

"I'm one of those old fashioned fathers who never let pity interfere with a spanking." Lieutenant General Louis B. Hershey

# NEW LEFT NOTES

Let the People Decide

Vol. 1, No. 2

sds

January 28, 1966

## CHAPTER NEWS

### Fast at Bryn Mawr

by Margaret Levi

Really exciting things have been happening here! The first is that over 100 girls (our total enrollment is c. 700) have pledged anywhere from \$.10 to \$1 a week to pay the salary of an organizer hired from the community by the Newark Project. That means we send them over \$100 a month (some faculty is sending even larger pledges). This has meant really good communication with the project--people coming from Newark fairly often, writing even more, and generally briefing us and letting us know what's going on. It's almost made some Bryn Mawrers feel that there might be a "real" world after all. Bryn Mawr is sort of a semi-suitcase school anyway, but next semester, there will be a whole bunch of people headed for Newark on weekends to help with office work, voter registration or whatever else is needed.

Bryn Mawr and Haverford are going to spend the first two weeks of second semester in intensive Vietnam activity. The focus of this is going to be an eight-day fast, not to protest but to show sympathy with those Vietnamese who are starving to death because of the destruction of the rice bowl and to encourage analysis and discussion. There will be at least sixteen discussions during those eight days--one a day on each campus with lots of transportation going back and forth. By not making it specifically protest, a lot of people are fasting who wouldn't have before (48 boys and 2 profs from Haverford will fast and so far 50 girls from Bryn Mawr have signed up with the prospects of almost as many more). There will be panels and speakers presenting all sides, discussions in the dorms led by concerned professors (we found last year in organizing for the March that this is a great tactic for drawing in people and getting them to voice their questions), and even a movie of South Africa so we can broaden the topic somewhat to the whole U.S. reaction to social revolution. As a result of all this, we are talking about having a Teach-In on "the Origins and History of the Cold War" sometime in the spring--if anyone has any suggestions for how to do this or who to have

speaking... Also, if other campuses are interested in the Fast and would like to do it on their campus, write to Ed Hazard, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. or to Marsha Wagner, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. Even our college newspaper came out for the Fast--sort of feel it must have been a misprint.

Other things in the offing; lots of Africa programs, a seminar on Social Change in America (would meet about twice a month and talk about ideas using short articles about, say, Debs, the Labor Movement, the philosophy of Malcolm X, as the catalyst), and lots of people coming to campus (Staughton Lynd is going to be here one evening of our Fast, and Herbert Aptheker is going to speak on DuBois sometime later in Feb.).

The latest press release on the fast reads in part: "Over one hundred students at Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges have decided to fast in protest against the war in Vietnam, and in sympathy with the people of Vietnam who suffer that war's destruction and killing. Most of the students involved will fast for 8 days, while some will continue on to fast for a total of 14 days. The purpose of the fast is to confirm the commitment of the students to do something about the war in Vietnam, and to provide an extended period of time during which intensive discussion can go on, including study of the history and development of the war, analysis of present conditions in America that make such wars necessary. The students involved will bring to bear in these discussions the wide range of their own knowledge, thus providing an opportunity for real human beings and human problems, avoiding academic sterility. The fast will begin on Thursday, February 3.

#### Antioch

by Jane Rosenthal

The Antioch Chapter of Students for a Democratic Society adopted the following resolution at a general meeting on January 11, 1966:

Resolved: That this chapter recommends to the National Office of SDS and to the Midwestern Regional Conference of SDS that the National Office request the National Coordinating

Committee to issue a call now for a march on the Capitol in Washington, D.C., provisional on a request by the President for a Declaration of War.

The sense of the meeting was that the Antioch Chapter of SDS would, in all probability, respond to such a call, whether or not the request came originally from the National Office of SDS.

#### Syracuse

A group of 30 Syracuse high school students have decided to band together for community social action and discussion. At their opening meeting they decided also to defer affiliating with SDS.

One of their primary interests will be the tutoring of elementary school children in cooperation with the federal Office of Economic Opportunity program. There is also interest in civil rights and Viet-Nam.

However, the majority of the time of the opening meeting was spent discussing whether or not to affiliate with SDS. It was after a lengthy discussion that they decided to defer for the time being affiliation with any national group.

The Syracuse "Post-Standard" in reporting the event described SDS as having "come under fire in several cities across the nation, not only for its political activities, but because some of its chapters have been accused by police of being involved in narcotics use." (This is apparently referring to the much exploited results of a raid in Oklahoma that produced 4 marijuana cigarettes and 3 SDS members.

#### New Jersey

Helen Garvey writes: "We had a meeting Sunday in central Jersey. We invited our worklist and about 50 people showed (we expected 20). All kinds of people, all ages, almost all really good (a few sectarians found their way in but were soundly defeated every time). We'll have a newsletter, coordinated local demonstrations on the 12th of Feb. and probably a big protest in one city on March days of protest. The goal is to reach as many new people as possible with the demonstrations to bring new people together not just old converts be peaceniks for a day. I hope it happens. Vernon Grizzard will do a lot of travelling



Gen. Hershey's Lament: Ann Arbor Draft Board, Oct. 15, 1965. Story on page 3. (photo by Andy Sacks)

around the state (pretty much full-time). People were very excited by the meeting--always a good sing. We also decided to have a conference this spring. Some people want to support the grape strike (yes, it's a multi-issue NJ movement).

