

Engelfinger demonstration set for 17th

NEWARK, N.J. (from the New Jersey Correspondent)—The National Conference of Christians and Jews has decided to give a Brotherhood Award to Charles W. Engelhard, Jr. of Far Hills, N.J. Mr. Engelhard is an industrialist, financier and major contributor to the coffers of the State Democratic Party.

His qualifications for the award appear to be that he is filthy rich; that his precious metals business controls 15% of the gold

production and 20% of the uranium production of the Union of South Africa. This concentration camp called a Republic was assisted by Mr. Engelhard in arranging a loan for \$30 million in 1960 shortly after the Sharpeville Massacre. Forbes magazine claims he was the original model from life for the James Bond character, "Goldfinger."

There are plans to congratulate the National Conference of Christians and Jews on its excellent choice with a demonstra-

tion on February 17th at the Robert Treat Hotel, Newark, where the presentation will be made.

Cooperating in the program will be the Newark Community Union, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and New York SDS.

For further information contact: Carol Glassman or Corinna Fales, 307 Peshine St., Newark (phone 242-9329); or Paul Millman, 49 West 27th St., NYC. For buses from New York City, call John Fuerst at 663-6526 or 889-5793.

Trustees ban SDS speakers

CHAPEL HILL—Gov. Dan K. Moore and a committee of trustees for the University of North Carolina voted on Feb. 7th to cancel proposed speeches on the campus by Herbert Aptheker and Frank Wilkinson that were to be sponsored by the SDS chapter.

(Aptheker is a leading scholar on Negro history and theoretician of the Communist Party and Wilkinson is the national chairman of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC.)

Gov. Moore announced his opposition to the speeches last week and stated that SDS had only invited Aptheker and Wilkinson to cause controversy. He also contended that the speeches would serve no valuable educational purpose.

The action was taken in spite of the objections of the university and student body presidents, faculty, and 1,194 students who had signed petitions in a 24 hour period in support of "free speech and academic freedom."

The governor and trustees were using the authority of a controversial 1963 Legislature action that banned from state-supported colleges and universities anyone who advocated the overthrow of the state or national Constitutions, was a Communist, or who had taken the Fifth Amendment during judicial or legislative investigations

Continued on page 4

Berkeley moving again

by Paul Booth

Berkeley's experiment in turning their campus into an arena for a radicalizing political experience around the war in Vietnam was reported by the organizers tonight (Feb. 9th) to be a success. The initiative of SDS activists turned a gymnasium into a learning experience—a confrontation with politics—for large numbers of students and faculty at Cal., and the first three days of the semester, Feb. 7-9, saw the campus pre-occupied with the question of the war, rather than the normal classroom business.

Ball picketed

at Northwestern

EVANSTON—On Feb. 1, the Northwestern SDS chapter staged their second demonstration. The demonstration was held in response to a speech being delivered by George W. Ball, Undersecretary of State. There were over thirty students and six teachers who picketed for over an hour in sub-zero weather. They also handed out leaflets which stated their position. They were supporting Ball in his stand against the resumption of the bombing but at the same time they were demonstrating against him as a representative of the State Department. There was wide publicity in the Chicago papers.

Police stop

Viet meeting

MILWAUKEE—A community meeting on Vietnam of 40 people and co-sponsored by the at-large chapter was abruptly ended by Police on Feb. 5th. The meeting, held in the rented hall of a public park, was ordered to cease after the police had been notified by the local park commission that its purpose was political rather than educational. Further meetings are planned though and there is the possibility of making a civil liberties case on the free speech issue.

Sue and Buddy Stein reported by phone as we went to press that the major goals of the action had been achieved. Although "thousands" of students did not stay away from classes, the plan of students demanding that the classes discuss the war in Vietnam because it was a critical question in their lives had been carried out. They felt that several aspects of the "Berkeley style of protest activity" had been transcended.

Instead of a one-shot affair for which great excitement was stirred up, only to let people go back into their holes as before, this event was keyed to planning for further events. Throughout the three-day period, attention was drawn to plans for a Women's march on the draft board (scheduled for Feb. 15th) and for the March 25-26 days of protest during which Ambassador Goldberg will be on campus for some kind of award presentation.

Large numbers of people were involved in the formulation of an action proposal. The logic of the event was that because the war is impinging on the lives of the students, it is a proper matter for their agenda to discuss how to combat it. In fact, workshops planning for March 25th took place throughout the period, and students also went into the community for the first time in memory to talk about the war.

Suspensions threatened

Providing a backdrop for the Vietnam activity was the hearing for three activists accused by the Administration of violating the campus rules regulating free speech. At issue was their violation of rules regarding use of university microphones and the one rally a week limit per group. Apparently at Cal. you can only have Free Speech one a week.

The three—Sue Stein and Hal Jacobs of SDS and Bettina Aptheker, one of the FSM leaders—were also charged with conduct unbecoming students. They had their hearing today (Feb. 9th) and won't hear the decision for about a month.

At the hearing, Mike Tigar, a law student who played a leadership role in the early days of SLATE (political party at Cal.) and who led the 1960 anti-HUAC demonstration which occasioned "Operation Abolition," gave an eloquent argument for the defense against the literal interpretation of petty rules as an insidious device for carrying on a political trial

students for a democratic society

NEW LEFT NOTES

Let the People Decide

Vol. 1, No. 4

sds

February 11, 1966

Food strike successful

CHICAGO (from Rich Berkowitz)—A successful boycott of food facilities took place at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle campus on Friday, February 4. For the first time in the school's history, the student body was united in a common goal, to demonstrate discontent with the prices and quality of the food. Over 90% of the enrollment boycotted the food facilities.

