

# eastland strikes at new left

The Hon. James O. Eastland, Senator from a plantation in Sunflower County, Mississippi, and Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, has leaked to the press his intention to introduce a new comprehensive anti-subversion bill. This comes in the wake of Supreme Court decisions setting aside most of the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (the McCarran Act).

Eastland pledged to begin making detailed speeches soon revealing the extent of Communist infiltration of peace, war on poverty, and student movements. The new legislation apparently will be aimed at "infiltration" rather than another attempt to outlaw the Communist Party (CP) as an organization.

The hearings which will follow the speeches are apparently aiming at avoiding the "witch-hunt" label and securing the active cooperation of the Justice Department. The FBI is expected to "surface" several undercover agents working in the movements to "name names".

The potential targets of both the hearings and the legislation include the DuBois Clubs, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, local war on poverty advisory boards, and independent community organizations, as well as SNCC and SDS. During the last few weeks the National Office has been repeatedly notified by local chapters of attempts by the FBI to get their local membership lists, apparently for the pur-

pose of seeking membership overlaps with "officially subversive" organizations.

If the coming hearings run true to form, they will concentrate on naming members of the CP working in other organizations. The government's fetish-like preoccupation with the CP as an organization may be broken this year, however, by the inclusion of the Progressive Labor Party in the list of officially recognized demons. The hearings, of course, will serve little or no legislative purpose and will concentrate on trying to illegitimize movement organizations.

All SDS members ought to be tho-

roughly aware of how this procedure of exposure works and be prepared to combat it. And members ought not to be surprised when SDS's turn comes up for "exposure". Although the new left has always made clear the basic incompatibility of Leninism with its conception of democracy, participation in movement has been based on the honesty and commitment of the individual - rejecting the mechanical "screening procedures" of the McCarthy period. Quite naturally, SDS has a small membership overlap with every liberal and left-wing organization in the country.

(continued on page 8)

## comments on oglesby

from chicago

In his report from Italy Carl Oglesby presents a mishmash of factual error, false impressions and baseless predictions. Militancy based on an effective radical analysis of society may have a future; but based on divorce from reality it can only lead to disillusionment.

Some specifics: According to Oglesby, in the 1963 elections the Christian Democrats received 9 million votes, the Communists 8, Socialists 3, Republicans 1, Social Democrats 1/2. The correct figures were: CD 9, Communists 6, Socialists 3, Social Democrats 1 1/2, Republicans 1/2. This gives a different picture of the relationship of forces, to put it mildly.

Next specific: "the PSIUP, formed after the last elections when Nenni took PSI into the government". But the PSIUP participated in the elections, getting 2% of the total vote!

from new york city

The Italian left has asked Oglesby the right questions (1) the role of the working class in the anti-war movement (2) when will the new left get an ideology, e.g. will it become both anti-capitalist and revolutionary socialist in its perspectives (3) when will it become political. It seems to me that the time is at hand for a widespread discussion within SDS and all "new left" ranks about these issues.

The question about the role of the workers in the development of the left in America is not merely a reflection of "social pathos and class nostalgia." High wages and low unemployment cannot explain the failure of any significant section of American workers to develop class conscious socialist commitment,

"It was Togliatti who, in 1960, with Italy paralyzed by a general strike . . . refused to take the power that was virtually within the palm of his hand". I don't read Italian, but I read French. All through the 1960 crisis, I read regularly the French new left publications that were sympathetic to the youthful left elements, particularly in the left of the PSU, that were directly responsible for the anti-Tamboni demonstrations. These were *France-Observateur*, and *Tribune Socialiste*, organ of the PSU. Never did I read a claim that the Communists or the left generally could have taken power then.

Oglesby's claim that the PCI doesn't want 51% of the votes in the near future is a senseless statement. Since as he says "they don't see it", this means that 51% could come about only under different conditions. If such conditions did come about, what would they do, tell people not to vote for them? Oglesby says they do foresee 35%. As party rhetoric such figures may be thrown around. But the history of Italy in the past twenty years shows the same pattern of very slight percentage change in voting patterns that has been characteristic of all Western Europe parliamentary regimes during that time.

(continued on page 8)

or militant opposition to the war. Nor can we afford to dismiss the concern with working class passivity or outright hostility against political dissent in our country.

European workers may not be revolutionary in this period of their own relative prosperity. But they vote socialist and create crises for non-socialist

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## may 1 nac minutes

The NAC meeting was attended by members Mike Goldfield, Lee Webb, Bob Speck, and alternatives Paul Booth and Aerlin Weissman. Eric Chester was also there.

The NAC voted to send \$150 to the L.A. region, so that it could pay debts necessary for its continued existence. Pam Smith of The Iowa-Missouri region and Jane Adams of the Kansas-Nebraska region were also given \$50 each. The NAC voted to urge these regions to become self-sufficient and not to rely on funds from the NO.

A fund-raising series of showings of the movie *Salt of the Earth* will be held in Chicago. The NAC voted to make the first night an event and have speakers from SDS and community groups. Tickets to adults will be \$3 or \$4 night and students \$1.50.

Rich Berkowitz and Eric Chester were added to the national staff.

Bob Speck will remain editor of the New Left Notes until another person volunteers. The paper will remain eight pages long when there is enough copy and articles of analysis will be encouraged. Anyone wishing to be editor will work with Speck for some time to find out how the paper operates.

Discussion then returned to the Vietnam Test Program. Booth read the draft of a statement for a press con-

ference to launch the test program. The draft contained a radical criticism of the war and the discussed the class bias the draft and the test. Webb disagreed with the draft statement and thought it should concentrate on the test program itself. He said that there would be a great deal of criticism by chapters which would feel the NO had formulated national policy without consulting the membership's approval. Booth, Speck, and Chester thought it was important to use the press conference as a platform for presenting a radical position and that the membership had opposed both the war and the test. They felt that the test program itself would be fully explored in the question period. It was decided that Booth should discuss the nature of the war, the draft, and the test.

The press conference was set for Tuesday May 3, on the step of the Selective Service System in Washington. Prof. Dowd of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy joined Booth. Only eight reporters showed up and little national publicity developed. The NAC voted that some staffers should go to SRA and talk with the people there. The press was called but none showed.

## new left notes

an internal newspaper of  
students for a democratic society

1103 e. 63rd st.

chicago, ill. 60637

Vol. 1, No. 16 let the people decide

May 6, 1966

## gross erratum

Two serious errors were made in reproducing my article about community activities in Boston in the issue of April 24, p 4. First -- a whole half of the article, the part in the middle describing somebody's philosophy about Freedom Schools, this whole section of the article was not written by me, was not in the article I sent in, does not describe anything that is going on in Boston, and I wish I knew how this piece got stuck into the middle of my article. It gives a very misleading impression. I emphasize, the whole middle of the article, from the second paragraph after number 2 till the second paragraph in the last column, is somebody else's article and does not refer to Boston.

Second -- the Boston "project" is not planning the school, as the headline mistakenly implies. The school

is being planned by a group of parents from the community. They originated the idea, they are planning it, they are organizing it, it is their school. I thought I explained carefully in the last part of the article, that we can no longer properly be regarded as a "project", and thus the headline was ill chosen on two accounts.

peace  
Larry Gordon,  
Roxbury, Mass.

Ed. Note: I agree that it was a gross error, but I still cannot discover how it was done, for the copy that I typed and had justified included the mistake. This indicates to me that I typed the copy as part of one article. Now, confusion grips me as I don't know who sent in the other article.

## sunyab students sit-in

As this is being written, approximately forty State University of New York at Buffalo students are staging a sit-in in the anterooms of the President of the University, Dr. Clifford Furnas. The sit-in was precipitated by a refusal by Dr. Furnas to discuss in public meeting the University's complicity with the Selective Service system concerning the upcoming draft deferment examinations. It was Furnas' contention that no real conflict of functions would result from the use of University facilities for the administration of the exam, empirical evidence (if any was needed) of the power elite syndrome and pervasiveness of the military-industrial complex. Furnas, it might be added, is a former Undersecretary of Defense and presently holds a position on the board of directors of the Marine Midland Trust Co. of Western New York.

What had started out as a request to the President that he take part in

## hershey tours?

The Indiana University Committee to End the War held a mass rally to coincide with the appearance of General Hershey. Several SDS members spoke at the rally of the effects on civil liberties of the war and specifically of Hershey's abuse of the draft. The rally, attended by 250 people, then turned into a march and picket line at the convocation hall. A group of 500 well organized hecklers threw eggs occasionally but there was no real violence. Some of the picketers then went inside and denounced Hershey for reclassifying students for sitting in at the Ann Arbor draft board.

At Dartmouth, April 9, 75 persons were at a rally denouncing the appearance of Hershey at that school. Hershey is now on a tour of campuses. Can he go anywhere without being met with militant protests?

a public meeting on the SUNY/B campus, has turned into a determined effort to demonstrate to the University the significance of the question of student and faculty involvement in those decisions which affect their lives and academic careers. In response to the Administration's repeated refusals to accede to the group's requests for the President's appearance at a meeting to explore the relation of the University and the Selective Service and the essentially unfair nature of student deferment, these students have proposed to sit in the President's offices until they can come to a satisfactory arrangement with the University administration.

Members of the University faculty have expressed a growing support for this movement on the issue of academic freedom. The statements which these members of the academic community signed yesterday afternoon have grown in numbers. According to some members of the sit-in group, there is a possibility that student sympathy demonstrations may take place as far away as Boston, San Francisco, and Berkeley.

