September, 1963. For twelve months he and those who joined him labored, frustrated, attempting to organize the white unemployed. Their office was next door to an unemployment compensation center; their program was mirrored in their name -- the project for Jobs Or Income Now (JOIN).

Meanwhile, Brown's predicted economic crisis was put off in our minds for another year, possibly permanently. But we knew something now of the poor, we were committed to a program for social change which was theirs as well as ours. Less dogmatic about tactics, 10 experimental organizing projects were set up for the summer of '64. Some, like Baltimore and Chicago, insisted that social change could come about only be movements which attacked the fundamental issues of our economic structure: its inability to find jobs for those who needed them. These were the "J.O.I.N." projects. Other projects, like Newark and Cleveland, felt that movements must be built at first around issues which community people saw as most relevant, whatever they might be. These were proudly named the "GROIN" (garbage removal or income now) projects and the join-groin debate raged for a month and a half.

ERAP was swamped with applications for its summer projects. Students, searching for commitment and relevance from a sterile campus atmosphere, gladly lived at below subsistence conditions, working day and night at organizing which was not only physically but emotionally grueling. At the end of the summer, the projects were no longer experimental institutes. People committed themselves to stay there, talk was heard of creating new lives as ghetto organizers in an indifferent, affluent America --- above all, organizing and the people it affected were seen as responsibilities to be taken very seriously. You don't go into a neighborhood of apathy, indifference, and despair, talk for two months of how we can build a better life together, and then go back to school when vacation is over.

Some projects closed down, completely unsuccessful. But others became permanent (and threatening) institutions in their Northern cities. The community union (groin) approach began to hold sway. In October, 1964, the Chicago J.O.I.N. project moved its office away from the unemployment compensation center and into the most poverty stricken of the white Chicago neighborhoods. By February, 1965 it was pretending that the words "jobs or income now" never existed --- the periods were dropped and the project's new name was "JOIN--Community Union." Marxist warnings of the dangers of attempting to organize the lumpen proletariat were still occasionally heard from Baltimore, but the community unions in Newark, Chicago, and Cleveland were established soon as the model of ERAP development.

The fall and winter of 1964-5 was marked by guilt-ridden, agonizing debates about the nature of democracy and organizing. "Manipulation" was an oft-heard term; ERAP students were committed to the notion that poor people have always had the big decisions made for them, and the thought that the students, too, might be making decisions for the poor in the guise of helping them was enough to turn the hardest stomach. To many, the very existence of the organizer had paternalistic implications. Why would an organizer be there if he didn't assume that he was better than the ghetto residents, had some superior knowledge about a movement which he was imposing (by fact of superior articulateness) on the innocent, unknowing ghetto residents? In addition, ERAP was heavily influenced by the SNCC legend. At a meeting of ERAP staff in January, 1965, organizers labored for eight consecutive days and nights, struggling for some way for intense experiences to be communicated honestly, searching for some means of comparing those experiences and basing national resource decisions on them. SNCC organizers were present at the staff

meeting, and they managed to impress ERAP with the image of an organizer who never organized, who by his simple presence was the mystical medium for the spontaneous expression of the "people." The staff meeting ended in exhaustion, with a feeling of trust between projects and a faith that the spirit would decide, that an invisible hand would enable all to be resolved if only honesty prevailed.

Why this inability to resolve the definition of an organizer? Why this cropping up of the word "manipulation" whenever we might otherwise have been on the verge of action or decision? For one thing, ERAP organizers in the beginning did not know how to relate honestly to poor people. Cultural differences were too great to be easily overcome; middle class students, despite the best of intentions, carried condescending attitudes with them into the ghetto. Thus, although organizers could argue with each other into the night, persuading, cajoling, reasoning, the common assumptions were not present to allow similar experiences to take place with the poor. Any attempt to persuade a man on his back porch took on a psychological implication of "manipulation." And until those cultural differences were overcome and mutual respect could exist between organizer and resident as human beings, persuasion would be manipulative. When we had been there long enough for a truly honest recognition of the legitimacy of the knowledge and experience of both resident and student, the issue of "manipulation" disappeared. Today, ERAP students are afraid neither to teach nor to learn. The word "organizer" carries no paternalistic overtones --- an organizer is one (student or resident) who spends time telling people about what can be achieved by working together.