The school newspaper, the Chicago Illini, was suspended earlier in the week by the dean of student affairs, according to the acting editor and the president of student government. The acting editor of the paper claimed that the administration suspended the paper because it openly criticized the administration. The administration took different positions as the week progressed. They finally stated that the paper was never suspended. Many questions have arisen due to the administration's ever-changing positions.

The Committee on Student Affairs declared a month-long moratorium of student organizational funds in order to make an audit of all expenditures. The audit is apparently focused primarily on the spendings of Student Government and the Chicago Illini.

The Chicago Sun-Times has linked the boycott with SDS. This connection claim is very, very true. SDS was involved in the planning and carrying out of the boycott with the Student Government.

On Monday, February 7, a group of faculty and SDS members invited people from off-campus to pass out literature. There were people from the Chicago Anti-Draft Committee, Women for Peace, and the clergy. According to university authorities, off-campus people are not allowed to pass literature out on campus. After a confrontation with university authorities and police,

Continued on page 4

JOIN office gutted by fire

CHICAGO (from the JOIN community newsletter)—The JOIN office at 1100 W. Ainslie burned down on Feb. 4th. But we managed to save most of our files and we'll be opening a new office in a month or so.

No one knows for sure how the fire started: it might have been one of the stoves or else a cigarette might have smoldered in a couch for a few hours. We are now looking for a new store for an office and new furniture. The regular weekly meetings and community work have not been discontinued.

Penn free university started

PHILADELPHIA (from Joan and Jay Mandle)—The University of Pennsylvania chapter of SDS has established what promises to be an extremely successful version of the now burgeoning free university movement. The Free University of Pennsylvania, which began classes on Feb. 1st, has an enrollment of over 600 students, participating in more than 30 courses (new ones, e.g. calligraphy, are being added daily). The seminars are to be as small as possible and are being taught primarily by U. of P. faculty.

The amazingly large turnout of students at the first orientation and registration session more than confirmed Penn. SDS's analysis of wide-spread dissatisfaction among students with the education offered on campus. Both students and faculty were joined by the school newspaper and many student organizations in their enthusiasm about F.U.P.'s initiation. Apparently, a source of attraction is F.U.P.'s emphasis on a wide range of subject matter, personal contact with faculty, and also its insistence upon the participation of the students of F.U.P. in all decisions affecting the new university.

Sly tactics at Harvard

CAMBRIDGE — Peter Orris called the office to report an unusual development in one university's reaction to the increased demands by the Selective Service System for more bodies.

Students at Harvard were handed blue cards as they went through the registration line that requested information about their Selective Service standing; on the back of the card was a statement to be signed that gave the university authorization to turn over their transcripts to the Selective Service officials when requested. The obvious reason for such requests is for ranking purposes so that the Army can get its hands on those in the lower percentiles.

Apparently the first perceptive person to see the card realized its implications and hurriedly arranged for someone to stand by the line with a sign that said something to the effect of, "Don't Sign It!" After a while the building janitor called the cops and had the sign bearer thrown off the premises.

Chapter people immediately went to Dean John Munroe and demanded an explanation. He apologized profusely for the incident, claimed it was all a mistake, and then instructed the janitor to allow the sign bearer to return.

The whole effort considering that it was organized on the spur of the moment was very successful as 20% or 1,000 of Harvard's 5,000 students refused to sign the authorization statement.

It was apparent that the university was seeking to place the responsibility on the individual students for Selective Service access to their grades and thereby avoid the issue of complicity with the System. University officials have assured chapter people that the grades of those who did not sign will not be surrendered to the draft boards.

Liberal pragmatism?



The dilemma of American liberalism: former ADA leader Hubert Humphrey shown yucking it up with Nguyen Cao Ky, bloody dictator of the Saigon government at recent Honolulu conference. For men of deadened conscience, politics does indeed make strange bedfellows.

Anti-War VISTAs organizing

A group of VISTA volunteers in New York have organized a movement of war on poverty workers in protest of the war in Vietnam, stressing the connections between the escalation of the war and the whittling away of the war on poverty. Many chapters have contact with local VISTA volunteers, and others can make that contact easily. Please seek out VISTA workers who oppose the war and urge them to contact Bob Mitchell, apt. 2C, 221 E. 124th St., New York City. It is possible that their plans can be the occasion for a powerful public assertion of the fact that the war in Vietnam is destroying our hopes for democracy at home. There is a necessity for speed here, partly deriving from the ups and downs in the level of harassment these folks face from their higher-ups.

National Secretary's Report

by Paul Booth

Literature Program Report

1. The key feature of our literature program is that we have damned little of it on hand. This was true in the fall, and remains true today, although a little bit more so every day. Although we did actually succeed in wading through the backlog of lit. orders during January, we generally informed people that we didn't have what they wanted.

2. Some notable exceptions to this rule should be noted. The first was the publication of the Guide to Conscientious Objection, of which 9,000 copies have been circulated, with some financial benefit to us. A healthy proportion of these have circulated through the normal C.O. channels, another healthy proportion through our chapter network.

Other exceptions include the publication of the December conference papers, the production of several new papers (Chris Hobson's "Vietnam: Any Way Out?," Staughton Lynd's "The New Radicals and Participatory Democracy," Lee Webb's "Vietnam and the Unions" and "The Churches and the War," Carl Oglesby's speech in Washington, and the reprinting of Potter's "The University and the Cold War.")