Rick Salter

## sf state bows

The San Francisco State VDC and SDS have succeeded in stopping the tests from being held on campus. The Faculty Senate had unanimously passed a motion stating that "the registrar not circulate or record class standings." "The college not allow its facilities to be used for giving the college qualification test." The VDC also threatened to massively demonstrate against the test. As a result of this pressure, the university has cancelled the contracts for the holding of all the tests on campus. The chapter intends to continue to exert pressure to force the university to end ranking.

# sf state resolution

Whereas the director of Selective Service has recently promulgated the utilization by local draft boards of class standings and college qualification scores as criteria for determining student draft status, and whereas students who emerge from backgrounds of relative cultural deprivation or who are forced by economic necessity to work while attending college will be unfairly disadvantaged by such criteria, and whereas students whose predilections and most developed capacities are in the arts and humanities will be unfairly disadvantaged in competing with students in sciences, because the examination prepared and administered by the "Science Research Associates of Chicago" is seriously skewed toward the measurement of scientific problem solving, and whereas these criteria must inevitably subvert the best efforts of faculties committed to realizing the liberalizing potential of higher education because the competition for grades resulting from such criteria will discourage students from exploring academic areas and activities in which they are unsure of abilities to receive high grades, and whereas grades and test scores do, in fact, possess a measurable reliability for estimating the likelihood that a student will receive similar grades and test scores in similar courses or on similar examinations, but are neither demon-

strably nor apparently valid determinants of the degree to which a student may derive life-time benefits from his educational experience, nor of the degree to which he deserves to share in that experience to the best of his ability, nor, certainly, of the degree to which he deserves to live or die.

Therefore be it resolved that the Academic Senate of San Francisco State College deplores the utilization of class standings or examination scores as criteria for determining student draft status and recommends that the President instruct that:

- 1) the registrar will not calculate or record class standings
- 2) the College will not afford its facilities to the Science Research Associates of Chicago for the administration of the College Qualification Test
- 3) the current policy of submitting individual student transcripts (not class standing) to requesting agencies only at the request of the student involved will be continued
- 4) On receipt of requests for class standings of facilities for the examination the requesting agency will be informed of this decision and its rationale.

adopted April 26, 1966

## short wave net work

During my travels around the states I was continuously confronted with people who wanted to know what was happening in the movement in other areas. These people were in agreement that publications and travelers fell short of providing adequate communication throughout the country. Obviously a means of communication was needed which would provide more personal contact and stimulate a greater feeling of involvement in a truly national movement.

A shortwave communications system throughout the country could quite possibly fulfill this need. There are undoubtedly licensed radio operators in or at least friendly to the movement, and in areas where there aren't people can obtain licenses and dig up

equipment without much difficulty. In hopes that this seemingly untapped resource can be utilized I am sending out a plea that interested people contact me. If there is an encouraging response, I will compile a list of names, addresses, call letters and other pertinent information and send a copy to each person who has contacted me. Possibly a complete list could be published in New Left Notes at a later date. Regardless of the success of this on a national scale, each participant will be benefitted.

p. f. & l.  
Bill Stanley  
P.O. Box 7098  
University Station  
Austin, Texas 78712

# delano summer student project

FARM WORKERS want to be organized so that they can have enough power to change their situation. Students of good will can help the workers struggle with their social, economic, political problems by becoming part of the NFWA (National Farm Workers Association) organizing effort. You can help the trabajadores campesinos bring the full story of the grape strike and their demands for justice to people everywhere.

### THE SUMMER'S JOB

1. BOYCOTT AND SUPPORT. A nationwide network of boycott staff is being established to reduce the sales and image of Delano growers who fail to recognize their organized workers. Boycott activities will include direct action, picketing, public education, and organizing wide-spread community support. The farm worker's cause has drawn together churches, union locals, minority and civil rights groups, student movements, and other community organizations in strike support and joint action for social justice. Some students will have a part in coordinating this force and participating in these organizations on behalf of NFWA in cities across the nation.

2. REACHING THE UNORGANIZED WORKERS. Many teams of organized farm-workers and students will go out from the strike zone to carry the story in California, the Southwest and Mexico, keeping scabs out and signing work-

ers for la causa.

3. OTHER ASSIGNMENTS will be made to take advantage of special skills student volunteers might have.

### THE DELANO GRAPE STRIKE

California's farm labor history is a story of human misery. Ever since the Indians were enslaved by the Spanish invaders, succeeding waves of Asians, Grapes of Wrath folk and Mexicans have fed the cheap labor supply of wealthy agri-business. After years of exclusion from the legislation and organization which improved the lot of other American workers, today southern Negro and western Spanish-speaking farm workers are fighting their way out of the trap. They have been ignored oppressed; cheated, and at best patronized. This is no longer going to happen; thanks to the non-violent revolution of which NFWA is a dramatic and indigenous part.

Since 1962 Cesar Chavez has been creating this unique organization, beginning in Delano. He started at night, working in the fields by day. Today his tiny band of co-workers has grown to over 2000 family members, paying \$3.50 monthly (until the strike) for newspaper, insurance, funeral society, coop, credit union, health clinic, legal aid, children's activities, a theatrical troupe, and staff services to fight for a member's rights.

In September, 1965, the NFWA joined a strike begun by AWOC (AFL-CIO)

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Editor, Speck

### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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let the people decide

May 6, 1966

## propose constitutional amendments

Ed note: The following two amendments to the SDS constitution are being submitted to the national convention in August-September for approval.

The purpose of this amendment, frankly, is to have the SDS Constitution reflect reality. On October 6, all relationships between SDS and the LID ceased, having been ratified by the LID board and the SDS National Council. The Constitution, however, with many sections and sentences relating to the LID, remained unchanged.

The cause of such an anomalous situation was that the Constitution can only be amended by either a convention of the organization, or a membership referendum. As neither was done, the following amendment became necessary.

I move that:

- a) the present Article II be stricken and all subsequent articles be renumbered accordingly
- b) that in Article VI (National Council) Section 2 the third and last sentence the words ". . . the LID and . . ." and ". . . coordination of relation with the LID . . ." be stricken so that the sentence read be stricken so that the sentence read as follows:

(1)  
. . . the NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration

of the budget and organization of fund raising; interviewing and appointment of the National Secretary and other such staff as budget allows; appointment of committee chairman and representatives to other organizations, overseeing the functioning of the Administrative Committee; drafting an annual report; and making arrangements for the Convention.

(2)

The NAC shall have the following functions: to oversee the regular operations of the National Office and staff, including correspondence, membership, and financial records, coordinate the program and activities of chapters; to implement decisions of the National Council.

### CONSTITUTIONAL AMMENDMENT ON INTERNAL EDUCATION

#### ARTICLE: IX

Section 4: The National Vice President is responsible for internal education. He is to stimulate and coordinate educational programs within SDS. He shall be responsible to the President and National Council.

present Section 4 becomes Section 5.  
submitted by  
Lee Webb

in Delano's grapes. They developed the roving picket lines needed to cope with a "factory" of 400 square miles with over 10,000 "entrances". They found the scabs and talked them out of the fields despite furious growers, hired bun-men "guards", vicious dogs; police intimidation.

Strike-breakers were brought hundreds of miles without being told of the strike. October 19, 44 pickets were arrested testing the constitutionality of police restrictions by calling !Huelga! (Strike!) into a field.

A boycott began since the workers were denied the dignity of collective bargaining. SNCC, SDS, CORE, church groups and others gave invaluable support. The workers made a 300 mile pilgrimage to Sacramento, bringing the revolution throughout California. Thousands joined them.

Now first steps toward possible recognition have begun and Schenley's has been released from the boycott. But this is only the beginning. Farm workers are on the move and will keep marching until the agribusiness system grants them justice. JOIN THEM!

Many organizations stand with the NFWA in encouraging you to join la causa.

Among them are the following:  
(partial listing, time was very short)

- National Student Association
- National Student Christian Federation (representing many denominational student groups)
- Young Christian Students

- Student Committee for Agricultural Labor (Berkeley) and similar committees at UCLA and other campuses

California SNCC

- Students for a Democratic Society

#### DETAILS

Upon receiving the application blank, and with a letter explaining why you are interested, NFWA will send you notice of acceptance or rejection. Those accepted will be asked for further information and for \$10.00 registration fee, and will receive further information from us. Once project workers arrive at the training session on June 19, NFWA will provide "subsistence" -- food, shelter, travel. However, we are dependent on contributions. You ought to raise as much as possible. Start now!

For information and/or application forms write or call person to person, your expense, to Gene Boutilier, Fresno, (209) 227-1350 or Delano, (805) 725-0751.

#### IF YOU CANNOT COME:

-- send funds, personally, and get support from organizations for the NFWA Student Summer Project, Box 894, Delano, California.

- write your representatives in government about justice for agricultural labor; especially minimum wage, unemployment insurance, collective bargaining rights.

-- work in your own community on the boycott. Write for details.

**HUELGA!** **NFWA**

The New England Region of SDS, because of its size and diversity has slowly and, as yet, unsatisfactorily been developing a relevant regional structure. This difficulty was not to be unexpected as the experience alone of establishing a region was bound to introduce problems which could only be solved with the experience of time. Many such problems have been solved but the largest remains. The regional office, overloaded and overworked, has been unable to serve the region as a whole and in this sense it has failed. The major impediment to improving our structure has been to a large extent the result of a misconception.