For many months, the Newark Community Union Project set the standard for community union activity. Their chief issue, decided upon only after intensively surveying the Clinton Hill neighborhood, was housing. There did the ERAP slogans -- "no rent for rats," "let the people decide," and "there's a change gonna come" -- first get buttonized. NCUP was deeply committed to democracy, to the right of every individual, regardless of anything but his humanity, to participate in the decisions of the neighborhood. At Tuesday night "program committee" meetings, open to anyone, a monthly chairman was elected and political decisions were made. In Newark, too, the political distinctions between student and resident first began to erode as community people joined the staff and were supported, like the students, at subsistence standards by the project.

Today, an ERAP community union meeting is probably the only institution in the world where a destitute alcoholic can stand up and give a lecture, occasionally brilliant but usually incoherent, on political strategy and be listened to with complete respect. An ERAP community union office is often a shambles; it may not be scrubbed more often than the apartment of a legendary long-haired draft-card burner, and a social worker or local political official would be made uncomfortable by its very physical aspect. But neighborhood people call it their own, keys are distributed liberally throughout the neighborhood, and you can find activity there ranging from leaflet preparation to just sleeping at almost any time of the day or night. And an ERAP community union is one of those rare organizations where the founders define their task largely in terms of how successfully they give away their own power; they certainly don't always succeed, but they do try very hard.

The subtleties of paternalism toward white and black alike are a prime target of a project. The community union must be accepted on its own terms, in its own definition, by the "power structure." Nothing has disturbed mayors, police commissioners, or welfare supervisors more than being confronted not only with a group of poor people demanding respect, but with a college graduate who dresses like the poor and refuses to bargain privately with the official about their demands. The very

self-definition of the official is threatened by this ERAP organizer, and the organizer has done this by doing no more than making clear with whom his loyalty and identity lie.

Herein lies the key to the value of a community union. Nowhere else are the arrogant, totalitarian, and inflexible assumptions of liberal politics confronted as they are here. President Johnson may think he is the policeman of the world; but his mayors think they are the policemen of the cities and the organized poor are able to stand up to them in a way that the Vietnamese are not yet in a position to stand up to Johnson. Nowhere else are the clear failures of the liberal welfare state so starkly pinpointed as in a community union which is forced to fight for a bare standard of living in the most affluent society in the world. The ultimate issues of democratic politics are raised in the society very rarely; one of the chief instances is in a welfare union whose main demand is not that welfare checks be greater, but that poor people should run the welfare department.

Despite the commonality of the community union approach, significant differences still exist among ERAP projects. Newark has organized successful rent strikes, survived severe police harrassment, won control of the area board of the war on poverty, and has now entered electoral politics. Cleveland welfare mothers won concessions from the board of education on lunch programs and helped challenge the legitimacy of a middle class war on poverty commission. The Cleveland project, originally in a white area, expanded to the other side of town at the request of members of the Negro community. Chicago is the site of the only major success in white community organizing in the country: its members live in a white Southern Appalachian area of the city and have extracted numerous concessions from the welfare system; they have confronted, without complete frustration, the most notoriously inflexible war on poverty in the country; and are building coalitions with an independent union of caseworkers and with SCLC's first attempt to take power in a Northern city. Cairo, Illinois, is a Southern segregationist town in a Northern industrial state. The ERAP project there has ancestors in SNCC; the majority of the town is on welfare and the project has succeeded in getting a brutal police chief removed. In Boston, the project confronts an avowedly segregationist school board head. And in Oakland, even ERAP has to deal with the insanity of California's political climate. Hundreds of people will come to a community meeting that's barely been announced; and they will also come to meetings of another welfare rights organization sponsored by the DuBois clubs.