#### Chicago Region

by Greg Kaslo

For the first time in their long and turbulent history sds people from the Chicago Region gathered at a regional conference on January 22 at the University of Chicago.

119 folk attached to 20 high school and university campuses, and to the United States Navy attended.

Due to the total lack of any movement in this region it was felt that the first conference should be basically an educational one rather than policy making one. Thus the conference consisted of workshops on a variety of topics: "grape strike in Delano, California," "how to radicalize tutorial projects," "university reform," "Vietnam," "high school workshop," "Chicago politics," "selective service," and "community organizing." Perhaps the most important decisions to emerge were those concerning regional structure.

#### Regional Structure

A regional council composed of 2 elected delegates from every chapter and project in the area is designed to meet once every 2-4 weeks. As membership meetings will be held quarterly to determine general policy, the functions of the regional council would resemble somewhat those of the NAC. Office administration, fund raising, staff, newsletter, resource co-ordination and interim policy will fill its bag. The regional council was mandated to prepare a membership-educational conference for the spring as opposed to a regional workshop-business conference as was this one.

#### Flavor

At the initial plenary, few appeared to know about the California grape strike, and yet at that workshop fewer still showed up.

Kerry Napuk from the United Packinghouse Workers served as resource man for the workshop. The membership voted to support both the strike by the California strikers and the efforts of the Chicago Citizens Committee to Aid the Delano Farm Workers. Through delegated chapter representatives information will be funneled that is aimed not only at internal education but also with the hope that local chapters will tackle their surrounding communities.

Most of the discussion at the workshop on Chicago politics centered around the newly formed Committee for Independent Political Action and what stance the region should take toward it. Although it was too early to make final disposition, the conference looked favorably upon CIPA and urged sds people to become involved in it. As far as overthrowing the Daley machine went, there was a feeling that insurgency was possible and that if CIPA was trying that, then sds should have a say in its direction so that CIPA will become more than a run-of-the-mill independent 3rd party.

Because people felt a necessity to tie together the selectivity of the Selective Service, its use as a weapon to squash dissent, and its brutalization of men with the basic legal information, a regional speaking tour by a team from JOIN, AFSC, and SNCC was arranged.

High school students from 7 schools drew up plans for a city-wide educational program at local schools. They found tremendous reluctance in their schools to supply elementary information about a process which will alter the lives of 50% of the student body.

Basic information about university reform is to be distributed by the regional newsletter. Several of the chapters are now conducting research into the economic foundations of their schools. However, extensive discussion of the nature of the conventional educational process and how it distorts people has yet to occur.

Out of the Vietnam workshop came a group of people from all of the campuses who will be developing a more lasting and more consolidated program capable

of going beyond protest to broader public political education. These people do not see their activities reaching a peak till spring, but one of their first projects will be the public distribution of a "seed of doubt planting" newsletter.

#### NY Region

by Sarah Murphy

The New York office has been completely reorganized since the December Conference. Instead of one official staff member (me) we now have five and are attempting to divide up the tasks in some kind of sensible manner. The five people are Paul Millman, Joyce Ravitz who used to work for the New York Committee, Gloria Polanski, Mike Hirsch, and myself.

We are going full speed ahead at this point with these two weeks (finals and semester break) serving as time to relax and get organized. Vietnam programming will probably concentrate around the congressional campaigns and the guns and butter issue. The other main thrust will be an educational program of several parts (a coercive university program, roving study groups, chapter study groups etc.). Our main problem now that the problem of finding enough people to work has been solved is finding a way to pay them. We do not know if we will be keeping a staff as large as the one we have, whether we will be cutting down or asking people to get part time jobs. Some of the staff is, in reality, part time already.

#### SF Region

by Ken McEldowney

• New School alive again. Meeting last Sunday with about 25 to 30 students, faculty etc. would have been even more it turns out but notice went out too late. A number of things were discussed:

a. Will be a series of formal and informal courses during the spring. Meeting of formal course teachers at end of the month. Informal courses either will spring from bull sessions or articles such as Draper's in "New Politics." The New School  
Continued on page 4



## NEW LEFT NOTES

Published weekly by Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill. 60637. Phone (312) 667-6050. Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1 a year for members; \$5 a year for nonmembers. Signed articles and letters are the responsibility of the writer. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the editor, James Russell.

Students for a Democratic Society

Carl Oglesby, president; Jeffrey Shero, vice-president; and Paul Booth, national secretary.