Reasonably we fear the introduction and development of a Parkinsonian bureaucracy, a structure which by definition is the antithesis of a grass roots movement. Unreasonably, however, we often equate organizational efficiency with bureaucracy. Some would argue that what our region does not have and desperately needs is organizational efficiency and that in fact we are already burdened with an inefficient bureaucracy.

The following proposal should meet the needs of an efficient organization for the New England Region without developing beyond the control of each individual and each chapter. This depends, however, on a distinction to be made explicit which has been only implicit, if that, in the past. The distinction is between service and organizing. Organizers, must be in personal contact with whatever group is being organized. Service, on the other hand, need not be personal. The size of the area to be serviced is limited only by the capability of the servicing group to remain efficient and to continue to serve the needs of its constituents.

At present the regional office serves both functions (organizing and service) and as a result can serve neither adequately. Service, then, should be the primary function of the regional office and its organizing function would be carried out almost entirely by the campus traveler.

#### Service Function

The service functions that the regional office could perform are unlimited. To select as an example the University of Maine chapter and how the office could provide service to it will suggest only some of these ways. The chapter is a relatively weak chapter in terms of size and exists on a particularly hostile academic and socio-political environment. A simple but important need is free literature for distribution to members and to "hangars-on". The chapter feels this could be important in education the membership and the campus as well as greatly assisting organizing efforts on the campus.

In considering university reform U. Maine is denied the luxury of considerations such as philosophy of the curriculum as being studied at MIT in a seminar. The academic atmosphere is so hostile that the chapter members are intimidated in many ways: attempts have been made (almost successfully) to cancel a student loan; to speak out against the war in Viet Nam the members must go to a free speech area carefully placed in the most remote corner of the campus; ROTC members have seriously threatened SDS members with sufficient action on some of the threats to lead one member who lives alone to sleep with a Bowie knife by his bed.

University reform in such a context demands outside assistance. This could be forthcoming in a number of ways. Prominent New England professors could be selected to speak at the campus against the repressive academic life. Efforts could be made all over the region to highlight the campus repressions in newspapers both collegiate and other with well-written muck-raking articles. Finally a mass regional demonstration could be held at the campus to protest the treatment of student dissenters and the SDS chapter. The regional office could operate as a coordinating center for chapters on subregions assisting U. of Maine.

In addition, the chapter which exists

# new england regional development

## The Structure

### REGIONAL OFFICE

#### 1) Purpose

- a) Center for communication and information
- b) Assist in chapter organization and development
- c) Literature purchase for resale and for free campus distribution wherever necessary.
- d) Regional conference organization
- e) Major fund raising effort for the region

#### 2) Personnel

- a) Office Manager (paid)
- b) Fund raiser (paid)
- c) Campus traveler (paid)
- d) Newsletter Editor and Office Assistant (paid)

### SUBREGIONAL STRUCTURE

This depends upon the subregion. Unless a better organization is suggested there should be four subregions:

- 1) Eastern Mass., (2) Western Mass.,
- 3) Connecticut and Rhode Island, and
- 4) Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. In the Eastern Mass. subregion there is already a demand for an of-

fice (probably including a paid office manager). In the other subregions, the structure and organizing could be subsumed under the most active or central chapter in the area. It might also be a rotating responsibility if this seems possible and efficient. The personnel described for this structural level remains flexible and should depend upon the needs of each area. In Boston where the demand for efficient organization is probably greatest the subregion could be organized around a subregional office under the guidance of a subregional representative council.

#### 1) Purpose

- a) Coordinate action on sub-regional programs and issues
- b) Assist Chapter development
- c) Organize debates and speakers for the subregion
- d) Organize conference on topics of purely subregional interest
- e) Fund raising

#### 2) Personnel

- a) Office Manager (paid)
- b) Fund raiser (volunteer)
- c) Campus traveler (for local traveling and chapter assistance)
- d) Newsletter Editor (Only if a felt need not fulfilled by the regional newsletter)

#### 3) Composition

- a) Campus chapters
- b) High School chapters
- c) Adult chapters or issue groups
- d) At large chapters
- e) Dudley Street Action Center

### CHAPTERS

These would include all chapters in the subregion. Chapters would be defined in the same manner as within the national organization. Each chapter would structure itself as it saw fit and would fund raise from the group immediate to it (e.g. college chapters from the university community, adult chapters from the adults participating and their friends). If no such fund raising potential exists in terms of a chapter's constituency (e.g. Dudley Street) it would be done through the fund raiser for the subregion, or if necessary the regional fund raiser but with the personnel of the chapter.

The purpose of the chapter would be determined by that chapter.

### A DEMOCRATIC BODY

It seems imperative that if the New England Region is going to be an administrative area, as was originally intended and as has been proposed in the outline just presented, that it must also have a decision-making structure which permits maximum participation of all concerned individuals in the area.

There should be a regional council which would consist of a representative from each chapter (it's not necessary but desirable that he be the same for each meeting). The council would meet every four to six weeks depending upon the necessity of such a meeting.

In an organization which calls itself Students for a Democratic Society it is ironic to have to argue that there is a need for democratic structure.

In the past many of the chapters outside the Boston area have been loath to commit themselves to such a structure. This probably is based on two premises. First travel to Boston is an inconvenience or an improbability. This might be dealt with by rotating such a meeting around the region.

Second and probably more important the chapters see no reason to meet to discuss an office which has served the Boston area primarily and provides little more than a newsletter for the rest of the region. Presuming the structure as outlined in the proposal above it would seem this premise should no longer exist.

The proposal implies and demands significant increase in funds available to the region through a major fund-raising effort. These funds will be utilized for the region both in terms of services, as suggested above, and in

## sds & regions: san francisco view

### 1. Office.

There should be several levels of offices or functional units.

**A. Specialized-national.** There are several functions that would best be kept on the national level: New Left Notes; central office of the Radical Education Project; publication unit to handle such as PHS, Freedom Draft cards, bulk reprints and so forth that economy dictates be centralized although this doesn't argue for a huge outlay of cash for capital equipment but probably skilled use of existing business enterprises much as NLN is done.

I would put the national office in this category in that it handles certain specialized functions that can best be handled on the national level: maybe, but not necessarily, NLN; maybe, but not necessarily, publications; national fund raising; liaison with international unions of students; handling whatever coordination is needed between districts offices (or whatever they will be called); carrying out national programs if necessary; setting up or insuring that national meetings take place; filling gaps left by other offices.

**B. District offices or supra-regional or sub-national.** Offices should be formed or helped to further develop in four or five locations that could effectively service the entire country. These offices should attempt to duplicate for their region all the functions now performed by the NO, REP, and ERAP NO, etc. Literature should be printed and distributed by these offices. A regional newsletter, similar to the one put out by the San Francisco office should come out bi-weekly. Attempts should be made to work at high schools, college, and adult levels. Responsibility should be assumed for establishing large scale summer projects. Ideology and research projects and conferences should be sponsored. Contact with the region should be the responsibility of the district offices. To a large extent they should be a creature of the National Council.

**C. Regional offices.** District offices should encourage and help regional offices get started and develop. By necessity these offices would be smaller, probably far more dependent on volunteer staff, more involved with campus chapter coordination and development to the exclusion of other functions and more localization.

**D. Projects.** Here I include ERAP projects and other types of community or specialized projects. For example, the SDS Store Front/New School would be included. Hopefully, these would be encouraged, set up, help to be staffed, funded to some extent by the district office of the region it is in (helped, of course, by regional offices). Projects would be autonomous in the sense that ERAP projects now are.

**2. Decision making.** The question of who is to make decisions is extremely difficult and not one that can be solved at the present time. By necessity, the district offices are constantly in the process of developing new constituencies and in that sense organizing rather than servicing an existing membership. In what way should an existing college membership influence or determine what work is being done with high school students or adults? From what area do you draw a governing council for the work that a district office is doing?

Probably the national council and the convention should be maintained fairly much as it now exists. The question is whether those two groups should be retained to service the campus division of SDS or whether they should begin to be thought of as bridging constituencies in some fashion. It's really not realistic to expect junior high school chapters to be on an equal footing with the old guard of SDS. I guess I would prefer maintenance and slow evolution of an imperfect structure than experimentation of radically new ones. The openness and fluidity of the NC and the convention have much to speak for them, but I would think that by the

(continued on page 7)

(continued on page 6)

**ED. Note:** Pages four and five are reproduced from The Movement, Publication of San Francisco SNCC. We are reproducing these pages because they contain information relevant to the new phase of the Delano farm workers strike, which we feel that SDS should have for support activities.