Today, ERAP faces new issues and new challenges. Whereas last February ERAP talked of counter-communities in the ghetto, building their own institutions in a decentralized utopia devoid of the corruptions of politics; today ERAP projects are more willing to confront the necessities of struggling for power. Where ERAP organizers remember the time when they took their slogan "no leaders" seriously, today they are painstakingly working for a system in which community union leaders are truly responsible and identify with the communities they represent. The new concerns are symbolized in ERAP's current discussions of the formation of a national community union federation and the planning of a national demonstration focused on the inadequacy of the national War on Poverty program.

Despite the positive changes and increasing maturity of the projects, the life of an organizer continues to be a physically and emotionally exacting one. An ERAP organizer is almost occupationally manic depressive, as victories and defeats tend to be exaggerated to give drama to the painfully slow process of building a movement. Morale is sometimes threatened, too, by irresistible comparisons with the student movement: it is sometimes hard to keep faith in the difficult, gradual, yet solid

building of a community union when the example is presented of a spectacular, though possibly more ephemeral, student demonstration.

Yet the call expressed in a letter by an ERAP organizer last February is still relevant:

"We are not seeking a dramatic moment of conflict, but a long series of such moments that change the balance of power... For those who want to take sides, I believe the time is at hand when real vocations exist through which we can realize our values and realize ourselves. Organizing ---and many, many different skills are needed in organizing ---can be a way of life if only we make it so. We ask that people join us, down here."

SDS members wishing to work in any of the ERAP projects, should address inquiries either directly to the project in which they wish to work, or if they have no definite commitments, to Rich Rothstein, 4504 N. Racine, Chicago, Ill. 60640

NEWS IN BRIEF

A conference was held in Fayetteville Arkansas on issues relating to students of the region, particularly those of University reform. It was called by the Southern Student Organizing Committee and by a group of Arkansas students... University of Texas SDS held a pre December Conference meeting November 18-20 in which chapter members presented papers and issues both of national and local concern were debated...New England plans a regional meeting December 11. ...The west coast is holding a December Conference in Los Angeles December 17. West coast SDS members felt it was impossible for many to attend the general December Conference, particularly without transportation aid, and that it was vital to discuss the issues...McMurray college in Illinois held a regional meeting which they solely initiated...The first meeting at Harpur college in New York attracted 80 potential and interested members!..The National Administrative Committee passed a motion allowing functioning regional offices to keep one dollar of the two dollars national dues.

OTHER: The condensation of the Conscientious Objector's Handbook written by Paul Lautter is now available from the N.O. The handbook itself is out of print until the beginning of the new year. Its printing was approved by national council vote, 25-5...Marvin Holloway is traveling in Europe and representing SDS. He will attend the World Council of Peace in Sofia, Bulgaria, speak to a group of Americans in Paris who want to protest the war as SDS, and address the London March against the war November 27....The 70,000 member Quebec National Union of Students passed a resolution expressing willingness to give refuge to Americans wishing to avoid military service in the Vietnam war... The Liberal Religious Youth, the youth group of the Unitarian-Universalist church passed by a 2/3 vote fraternal relationship with SDS...Latest totals on the referendum to abolish the President and Vice-President stand at 185 for, 252 against, 33 abstain. On the referendum on the adoption of the draft program the vote is 220 for, 272 against, 31 abstain...Subway size posters of the napalmed burned girl printed by SDS appearing on the cover of the New York Times Magazine are available from the N.O. for \$2. Copies of the booklet "How the United States got involved in Vietnam" by Robert Sheer are available from the N.O. for 75¢, bulk orders to chapters are 50¢ a piece. The SDS buttons, brown on white, are available again at 10¢, as are the Free University in a Free Society. We still have a limited supply of others.

NOTES on ARGUING ABOUT VIETNAM

By TODD
GITLIN

These notes follow on a set of varied experiences--speaking on Vietnam on campuses in Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, and Michigan; arguing with soldiers in Chicago; listening to poor West Virginians talk about the war; watching the press reaction to the proposed SDS draft program; talking with suburban liberals. I don't pretend that the approach they suggest will suit everyone's temperament, or all situations; I propose this only as one guy's attitude, my own, as it has evolved.