National Office: 1103 E. 63rd., Chicago, Ill. 60637  
New York: 49 W. 27th St., New York, N. Y. 10001  
New Eng.: 1785 Cambridge St. (rm. 199) Cambridge, Mass.  
Chicago: 1103 E. 63rd, Chicago, Ill. 60637  
N. Calif.: 924 Howard St., San Francisco 3, Calif.  
S. Calif.: 702 W. 27th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Vol. 1, No. 2

January 28, 1966

## Nat'l Secretary's Report

by Paul Booth

### NAC

The National Administrative Committee meeting on the 23rd dealt most extensively with criticism of the first number of New Left Notes. The following criticisms were made: (1) The Oglesby speech should have been delayed a week, in order to run NAC minutes and a more detailed account of the December Conference. (2) On the Hayden trip: instead of the report, the article should have talked about how it was decided that Tom should participate in the delegation, and the political implications of the relatively warm reception on their return. (3) One member wanted the "sds" in the masthead to be in caps. (4) The general pattern should be "Think worklist, print newspaper"; that is, the content should be written from the vantage point of insiders sharing information from the SDS outlook, even though it may look like a newspaper (objective, etc.). (5) All NAC minutes should be run. (6) There should be more chapter news...even one paragraph noting a demonstration here or a rally there. Regional offices should be called before going to press to get late news. (7) There should be a fuller description of the December meeting.

### Hangups

It should be noted that hangups with the printing schedule slowed us up on getting this out. These will be worked out by the 2nd issue. But it didn't get to the post office until Wednesday a.m.

We will leave the membership fees as they are for the time being. We will consider that "New Left Notes" (which goes to all members) is meeting the expectations of people who paid the extra dollar for the "Bulletin." Those extra dollars will go into the general office budget. Steve Goldsmith moved (for consideration next week) that the membership dues be changed to \$3, the Bulletin sub dropped, and that all members get both publications as part of their membership. COMMENTS HEREBY SOLICITED. It might be of interest that the projected annual cost per member of sending out "New Left Notes" is \$2.80.

### Chicago Regional Meeting

They met Saturday, attended by well over 100 people from the six chapters and elsewhere. The workshops were excellent by any standard. The region set up its structure, and is raising the money to sustain Greg Kaslo and his phone, and to pitch in on the national office rent for his suite down the hall.

They selected a five-man committee to meet to decide on location of the "Bulletin" and to name an editor. The five-man committee includes four chapter people and Jim Russell.

### Grape Strike

The San Francisco office has been sent a list of the 15 chapters which are moving on the grape strike and are awaiting some direction or suggestions of what to do next. Hint.

### Don Duncan

"Ramparts" magazine is going to

## Letters

### La Huelga

DELANO, CALIF.

This letter is being sent to the hundreds who have rallied to the support of the striking members of the National Farm Workers Association. Your help has kept us, and the strike, alive.

Now we are calling upon you to aid us in a different arena.

In February of 1965, the NFWA applied for a grant under the "War on Poverty" legislation. The application received prompt

attention and, after several revisions, was approved. Approval came a few days prior to the grape strike being called. Sensing that it would be impossible to administrate both the strike and the \$268,000 grant, we of the NFWA requested that the money be held up until after the strike. This met with the approval of Sargeant Shriver.

Shortly after the grant was made public, the strike began. Growers from the Delano area, as a means of harassing the NFWA, pushed through the Delano City Council a resolution asking for the suspension of the grant.

The resolution read, in part: "Cesar Chavez is well known in this city, having spent various periods of his life in this community, including attendance at public schools, and it is the opinion of this council that he does not merit the trust of the council with regard to the administration of the grant." This was smear number one.

Representative Harlan Hagen, a humble servant of Tulare and Kern County growers, took up the cause. Mr. Hagen, who had earlier endorsed wholeheartedly the NFWA application, now became the Delano City Council's and grape growers' agent. He questioned whether the Association "could objectively administer a federally-sponsored education program." Smear number two.

Now, recently, Senator Kuchel also has asked for an investigation of the grant. He, too, has questioned "the experience and competence of the sponsors." Mr. Kuchel, of all people, should comprehend the damage done by uneducated smear tactics. He has been victimized by

such cruelty.

The fact is, Senator Kuchel never talked to the sponsors regarding the program. The fact is, Mr. Kuchel, who prides himself on careful fact gathering, and who abhors smear tactics, has smeared the National Farm Workers Association without making the least effort to learn first hand about the grant.

The powerful growers of the Kern and Tulare Counties, with their political allies, have thrown up tremendous barriers to halt the strike. They have forced the Sheriff's office to arrest us for talking out loud. So, the issue is this: this grant was the first made in California to a grass-roots, poverty level, organization. Economic Opportunity legislation guarantees maximum involvement of the poor. The story from Washington today is that our grant may soon be cancelled... and it will be unless we fight for our rights, now.

Therefore we are asking two things of you: (1) Acquaint yourself with a fact sheet that is available from us (NFWA, P.O. Box 894, 102 Albany Street, Delano, Calif.) regarding the nature of our project. (2) Write letters of protest over any tampering with this project. Letters should be mailed to Mr. Sargeant Shriver, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., and Senator Thomas Kuchel, Senate Building, Washington, D.C. Please send us a carbon copy of your letter.