## The National Farm Workers Association asks you:

# Please Don't Buy TREE-SWEET FRUIT JUICES S & W FINE FOODS

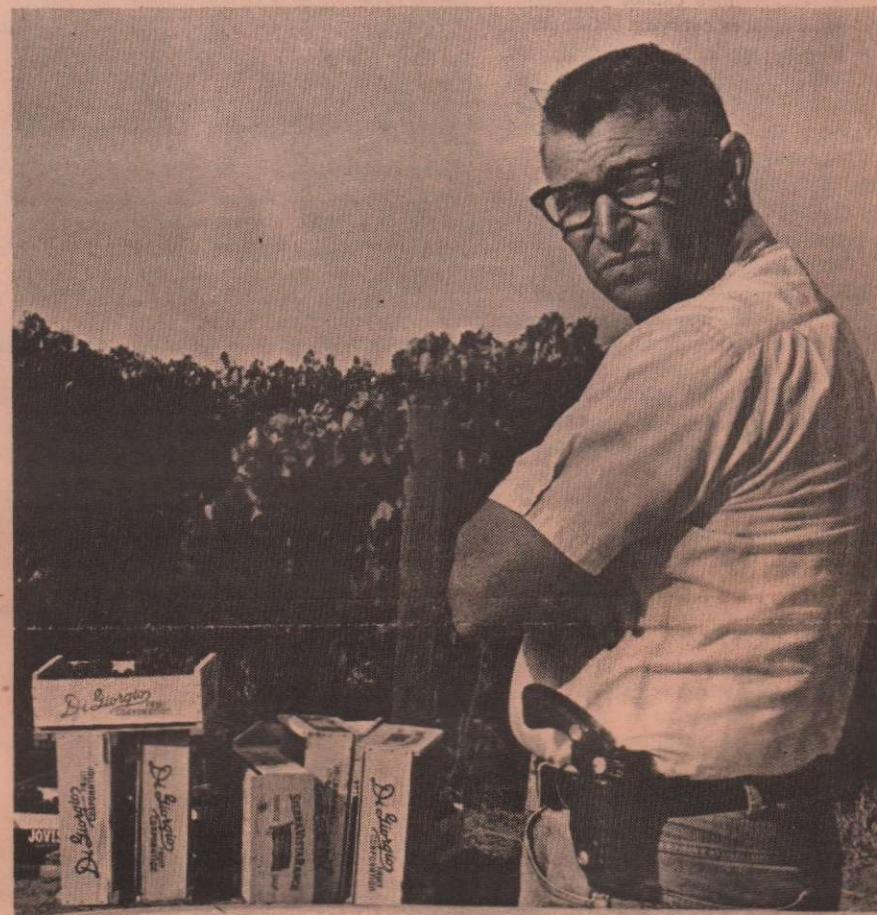
These are products of the DiGiorgio Corporation, the largest grower of grapes in the Delano area. It has employed farm workers at miserable wages for years.

3,000 farm workers have been on strike in Delano since September, 1965. Thousands more marched in the Pilgrimage to Sacramento. The Schenley Corporation broke down and negotiated. But the DiGiorgio Corporation will not grant UNION RECOGNITION and COLLECTIVE BARGAINING -- rights that should be taken for granted.

Instead it has made a fraudulent offer of elections among scab workers to see if they want a union. The strikers have already voted with their bodies, by going on strike. They have voted continuously for eight months. Those workers now working for DiGiorgio are scabs who went to work while other men starved for their rights.

Therefore, the NFWA is calling for a nationwide boycott of all DiGiorgio products, including S&W FINE FOODS and TREE-SWEET FRUIT JUICES, until DiGiorgio recognizes the NFWA as the sole bargaining agent for the DiGiorgio workers.

The DiGiorgio Corporation has a heart -- right in its pocketbook. YOU can hurt it there. Help the boycott! Help us succeed as we did against Schenley's!



George Ballis photo

**DIGIORGIO ARMED GUARD, Herschel Nunez.** On April 21, Nunez assaulted Delano striker Manuel Rosas, beating him on the side of the head with his nightstick. Rosas was hospitalized with 10 stitches. The incident broke up discussions of elections that were going on at the very same moment between the DiGiorgio Corporation and the NFWA.

## The DiGiorgio Struggle

Members of the National Farm Workers' Association have been on strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation's 4,600 acre Sierra Ranch since September 15, 1965. They are asking for union recognition and a wage raise from \$1.25 an hour and 10¢ a box of grapes, to \$1.40 an hour and 25¢ a box. Since they have won neither union recognition nor the wage raise, they are asking for your help in a consumers' boycott of DiGiorgio products.

The striking workers were not permitted to vote for or against a union before they walked off the job. Once they had walked off, the DiGiorgio Corporation began to bring in strike-breakers from other areas to work for more than the strikers had been getting themselves. When the strikers picketed the Sierra Vista Ranch to run back the scabs they were met with police harassment, threats of arrest for trespassing if they went on the land to speak to the scabs, and physical obstructions such as noise or clouds of dust from tractors run by supervisors while the scabs were in the field.

When the NFWA, with the help of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, stopped the loading of DiGiorgio grapes at the docks in San Francisco and Oakland, the corporation asked for a court injunction against union interference with its products. The injunction was refused.

As the unpicked grapes rotted on the vines and as the scabs mishandled the grapes they did pick, the growers, DiGiorgio included, insisted that there was no strike

going on, and even if there was one, it wasn't hurting them. More grapes were picked this year, they said, than ever before. Meanwhile, scabs began showing up from farther and farther away — from Stockton, Mexican nationals, even Arabs — and the corporation began changing the markings on its grape trucks and boxes to confuse the boycott workers. Pruning season came; the growers continued to deny that the picket line had any effect; and the DiGiorgio Corporation sued the National Farm Workers' Association for damages and loss.

The strike is costly to the strikers and it must be won. To dramatize their problem, as the civil rights movement has done, the striking workers set out on a 300-mile pilgrimage and organizing march up the San Joaquin Valley to Sacramento. Tremendous support developed during the 3-day march and by the end of it, Schenley's, the second largest Delano grower, had agreed to recognize NFWA and negotiate a wage raise. Unions and newspapers all over the country had come out in support of the strikers' demands. Governor Brown had seriously embarrassed himself by not showing up to meet the marchers at the Capitol Easter morning.

And then DiGiorgio offered elections. Elections to determine what union, if any, would represent the workers in the DiGiorgio fields. According to DiGiorgio, three "unions" would be parties to the elections — the Kern-Tulare Independent Farm Workers' Association, the Agricultural Workers'

Organizing Committee and the NFWA. The Independent Farm Workers' Association, as Senator Robert Kennedy proved in the recent farm labor hearings in Visalia, is not a workers' union at all, but a company union controlled by the DiGiorgio Corporation and its labor contractors. AWOC, the second proposed party to the elections, had not been on strike against DiGiorgio. Only the NFWA can represent the workers, but the DiGiorgio Corporation has refused to recognize the NFWA.

There were more problems. Although the NFWA supports the use of elections in labor disputes before a strike, none of its members are working for DiGiorgio any more — they are all on strike. In the "DiGiorgio elections" they won't even be able to vote!

And even more problems. Before the elections, all parties entering would have to agree to certain conditions. If they won, they would have to submit to compulsory arbitration of any future disagreement by an arbitration board of one company and one union representative, and a court appointee. The union would have to stick to the decision of this group — a rule rejected by all labor unions. Whether they won or not, none of the unions would be allowed to

strike or bring economic pressure such as a boycott either before, during or AFTER negotiations, even if the negotiations broke down.

In short, DiGiorgio demanded that the union accept ahead of time certain things that no union would agree to once it had sat down to the bargaining table.

Holding a free election, even among scabs, would be a problem in itself. Trespassing ordinances have always kept union organizers off the DiGiorgio land and away from the homes of farm workers living there. How could the union campaign? The day after DiGiorgio called for elections he held a meeting of all the scabs working for him. Anti-union speeches were made and the men were served free candy and soda pop. Was a union represented freely at this meeting? On Thursday, April 21, a DiGiorgio guard drew a gun on a woman striker who was trying to speak to the scabs, threw her to the ground and hit another picket on the side of the head, requiring ten stitches (see photo above). Is this free speech?

Our only alternative is to keep the pressure on the DiGiorgio Corporation with a boycott and strike until it makes an honest offer of union recognition and negotiations.

# Boycott Instructions

1. Call an emergency meeting of your group to form an ad hoc committee to aid the farm workers' strike. Delegates from interested and sympathetic groups: civil rights, church, union, . . . should also be invited.

2. Send a delegation to the Retail Clerks Union, inform them of the boycott, and ask their cooperation. They might (unofficially) advise a large chain-store not to buy DiGiorgio products. This union could also collect all canned foods returned by the chains and send them to the NFWA office in Delano for families of strikers.

3. Send a delegation to the management of selected chains and ask them officially not to buy DiGiorgio products. You may tell the management that you intend to use a consumer informational boycott; but you're forbidden by law to use threats of coercion or a general boycott of the store. Students should try to persuade their school cafeterias not to serve DiGiorgio products.

4. Set up -- AS SOON AS POSSIBLE -- an informational consumer picket in front of selected chains. This kind of informational picket means you hand out leaflets to all customers entering the store and ask them to respect the boycott.

IN ADDITION to this kind of picket line we would also like to see some lines with signs and placards urging customers not to buy these products.

5. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT -- in order to create the kind of persuasive tension that is needed in Delano -- to make every effort to publicize this boycott through the newspapers, radio and TV in your area.

6. This intensive and short-term effort to inform the consumer-public can be the best way to build future support for California farm workers who are fighting for their right of collective bargaining. IT IS UP TO YOU.

7. We are forbidden by law to boycott stores merely because they handle DiGiorgio products. Picket lines cannot encourage general boycotts by consumers of a store or by employees of stores carrying DiGiorgio products.

Viva la causa!