The objections one meets with are stock slogans; and all slogans generate counter-slogans. We have a whole battery of these counter-slogans, and they are no less valid for being counter-slogans; we should be well versed in them. But they, and the argument that engages them, seem to me to be shrinking in importance. Perhaps they never were important, in which case we should wonder why we only realize that now.

Take the domino argument. I have two standard responses in my repertory: (a) countries aren't dominoes, for dominoes have only two positions, up and down, whereas countries have individuality; (b) even if you believe that countries are dominoes, made to "stand" or "fall", take a look at how Southeast Asia is actually tipping in the course of America's last stand: Burma (anti-American, Socialist), Laos (splintered, unstable), Cambodia (anti-American and stable), Vietnam (touch and go), Malaysia (undermined by CIA bribery), the Phillipines (revisited by Huk guerrilla insurgency), Indonesia (pro-Peking), leaving only Thailand (an American bastion except for the ethnically distinct Northeast, where guerrillas are already fighting) and the all-white New Zealand and Australia. I think these are good arguments--as far as they go; I mean, the arguments bother people, and maybe win converts, but they too are subject to counter-arguments, which is only natural. The argument then tends to bog down in strife over relatively small differences of opinion (regarding, say, the aggressiveness of China), and sharp differences of principle are lost in, say, furious though groundless dispute over what has happened in Indonesia in the last month. There is good reason why the trivia rise to the surface: the variables in the argument are imponderables, literal opinions to which we can attach no firm probabilities and to which we must, to be honest, allow some room for doubt. How much do we really know, for Christ's sake, about China's intentions?

It seems to me more and more that the whole realm of arguments, pro and con, having to do with power politics, global political strategy, dominoes, etc., share this inevitable imprecision and muddiness, and should be allowed to drop into the background. In any speech or conversation it may still be best to start off with U. S.-Vietnam history, but this too will take you only so far. Much more, I think, we need to be emphasizing the more fundamental issues of the war. We need to be exposing the rock-bottom polarities, laying them out in full view, insisting that people understand the logic of their position, pro and con, and make a choice. These moral issues seem to be of three types.

1. The obscurantism of anti-Communism. Assume that there is little love lost between most audiences and Ho Chi Minh and/or the NLF. Assume relatively blind anti-Communism. Then choose your facts to clash bitterly with that well-entrenched mentality. Thus: the story of Communist Ho Chi Minh's betrayal by French cabinet member Communists in 1945-46. Thus: Graham Greene's story (see New Republic reprint of articles on Vietnam) of Ho Chi Minh, hearing from the Catholic Bishop of Hanoi why the Catholics were evacuating the Northern zone in 1955, breaking down in tears. The point: What exactly is a Communist? Is the name the end or rather just the beginning of political dialogue? --Some dissonance established, this leads directly to:

2. The morality of massacre. The divergence of Communism established, I would go on to talk about the atrocity of the war. (Precise documentation from Western sources can be useful but I think never convinces anyone; still,

it may strengthen the commitment of the already convinced or those who are leaning our way.) Know, e. g., that the bombing of the renowned leprosarium in North Vietnam was reported in the Washington Evening Star and the London Observer. What are the limits to which America will go to punish revolution, or Communism? Will you massacre those with whom you disagree, let alone those for whose allegiance you are fighting?

Paul Lauter, Peace Education Secretary of the Chicago American Friends Service Committee, scraped this nerve quite effectively at a meeting in Ann Arbor. He asked, "Who here would kill a million Jews?" No one rose. "Who would kill 10,000 Catholics?" No one rose. "How about a thousand Vietnamese?" No one rose. "Well," he said, "you're all conscientious objectors to war." (He suggests that next time he will ask who will kill ten people.)

There is something about rock-bottom confrontation of this sort that clears away the relative superficialities of debate and allows fundamentals to stare at each other: I believe it forces the uncertain people to think, hard, when they are forced to stare into the abyss that the Administration rolls into. The assumption is that the stock arguments reflect an intellectual laxness so deep that only moral shock can get somewhere.