Remember, if the power groups of this state, such as the growers, can stop one organization of poor persons from participating in the war on poverty, it will hold others back too. Viva La Causa!

Cesar Chavez

### NC Comments

HOBOKEN, NEW JERSEY

One aspect of the lack of communication at the National Council meeting that struck me was a portion of the Vietnam debate that I walked in on (and my impressions are therefore perhaps inaccurate). I came in just in time to vote against one of the specific action proposals—calling for the NO to 'sponsor' some action or something like that. I voted against it and so did many of the people I knew around the room. After the vote I heard a number of comments from 'new people' who just couldn't understand how SDS could vote against such a thing when there was a war going on and we were supposed to be against it and try to end it. Although some attempts were made to speak to these concerns, I don't think those of us who voted against the specific programs (run by the NO) explained our feelings sufficiently. The same reaction followed the motion to table the Vietnam discussion altogether.

I voted against the specific proposals and in favor of tabling for two main reasons. One has been talked about and is probably clearer—that is the need for a comprehensive Vietnam strategy (or a strategy broader than Vietnam and an understanding of Vietnam's related institutional issues is perhaps more what I mean) rather than a collection of tactics adopted because someone thought of them and they show our opposition to the war. We should have added the former discussion (at the NC or at least publicize previous discussions if they did occur at the conference) to the NC rather than just tabled or voted down the latter. We came closer to this at the Bloomington NC when we talked

Continued on page 3

## N.O. Financial Report

The following report for the month of December, 1965, is for the national office only. It does not include regional offices, projects, chapters, or the separate Bulletin account.

December Income		December Expenses	
Dues	\$ 679.00	Salaries	\$1,172.50
Literature sales	741.81	Rent, phone, utilities	1,581.75
Contributions	4,604.28	Office supplies	185.08
Monthly pledges	60.00	Postage	714.95
Misc. sales	118.19	Paper & printing	821.25
Subscriptions	325.00	Travel	870.15
Misc.	101.50	Conference expenses	326.00
		Legal expenses	60.00
	6,629.78	Photography project	13.00
		Petty cash	57.50
		Misc.	88.00
			5,890.18

(Notes: Phone bill was \$840.57. \$750.00 of "Travel" was final payment on Mississippi bus to November March on Washington. Most expenses and all receipts of the December Conference and National Council will appear in the January report.)

Detach and return to SDS, 1103 E. 63rd, Chicago 60637

"The financial responsibility for the movement must ultimately fall on those who feel its necessity."

I would like to contribute \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to further the work of Students for a Democratic Society.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

### The Issues

If the hearings are effective, they will find out whether the Department of Commerce is tacitly or explicitly encouraging U.S. investors to invest there. It will also expose the attitude of U.S. banks—are they encouraging by their lending policy, etc., the steady increase in Big Business investment in South Africa? We already know that apartheid is utterly evil—what must be brought to light is the extent to which Americans play a role in perpetuating apartheid.

### Literature

New items available from the national office are: (1) Printed copies of the Oglesby speech at the March on Washington for 10¢ each (small quantities) or 5¢ each for orders of \$2 or more from chapters. (2) A small amount (200) of the complete sets of December conference papers have been collated (\$2 per set, one per person).



# History of the Ann Arbor sit-in

by Eric Chester

On October 15, a large anti-war in Vietnam demonstration was held in Ann Arbor. The leading group behind the action was VOICE, the University of Michigan Chapter of SDS. After having a rally on campus three hundred people marched to the Selective Service Board in Ann Arbor. While the others picketed outside, thirty-nine persons, mostly students, went into the board office and sat down on the floor in front of the counter. The clerks continued to type reports and several registrants walked through the crowd and finished their business. At 6:00 p.m., three hours after the sit-in began, the demonstrators were arrested.

Thirty-six of the thirty-nine were given ten day sentences in Municipal Court as well as receiving fines of sixty-five dollars per person. These cases have been appealed to Circuit Court where sentencing will take place again. It is possible that the thirty-six protestors will receive thirty day sentences and the litigation surrounding the case may proceed for years.

At the time of the sit-in, Colonel Holmes, director of the Michigan Selective Service System, told the press that he was investigating the possibility that those persons eligible for the draft were delinquent and therefore subject to immediate induction. Later Colonel Holmes said that he had notified local draft boards of thirty-one persons in the sit-in. He notified them that the person had sat in and had been convicted and urged that the draft boards reconsider the person's draft classification. On November 21, I received a notice from my draft board stating that I was 1-A, from Nov. 18. Ray Lauzzana received his notice Nov. 23 although it was dated Nov. 18. This left Ray with only five days to appeal his status. Since then ten others who had been in the sit-in have had their 2-S status revoked. Several have received notices of delinquency declaring that they violated Section 12-A of the Selective Service Act on October 15. This section prohibits registrants from hindering the operation of the act. Of the twelve who have been reclassified, seven were from Michigan, four from New York and one from Washington, D.C. There is a strong possibility that the number of reclassified will expand in the near future. In early December, two students from Michigan had their personal appeals before their local boards. Their appeals were turned down and they remain 1-A delinquent.