3. But the most hopeful sign through all this is the establishment of the SDS Printing Office in Lawrence, Kansas. Not only does this house (formerly the Kansas Free Press Publishing House) have better facilities, it has the will, on the part of its staff to produce large quantities of good literature. This has already been shown in their excellent printing of Carl Oglesby's "The Vietnam War and American Containment," and of Tom Hayden's "Student Social Action." They are now becoming the central printing establishment, and will be producing in the near future the brochure describing the reclassification situation in Ann Arbor, and five papers (Hayden's "Community Organization and the War on Poverty--Newark," Hayden and Flacks' "Peace Research USA," Rennie Davis' "The War on Poverty: The Insurgent Response," Robb Burlage's "The South as an Underdeveloped Country" and "The American Planned Economy." In addition, they are printing the excellent guide to organizing

local Vietnam activity compiled by the Madison Committee to End the War at a slightly higher rate than the pure cost-rate for SDS publications. SDS is contributing \$150 a month in rent for their establishment. They also put out the monthly "Kansas Free Press."

4. Meanwhile, a certain number of items are being produced here. Two new papers are appearing at this moment, one by Sid Lens, "The New Left and the Establishment," and a symposium staged by Made-moiselle--"New Voices on Campus." A new edition of various histories of the Chester movement has been put together by Paul Booth, and will shortly appear as "The Chester Movement: Community Organization in the Other America." A new edition (with slight corrections) of Carl Wittman's "Students and Economic Action" will also appear shortly. And the "Chapter Organizer's Handbook" has been rewritten by Jack Kittredge and will also appear soon.

5. I think that things are in enough shape that we can look to the future and set some priorities. The various projects that might be thrown together include:

(a) "The Movements 1965." This would be a collection of pieces drawn principally from Studies on the Left, running about 75 pages, and mostly describing what was done, including a heavy emphasis on organizing and political efforts, ERAP and SNCC, and some on Berkeley and the peace stuff. We can have it printed with the layout etc. done by Studies people if we put up the \$1000 which will pay all the original and printing costs for a run of 10,000. We would sell it a dollar with 10% off to members and to subscribers to Studies or some such arrangement. It would be fairly tightly bound like a booklet.

(b) "Voice of the Young Radicals." The New Republic is arranging for publication of the eight New Left pieces, and has promised us a bargain on a bulk order for that item.

(c) Program guides. It seems to me that these should be a major emphasis of the in-house publishing program. Guides such as "Vietnam and the Unions" should be coming out regularly, and the basic production form should be the easy process of typing onto paper litho plates and running 1500 copies. In the immediate future we should put out a guide on organizing to detach the University from

McNamara which will be a very detailed and helpful job. As well, a new edition with changes of Cathy Wilkerson's "Rats, Washtubs and Block Organization" should be appearing. Barry Bluestone is supposed to be writing a manual on local organizing around the defense budget issue. We may be able to republish some of our back study guides--Vietnam, Marxism, Political Decision-Making. Shelly Blum has done a paper on White Collar Union Organizing that we should lay our hands on. And papers on electoral organizing may become available as a result of solicitation from the New Politics conference headquartered in Washington.

4. Of equal priority in my opinion would be the production of papers of ideological content. In this line we have our eyes on a couple of new items: Haber's "American Underclass"; a couple more items in the debate on new radicals, such as the whole Partisan Review exchange and Hal Draper's piece in New Politics; Kim Moody on the Administration and the Steel settlement; a few of the papers from the December conference such as McKelvey's "Pacifism, Politics and Nonviolence," and Haber on exclusionism; a paper Flacks is writing on participatory democracy; Potter's speech "The New Radical Faces the Multiversity"; a handsome job of Steve Weissman's "Freedom and the University"; a new edition of Gitlin's "The Web of Power: American Involvement in South Africa"; a paper by Burlage and Brecher on national priorities, the budget and social change; a new run of Hagan's "Counter-insurgency: The New Foreign Relations"; a new run of Max-Ireland's "New Coalition"; and possibly wide distribution of the Vietnam Day Committee's \$1 book "We Accuse" with important pieces by Mailer, Deutscher, Stone, Potter, and Lynd; and pieces by Krassner, Savio, Aronni, Greene, Spock, Russell, Gruening, Thomas, Gregory, Cobb, Parris; Hayden's piece on politics in Dissent; Booth-Webb on the anti-war movement that is going into Dissent; and a piece by Booth that was originally a speech for SANE on the same topic that I'm sending around to magazines; and maybe an updating of Booth's paper on peace politics; and a prettier run of Ross' "Whose Welfare" if Dellinger prints it.

NAC minutes

Staff: At present the staff is Jeff Segal, Bob Speck, Jim Russell, Clark Kissinger, Bruce Schmiechen, and Paul Booth. Bill Frazier, Don Yost, Nina Strickler, and Juanita Sumerall have departed (for New York City and different jobs). NAC accepted Clark Kissinger's resig-

nation effective after one week of clearing out backlogs, doing the billing, etc. He will be working for the Chicago Committee for Independent Political Action in the 48th and 49th wards. NAC hired Judy Kissinger for the financial area. Her salary this month will be \$15/month because she will be putting in 24 hours a week at her old job until she can quit it completely.

Fundraising: The NAC sees Carl Oglesby as the best man around, and resolved to try to negotiate a partial salary to make it financially possible for Carl to fundraise if he so chooses.

We are now advertising for two new staff members. One need is for someone to handle the chapter correspondence. The other need is for someone to do the education and literature programs.

Letter from Al Haber

"I'm unclear as to the purpose of the NICNAC report. The NC voted that there wasn't to be an in-group report on controversial matters. I disagreed with that decision, but it was made all the same. If there are really controversial matters then you all should use your own judgement on how to let people know about it. But the NICNAC has not been doing controversial matters. It has been doing exactly what was supposed to be available to the whole membership in the weekly report. Therefore, I suggest that the NICNAC be discontinued and that everything that you all would put it--everything, for real--be put in the New Left Notes.