National Farm Workers Association, Box 894, Delano

## Another "DiGiorgio Election"

In an interesting interview in the Los Angeles Times, August 15, 1937, which appeared under the title "I Work, You Work; the Land Works," Mr. (Joseph) DiGiorgio set forth his views on labor organization. It seems some organizers appeared at his factory and said, "Mr. DiGiorgio, we're going to unionize your farm." "You're going to what?" he demanded. "My men are free men. You aren't going to do anything here they don't want done!" So concerned was Mr. DiGiorgio about the "freedom" of his employees, that he promptly called a meeting and addressed his men on the subject of unionization. "You know that one day the fruit is green," he orated, "and the next it's ready,

-- from *Factories in the Field*, by Carey McWilliams, 1939.

and the third and it's rotting. We're in the shipping business and it's got to move. How can you have a union? If you think you can, go ahead and try it. If this farm goes to hell your jobs go, too." The employees then "voted" and, after the vote was taken, announced the result. "Mr. DiGiorgio, we have voted." "That's a good American way," DiGiorgio replied. "Do you give your pay to those fellows in the city, or not?" To quote from the interview, "A smile flashed across the man's sunburned face. 'The men say nothin' doing,' 'Good,' said DiGiorgio, 'on the DiGiorgio farms we grow croos -- and men!'"

## BOYCOTT CHECK LIST

S&W FINE FOODS  
TREE-SWEET FRUIT JUICES  
Indian River  
Blue Flag  
Blue Parrot  
Broadway  
C&T Premium  
Doughtery  
Golden Peak  
Hi-Color

MacGills  
Verbena  
White Rose  
Redi-Tea  
Pique  
Premier  
Sun Vista Foods  
Sunnyland  
Jolly Farmer



# The Facts on DiGiorgio:

## The "Kublai Khan of Kern County"

### As Seen by a Grower Historian

The DiGiorgio Wine Company is owned by the famed DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, one of those legendary free enterprise success stories so characteristic of the United States and embracing the fabulous career of the late Joseph DiGiorgio, farmer, grower, entrepreneur extraordinary and founder of the great corporation that bears his name.

Giuseppe (Joe) DiGiorgio, who died in 1951 at the age of 77, rose from a lemon packer on his father's small farm at Sicily to the dynamic direction of a multimillion dollar agricultural organization to become as the press and the trade hailed him: "The Kublai Khan of Kern County" and "The Paul Bunyan of Agriculture."

Young Peppino, as he was called by his family, decided to leave the Sicilian seminary where he was enrolled, to seek his fortune in America. Armed only with a small consignment of his family's lemon crop, the fourteen year old boy landed in New York where he found work with an importer and fruit jobber at \$8 a week.

After a few years he moved to Baltimore, where he went into the jobbing business for himself. His chief interest at the time was bananas, for which Baltimore was the chief port. He obtained a loan from the Maryland National Bank and acquired his first corporate enterprise, the Monumental Trading Company. At the age of 21, he became a director of the bank.

In 1904 Joe DiGiorgio founded the Baltimore Fruit Exchange, cornerstone of the DiGiorgio auction business. In 1911 he purchased the Earl Fruit Co., a long established California shipper, and seven years later acquired some Florida citrus land, forerunners of the vast DiGiorgio holdings in California and Florida.

Not everything went Joe's way. He fought the United Fruit Company, giant of the banana industry, for his share of this profitable business in a running battle that was to last a quarter of a century but the going was rough. On the verge of bankruptcy he saved himself through a bold arrangement whereby he supplied Jamaican growers with Cuban and Mexican bananas so they could fulfill their commitments in the event of loss by hurricane. In return they provided him with the necessary banana bottoms (land) to make shipments to England and other European centers.

The DiGiorgio firm's eminence in pro-

duce auctioneering stems from its founder's early perception that the small grower and city jobber who supplies the small retailer both need a free, open and honest market. This led to the company owning a controlling interest in five major U.S. auction companies.

In 1919 Joe DiGiorgio acquired eighteen square miles of farmland in southern San Joaquin Valley, now officially designated as DiGiorgio, California. The land was wrested from the desert with the aid of pumped water, DiGiorgio remarking: "Fruit is nothing but water and labor and more labor and freight."

He foresaw that the Prohibition was doomed. In 1932, driving past the Italian Swiss Colony at Asti, Sonoma County, he stopped and decided to get into the business. This he did with such success that when National Distillers bought Italian Swiss Colony in 1942, DiGiorgio owned 37.5%.

DiGiorgio has many other interests including a resort area in Borrego Valley near Palm Springs, the Del Vista Winery at Delano and lumber mill operations in Oregon. While the Del Vista Winery was sold, at a handsome profit in 1945, the next year a modern winery, with a storage capacity of 9,500,000 gallons was constructed at DiGiorgio (Cal.), permitting further expansion of bulk wine production.

The senior DiGiorgio had no children but trained his nephews in the operation of the business. Following his death he was succeeded to the presidency by Joseph S. DiGiorgio while the brothers Philip and Joseph A. and another cousin, Robert DiGiorgio, are vice presidents of the giant enterprise, Robert also being president of the DiGiorgio Wine Company.

-- from *Guide to California Wines* by John Melville, 1960.

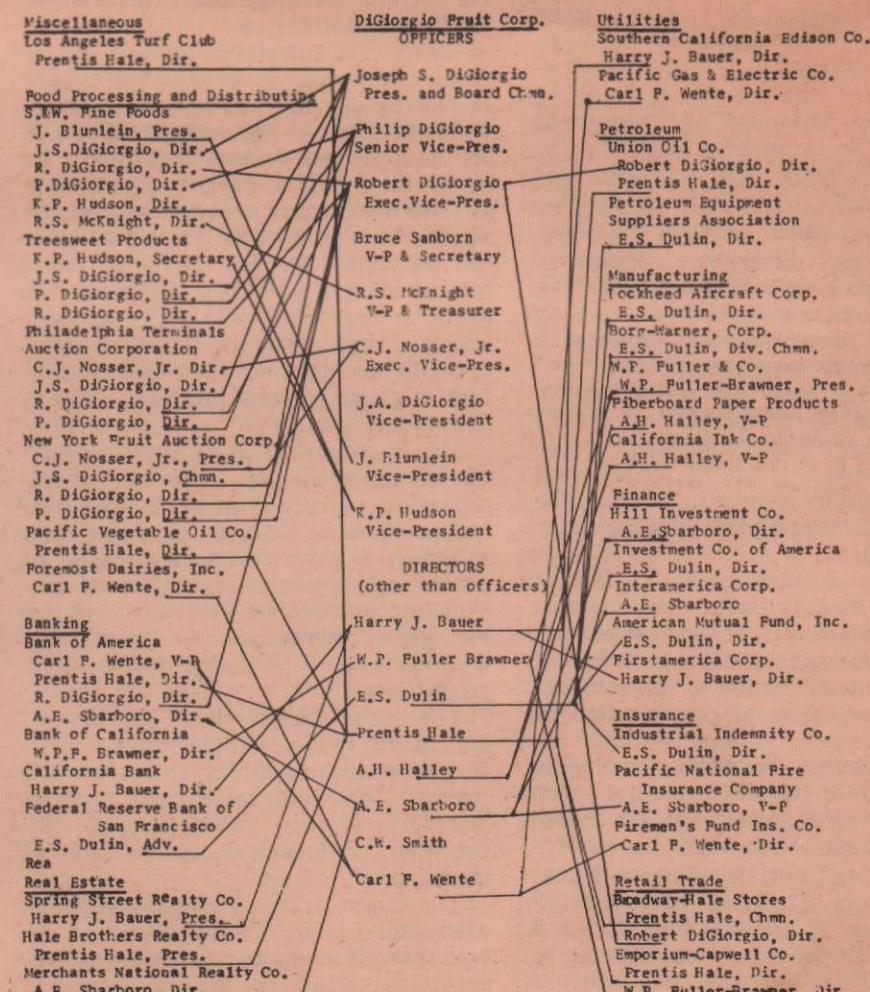
## DiGiorgio Corporation Today

The DiGiorgio Corporation's sales were \$132,389,000 in 1964. Its net income in that year was \$2,536,000. Its net income doubled between 1960 and 1964.

The corporation's assets are \$65,049,000. They include about 24,000 acres of land in grapes, citrus fruits, plums, pears, asparagus, potatoes, cotton, grain and other crops.

-- from *FARM LABOR*, V. 3, No. 3.

## DiGiorgio and His Cronies:



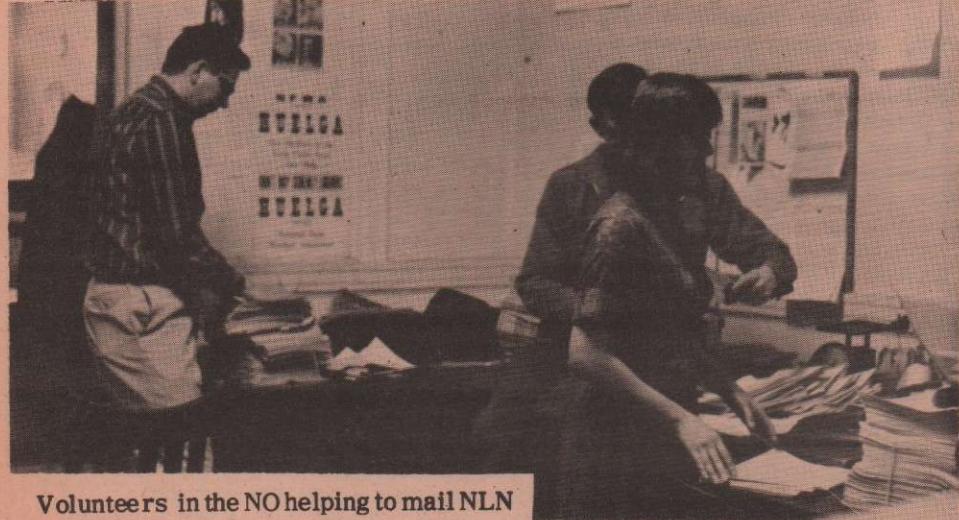
## new england regional development

(continued from page 3)

direct subsidy to needy chapters. In order to determine which chapters and intercampus activities demand subsidization, some democratic body is essential.