The reclassification can be appealed through a whole series of steps. The first steps are within the Selective Service System and include a personal appearance before the local board, then the state board and, if one on this board dissents, an appeal to the national board. Then the person must face a pre-induction physical and then an induction physical. A delinquent 1-A will be at the top of the induction list and will be immediately drafted. If a person refuses to be inducted he is prosecuted by the Justice Department. At this point, the federal courts must decide whether the reclassifications were legal. If they were not the courts will order the local board to reinstate the original draft status.

The American Civil Liberties Union has been the counsel for those reclassified and it has pledged its willingness to provide counsel for anyone reclassified because of the sit-in. The ACLU is considering the possibility of filing an injunction in federal court asking for the reversal of reclassification in that district and

ordering local boards to desist from further reclassification. The only problem in this injunction would be that the courts have previously ruled that a registrant must exhaust all administrative remedies—that is, to go through the whole process outlined above—before the court will intervene. These precedents might lead to a ruling by the court that it has no jurisdiction at this point.

The Selective Service System was content at first to have Colonel Holmes be the main spokesman. As opposition mounted, General Hershey, the head of the United States Selective Service System, was forced to defend the action of the local draft boards. In one interview with a UPI stringer, he declared that "the government would be committing suicide if it deferred students who defied the selective service system." In another interview with the Detroit News, he took full responsibility for the action of Holmes and the local draft boards. He said that the students with 2-S were "on Parole" and that the local selective service boards could change the 2-S if it desired. He further said that the sit-in was clearly in violation of the Selective Service Act and a court ruling was unnecessary. The growing controversy may force officials even higher in the government to state their views.

Several congressmen have declared their opposition to the reclassification. The first were four Michigan Negro politicians including Congressman Diggs. This action was followed by a strong statement by Senator Hart of Michigan. Hart has now asked Attorney General Katzenback to state that the courts must decide violation of the law and not the Selective Service System. Representative Cellar of New York, the head of the House Judiciary Committee, has opposed Hershey as will Gerald Ford of Michigan, the House Republican leader. The opposition in the Congress is growing and is probably a concern of the government.

The case has gotten wide publicity in the press, especially in local newspapers. Articles have appeared in Washington, New York, Chicago, Ann Arbor, and Detroit. Editorials opposing the draft boards have appeared in the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, San Francisco Chronicle and the Detroit Free Press as well as by moderate columnist Roscoe Drummond. The story was covered sympathetically by Huntley-Brinkley and in Newsweek, The Nation and The New Republic which have done an excellent job, have run stories. The Ann Arbor sit-in has become the focal point for the public as the test of civil liberties during the war in Vietnam. The Michigan Democratic Party state central committee signed a public statement of opposition to the war. Two vice-presidents of the University of Michigan issued a public statement condemning the reclassifications and President Hatcher agreed with this view in statements to the press.

This case must be viewed as the beginning of a strong movement to suppress political dissenters. Hershey has made statements which imply that students who engage in actions of any kind which publicly oppose the government may be reclassified. The action of the Selective Service System is also ominous because it involves punishment by administrative action. As long as one is appealing within the Selective Service System there is no guarantee of a lawyer. When a personal appearance is made before the board, it is left to their discretion



VOICE member Dave Berstein is shown being arrested as police break up the Ann Arbor demonstration.

whether a lawyer will be allowed to give counsel to the person appealing. The two who already appealed were allowed a lawyer but my draft board has already said that I cannot have a lawyer at my appeal. Of course, the appeal is not before a jury of our peers but instead a board of businessmen appointed from above.

SDS at its last National Council meeting decided to urge its local chapters to call demonstrations at the local draft boards to protest the reclassifications. The demonstrations will not involve civil disobedience but will continue to focus public attention on the case. The demonstrations have been called for the period between February 13-20.

These cases should also be viewed as part of the growing erosion of civil liberties in America which is itself a symptom of a society based on a foreign policy of aggression and an internal economy dependent on producing war materials. The sit-ins should also be seen as following in a historical pattern previously set by governments who have forced unpopular wars on their people. Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany had strike leaders immediately inducted in order to suppress strikes in 1918. (Berdan, A. Josephy, German Social Democratic Party 1914-21, p. 162.) Recently one of the South Vietnamese puppet governments smashed student demonstrations by inducting those arrested (Time, Dec. 4, 1964, p. 38.) The United States government is trying to intimidate those who dissent from the war in Vietnam both in the United States and in South Vietnam.