After I spoke at the University of Missouri, a guy got up in the audience and said he was a commissioned officer in the Army. He said he didn't quite know what to make of the facts I had outlined (I had given a rough summary of the contents of Bob Scheer's excellent little pamphlet, How the U. S. Got Involved in Vietnam, available--single copy free--from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, Calif.; and in bulk from the SDS office). But after all, he said, he was a soldier, an ordinary guy, and ordinary guys didn't have time to consider all the fine points of political strategy; that was for political strategists. His was but to do or die.

I asked him if he knew about the Nuremberg principle. He said he did. I asked whether he would have operated a valve in a gas oven if he had been a German soldier under orders to do so. He said that the Nazis were different. (Long silence.) But he added that when you're in the trenches you don't have time to think. (Long silence.) I said I thought that was a good reason to end the war. (Longer silence.)

I asked him therefore to sketch his values, the guidelines that shape his conduct. He said he couldn't do it, they were too complicated. I agreed that values were complicated but I said I thought I could give him a rough five-minute sketch of mine, and asked if he could do likewise. No, he said, they were too complicated; maybe he didn't know what they were. (Very long silence.)

I got the impression that this exchange shook the undecided people in the audience far more than my historical account. For the soldier's common quaking admissions spoke louder than any of our battery of relevant facts. His was the most relevant stance of all.

3. The throttling of revolution. You begin to wonder after such a round of exchanges, after cry after cry that the Viet Cong are puppets (or that SDS is), just what fundamental assumption is blocking peoples' consciousnesses. Theorizing about the collective unconscious is risky business, but I begin to speculate that there is something very deep operating in the "American mind" that insists that people never stand on their own feet and act autonomously, that behind every turmoil is a clever puppeteer; and I wonder if this insistence doesn't emanate from the fact that Americans are so used to running and being run, engineering and being engineered, that they can't believe that anyone, anywhere in the world, ever takes history into his own hands. A provocative suggestion, at least? It shakes up the cocky and allows you to talk about power and choice in America. A lot of people will grow defensive at this juncture; others won't; maybe this allows you to crack through the hitherto unreachable.

Maybe it also means that this hostility to revolution will lessen only to the extent that America sees authentic social movement at home. (It is harder to talk about puppets in Selma or Berkeley than in Vietnam, particularly if you've been involved in Selma or Berkeley.) One more good argument for building the fabled "movement of many voices."

Vietnam - Creative Alternatives

by Paul Booth

What follows is not organizational policy; it stems from the excitement of Chicago people about the possibilities for our movement which the publicity and growth of the last few weeks imply. Yet we are concerned that the moral awakening of the campus must be forced to take itself seriously. For moral values are not judgements only. They commit us to action, and one who decides that as a human being he can no longer countenance our behavior in Vietnam cannot rest with that assertion; he commits himself to putting an end to that behavior. His every political action must be judged by that standard; how is what I am doing going to contribute to the end of American intervention in Vietnam? This is all that militancy means. Getting arrested is not a particularly brave or radical step if it is not calculated to put an end to the war; street corner leafleting is no more than a religious witness if the leaflets are not calculated to move others to action. The effective movement will be one which both articulates its concerns, and speaks to people where they are. To do just the former is irrelevant; to become obsessed with the latter is to have lost the fight.

We believe, however, that nothing our movement can do will end the war in Vietnam. We suspect that we will not be strong enough to stop the next American intervention in Indonesia(?), or in Rhodesia (?), or back in Thailand (?) or maybe in Peru. So that we must think hard about how to build a movement which will be able to stop, possibly, the war after these. And secondly, we believe that the foreign policy of counter-insurgency is inseparably related to a domestic policy of paternalism, racism, and increasing concentration of power and wealth. Every challenge to the domestic status quo is a challenge to the attempt to impose a Pax American as well. The values implicit in our belief that the Vietnamese people must be saved from Communist manipulation can not be distinguished from our welfare paternalism at home. A movement which challenges domestic concentrations of power will also effect the ability of this country to decide what's good for the rest of the world. A movement which effectively challenges racism at home, will be a movement which will enable this country to understand insurgency abroad. A movement which is committed to the right of every individual to participate in the decisions which affect his life in the university, the city, or the state, cannot help to be a movement which is committed to the self determination and the aspirations of powerless people abroad. And a movement which makes domestic power concentrations responsible will be the movement which will finally control these institutions whose self-aggrandizing ambitions are the ultimate rationale of our foreign policy.