"Second, as I recall the NC resolution, the weekly report was supposed to cover matters in the daily operation of the organization, political statements, draft resolution, notes on program development, literature, etc. It was not intended to replace the Bulletin--chapter reports, review articles, etc. Therefore, the Oglesby speech, the Hayden report and the chapter news should not be in the weekly Notes, (possibly exception of the Oglesby speech if you are considering it an SDS political statement, in which case you should ask for comment and proposed revision and suggest a procedure whereby it would be "adopted" as an organization statement of some different status than an ordinary paper or speech.) If the Chicago region isn't able to do the bulletin, then we have to rethink the content of the weekly Notes. But until that is determined, we should stick with the priorities set by the NC. There is more than enough stuff, like the last 4 issues of the NICNAC, to fill the weekly notes."

Future of the "NICNAC": The letter from Al Haber states the issue: is the
Continued on page 4

Part 2: Notes on the pathology of the NC

Following is the second part of Todd Gitlin's analysis of the problems of the last NC. Gitlin, a former president of SDS, last week presented points 1, 2, and 3 of what he considered to be symptoms of the malaise.

4 Inadequate or pathological efforts to cope with the situation. Sooner or later someone proposes a drastic change in the proceedings, or the body kneecracks its own collective response. I can see five types of response, none of which has helped very much:

(a) Eruptions of the "straighten up and fly right" variety. These are well-intentioned, but, coming as they do in the context of speechmaking, they amount to additional speeches and have little more effect than to heighten the collective frustration.

(b) Levity. We all giggle because the proceedings are so patently laughable. So we may feel better, but never touch the causes of our frustration.

(c) Proposals for workshops. Workshops can be valuable as preface to an NC; but once the NC has started, by the time workshops get proposed most of the damage has already been done.

(d) Parliamentary maneuvers to close debate. These simply waste time, though again intentions may be the purest. As long as we insist on investigating our respective two cents, no moving on questions will produce better or deeper decisions, or even save time.

(e) Rushing into a vote. Out of exhaustion and/or common sense, everyone may agree to cut discussion short and move on to a vote. From the fact of a vote we may derive a certain satisfaction: we sigh with relief. But as often as not this resolution is purely arbitrary--the debate has produced little justification for either choice; and it has not educated.

5 Aggressive sectionalism and snide anti-sectionalism. People become types ("Texas," "Chicago," "New York") and get treated like types ("the Texas guys," "Those New York coalitionists," "the Chicago bunch"). Positions classify themselves rigidly, and get classified in return. Sectionalists talk as though regions are the final determinants of identity, or as though their answers must be everyone's--without exposing those elements of their experiences that color their attitudes. (Cf. debates on "coalition politics.") On the other hand, snide anti-sectionalists rebound by labelling, a priori, anything thought to emanate from the objects

of their scorn--"Oh, that's just those Texas (New York, Chicago, West Coast) guys." On another level, women are labeled in the same manner.

The thing to keep in mind is that the question of whether a regional pronouncement is more broadly applicable is an empirical one.

6 Agenda debates and vague proposals. We remember agenda debates with special disgust. They eat into valuable time without contributing to resolution. Inevitably they begin to raise substantive questions, but prohibit a progression of thinking, one issue at a time. At the beginning of each one, veterans of previous ones moan and mutter, "Oh God, not another one"--but they keep happening.

To the extent that the issues before an NC are overlapping and recurrent, agendas are arbitrary. But if they're arbitrary there's no point in debating them. One of the problems is that proposals are vague. Thus agenda topics are vague. Another is that people who want to make proposals do not get together beforehand to: (a) clarify their proposals; (b) write them down; (c) consolidate those that are very similar, with marginal differences offered as subsidiary amendments. (Recall the horrible debate over national structure.) More, proposals are not circulated in advance. The National Office, which should prepare and circulate a detailed and logical agenda in advance, is not aware of upcoming proposals, nor are other delegates. The results are rumor, top-of-the-head speechmaking, and shallow decisions.

The last NC showed an affinity for reversing its own agenda decisions, repeatedly demonstrating that agenda decisions (the old one, the new one, or both) were shallow and/or not universally understood. In part I think this was because of the other elements of the pathology. But beside all that, there was no agenda logic. E.g., some argued that all decisions on program (function) should predate all decisions on structure; others argued the opposite. Maybe both missed the point that structures for programs should be tailored to specific programs, one by one (as in the Interim Committee for the Radical Education Project). That would be the properly empirical approach, though it would probably gainsay the vested interests of all offices. In other words, after each program is adopted the proper structure for it is chosen, before the next

program is adopted.

Modest Proposals

1. NC proposals, in detail, should be written up at least a month before each NC. The National Office should circulate them so that they reach each delegate at least two weeks before the NC. (It will be good practice for all of us to make medium-range plans.)

2. On the basis of these proposals the National Secretary should draw up a detailed agenda proposal, with justification, to be included in the above mentioned mailing.

3. The plenary part of the June Convention should be preceded by a week-long December-type conference, to include:

(a) small (10 or fewer) open-ended workshops of personal autobiography and political thinking;

(b) workshops on the problem of elitism in SDS (as informal and open as the very fruitful December workshops on women in SDS);

(c) workshops along December conference lines, but smaller, with more time, and with an explicit invitation to members to erect new workshops in advance.

Preparations for this conference should be the highest National Office priority in the months of April, May, and June.