This is only one reason for a regional representative council. There are others unrelated to the specific structural proposal of this article, but of equal or greater importance. These include:

- 1) To promote maximum participation
- 2) To facilitate personal communication between geographically dispersed chapters and issue groups
- 3) To provide process available for making decisions which affect



Volunteers in the NO helping to mail NLN

more than the local chapter or group (e.g. a concerted regional effort to assist the University of Maine)

- 4) To provide a forum for bringing forth unvoiced but constructive differences and a process for resolving conflict.
- 5) To promote concern for the movement as a whole and avoid parochialism.
- 6) To facilitate strategic decision making (e.g. a concerted regional effort to meet an immediate need such as the resumption of bombing in Viet Nam)

### IMPLICATIONS

There are several implications in the proposal for regional structure which should be spelled out. These

It is not unreasonable, however, to anticipate emergency situation in which it might be desirable to draw on the funds. For the most part this should include the way in which the proposed structure might be applied to the summer and the important question of acquisition and distribution of funds.

**Summer Structure:** Since few colleges are in session during the summer a regional structure *per se* is superfluous. The Judy Collins concert, however, will probably create a substantial regional treasury which might be distributed to summer projects. The convention could decide to allocate funds to summer projects but only if project proposals are presented in a form which would allow the convention to evaluate them for subsidization. In the future, a regional council could do this better.

It might be best, however, to plan to reserve those funds for strengthening the region and individual chapters next fall. There will be much activity in New Haven and other places. Each of these are limited in scope as they, for the most part, terminate as projects in the fall. In addition these projects should be able and encouraged to fund raise during the summer for all their needs. Thus the best solution might be to await the fall and allow the funds to accumulate interest. be discouraged since the funds would not be used for the entire region. On the other hand the region, at the convention may feel it desirable to establish an interim regional council to deal with such emergencies.

An interim regional council could be established which would meet during the summer only if necessary. The council would consist of representatives of all chapters active in the region during the summer. Chapter in this sense would be defined as any project which has five or more members actively working during the summer in addition to any summer school chapters which may exist. In order to be fair to the region as a whole such a council should not be operative unless it would have at least ten members representing at least ten projects and therefore representing at least fifty people.

The alternatives then for regional structure during the summer are either none, or an unrepresentative administrative committee. This discussion does not, however, exclude the possibility or the need for a subregional structure to carry through the summer. A Boston Area Coordinating committee would be desirable and necessary and other subregions may be planning enough activity to warrant similarly some summer subregional structure. The proposal for regional structure also does not include the consideration of maintaining publication and distribution of the regional newsletter to all members at their summer address. This would be considered separately in the plenary.

**Acquisition and Distribution of Funds:** Central to the proposed regional structure is financing. For this the necessity of having a full time fund raiser is clear. There is a great untapped potential for funds in the Boston area alone. The regional office was only able to begin to tap these sources during the spring. There is probably a similar source in New Haven and possibly elsewhere. Fund raising included not only individual contacts but organizing a list of contacts so that a system of yearly contributions would be established allowing for a continuous source of income year round.

The fund raiser would also work on one or two concerts a year. This could be too demanding on his time but he would be in a position to find someone to take the responsibility for such a concert. He would be in charge of making certain that literature is sold at all opportunities (The importance of this is evident when it is noted that profit from literature sales is one of the few constant sources of income now drawn upon by the regional office). He would be responsible for contact with chapters making certain that all possible occasions (such as speeches, debates, movies, etc.) have collections taken. Foundations could be contacted for funds for certain purposes such as the proposed free university of the community school in Roxbury. It would be important for him to establish a group of individuals who would be willing in the event of a sudden unexpected need or strained finances, to hold a party or some sort of get-together with "well-off" friends for the purpose of fund-raising for SDS. A pledge system could also be established if there were someone to look over such a system and keep it operating.

Most importantly the fund raiser would be working with the subregional and chapter fund raisers directly and indirectly to develop the full potential of sources available to each.

In order to maintain the structural efficiency I have outlined it would be important that all fund raising efforts involve some percentage to the Regional treasury. This for example might be 15 or 30 of subregional fund raising, or the profit from literature sales on campuses. This is necessary not to maintain a bureaucracy but rather to allow the region the service the poorer chapters and subregions adequately. Most important it would allow the regional treasury to act as a back-up for subsidization of the poorer chapters or more important to be able to offer immediate funds where necessary anywhere in the region. All these funds would be allocated only through regional council decision.

## chicago cipa

jobs, or whatever, have come to understand that their concern can only be effected through more basic and sweeping social change.

The second, and most repeated error has been the continuing pattern of throwing up a candidate at the last moment to "give the voters an alternative." Even when the token candidate is able to get on the ballot, he usually gets about .5% of the vote -- there having been no serious previous effort to explain to people why an alternative is needed and what it would mean. This whole syndrome is then compounded by the notion that the higher the office, the more exciting becomes the "third alternative."

Third, the inevitable result of repeated electoral failures is the failure to develop a committed and radicalized constituency -- the only real basis for independent electoral politics. At best, liberal and reform movements are able to "sneak through" candidates who, after being elected, cannot speak out on issues for fear of being turned out of office. And they will never be able to speak up or vote their conscience until they are elected by a constituency that actually understands and supports their program. There are no short cuts.

The fourth problem relates to a basic confusion about the purposes of independent politics. Too often, developed independent constituencies have been sidetracked into playing a balance of power role between the major parties. That is, endorsing the better of two bad guys has replaced the basic activity of actually electing independent candidates.

The term "independent", of course, refers to the candidate's basic politics and accountability to his constituency. The electoral format, that is, whether one runs as a Democrat, Republican, or Independent, is a tactical question.

The basic problem presented by an area like Chicago's 49th Ward is the fact that it contains no social movement on which to base independent

electoral politics. The problem then becomes one of education and motivation. What, if anything, would motivate a comfortable white middle-class family to move actively against the establishment? Perhaps self-interest issues. Perhaps middle class idealism. Perhaps nothing.

But certain prerequisites are clear. People have to be presented with a sensible sounding program that can conceivably change things. Institutions must be constructed which allow the average man on the block to be a part of the decision making process and thus have a stake in the success of the program. Neighbors have to get to know each other and learn together. This is how community of interest is built.

And the outcome must include the basic mechanism for electoral operations: directly elected precinct captains, poll watchers, canvassers, etc. Men and women working for a program -- not patronage. The result must be a kind of "bottom-up" politics where the bottom of the slate carries the top. Folks' vote for their candidate for alderman because they know him personally and wrote his platform; he spoke to them at their precinct meeting in one of their homes. They vote for the assembly and state senatorial candidates because their elected representatives wrote their platforms and they heard them speak at the local church or highschool. And they vote someday for a real people's candidate for Congress because he is their man. He isn't sneaking into office . . . he's being put there.

Finally, it may be of some interest to compare the conceptual framework of this project with that of the New York Committee for Independent Political Action. The two projects share the basic orientation of developing constituency, building electoral mechanisms, and avoiding premature electoral contests. The differences lie in the fact that NY CIPA is organizing in a mixed working class neighborhood with a strong emphasis on self-interest issues, and operates consciously as an attempt to build a popular broad-based socialist party.

NEXT WEEK: Part II: The techniques of reaching 50,000 disinterested people about the concerns of the movement.

C. Clark Kissinger

**Part I: Analysis.** The experimental project described in this article represents a confluence to two topics long discussed in SDS: electoral politics and working with middle class adults. The project was undertaken not because it was felt that the white middle class was the Achilles heel of American capitalism, nor that substantial amounts of our time should be spent at this kind of work, but rather it is dictated by a necessity to enrich our political experience. Beyond our work with marginal groups in the society -- students, rural Negroes, urban poor -- most SDSers have limited experience with the vast bulk of the American middle and working classes with whose passive consent the establishment governs.

The project, the 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action, (CIPA), is seeking as an initial target to elect an independent, radical alderman on a platform of domestic and foreign issues in a white, middle class ward. A ward, the smallest political subdivision of the city of Chicago, consists of 50,000 people, those of us nurtured in "movement politics" with its emphasis on the intense involvement of a minority (usually a small minority!) of people, are suddenly called upon to do something entirely different. Basically "electoral politics" calls for developing a very non-intense involvement among a majority of people. And immersing from the heady atmosphere of the movement, having won the allegiance of one ward of 50,000 people, need only repeat the process in 25 other wards in order to gain a voting majority of one in the city council. That is the nitty-gritty meaning of seeking political power.