Funds are desperately needed to continue the defense of the Ann Arbor sit-inners on two fronts. The most important is the fight against the reclassification but the trespass case must be further pushed if the thirty-six students involved are to be able to remain in school. Money should be sent to the Ann Arbor Defense Fund, 2534 Student Activities Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

## RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT

A committee of 15-25 people will assume responsibility for promoting radical education and research within the movement. The composition of this committee was left for exact proposals to the N.C. from the Ann Arbor implementation committee. The issue involved is whether the committee should be composed of people within SDS and the movement or whether it should be an advisory committee of noted scholars such as William A. Williams, Art Waskow, Herbert Marcuse, etc. Proposals to the N.C. will carry within them justifications for the type of composition desired.

Given the amount of research already going on within SDS, the project calls for organizing this existing research so that it is available to all and for stimulating issue study committees or research/study groups on particular problems, ideology, analysis and strategy that people feel important.

The project director will develop a biweekly education/research bulletin to

be sent out to the membership. Alternate issues will be pamphlet length analysis of important problems for radicalism in America. The intervening issues will include discussion, short articles, bibliographies, and other educational/research aids. The REP bulletin is scheduled to begin by April 1.

REP will establish speakers bureaus on issue areas important to the movement and to organize speakers tours to chapters, traveling workshops, conferences, etc.

A conference on research methodology is to be held. It will be organized around the theoretical-conceptual problems of analysis of American institutional structure.

Haber estimates that it will require a maximum of 1/3 of the national income to run the project. However, the project will carry out its own fund raising and probably the need for support from regular SDS income will decrease as it becomes established.

The work of implementing the proposal is being done in Ann Arbor by Haber, Carl Oglesby, and Mike Locker. Reports on their progress will be forthcoming.

## Letters

Continued from page 2

about the importance of education in anything we did do we avoided a strategy discussion there too. I think everyone is aware of the questions—but I don't think we agree on the answers. Do we think we can influence the war—and how? Do we think the war is just another issue around which to build a movement (that can make us look like cold opportunists ignoring the horror and injustice of the war and simply using it for other ends—some people think that. It's hard to talk about stopping the 7th war from now, now when the next six will be just as bad as this one—and we may never live to see the 7th)? Do we think we can't do anything, or much, but must protest anyhow?

The other reason I voted against the specific programs involves some feelings about the role of the NO. I get very upset every time I hear people ask the NO to do something so they can do it. That kind of dependence should be a good reason for the NO not to support anything. We should discuss what we believe to be

the goals of local and national activity.

We need to find a way of making decisions. Why does every NC have to spend hours and hours refining proposals? What was really accomplished by the hours of debate on Al Haber's master plan for education and research? Is it a lack of trust that leads to a desire to be so specific? That is probably part. I trusted the people on the committee and felt I had access to them and could find out what they were doing or would just hear about it and could go to them if I had ideas or complaints—that is important too.) so I wasn't interested in working out the details of the proposal at the NC. How do we build up more trust? (I trust the committee because I know them—how can others get to know people on that and other committees?) How do we broaden access? Until that happens (we get trust and use it) or if it doesn't happen, how can we eliminate those hours of discussion. Could we just let the people who want to refine Haber's proposal (preferably after objections have been raised to that people know what they want or don't want to talk about—

workshops beforehand don't do that because people don't know whether they have anything to say about the Haber proposal or not—and there is often another workshop they want to go to) go off and do it. That means that all people who want to discuss it go there and don't wait till it comes on the floor again.

Helen Garvy

## Chase Demonstration

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The 17 defendants in the Chase-Manhattan "sit out" trial who pleaded not guilty to charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest were acquitted in New York Criminal Court on December 20.

The case may set an important precedent for protest groups like SNCC and SDS. The defendants argued that sitting down on a public sidewalk as a way of presenting a political idea was merely a more vigorous form of picketing, and therefore protected by the First Amendment, and was not "disorderly conduct" so long as pedestrian traffic in, out and past the bank was not blocked. (The defense presented evidence that people did leave the bank, that photographers passed through the sit-down lines, that people walked past on the side-

walk, etc.). The defendants also argued that "going limp" was not resisting arrest, but was merely failing to cooperate in one's own arrest.

The judge (John Murtagh, Chief Judge of the New York Criminal Court) did not explicitly rule on the law, but merely found a reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the defendants. But since the defense did not deny the sit-down itself or the refusal to walk to the paddy wagons, it is fairly clear that the acquittal would have to have been based on at least a "reasonable doubt" as to the law.

Every effort should be made to acquaint other defendants or prospective defendants in a similar case of the acquittal. Detailed information on the defense, its brief, etc. are available from Marvin Karpatkin, 660 Madison Ave, NYC, and Burton Hall, 136 Liberty St., NYC, the two leading defense attorneys. (Their services were made available by the American Jewish Committee and the Workers Defense League, and necessary funds for transcribing the trial record were raised and made available by SNCC, CORE, and SDS).