The theory behind this proposal is as follows: (i) The December conference was productive, within limits. It would have been far more so without the pomp, with papers on time, with smaller and more open discussions which more time would have expedited. All of us could use more of those discussions, and more time to break down barriers. The clearer we are about big issues, the more intelligent our NC decisions should be. (ii) A lot of members will have the time to spend right after the end of the school year. (iii) The elitism issues have to be flushed out into the open and dealt with. A determined effort at the December conference forced an honest confrontation with man-woman issues; if we were able to talk about those elitisms, we can talk about others, though it may be harder. With more free time, some grass, some sun, and some consciousness of the urgency of the matter, we may be able to do more than acknowledge the problems--we can even start talking to each other and undermining the barriers we recognize.

The economics of apartheid

Following is the background paper for the House Subcommittee hearings on South Africa that is being distributed by SDS. The paper was prepared for SDS by Christopher Z. Hobson and Paul Booth. Additional copies are available from the National Office.

Hearings on involvement of U.S. corporations in the Republic of South Africa are to be held by the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, under the chairmanship of Rep. Barratt O'Hara (2nd District, Illinois). Crucial preliminaries to the hearings are the preparation of a list of witnesses and the decision whether to subpoena these witnesses or merely invite them to appear. There are indications that many will not wish to come voluntarily; already one prospective witness, Charles W. Engelhard—whose activities are outlined below—has declined to appear unless subpoenaed.

What follows is an outline of three aspects of the activities of U.S. corporations regarding South Africa—ordinary business activities; financial aid to the South African government; promotion and propaganda—and a notation of possible witnesses and lines of questioning. Suggestions concerning legislation are included at the end.

1. ORDINARY ACTIVITIES. More than 200 U.S. firms invest in South Africa, including many of the corporate giants of our economy as well as American-owned firms operating primarily overseas. Most African employees of these firms may not organize unions, advance within the firm, or choose different places of work. Miners—relatively well-paid—earn on the average \$216 a year, as against \$810 in Zambia.

However, American investors do not merely take frugal advantage of conditions determined by others; some, at least, also participate in setting the conditions. For example, Charles W. Engelhard, of Far Hills, New Jersey, and Johannesburg, holds, among his 23 South African directorships, directorships in the Native Recruiting Corporation and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, which procure African contract labor from neighboring countries for mine work; and in the Chamber of Mines, which determines wages and working conditions in the mines.

Witnesses at the Subcommittee's hearings should include Mr. Engelhard and the presidents of the major U.S. corporations investing in South Africa.** Questions should focus on working conditions, wages and organizing rights of workers in their South African plants; the extent to which firms or individuals have, like Mr. Engelhard, participated in determining these conditions; possible involvement in or contributions to propaganda organizations of the sort mentioned below.

2. AID. Since 1950, a revolving credit (a loan fund automatically renewed as it comes due) has been maintained with the South African Treasury by a "consortium" of American banks headed by the Chase Manhattan Bank and the First

National City Bank of New York.*** The fund has been enlarged from time to time and now totals \$50 million.

In addition, American money has lent assistance on an emergency basis. After the Sharpeville incident (March 21, 1960) and the subsequent decision of South Africa to form a republic and abandon the sterling standard, foreign capital began to flee the country. There was danger of economic collapse. Then, in 1961, the 80 American firms then investing in South Africa increased their investments by \$23 million, and \$150 million in dollar loans was extended to the South African government from the following sources: American-influenced supranational financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, \$38 million; World Bank and affiliates, \$28 million; U.S. lenders not publicly identified, \$70 million; Chase Manhattan Bank, \$10 million; and First National City, \$5 million). Since 1961 further loans, including an enlargement of the revolving credit, have been obtained; and—not accidentally, as is indicated below—the number of U.S. firms investing in South Africa has nearly tripled.

Witnesses before the Subcommittee should include David Rockefeller, President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and the presidents of the other banks in the "consortium"; responsible officers of the Departments of State, Commerce and the Treasury; and the Attorney General. Questions to the bankers should focus on the reasons for granting the 1961 loans, the names of the "U.S. lenders not publicly identified," and the extent to which the banks' subsidiary investment firms, or firms in which the banks have interests—e.g., the Chase International Investment Corporation and Dillon, Read & Co.—have encouraged new investment since 1961. The officers of State, Commerce and the Treasury should be asked what the U.S. government's attitude has been to these loans and investments; in particular, whether there was any consultation, between the U.S. government and the IMF and World Bank before the granting of their \$66 million loans, and if so what attitudes were expressed by the government and by the banks. The Attorney General should be asked if loans to South Africa can be prohibited under the Trading with the Enemy Act, 1917 (as amended), which empowers the President to "prohibit... transactions in foreign exchange, transfers of credits or payments between, by, through or to any banking institutions."

3. PROMOTION AND PROPAGANDA. These activities, not surprisingly, are linked. In promoting investment one of the chief operators is the investment banking firm Dillon, Read & Co., whose Chairman until 1953, C. Douglas Dillon, was Secretary of the Treasury until last year and has just been named to the Board of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Dillon, Read & Co. and Engelhard Development Co., a subsidiary of Engelhard Industries, Inc., jointly own South African Investment Adviser, Inc., an investment advisory firm which in turn operates American-South African Investment Co.,

set, but SDS members may order now at 50¢ per copy from ACOA, 211 E. 43d st., New York City. (Chapters should enquire about bundle rates.)

4 FOCUS/SOUTHERN AFRICA is an attractive pamphlet from the National Student Christian Federation (available for 35¢ plus postage from United Campus Christian Fellowship, Publications Office, P.O. Box 7286, St. Louis, Mo. 63177). It summarizes the situation in South Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese Africa, and includes a bibliography, list of interested periodicals and organizations (with addresses), a film list on South Africa, a list of U.N. resources and university institutes of African and Commonwealth studies. It concludes with questions groups should ask about possibilities for action in their area.