Certainly the notion of independent political action is not a new one. Yet the repeated failure of independent politics in Chicago (and in America as a whole) should cause us to ask why it has failed. Several reasons can be pin-pointed:

The first has been the running of single-issue candidates (such as the 1962 peace candidacies) and the impossibility of such campaigns in heterogeneous communities. Single issues generally appeal to a very narrow constituency in the community, and "single issue people," regardless of whether their concern is peace, schools

## nyc comments on oglesby

(continued from page 1)

when some sections of American labor were openly and aggressively opting for a third party (Spring, 1936).

The present period presents a unique opportunity to transcend liberal consciousness among industrial as well as professional and other workers. There are indications that, at last, American corporations are on the verge of implementing the technological revolution which has been available on the drawing boards for some time. The relative brutality of the quality of the policies of change are revealed in the dock and newspaper strikes in New York, the numerous plant shutdowns contemplated within the next several years in the Oil and steel industries and elsewhere. Moreover, the white collar holocaust is not far behind. Computerization in large offices has already begun and its pace is likely to quicken.

We need not draw broad conclusions from these straws in the wind. But the terms of the 'buy off' will alter considerably if welfare institutions are not geared to handle these dislocations shortly (thus the intense discussion among many high corporate leaders about the guaranteed annual income). The war economy in general, and the Viet Nam war in particular makes neither alternative certain. Rational calculations by those executives who understand where there needs to be a great 'leap forward' in corporate response to the issue of job security, runs counter to the shorter term interests of the powerful military-corporate war producers who are in the van against any shift in our current national priorities. The essential irrationality of the system asserts itself here.

What prevents a more strategically radical response from American workers to these developments is primarily not their own apathy flowing from material prosperity. It is rather the

absence of organized consciousness in the labor movement capable of presenting genuine alternatives to surrender. The left simply must get away from governments in France and Italy and Belgium with surprising regularity. All this despite the fact that the American-induced post-war economies of these countries have served to strengthen the perceived benificent features of Capitalism.

The American situation flows from characteristics of the American labor movement and corporate response to its militancy—not primarily from the economic conditions enjoyed by the workers (if material self-interest governed radical consciousness then the whole new left phenomenon would be inexplicable in the light of its middle class roots). Hamish Sinclair has pointed out that the American labor movement grew in the thirties by "invitation" from the Corporate sponsored New Deal government rather than by its own independent ideological politics or militancy as in Europe.

Sinclair may have overstated the case, but its kernel remains valid. The Wagner act enabled the trade union movement to grow in alliance with its class enemy, the Corporations. The quasi-judicial procedures established to facilitate the unionization of workers served also to strengthen the system of domination. The ideology of corporate liberalism, according to which "progress for the workers" could be attained within the structure of State-Capitalist relations was accepted as the mode of existence of the so-called "left" within the unions—the CIO. John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman, erstwhile revered as militant labor leaders by the old left are among the outstanding individuals responsible for bringing the workers in to camp under the rhetoric position of American Capitalism during and after World War 2 made this incorporation much easier. Forgotten however, is the fact that the 'invitation' was extended and subsequently accepted dur-

ing some of the darkest days of the depression when no less than 10,000,000 workers were unemployed; when the strike movements in auto, steel and rubber were at their apex; simplistic economic determinism in accounting for working class quiescence. The ideology of militant anti-Communism has played a large, independent role in determining working class political backwardness in the U.S.

(2) The new left will acquire an ideology with great pain. First it will have to give up its most precious anti-ideological possession, liberal pragmatism. The radical education project paper shows clearly that the problem of ideology is not just one of acquiring strategy expressing overt political attitudes or positions. It is chiefly a matter of the outlook; a way of looking at all social and personal problems which radical activists possess. Individualism, the hallmark of liberal consciousness combined with the notion that practicality governs action (politics here is the art of the 'possible', i.e. liberal politics) has been primarily responsible for the fact that many creative and dedicated people who have correctly perceived the need to act against injustice in the society and openly rejected the substance of old left dogmas, also resulted in a wholesale rejection of the political value of ideas themselves. We have tended to glorify spontaneity and inspiration; we have deified activism.

The substance of radical activity in this period is radical education: the task of expanding consciousness of ordinary people as well as activists to understand the "root causes" underlying events as well as the rational basis of our vision. We act in order to expand our base for educational work. Since, as Ron Aronson has pointed out in his article "The Movement and its Critics" (Fall Studies) the levers of power within our society are largely inaccessible to us, our alternative now

is to conduct those activities which serve to increase the chances for education. That's the heart of radical electoral perspectives in the coming months. Unless it is seen as a means of drawing new people into the movement by virtue of the opportunity this particular forum gives us to explicate on the nature of power within American corporate capitalism and its uses in terms of specific issues such as the war or poverty, then it becomes simply another way to strengthen liberalism (and the liberals who adopt our rhetoric). The Radical Education Project has stated the case for ideology admirably and marks a turning point for SDS in this regard.

(3) Happily we are starting to "go political" and SDS seems to be in the van of this movement. Our aim should be the development of a national, popular socialist party down the road after political movements of local insurgency have taken sufficient root to make this objective real. The article in NLN on electoral politics which describes the CIPA organizations in New York makes the major point about this: unless electoral politics is seen within a long term perspective of building permanent constituencies for such ideology that we can develop, then it is hardly worth the money and forces required to run a shotgun "peace" campaign. More, it is the quality of the program, and not the candidate which makes coalitions with liberals not desirable. While they can agree on limited issues, their outlook on electoral politics is not the same as ours. That's why "independent" is crucial at this time.

Coalitions are perfectly all right around limited issues or candidacies providing the left is strong enough (measured by its constituency) to determine the character of the coalition's demands and program. Otherwise we simply serve to organize for our ideological opponents.

Stan Aronowitz

## sds & regions: san francisco view

(continued from page 3)

convention we should provide means through which high school students and adults can also come together to talk about common problems and perhaps set up a national CDS or SDS high school division either as part of a newly viewed SDS or as completely autonomous units similar to ERAP.

Central to this whole conception is a belief that next year will be one much more of consolidation and organizational growth rather than one of new political direction and national program. This simplifies decision making problems as it becomes far more administrative than political.

**3. Resources.** A high priority should be the hiring of national fund raisers whose responsibility would be to the entire organization rather than the maintenance of any one office. Resource allocation should be made by a body composed of the president and representatives from different district offices, the national office, and other national functional units. This body's primary duty would be to evaluate the financial situation of different units and proposed units and work out a system of shares with no floor to any one office. Each office would have an individual responsibility to do fund raising above and beyond that which it could expect to receive from this allocation.

This would put the national office on much the same footing as the district offices. These shares would be evaluated at least four times a year and more, if necessary.

### Rationale and all that

Over the last 10 or 11 months, a number of things has become more or less clear in my mind about the present state of SDS and where it seems to be headed:

- At a minimum, SDS will be central to the development of an independent radical movement in the United States ... if there is to be one. More and more frequently, I am beginning to believe

that it will encompass such a movement at least by providing the cadre. This means that it is necessary to branch out and reach constituencies that we do not reach through existing program or organizational structure. Almost all of our effort is directed toward the 40 per cent who are undergraduate students.

2. In the early 1960's, SDS was not a national organization, but rather two regional ones that held joint meetings. The bases were New York and Ann Arbor. But more important were the diverse interests that were able to interact within the relative small area. In addition to the purely college campus chapter people, there were the PREP, the ERAP, the research oriented, the ideological, the high school students of NYC, faculty members, etc. All of whom were friends and in fairly close communication. The NO was only a part of this operation and perhaps not even the most critical.

Since that period, the expansion that has taken place into other areas has lacked the depth and breath that could be found in the Middle West and Atlantic states. For the most part, it has only been an extension of the college chapter portion. Regional structures have very much reflected this. They have been formed by college students to serve college chapters. For this reason, SDS in these new areas is very much different from the SDS that began in Ann Arbor and New York. A couple of elements can probably be identified: it is far more activist; much less evolution of strategy and thought; a far more narrow focus, i.e. mostly college students; more single issue or a string of single issues oriented.

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gram has yet to develop. Administration of NC programs has virtually been non-existent) West of the Mississippi and I assume in the South, it is difficult to understand exactly what the role of the NO has been outside of the publication of NLN, which reaches the West Coast a good 10 to 14 days late. Membership and chapter correspondence increasingly comes to this office and to the one in LA from an ever-larger area that stretches back to New Mexico and Colorado. If members and chapters receive literature in the West it is through this office.

What has happened is that for the people on the West Coast the San Francisco office has become a district office in the sense that I have outlined before. This has been as much a result of the impossibility of a national office based in Chicago to provide the same services for the entire country as it could when it was little more than a regional or district office, as any conscious design on the part of the office staff. The functions that it can reasonably be expected to perform are in varying degrees those that it is now doing.

- The debate that has been waged on and off during the last year between the polit bureau people and the confederationists is basically an unreal one and with little value. The alternatives that are posed interest me very little. At this stage, it is impossible to imagine that a national office or a national council that even now finds it extremely difficult to implement small-scale national programs or to maintain contact with the membership can suddenly transform itself into a highly efficient polit bureau with chapters falling into line behind its political directions. At the same time, I have little interest in working to establish an organization that is little more than a confederation of all those people who for one reason or another, like to call themselves SDS. I want to see the growth of SDS to follow along much the same lines,

region by region, as was the case in the Midwest starting in the early 1960's.