To be serious, therefore, about ending the war in Vietnam must mean to be serious about building a movement for social change. To be serious about building that movement means that every action, every political sentence must be judged by two criteria: does it build the movement by broadening its base, communicating its values, organizing challenges to power? And does it attempt to challenge power successfully, is its demonstration, its demand, its disobedience an effective erosion of the power which it challenges?

There is, of course, no simple guide for deciding upon what actions to embark in building that movement at any given time. This particular memo will not attempt to argue that the most ultimately important movement-building is done in the ghetto, the university, the suburban street corner, or the induction center. But having first asserted that the building of multi-issue movement whose focus is to challenge paternalistic monopolies of power is the only serious response to the war, we can now go on to discuss one aspect of that movement building which is probably the most pressing at the moment. This is, of course, talking about the war itself. For some people will undoubtedly be won directly to the peace movement by argument. They may be a small

group compared to those who must be won to our movement by organizations which mobilize around direct issues of repression (free speech in a university or welfare payments in a ghetto). But there is no excuse for anyone in SDS to be unable to marshal a series of arguments against the war, modified by the particular situation of the listeners. Each time a new activity or protest thrusts our movement into the spotlight, the nation's focus is on every SDS member. Our ability to explain afterwards why we were so disaffected with the war is to have done such and such a demonstration is the only important rationale for the activity in the first place. It is the isolated SDS member on a campus in the midwest who bears the blunt of responsibility for the ultimate success of an attack on troop trains on the West Coast.

There are two levels on which every SDS member ought to be able to argue against the war. First, is, simply, straight: the history of the Vietnamese struggle, an analysis of American foreign policy, a description of Vietnam and the political forces at work there. Civil war or interventionist war, and how much of each? Who is Ho? What kinds of lives do peasants lead, and how do, say, the bombings of roads affect civilians? What provisions of the Geneva accords are we violating? Etc. We cannot go into all the arguments here. But every SDS member should order, at the least, copies from the NO of Oglesby's history of the war, Sheer's history, Potter's speech, Booth's press conference talk. (A complete set of essential Vietnam war material costs us, from the N.O., \$1.15)

Most people of course are not open to a straight history of the war; their reading of the facts is going to be different than yours. So other ways of putting the questions must be employed.

1) Many liberals are not entirely convinced the war is necessary to contain Communism. On the other hand, they are not convinced either that the more radical intensity of the movement's concern is justified. One thing they are committed to, though, is civil liberties. They are convinced that the peace movement has a right to exist and that the government repression is unjustified. They may be particularly horrified at red-baiting where it clearly has no factual basis.

Liberals such as these often have a deep commitment to the role which the U.S. played against Hitler. But whether this is true or not, emphasis should be placed on the role of conscience. SDS people should be familiar with the U.S.' case at Nuremberg, where we urged that an individual had an obligation to his conscience in time of war which was higher than the obligation to the state. The recollection of the Nuremberg brief then provides an opportunity for raising the question of what kind of moral decisions war requires; that war involves deaths of many people and is thus the ultimate in human policy which every individual is obligated to take responsibility for himself. And this, of course, leads to more specific discussions of what the particular nature of the responsibility is now in Vietnam---what are we doing there.

2) America has a conservative isolationist tradition with which we are all familiar, which is deeply skeptical of foreign involvements. It is this strain of opposition to war that mobilized to elect Eisenhower in 1952 on a program of ending the war in Korea. The feelers that Governors Romney and Hatfield have made against the war reflect no great respect for the revolutionary current in the underdeveloped world; rather, Romney and Hatfield are both sensitive to this powerful political force.