—Arthur I. Waskow



# December Conference impressions

from the San Francisco Regional Newsletter

The December Conference is hard to evaluate, even harder to write about. Approximately 400 people came to Champaign-Urbana. Impressions are random. Excellent discussions. Bad ones. It's impossible to sum up. Workshop topics ranged from "Ideology" to "Organizing Young Adults" and "Radical Theatre" to "The Radical Marriage". Since there were always at least four workshops in simultaneous session, we can't report on all of them. Perhaps comment on individual workshops is the best we can offer.

The workshop on ideology and the one titled "Participatory Democracy" and the "New Society" carried similar impact: It's time to push beyond our general assertions of interconnections between civil rights, the war budget, control by power elites, alienation of people from their work and from the kinds of lives they find themselves leading, the degradation of the poor, and the vacuity of the universities. We need to redirect our attention to the difficult and frustrating problems of building a movement for social change. In what way do our activities on Vietnam radicalize people and extend our base? Do the people we talk to become disillusioned with our role in Vietnam without seeing connections with other areas of social malaise? And if so, what does that say about our Vietnamese programs?

We need to push past our slogans ("Participatory democracy," and Baby, "There's a change gonna come,") and into the sort of analysis that allows us to talk concretely about that change and how it affects the lives of people we talk with. (It's time to talk concretely about access to power and how the movement gains power without compromising its democratic values. But that means fomenting tensions within SDS; as people's analysis and developing ideology become clearer, so will their differences from the ideas of their friends within the organization: we will need to give a lot of attention to the problems of holding together a community of people in which honest differences take on major import. For if we cannot within the democratic new left find ways of relating to those with whom we disagree, we have little chance of avoiding the splintering of the old left or of building a new society; let alone a society in which love and understanding are more than lip-service values.

One of the most encouraging workshops of the December Conference was the one on research. It soon became clear that almost every one of the more than 100 people there has under way research projects ranging from the intrigues of machine politics on Chicago's West Side to specific corporate interests in South Africa, from theoretical work on the power structure in U.S. cities to an institute sponsored study of the specific power structure in every community of 25,000 or more people in the good ol' U.S. and A. SDS isn't intellectually dead! It just hasn't been publishing.

General consensus is that Vietnam workshops were very bad. People spent hours listening to unimaginative talk about old programs, new crash programs, suicide programs, dead-end concerns (e.g., what we do about persecuted service men)--all this without working out clear criteria for evaluating successful Vietnam programming. Perhaps the lesson to be learned from these

workshops is that people have to go into group discussions with clear intentions of serving the needs of the group, of tying together theoretical and practical insights, of making program speak to theory.

In that connection, one of the most interesting workshops--so we're told--was the one which combined discussion of ERAP with Coalition. Discussion leaders Steve Max and Norm Fructer, both from New York, insisted that people be specific and talk to each other's points. Old conference goers can testify that there's nothing worse than the workshop in which people stand up and deliver monologues which have little or nothing to do with what has been said by the speakers who immediately preceded them, nothing better than the workshop in which people who don't understand the point made by a speaker press him to clarify himself and subordinate their own pet concerns to developing the ideas the group is dealing with.

For the first time at an SDS conference women came together to talk about problems of women in the movement or women as an oppressed class. Movement men unaware of the problems of women should reflect that in most ERAP projects, in many "radical" marriages, and in the National Office, women frequently get relegated to "female" types of work--dish washing, cooking, cleaning, clerical work, etc. At national conferences, conventions, or council meetings, the problems of women become part of the general problems of prestige within the organization. Leaders with established reputations for cogent thinking are listened to with much more attention than people with equally good ideas who are less skillful (i.e., less experienced) in presenting their ideas. In an atmosphere where men are competing for prestige, women are easily dismissed, and women, accustomed to being dismissed, come to believe that their ideas aren't worth taking the time of the conferences; in short, they accept the definitions men impose on them and go silent. These are problems for the whole organization which deserve further attention.

The workshop on coalition was, as is usual when SDS discusses coalition, unsatisfactory. One of the difficulties is that people in these discussions tend to make an either-or issue of coalition rather than talking

## On roles in sds

This statement was written by a group of women as part of the workshop on "women in the movement" at the December Conference, and was endorsed by the National Council. The NC has been mandated to encourage wide distribution and discussion of the statement.

One of the major discussion topics at the December Conference has been "participatory democracy"--what institutional forms the new society should take, which organizational forms allow for greatest democratic participation. There seems to be consensus that a democratic structure is one that ideally allows all people to take part in the organization, fully utilizing one's own abilities.

There is a diversity of people within SDS, and we are trying to build a movement that attracts and indeed depends upon a diversity of people. What that suggests is that individuals should not be lumped together into distinct categories (all intellectuals, . . . all women, etc.) Sameness or an attempt to encourage sameness among people is not our norm nor a feature of the society we seek to build.

Yet a lot of people have felt that as a political organization, SDS has a style which tends to exclude those who don't conform to the established norms. Often new members feel that they must act as "old time leaders" expect them to. Some students feel forced to justify their role as students to people who have chosen non-student roles. And many women in SDS feel that they are excluded from being full participants in the life and growth of SDS.