Hopefully, the establishment of district offices can make this possible. Again, district offices would very much be the creatures of the national organization, rather than the creation of whatever collection of people in a given area saw themselves as SDS. Staff would come from throughout the country and hopefully would be people with some lengthy experience with SDS, even if this means only one per office. District offices would, to the extent possible, develop within a predetermined model or set of responsibilities and functions. The goal would very much be having the entire country serviced and "organized" by offices and staff who shared a perspective, a sense of direction, and an idea of what functions they should be performing.

This idea recognizes that there is something in SDS that we would like to see spread throughout the country, but that this is only possible within the context of a structure consciously designed to implement the plan. Saying it doesn't make it so. District offices as so described provide the only sure means of transmitting decisions made by the national organization about its own nature and structure down to the local level in such a way that it means anything. At present, the national organization has no way of insuring that decisions it makes about direction, purpose, values, programs, are anything more than empty words. The regional offices that are springing up do not answer this need for a number of reasons: they are creatures of the local scene; understaffed, underfunded, limited equipment; no direct ties to the national organization; vary greatly from region to region; can never hope but to cover only a small portion of the U.S. Almost by definition localized; largely college based.

Ken McElroy

# some notes on participatory democracy

There are, in general, two kinds of democracy. One is direct democracy: people decide directly on matters of interest to them. The second is representative democracy: people elect representatives to make decisions in their stead. I think that what the New Left has been calling participatory democracy is really direct democracy, and that our preference for that kind of political system, and our often implicit distaste for, and sometimes fear of, representative democracy, say a good bit about our usually unstated ideology and strategy. To wit:

1. Direct (or participatory) democracy seems clearly to imply a highly decentralized social system, where economic and political units whose decisions affect individuals (and which don't?) are small enough that individuals can have direct involvement in their decision-making processes. There has been, within the New Left, very little discussion of decentralization as

a strategy for social change; but decentralization is pretty clearly what we really want. This opens a vast Pandora's box of problems about how to decentralize a system where political and especially economic power is so highly centralized as in the U.S. -- and, indeed, how people can govern themselves in what is always referred to as a complex age. Nonetheless, it is necessary to begin working at this tough set of problems.

The second implication of direct (or participatory) democracy has been more explicitly stated: that it is important to organize from the bottom up, in local communities around issues of importance and relevance to members of those communities. (I see no reason not to include suburbia among local communities as well as urban ghettos) Undoubtedly, in the back of our minds, there is a notion that eventually all the local community orga-

#### SUMMER ADDRESS CHANGE

Please notify the national office (as well as your chapter and region) of your summer plans. Completion of the form below will ensure that you receive New Left Notes over the summer, as well as information about SDS activities in your area.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

PRESENT ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

Summer address or person thru whom you can be reached  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Will you be: working full time?

" part time

involved in movement summer projects?

If your plans are not set, would you be interested in serving as an area summer coordinator for SDS? (Previous SDS experience is required. There is some possibility of a small stipend.)

Please use the space below for additional comments as to activity, etc., you would be interested in, type of work you will be doing, etc. If you will be attending summer school, can you distribute basic literature to fellow students? Also, let us know if you will have the same address in the fall.

Please detach and return to national office or chapter secretary. Chapters should submit this information collectively if possible.

nizing efforts will be tied together on a regional or state, and then national, basis; but the vision of how that will happen is very foggy. Those who advocate electoral politics as the embodiment of that vision are little heard -- for, I think, the following reason.

2. I am coming to be actively opposed to representative democracy (RD) as a political system. Not neutral toward it, but opposed. RD is virtually bound to encourage manipulation and elitism as political style -- certainly that has been the result in the U.S. RD depends too greatly on charisma and ad hominem methods (this is as true in relation to well-educated as to uneducated people); by its nature it is periodic and separated from the everyday reality of the activities being governed; and there are many opportunities for representatives to set themselves up as a separate class (or part or one) and to perpetuate themselves, as individuals and as a class. More fundamentally, RD encourages the sense of powerlessness and non-control of one's life now felt by Americans (and people everywhere, with a few exceptions); this in turn makes people want to 'leave it to the experts', and not only in politics. Thus, RD is even more pernicious when connected to an oligarchic economic system. The 'radical liberal' solution of referendum, initiative, and recall is at best an amelioration: without direct democracy the people have at best only formal power.

Nonetheless, huge political entities exist (not only countries: New York City is a huge political entity), and some way of democratizing, to the extent possible, the political life of such entities must be sought. Aside from the rather obvious necessity to have good people in the government -- a proposition scarcely amenable to institutionalization -- the only amelioration of the undemocratic nature of representative democracy I can think of is the following, and my third, point.

3. Anyone who performs the function of representative should spend by far the largest portion of his/her time in direct contact, and working, with the people he/she is supposed to represent, in connection with the activity he/she is supposed to represent them about -- especially economic activity, but also the functions of policing, welfare, justice, etc. As can be seen, this is closely related to the decentralization implied by direct (participatory) democracy.

4. A last note, on the form of decision-making. Part of direct democracy is the importance of the integrity of the community itself. The usual form of decision-making, at least in bodies formally considered to be decision-making bodies, is voting and majority decision. However, I think the alternate form of consensus -- widely used by the New Left -- more perfectly recognizes and enhances the community's integrity and unity. Again, this means problems, especially when there seems to be, within a community or group, an irreconcilable difference of interest or principle on an issue. But the voting/majority method too easily leads to, or reflects, factionalism and lack of community. The consensus method should be the basic one employed, but it needs discipline to go with it (not a quality the New Left is renowned for). Discipline means knowing when to stop talking on an issue, and when a disagreement, or even a principle, is less important than the sense of community itself or the need to move on to the action being discussed. Indeed, unless people in the New Left develop discipline, it will not matter what forms of decision-making are adopted: there will still be anarchism (of the bad variety), formalism, or lack of genuine involvement of all in decision-making -- all phenomena abundantly displayed by New Leftists.

Donald McKelvey

## chicago comments on oglesby

(continued from page 1)

To justify expectations of radical change a concrete analysis of social conditions and the dynamics of the social forces in the country would be necessary. And such an analysis would have to be complete, not one-sided. Parts of Italy are drowned in misery, but how can you analyze Italian political perspectives if you point to the misery, and neglect to mention that the country's growth rate in the past ten years was the highest in Western Europe, and that the real income of the average worker has doubled in the last 10 yrs?

The fact is that Oglesby is so anxious to see a left turn that he misunderstands the present base of the Italian C.P.'s organization. This party is unquestionably more democratic and more open than any other Communist Party. It is at present at a halfway point between Stalinist monolithism and real internal democracy -- the form this takes is that, on the one hand, different approaches are expressed by party leaders in speeches and articles, though in very restrained and indirect forms, but on the other hand factions are not allowed and the party congress still ends up adopting unanimous theses on everything. But within what social context is this party, with its 1,500,000 members evolving? The context is that of participation in the day to day life of a rapidly developing advanced industrial society, and indeed administration by Communists of a good part of the society! Go to a big city like Bologna, with a Communist-controlled city council. The Communists run the city government. Hundreds of their members hold city administrative jobs (patronage?). They run an enormous cooperative movement, which controls half the retail trade of the city, and

which employs hundreds of communists. They run the unions, and the officials of these unions, in terms of the routine to which they have been necessarily devoted for many years, develop habits of work and leadership far more comparable to George Meany than to Cesar Chavez. Although the Communists don't control most of the city governments, what I say above about the coops and unions is valid for almost all the cities.

Compared to the other countries in the Common Market, Italy is poor. Compared to Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia, Italy is an advanced industrial country and an advancing one. Italy has a larger percentage of its active population in agriculture. Its north is thoroughly modern, while its south remains very backward. The problem that all the parties of the Italian left face is -- how do you advance toward greater control by the common man over every aspect of his life, and how do you deal effectively and rapidly with the endemic misery, unemployment and hunger of the south, within the context of a generally viable economic system that has been providing a rising standard of living for most of the population? In a sense, all proportions duly considered, the problem is similar to that of the U.S., where power is used harmfully in many ways, where this power rests on the private ownership and control of vast aggregates of capital, but where again, despite many inequities, there is no question that a sustained economic advance has taken place, and that this undoubtedly affects the attitudes of the industrial workers. If a radical movement is built in the U.S., it will be done within this reality, not by making believe things are otherwise. And the same is true for Italy.

Perhaps the conclusion is -- Radical Education Project, si. Oglesbian impressionism, no.

Saul Mendelson

## SUPA project

The Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), our brothers and sisters to the north of us in Canada, will have several summer projects. The Neestow Project in Saskatchewan working with Indian and Metis has summer plans; including research in the field (about educational facilities, medical treatment); community materials (rewriting histories and statistical reports for field use; experimenting with audio-visual aids); summer schools (using

these materials); support work (public relations and speaking, etc.). Other plans include a school for social theory, university refore, research, and office-and-organizing work.

For more information, write SUPA summer projects, 658 Spadina Ave., Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada.

## eastland strikes...

(continued from page 1)

A few Progressive Labor (PL) youth organizers have recently sent in SDS membership cards as a result of PL's decision to dissolve the May 2 Movement and recruit out of SDS instead (lucky us). A small number of Young Socialist Alliance members belong to SDS, but most of YSA's activity has been directed at breaking up the NCC. A small number of SDS members belong to the CP and have worked to

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