Small-town conservatives who hold this point of view are susceptible to Goldwaterish arguments that the war can be won with a few daring and not very costly blows. The difficult but necessary job is to convince people that the war will be costly and long and drawn out; this can be done to reference to the nature of the Viet Cong rebellion and by analogy to other rebellions with which people are familiar (Ireland, America) and through which the point the difficulty a foreign power has in containing a rebellious population can be made.

3) Trade union leaders have pretty uniformly closed ranks behind the President, especially since the October 15-16 elections, with the exception of those non-AFLCIO unions with traditional left-wing leanings--Mine Mill & Smelter Workers, west-coast

Longshoremen, United Electrical, and a few scattered locals and districts. The dominant orientation in the AFLCIO hierarchy is militantly pro-Johnson, and often worse. This orientation is not shared by the leadership of some of the industrial unions, but they are keeping their opinions pretty quiet.

And it seems that they get in under the umbrella of the war concensms without driving a very hard bargain. As a concrete instance, the recent steel bargaining featured a vigorous intervention by LBJ, seeking wage restraint "in the national interest". He persuaded the union leaders that a strike would be bad at the time of the war in Vietnam, where the paramount need is for national unity. The contract that resulted involved a noticeable increase in the rate of automation layoffs and other setbacks.

Unionists, especially rank-and-file members, can be shown that the war is occasioning a tightening-up on the right to strike, etc. Even beyond this specific example is the general point that the war is the occasion for postponement of liberal domestic program. The hunks of program passed in LBJ's first Congress will not be extended if the new conservative mood sinks in.

It's very important for students and faculty to seek to speak at local union meetings on the question of the war and its domestic effects. They should not expect to be greeted with open arms, but a great danger of the recent attacks is that they will paralyze the movement, and that we will isolate ourselves without trying to reach out to the unionists.

4) The brunt of all foreign wars falls on the young people (not to mention the Vietnamese). And the draft is the instrument of that awful reality. We have learned that the question of the draft does not win us allies among Senators, newspaper publishers, and right-wingers. That does not mean that young guys in the same boat as us (In fact, even more exposed than those of us with 2-S protection) can not be reached much more effectively now that the draft is making the war meaningful to them. This does not necessarily imply a program around conscientious objection, or around the draft itself.

The key fact is that discontent is widespread among young people, and it has only been manifested by college students. The implications to be drawn is that we do need a program that

1. reaches out to young people and talks to them about the war. In many cases it is easier to do that through the draft question, such as the groups which are the groups which are being trained as draft counselors, who will then go to fraternities to answer questions and then talk about the war.

2. Finds a way to involve no-college students. Campus SDS chapters in at least a dozen places are organizing high school chapters with considerable success.

3. expresses the general dissatisfaction felt by youth with the direction America is taken. This is the dissatisfaction that comes out in the reception of the "Eve of Destruction" and the songs of adolescent revolt. The "Build not Burn" motif has met with some success: it asserts that we don't want to be drafted to fight in Vietnam as much because we feel called upon to build a decent and truly democratic society are because we oppose the course and nature of the war. Jeremy Brecher is proposing to the National Council the adoption of a national Freedom Draft campaign, through which we would register their demand that they be allowed to Build not Burn via postcard to LBJ and via registration certificate at the SDS office. Whether or not this is the precise gimmick, the point should be clear.

Specific Programs

Alperovitzing This is a program in which students fan out to voluntary organizations to speak on Vietnam. They hold training seminars in which they brush up on the history, they attempt in a systematic way to reach out to churches, clubs, unions, etc. We have found that student picket lines attract students (and sometimes repel people who we want to reach). Instead of waiting for them to come to us, we must go to them, and in an articulate manner as possible.

Press Relations Another way to reach out is through the local mass media. Their interest in what SDS has to say is increasing constantly. A few guidelines might be helpful.