While the problem of achieving democratic participation in SDS is one that extends to many people, many women feel that the problem of participation by women is a special problem--one that reflects not only inadequacies within SDS but one that also reflects greater societal problems, namely the problem of the role of women in American society today. Perhaps as unique individuals, recognizing both their differences and their equality. Men must learn and understand the problem of free independent women and encourage full participation by each woman as she defines herself, as should be the case with any individual.

We realize that matters of attitude cannot be legislated, but SDS as an organization must recognize that the problem does exist, that many women are neither able to nor encouraged to become participatory democrats in the organization.

We believe that honest and open discussion of the problem is a necessary first step. Such discussion will help create awareness and force us all to recognize the role of women in SDS as a legitimate concern that demands organizational attention. A number of women and men both have begun to stimulate this discussion publicly for the first time. This particular statement is the product of a small group of women that have met during the December Conference.

SDS must also begin to do things, however small, that encourage initiative and participation by women. For example, women should be urged to take on tasks like workshop leaders. Women should be invited and encouraged to write papers, even in groups of two or three if that makes initial involvement easier. Women should be spokesmen for SDS nationally and locally,

about circumstances and degree. The anti-war movement is, after all, a loose coalition of liberals and radicals. Meaningful discussion of coalition must be based on a strategy for social change and should develop criteria for evaluating specific situations.

Finally, a workshop on adult organizing, the Movement for a Democratic Society, or whatever we call it, worked over the problems which thus far have prevented an adult organization from coming into being. For more than two years now, people have felt the need for such an organization, and the National Convention on at least one occasion mandated the National Council to bring such an organization into being. The need is clear; adults who find it impossible to relate to groups on the old left feel themselves too far removed from student status to be SDS members and look to us for meaningful ways to relate to the movement. SDS members who graduate have no group to go to for moral sustenance and support. Yet such an organization doesn't simply happen. As Lee Webb said in a conference working paper, a national founding convention for adults would be both "a museum and a circus." People disagree about how the adult organization and SDS should relate

to each other. Should they be the same? Separate? Related through the Radical Education Project (some agreement here that they should)? Should we concentrate on helping adults organize along professional lines as social workers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers are now doing in the major cities across the land, or should we concentrate on building cross-professional, cross-occupational organizations? People did agree that whatever happens will happen at a local level and that at most a national newsletter should keep adults in various parts of the country informed of what others are doing and thinking. Finally, however, it appears that people are ready to begin working seriously to try to bring adult organizations into being. In Chicago, the at-large chapter of SDS is getting ready to hire a full time staff member to work on developing program and reaching out to adults not involved, and here in our regional office Norm Potter, a new staff member from the University of Illinois, is beginning to develop dialogue on how to cut through the problems of adult organizing.

even if they are not as articulate as some men, initially. In all these cases, women must be treated as individuals: while men must make a conscious attempt at allowing women to participate in SDS, they should urge women to participate as competent individuals, not merely because they are women.

The problem as we see it is one that must be confronted by women and men alike. Both women and men should feel a responsibility towards helping SDS deal with this problem. It is important that women in SDS reinforce each other, provide moral support in attacking this problem. Women who have already begun to deal with the problem, personally and organizationally, should take the initiative in encouraging other women to confront the problem. And it is equally important that men be aware of and sensitive to the problem and try to encourage women to begin participating fully in SDS. The men must also begin to understand themselves and their own reactions to the raising of the "woman question"; they must be willing to engage in introspection.

Finally, it is important to recognize that while we as women find the problem of democratic participation in SDS particularly compelling for us, we firmly believe that SDS as the organization attempting to build a radical movement in this country must confront the question of meaningful roles and democratic participation for all individuals.

## San Francisco Region

Continued from page 1

would attempt to bring the Drapers together with interested 'students', provide bibliographies, room, etc.

b. Research - Is to be conference of radical intellectual-research types in Pacific Grove Feb. 4-6 sponsored by the New School. Idea came from Franz Schrumann and Saul Landau. Roughly 20-25 people top heavy with professor, grad student and practicing intellectual types. Hopefully a paper will come out of the conferences outlining research needs and making tentative stabs at a new ideology. A research program keyed fairly much to California and California vis a vis issues of our time would then spring forth. In planning stages are courses on research techniques.

c. Forum series - regular forums are being planned for the spring, possibly in cooperation with the local "Guardian"

Committee (comments?). Be a combination of large forums with short statements and tables run by local groups, and smaller forums with a greater stress on the ideas rather than the person then would be the case with the former.

d. Film series - discussion going on about a film series, possibly modeled after the Swarthmore one.

e. SDS Hall - part of the problem is the real need to transform the New School classroom into office and library space. Thus we are looking for a storefront large enough for classes, forums, film series. The idea being to establish a location for education and personal and political interaction. Also place for parties etc.

- Regional meeting on Jan. 29 to talk about direction of office et al in the coming months.

- Good chance there will be a West Coast conference during April.



Discussion at the December Conference  
(photo by D. Gorton)