5 WHAT IS NEO-COLONIALISM?, by Leon Szur and Jack Woddis (Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Grays Inn Road, London W.C.1, U.K. 10¢, enquire about bundles.), is an exploration of the ways in which exploitation of underdeveloped nations has changed since World War II. It deals with the political subordination of "independent governments to the metropolitan areas, the world market, foreign "aid", military bases in the underdeveloped countries, and the meaning of "positive neutralism". The resolution on



SHARPEVILLE, SOUTH AFRICA, March 21, 1960—72 people were killed when police fired into a crowd of several thousand unarmed people who had gathered outside the police station to protest against the passbook laws. National demonstrations to protest U.S. economic sustainment of the apartheid government have been called by the NC for the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.

Ltd.—an investment firm which raises capital for investments in South Africa. Engelhard, in turn, is American chairman of the South Africa Foundation, an association of businessmen with interests in South Africa formed to undertake "the promotion of international understanding of the South African way of life, achievements and aspirations." Thus the "axis" of Dillon, Read, and Engelhard Industries covers every aspect of the investment process, from promoting the location to providing the funds; but, more than that, it operates politically in that it disseminates the shabbiest sort of propaganda; propaganda which, if effectual at all, will not merely encourage investment, but by influencing opinion in an important sector of the American public, will affect the formation of U.S. policy toward South Africa.

WE HAVE DOCUMENTED INSTANCES of American participation in the shaping of apartheid; of emergency financial aid to the government of South Africa, involving some of the largest banks in the United States; of an interlocking "axis" of propaganda, promotion and investment, involving one of the largest and most respected U.S. investment banking firms. A good guess is that many of the other corporate interests mentioned here—e.g., other members of the consortium; oil suppliers such as Caltex and Socony Mobil; many of the more than 200 investing firms—are linked to these and similar activities. Investigation should reveal the linkages—but only if undertaken by power of subpoena. The data outlined above, while far from complete, show that the activities of these firms have affected the internal affairs of another country and, quite likely, the foreign relations of the United States. This is ample reason for considering full disclosure of their activities to be in the public interest.

We urge that the Subcommittee on Africa use power of subpoena, if necessary, to obtain complete information on all South African activities of the firms mentioned herein.

If the Subcommittee's investigation confirms the existence of a pattern of American economic support for South neo-colonialism of the 3rd All-African People's Conference is summarized in an appendix.

6 THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA, by "Sandor" (Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth St., London SW1, U.K. 50¢), is somewhat dated (1963) but remains one of the best analyses of South African politics. It analyzes government policies, the divisions between the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the South African economy and the sabotage and guerilla movements.

7 SOUTH AFRICAN CRISIS AND UNITED STATES POLICY (American Committee on Africa, address above, \$1) is a 1962 pamphlet outlining the situation in South Africa and the role of U.S. government and business in upholding the Verwoerd government.

Penquin African Library: **THE PEASANT'S REVOLT**, by Govan Mbeki, tells of the resistance to creation of the first "bantustan" in the Transkei; **SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA**, ed. by Ronald Segal, states the case for a world boycott of trade with S.A.; **SOUTH WEST AFRICA**, by Ruth First, deals with S.A.'s "trusteeship"; **THE RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REICH**, by Brian Bunting, draws parallels between apartheid and nazism.

9 The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Box 4068, Santa

African apartheid, we recommend consideration of the following possible legislative actions:—

1. Passage of an Act requiring that American firms list publicly all investments and operations in South Africa, as well as all South African investments and operations of wholly or partly owned subsidiaries or other firms in which they have interests.

2. Passage of an Act requiring the firms covered by (1) above to report periodically on working conditions and, especially, on racially restrictive employment practices, in their South African enterprises.

3. Enactment of a surtax on corporate profits from investments and operations in South Africa; this would be designed to discourage new investment. (b) Enactment of a heavy surtax designed to encourage withdrawal by American firms already investing or operating in South Africa.

4. Enactment of a partial or total embargo on trade between the United States and South Africa, and on trade channelled from either to the other through third countries.

*SOURCES: Africa Report, March, 1964 (Special issue, "Partners in Apartheid"); research by members of Students for a Democratic Society, January-February, 1965; research by SDS/American Committee on Africa Summer Project, 1965.

**E.g.: Chase Manhattan Bank; Dillon, Read & Co. (see below); Chrysler (currently building extensive new facilities); Socony Mobil (chief supplier of oil); American Metal Climax (owns largest mine in South-West Africa); Boeing (sent advisers for construction of military aircraft, circumventing U.S. embargo on military supplies). A complete list is available from this office.

***The others have not been publicly identified. As of early 1965, they were: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Bank of America, Bankers Trust Co., Chemical Bank New York Trust Co., Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., First National Bank of Chicago, Irving Trust Co. and (since 1963) Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Co.

Barbara, Calif.) has a tape "South Africa's Racial Problem".

10 Chapters and regions should enquire to the A.C.O.A. (address above) about the CBS film "Sabotage in South Africa". Regional coordination of film showings would be desirable.

11 The Alexander Defense Committee (Box 345, Canal St. Station, New York 10013) has reprinted I.B. Tabata's Presidential Address to the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (1962).

Film

How many groups would be interested in a showing of "Come Back Africa"? This feature film was shot on an "underground" basis in South Africa, and starred a then-unknown young singer named Miriam Makeba. It is a graphic account of the conditions of African laborers in the cities. The normal rent on this is \$75-\$100 depending on audience size, but we may be able to get a rate if enough people are interested. Write to Tom Condit c/o the N.O.