1. Press Relations are political relations. Chapters should discuss the "line" with which they will meet certain obvious questions. In a sense, this memorandum is written with "public" relations in mind, and we hope it will be used in local discussions. These discussions should be held in advance of interviews, instead of as regretful post mortems after watching the newscasts. The skills of not answering nagging questions while satisfying reporters questions while satisfying reporters, of talking over the shoulder of the TV man to the viewing public, of using the reporter's questions to say what you have decided in advance you wanted to say (as opposed to answering his questions) without offending him, etc., are all developed with practice.

2. Establish strong ties with allies in the press, and with objective reporters. After all, the journalistic ideal of objective reporting should be one of our strongest allies. Chapters may find it useful to sidn an individual or a committee to press relations--this may involve breaking stories to the most sympathetic reporters, or going out of the way to mend relations with alienated columnists, or trying to get features written about us when we don't have straight news to give out.

3. Try to tielocal stories to the national publicity. When you see something about us in the New York Times, take it down to the local paper with a ocal angle added on.

4. Please call us if we misrepresent you in the press.

Interviews

The basic way to start thongs going is to make some appointments with key people (ministers, local union officers, etc.) and talk to them about the war-arguing it in detail and in lenght. From there you can talk about having a chance to talk to thier members- vut over and over again you'll find the major need is to inform these key people about the war.

Bi-partisan message

What is
 REAL WEALTH?
 AND HOW RICH
 IS the USA?
 DOES OWNING
 MAKE US MORALLY
 SUPERIOR →
 TO THE LITTLE BROWN PEOPLE
 OF THE WORLD? OF WHICH THERE
 ARE SEVERAL.

James Jacobs
2716 Graduate Col. - Princeton U.
Princeton, N.J.

return requested

1103 East 63rd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Students for a Democratic Society

Bulletin

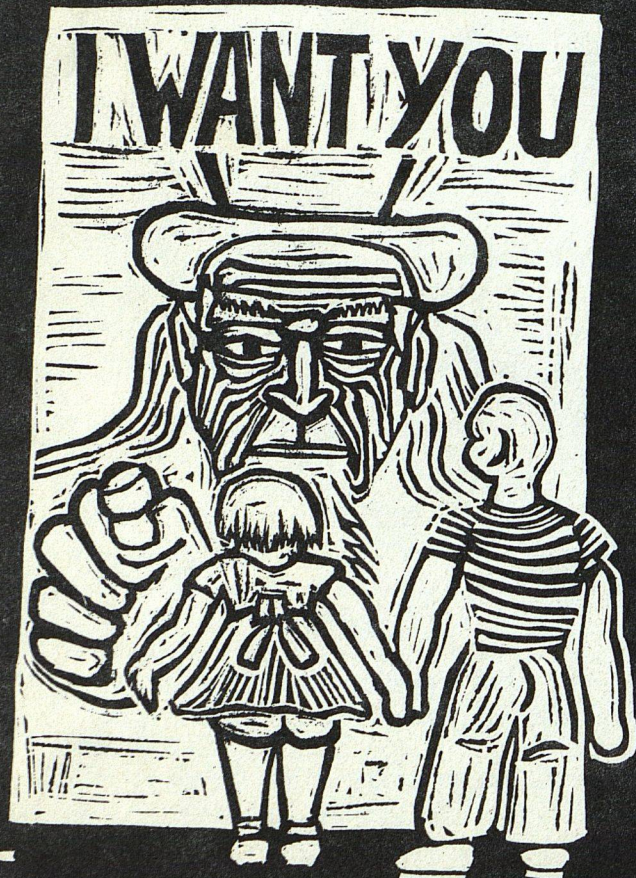
Bulk Rate
U.S. POSTAGE
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Permit No2360

houn' dog

Trotting along the sidewalk
with not a feline in sight
to give chase to
and not a girl doggie in sight
that he can pursue
but just the same as happy as
only a houn' dog can be,
he espies the recruiting poster
in front of the post office.

His tail stops wagging
long enough
as he cranes his head forward
to make the sniff test
and upon seeing that it
does not sniff too well,
with excellent body english
and a black paw salute
he administers upon this artifact
of an alleged higher creation,
his most eloquent appraisal.

-carlos cortez



(from the Industrial Worker)