We have enough material for mimeographed pamphlets on the Rhodesian crisis and on South West Africa. We will put them out if enough people want them to cover production costs. Write to Tom Condit (c/o the National Office).

Recent publications on South Africa

by Tom Condit

1 A new printing of the SDS pamphlet "South Africa: The Meaning of Apartheid" will be ready by the time you receive this. The pamphlet will be offset, priced at 10¢ (5¢ in bundles).

2 A new edition of "U.S. Investment in South Africa: A Web of Power" is in preparation and will be ready soon.

3 The Jan.-Feb. issue of **AFRICA TODAY** has been delayed in production but will be out soon. It is a special extra-size issue containing the results of last summer's South African research project of the American Committee on Africa. This comprehensive survey of the South African economy has detailed reports on Banking and Finance, the Motor Industry, Labor in South Africa (with a separate section on mine labor), the Mineral and Metal Industry, Oil, etc., as well as a special section on Charles Engelhard. Price of the oversize issue has not been

N.O. FINANCIAL REPORT

The following report for the month of January, 1966, is for the National Office only. It does not include regional offices, projects, or chapters.

January Income		January Expenses	
Dues	\$ 311.00	Salaries	\$ 1,567.50
Literature sales	634.52	Rent, phone, utilities	1,180.97
Contributions	6,538.43	Office supplies	634.42
Monthly pledges	21.64	Postage	498.90
Conference receipts	2,533.54	Paper & printing	1,482.22
Subscriptions	177.00	Advertising	208.40
Misc.	31.00	Travel	80.00
	\$10,247.13	Conference expenses	3,243.23
		Legal fees	120.00
		Equipment purchase	111.38
		Petty cash	22.00
		Loans repaid	1,000.00
		Sent to projects	270.00
			\$10,419.02

Notes: The National Council meeting in the first week in January mandated the National Office to limit its expenditures to \$4,000 a month, with the excess to be distributed in a prescribed manner to the regional offices, ERAP projects, etc. Certain expenditures, e.g. December Conference and NC, clearly are not intended to fall within the \$4,000.00. If we subtracted from the January expenditures (1) Conference expenditures, (2) loan repayments, (3) the salaries of our Midwest traveler (Jack Kittredge) and Chicago organizer (Greg Kaslo), and (4) the payment of over \$1,000 in old debts incurred during November and December, then we find that the National Office still expended

more than \$4,500 on its January operations. The large salary expense resulted from the fact that salaries were sharply raised (to \$30/wk.) to allow staff members to save enough money during January to arrange their own housing during February when the staff apartments will be discontinued. Thus in February rents and utilities will decrease, and the staff will be smaller. It is anticipated that the NAC will limit February expenditures to compensate for January's over-expenditure.

C. Clark Kissinger

NC BALLOT

Editor's note: Both of the proposals below were passed overwhelmingly during the weaning hours of the January N.C. It was felt though that a full NC ballot was needed. This ballot was sent out in the mail several days ago to individuals in most chapters. However, since it is altogether possible that some chapters would not know about the ballot, it is being given wider circulation here. Each chapter is allowed one NC delegate—one vote per 25 national members or fraction thereof. Votes should be sent in immediately.

Ann Arbor Defense

VOICE sponsored a sit-in at the Ann Arbor draft board in October and 13 of the defendants have lost their 2-S student deferments. State Selective Service director Holmes and General Hershey have both explained this as an attempt to forestall future draft board sit-ins—Gen. Hershey says that reclassifications are more expeditious than the courts are in dealing with the students. Legal defense of the group is being handled by the Michigan ACLU.

Proposal

SDS chapters would initiate petitions to local draft boards demanding that they promise to not use the Draft as a weapon of silencing political dissent. These would be carried to the Boards (especially those which have reclassified the Michigan people) by large delegations, either on the same day all over the country or on the days of local draft board meetings; hopefully this would occur in February.

The delegations would:

1. ask for a pledge to not use the draft to silence dissent;
2. challenge the draft board members to public debate on the question; and
3. announce themselves as opponents of the war.

National coordination would be handled from Chicago and Ann Arbor.

Freedom Draft

Proposed text

"I want to work for democracy. I do not want to fight in Vietnam because the war is destroying our hopes for democracy both there and at home. I want to build, not burn. The efforts of many young Americans in Civil Rights and community organization are prime examples of what I want to do."

Specific objectives

1. To allow tens of thousands of young people who cannot conceive of joining in more militant forms of protest an additional channel of stating opposition to the war, and thereby demonstrate the fact that American youth do in fact desire alternatives to the war and personal alternatives to the draft.
2. To give us a chance to elaborate our domestic critique at the same time as our critique of the war.
3. To confront young people with the question: "bomb or build?" and with the possibility of committing their lives to ERAP and similar work.
4. The registration tables for the Freedom Draft would be a focus of organizing new people into opposition to the war, and of recruiting for decent programs. These tables would be a good device for introducing SDS to a college or high school.

Mechanics

The draft card is made of three detachable sections: a post card which is sent to LBJ; a card which is carried by the signer, and a card which is given to the "registrars" and eventually is sent to the central depository in Chicago in order that a national total can be announced.

Mailings of information about ERAP might be sent to the signers. A Movement of Many Voices would be reprinted and would be as much a part of the Freedom Draft registration tables as literature on the war, our C.O. handbook, etc.

ANN ARBOR DEFENSE

YES _____

NO _____

ABSTAIN _____

Name _____

Address _____

Chapter _____

FREEDOM DRAFT

YES _____

NO _____

ABSTAIN _____

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.

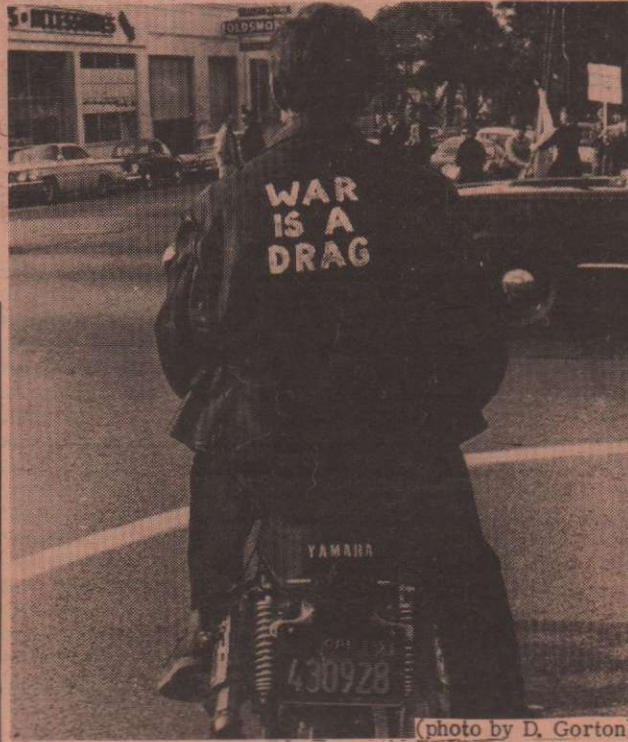
Students for a Democratic Society

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. 4

February 11, 1966



(photo by D. Gorton)

North Carolina

Continued from page 1 involving subversive activity.

That law became immediate controversy when the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Inc. threatened to revoke the accreditation of the 13 state-supported colleges.

Recently the law was amended to give the trustees the authority to regulate the appearance of such speakers. The trustees, in return assured the Legislature that the speakers would only be allowed infrequently and only if they served a valid educational purpose—thus, the rationale for their action.

Food strike

Continued from page 1 the group was ordered by the assistant vice-president of the university to either stop distributing literature or leave the campus. We feel that these people have been denied their freedom of speech. Plans are being made to bring the "free speech" issue out in the open. This is just the beginning and far from the end of a new campus controversy.

ERROR

The demonstration written about in the Pg. 1 story entitled "Welfare Victory" in the last issue took place in Boston. The identifying city was left off the headline by an oversight.

National Secretary's report

Continued from page 2

NICNAC a legitimate and needed publication. The feeling of the NAC was that it couldn't make that decision before consulting the regional offices. The argument for continuing to carry material that appears in New Left Notes is that it is a crucial difference to regional offices to

get the stuff 4-8 days in advance.

One possible solution outlined at the meeting would be to send out NAC Regional Office mailings, and to send occasional mailings to the National Interim Committee as warranted by political developments. New Left Notes just seems to be an inefficient means for decentralizing administrative insights if the goal is indeed to make the regional offices function like national offices in their areas.

CURRENT LIT. LIST

detach and send to National Office

General SDS Items	
—The Port Huron Statement	\$.35
—SDS Bulletin, December, 1965	.25
—December Conference: Set of working papers	2.00
—Tom Hayden: Student Social Action	.10
—Sidney Lens: The New Left and the Establishment	.10
—Staughton Lynd: The New Radicals and Participatory Democracy	.10
—Mademoselle: New Voices on Campus	.10
—Call to the March on Washington	.10
—Carl Oglesby: "Let us Shape the Future" (speech at March on Washington)	.10
—Carl Oglesby: "Democracy is Nothing if it is not Dangerous," speech on the question of exclusionism	.05
—Paul Potter: Speech at the April 17 March on Washington	.10
—New Left Notes (all back numbers are available)	.10
—"sds" button	.10

Peace and Foreign Policy

Paul Booth: Military and Social spending: How are they related?	.05
Theodore Draper: The Roots of the Dominican Crisis (LID)	.25
Todd Gitlin: Deterrence and Reality, where strategy comes from	.10
Todd Gitlin: Notes on Arguing about Vietnam	.05
Guide to Conscientious Objection	.10
Christopher Z. Hobson: Vietnam: Any Way Out?	.10
Peace—in the College Curriculum, a resource kit	.10

—Paul Potter: The University and the Cold War	.10
—Viet-Report (Nos. 1 & 2 available)	.30
—Lee Webb: Churches and the War	.10
—Lee Webb: Vietnam and the Unions	.10
—"Why are We Burning, Torturing, Killing the People of Vietnam" (large poster)	2.50
Domestic	
—Thomas Brooks: To Build a New World, a brief history of American Labor (LID)	.35
—W. H. Ferry: Economic Institutions and Democracy	.20
—Tom Gish: This is the War that Is: the failure of the poverty program in Eastern Kentucky	.10
—Philip Green: Syllabus on the Political Framework of decision-making	.10
—Tom Hayden and Eugene Feingold: Politics 1965	.10
—Bob Heifitz: Eastern Kentucky, a Draft Program	.10
—What is JOIN?	.10
—Ralph Kaplan: Bibliography on University Reform	.10
—C. Clark Kissinger: The Bruns Strike: a case study of student participation in labor	.10
—Kim Moody: thoughts on organizing Poor Whites	.05
—Bob Ross: Whose Welfare? Notes on the Welfare State	.10
—Tom Jacobson: Unions and the Working Student	.10
—Steven Rosenthal: Study Guide and Bibliography on Vietnam	.10
—Lee Webb: Bibliography on the American Economy	.10
—Carl Wittman: Syllabus for a Seminar on Marxism	.10
—Mike Zweig: Eastern Kentucky in Perspective	.05